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AN EXAMINATION OF A PAROCHIAL CHOICE SCHOOL SERVING LATINA/O STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS, REALITIES AND PROMISES.

by

Tatiana Joseph

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Urban Education

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

December 2012

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ABSTRACT
AN EXAMINATION OF A PAROCHIAL CHOICE SCHOOL SERVING LATINA/O STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS, REALITIES AND PROMISES.

by

Tatiana Joseph

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012
Under the Supervision of Raquel Oxford

In Milwaukee, The Milwaukee Parental School Choice Program (MPCP) is a program that "allows low-income Milwaukee Students to attend participating private or religious schools located in Milwaukee with no charge for tuition if certain eligibility criteria are met" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction). The program allows for qualifying families to use a portion of the public educational funding selected (voucher) for their student to attend a public school or the private school of their choice. For low income families, school choice is an opportunity to flee from schools that struggle with dropouts, absenteeism and low achievement in hopes of a school that will provide their student with more academic opportunities.

Understanding the goal of school choice, the purpose of this qualitative case study is to observe and analyze how a voucher, parochial high school in a Midwestern city (CCHS) is serving or disserving Latina/o students who receive vouchers. The sample population consisted of 30 students who identify themselves as Latina/o, speak fluent Spanish and are recipients of the Voucher program, 13 families, 15 teachers and 2 administrators. Interviews, observations, photovoice and the collection of artifacts and records were used to collect the data.

Voucher schools like CCHS were another resource for families, especially low income families. The information provided in this dissertation shows a different, and

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quite dismal, picture. Unlike the studies done in the 80's and 90's that address the effectiveness of Catholic schools for poor children of color, CCHS may not be more effective for disadvantaged students. Students at CCHS do not have a quality academic curriculum, and teacher expectations are blurred by deficit ideologies that blame students for their academic failure. Furthermore, policies and practices are set into place to ensure that students do not become academically successful. The Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009) calls for the recruitment of more Latina/o students in Catholic schools, but until the issues mentioned in this research are addressed, schools like CCHS will continue to prepare students of color for failure.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Significance of the study

Over the last few decades, the population of the United States has changed tremendously. Today, Latinas/os make up 14.8% of the population-- the largest minority group in the nation (U.S Census, 2008). The Latina/o population in the United States is also a very young population: the average age of 27 is ten years younger than the average age of the United States population (U.S Census, 2008). In addition, Latinas/os make over $20,000 less annually (U.S Census, 2008) than the average American. Consequently, a significant portion of the Latina/o population suffers from poverty and low educational attainment.

The inequalities found in society also permeate the education system: in 2008, the Latina/o population had the highest dropout rate. On a national level, 18.3 % of Latina/o high school students drop out each year, in comparison to 9.9% for African American students and 4.8% for Caucasian students (U.S Department of Education, 2010). In Wisconsin, the pattern continues. 31% of Latina/o students drop out of high school in comparison to 9.3% of White students (WINSS, 2010). Over the last couple of years, and despite national initiatives to lower the dropout rates for Latinas/os, the rates have not improved. Instead Latinas/os continue to have one of the highest dropout rates (52% foreign born Latinas/os, 25% native born) (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010), a low representation in college enrollment (15%) (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011) and an even smaller representation in graduate school enrollment (less than .1%) (Yosso, 2005). The literature on Latina/o achievement in public schools demonstrates the many ways in which our public educational system fails them, as well as the causes for the educational inequalities they experience. Researchers have concluded that the causes are the lack of

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middle class preferred forms of capital (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 1997), lack of authentic relationships (Katz,1999; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Hof, López, Dinsmore, Baker, McCarty, & Tracy, 2007; Popkewitz, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999), an assimilative curriculum (Valenzuela, 1999), tracking (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Meier & Stewart, 2010), minimal school participation (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; McNeal, 1995), minimal parent involvement (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999), and language issues and identity (Bearse & De Jong, 2008; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Gibson, 1998; Umaña- Taylor & Fine, 2004; Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, & Cota, 1990; Baez, 2002; Cummins, 2000). Although the public school system was created to serve all children, not just the best or the brightest (Sweetland, 2002) educational leaders, community members and families agreed that the public school system was not equitable for all citizens. Because of this, educational leaders, community members, families as well as political leaders demanded an opportunity to receive quality education, especially for low income families. This movement was successful; after weeks of lobbying the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program was (MPCP) born.

Purpose of the Study

In Milwaukee, MPCP has allowed families with incomes at or below 300% of the federal poverty level to send their children to parochial schools using a government-funded voucher. Although it is debatable whether or not religious schools are successful at providing better academic opportunities for marginalized students, the program is very popular (Wolf, 2011). Today, there are 106 private schools participating in MPCP with a total enrollment of 23,198 student recipients of MPCP. Of the 23,198 student

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participants, 4,526 are high school students (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2011).

Several studies have taken place suggesting the success rates of Latinas/os in Catholic schools, however these findings have been extensively critiqued due to the potential selection bias and inaccurate test scores (Greene, Peterson, & Du, 1998). Further, before 2005, it was difficult to assess parochial schools, because they were not required to administer standardized tests or report academic scores (Chapman, Lamborn, & Epps, 2010). In addition, the research does not examine the overall experiences of economically disadvantage students in Catholic high schools. Aspects, such as social capital, teacher/student relationship, curriculum and instruction, tracking, language, identity, social economic status (SES), and acculturation which shape the way in which a student experiences school are seldom included in the research.

What is known is that the adoption of MPCP has created a shift in student enrollment (from majority middle class Caucasian to low income Latina/o and African American students) from its creation in 1995 to currently; this poses particular challenges to urban Catholic schools which now serve higher numbers of children in poverty, children of color, and children who are English language learners (Scanlan, 2008). With 23% (Public Policy Forum, 2011) of the current MPCP population identified as Latina/o, one needs to ask if choice schools, especially voucher schools, are providing Latina/o students, with high quality educational opportunities? The purpose of this study was to document the ways in which a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers. More specifically, the researcher explored the following questions: 1. how does the

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school create/support cultural experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? 2. how does the school create/support academic experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? 3. how does the school create/support language experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? And finally, how does the school create/support familial/community experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

Background of the Study

Because of the many perceived evils of public education, many Latina/o families choose to send their children to private schools where families believe they will receive a better education and more opportunities, such as college admissions and a career path. Latinas/os, like other immigrant groups in the United States have had a long-standing relationship with the Catholic Church and Catholic schools. This relationship with Catholic schools range from schools purposefully built for Latina/o students in the 16th century, to the current Catholic school mission of assisting marginalized communities.

For early immigrants, the Catholic Church was a safe haven. In 1891, for example, Pope Leo XIII encouraged the clergy and laity "to create ethnic parishes in America and to appoint Church leaders on the basis of nationality" (Bryk, Lee & Holland, 1997, p. 26). The Catholic Church was concerned that assimilation tendencies would not only rid immigrants of ethnic identity and language, but also Catholicism (Meng, 1946). Proponents of the ethnic churches requested "separate parish units in order to maintain unbroken ties with their respective fatherlands", further, proponents argued "that the church should see to it that their native languages should be spoken in religious ministrations to them; that the Church should provide parish schools in which the children of foreigners and their descendants would be instructed in their own

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languages, perpetuating the distinctive culture and customs of the counties of their origin" (New York Times, 1917, n.p). Catholic schools became fortresses protecting the culture, language and traditions of immigrant groups.

The initiative to create ethnic Catholic schools was not welcomed and the debate for ethnic Catholic schools became intense. Opponents feared "that ethnic Catholic schools would promote separatism and permanently establish a decisive ethnic politics threatening to democracy" (Bryk et al., 1997, p. 27). Ideas of xenophobia and nativism quickly permeated ethnic Catholic schools and political ideologies began to influence how curricular decisions were made (Bryk et al., 1997). For example, the Bureau of Naturalization and the Bureau of Education of the United States, "sponsored bills that provided substantial federal aid to states, on a dollar-matching basis, to finance the teaching of English to aliens and native illiterates" (p. 5). The need for federal aid, as well as the fear from the opposition, led to the removal of ethnic and bilingual programs in Catholic schools (Ovando, 2003).

Catholic schools shifted their mission and developed both a preserving and a transforming function: "they consciously sought to preserve Catholic values and ethnic identities, but they also facilitated the assimilation of immigrants into American public life" (Bryk et al., 1997, p. 27). The fortress built by Catholic education to protect religious minority groups was no longer necessary because of the whitening of early immigrant groups (Kailin, 2002). These minorities blended in with the majority (Mclaughlin, O'Keefe & O'Keeffe, 2000); and in the process of blending in many lost their culture, traditions and language.

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A Call to Social Action

The Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church which was held in 1962 brought a new pivotal transformation to both the Catholic Church and schools in regards to social teachings and the role of social action. The members openly discussed a variety of themes including

> 1). the insights of the social science; 2). recognizing the goodness and varieties of cultures; 3). articulating the Church's missions to bring together faith and culture; 4). and to recognizing that the church will need the help of many different groups and individuals in realizing this mission (Martin & Litton, 2004, p. 26).

The end goal of the discussions during The Second Vatican Council surrounding equality in education was a renewed consciousness for Catholic social teaching and an urgent call to serve people in poverty. Pope Paul VI (1967) made this message very clear in his "Populorum Progressio" letter to the clergy and laity when he stated "a renewed consciousness of the demands of the Gospel makes it her [the church] duty to put herself at the service of all, to help them [the marginalized] grasp their serious problem in all its dimensions, and to convince them that solidarity in action at this turning point in human history is a matter of urgency." Pope Paul VI's speaks to a moral duty to contribute to the creation of social, economic, political institutions, systems, and policies that assist the growth and fulfillment of every human person regardless of their economic class. The message also speaks to the urgency to increase and organize more effectively the aid of people in poverty in order to effectively make social change. The World Synod of Catholic Bishops further emphasized the call for social change in their 1971 letter "Justicia in Mundo"

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> We have nevertheless been able to perceive the serious injustices which are building around the human world a network of domination, oppression and abuses which stifle freedom and which keep the greater part of humanity from sharing in the building up and enjoyment of a more just and more loving world.
>
> The arms race is a threat to our highest good, which is life; it makes poor peoples and individuals yet more miserable, while making richer those already powerful; it creates a continuous danger of conflagration and in the case of nuclear arms, it threatens to destroy all life from the face of the earth. At the same time new divisions are being born to separate people from their neighbors. Unless combated and overcome by social and political action, the influence of the new industrial and technological order favors the concentration of wealth, power and decision-making in the hands of a small public or private controlling group. Economic injustice and lack of social participation keep people from attaining their basic human and civil rights.
>
> Marked as it is by the grave sin of injustice, we recognize both our responsibility and our inability to overcome it by our own strength. Such a situation urges us to listen with a humble and open heart to the word of God, as he shows us new paths towards action in the cause of justice in the world.
>
> The content of this education necessarily involves respect for the person and for his or her dignity. Since it is world justice which is in question here, the unity of the human family within which, according to God's plan, a human being is born must first of all be seriously affirmed. Christians find a sign of this solidarity in the fact that all human beings are destined to become in Christ sharers in the divine nature (World Synod of Catholic Bishops, 1971, n.p).

The Catholic Church was called to respond to the needs of the community so that "they are able to participate in community and utilize the resources that are available to all of us for our good and the good of all" (Storz & Nestor, 2007, p. 100). This call to social action involved confronting discrimination on the basis of race, origin, color, sex and religion and encouraged equity, justice, participation, and human rights (Curran, 2002). Further, the Church emphasized the obligation to stand in solidarity with and advocate for the poor, especially because this population is often muted and forgotten. Under this call to social action, the role of the church was to develop the potential of people in poverty though education, in order to help them [people in poverty] "to overcome an attitude of

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begging" (Arana-Quiroz, 1996, p. 132). This call to serve people in need became the foundation for establishing Catholic Social Teaching.

There are several tenets surrounding Catholic social teaching:

> First, Catholic social teaching values human dignity. This is the understanding that all people are made in the image and likeness of God, and, therefore, endowed with intrinsic value. Second, Catholic social teaching values the common good. Individuals, intrinsically sacred, are also inherently social. Our human dignity is instantiated through community and in relationship with others. Third, Catholic social teaching places a preferential option for the marginalized. Our pursuit of the common good is achieved first and foremost by attending to those with special needs, outcast, and marginalized (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010, p. 11).

The Catholic School Mission

Catholic teachings and scriptures, especially after Vatican II, emphasized human dignity, the common good as well as a preferential option for the marginalized, these ideals oblige Catholic schools to adopt a mission of inclusion that primarily seeks to serve children who live in poverty, are racial, ethnic, and linguistic minorities, or have special educational needs (Scanlan, 2008; Greater Milwaukee Catholic Education Consortium, (n.d); Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010; Storz & Nestor, 2007).

The Catholic school mission calls for "the social well-being and development of the group itself" (Storz & Nestor, 2007, p. 59) by allowing individuals to reach their full potential by committing to educating the whole person and having high expectations for all learners. Further, following the Vatican II mandate, schools must build productive learning environments that include aspects of multiculturalism (Scanlan, 2008), diversity and social justice (Martin & Litton, 2004) as well as a college preparatory curriculum (Bryk et al., 1997), academic course requirements for graduation, and community service programs (Bryk et al., 1997). As a result, some researchers (Bryk, et al., 1997; Greely,

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1982; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987, Bryk et al., 1997) believe that a Catholic education for marginalized students becomes the vehicle for social mobility, therefore "failure to support the urban Catholic schools may well lead to their demise, thereby denying future generations a proven educational option that works for poor and minority children" (Ilg, Massucci, & Cattaro, 2004, p. 364).

Latinas/os in Catholic Schools

Although several schools were founded to purposefully serve Latina/o children, today, due to social and political circumstances, Latina/o students are underrepresented in Catholic schools (Stevens-Arroyo & Pantoja, 2003). According to the Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009), only three perfect of Latina/o school-age children attend Catholic school in the United States. The Task Force also reports that during the "2007-08 school year, there were over 691,000 empty seats in existing Catholic schools, and 36% of those seats were in 13 states where the Latina/o population was either the largest population or the fastest-growing over the past 10 years" (p. 22). Previous research (Coleman, Hoffer & Kilgore, 1982; Hoffer, Greely & Coleman, 1985, Willms, 1985; Alexander & Pallas, 1985; Jenks, 1985; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Greely, 1982, Goldberger & Cain, 1985) demonstrates the advantages of Catholic education for Latina/o students. According to Coleman and Hoffer (1987), "the greatest differences in Catholic and public school achievement are found when schools with the highest levels of minority composition are compared" (p. 165). To be more specific, Greely (1982) concludes that "after all background characteristics are taken into account and even disciplinary atmosphere of the schools is held constant, the quality of classroom instruction makes a substantial contribution both

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to the higher achievement scores and the propensity to do more homework of black and Hispanic young people attending Catholic high schools" (p. 6). Latinas/os in Catholic schools have higher graduation rates compared with Latina/o children attending public schools (Stevens- Arroyo et al., 2003, Neal, 1997). There are many reasons why Latina/o students excel in Catholic schools; for example, Latina/o students are required to complete high-level courses and are pushed to excel in their work (Ilg et al., 2004). Further, Catholic schools are of value to disadvantaged students, especially Latina/o students because they aim "to provide an education that will enable each student to develop the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and habits necessary to function both effectively and critically in modern democratic society" (Bryk, 2000, p 36). Other reasons such as adaptation/acculturation, economic mobility, and language acquisition are often cited as reasons for academic success for Latina/o students in both public and private schools (Fergus, 2009).

Because Latina/o students are underrepresented in Catholic schools, there have been notable efforts within Catholic education to focus on the curricular needs of Latina/o children. The U.S. Census Bureau (2008) projects the Latina/o population in the United States will continue to grow rapidly, reaching 66.4 million by the year 2020. The growth and the effort to recruit Latina/o students to Catholic schools have encouraged church officials to create the Notre Dame Task Force of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools. The purpose of the Task Force is "to understand better the nature of Hispanic participation in Catholic schools" (The Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009, p. 22). The goal is to increase "the national enrollment of Latina/o children in Catholic schools from

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290,000 to over 1 million students, thus greatly enhancing the quality of the lives of thousands—indeed, millions— of Latina/o families" (p.22).

The movement to recruit Latinas/os is a movement fueled by three converging trends:

> 1). an estimated 70 percent of adult Latinas/os are Catholic, according to Georgetown University researchers. 2). Just 63 percent of 24-year-old Hispanics surveyed had graduated from high school, compared with 87 percent of blacks and 93 percent of white non-Hispanics, according to census data. 3). And numerous studies have found that Hispanic students in Catholic schools perform better than they do in public schools (The Notre Dame task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009, p.22).

This recruitment may be easily attainable in larger cities such as Milwaukee, which allows low-income families, as part of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP), to used public vouchers to pay for part of the Catholic school tuition.

A Push for Choice

A number of studies have found that different characteristics within the school affect student achievement. Following this argument, one can conclude that "if government grants are made available to families so they can purchase educational services for their children, efficiency gains accompanying privatization will result in enhanced student achievement" (Greene, Peterson, & Du, 1998, p. 337). Choice options were "supposed to serve economically affluent families and low-income parents by allowing them to create their own schools, utilize magnet schools, access private schools, and utilize inter-district busing" (Chapman et al., 2010, p. 12). The reality is that due to the lack of funding to implement options, the opportunity to pick "better" schools for families is not available (Percy & Maiers, 1996).

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The public outcry for choice came not only from the public, but also from government and higher education figures. All parties agreed that education was not equitable for all citizens. They also agreed that only affluent parents had the opportunity to pull their children from underachieving schools, leaving poor families behind. School choice "meant altering the governance and funding of the present K–12 public education system to allow parents and students to select the educational institutions that best fit their needs" (Cooley, 2006, p. 249). Choice as stated by Smrekar & Goldring (2000) is "seen as a way to counteract the effects of income level on educational opportunity by establishing expanded options for lower income families that are typically available only to wealthier families who are able to buy or rent homes in neighborhoods with more desirable schools" (p. 6). For low-income families, school choice was an opportunity to get away from schools that struggled with dropouts, absenteeism and low achievement in hopes of a school that would provide their student with more academic opportunities (Curran Neil, 2005).

In Milwaukee, public opinion, bi-partisan support, criticism of the Milwaukee Public School (MPS) system, along with high dropout figures and poor achievement statistics drove public policy to the adoption of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP) in 1990 (Percy & Maier, 1996). The program was formed out of the coalition between Republican governor Tommy Thompson and Democratic State Representative Polly Williams, as a way to foster more educational options for low-income parents, for better academic opportunities for their children, and to improve the performance MPS through market competition (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, 1999). During Wisconsin's 1994 elections, a bipartisan coalition of parents, employers and civil leaders

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insisted on the expansion of the MPCP. In 1995, Governor Thompson proposed that sectarian schools be able to participate in the MPCP program (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, 1999). By the 1998-1999 academic year "state legislators amended the choice legislation to include eligibility for parochial schools to receive state monies, resulting in a massive growth of the program. Including the parochial schools, MPCP students could now choose among over 100 different schools, ranging from tiny kindergarten-only schools to massive k-12 schools, from Catholic to Muslim schools" (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, 2003, p. 4).

The Church welcomed the idea of the MPCP. For a number of years, the Catholic Church, and more specifically, Catholic schools struggled financially. According to the Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009) since 2000, because of the lack of funding, more than 1,400 Catholic schools have closed and nearly half a million students are no longer in Catholic schools. The lack of funding made it increasingly difficult for Roman Catholic schools to fulfill their mission of educating marginalized children. The lack of finances has also kept many schools from reasonably keeping tuition low and from compensating their staff (Cattaro, 2002). Because Catholic schools depend on tuition funding to keep the school open, they quickly supported the proposition that parents should be able to use public money to choose the best school for their children. Catholic school staff believed that "just as parents have rights to raise their children with a particular set of traditions and value orientations; they should have the right to select schools which transmit and reinforce those dimensions" (Levin, 1997, p. 25). Currently, the MPCP hosts a total of 23,198 Milwaukee Public school students; each individual child takes with them a

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voucher for $6,442 to cover a portion of the tuition (Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 2011).

The Study

This study is a qualitative, case study bounded in one Midwestern, parochial high school. For this study, the case/unit of analysis is the school since it is a "specific, complex, functioning thing" (Stake, 1995, p. 2) that provides a plethora of factors that influence the ways in which this school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers.

The sample population for the study consists of Latina/o students who identify themselves as Latina/o/a, are recipients of the voucher program and speak Spanish, teachers, administrators and parents. Multiple data collection methods were used to document the ways in which this school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students: interviews with students, parents, teachers and administrators; both participant and non-participant observations of the academic setting; and artifacts and records collected from teacher lesson plans, professional development opportunities, and administrators' memos. Within each case, several clarifications/boundaries in the unit of analysis need to be established. The researcher will look at factors, such as student/teacher relationships, the curriculum, the school, environment/culture, student/student relationships, language acquisition, and cultural/identity/language maintenance in order to gain a better understanding of how this case (school), as a whole, is serving, or disserving Latina/o students who receive vouchers.

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Research Question

With the overwhelmingly high rates of Latina/o drop outs as well as the low representation in college, it is necessary to be critical about educational opportunities presented to Latina/o students (Yosso, 2005). As more and more Latina/o families are deciding to pull their children out of "failing" public schools we have to ask: are choice schools, especially voucher schools, providing Latina/o students, with high quality educational opportunities? With this is mind, my research question is as follows:

How is a MPCP parochial high school in a Midwestern city serving Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

Other sub questions will be used to guide the study:

1. How does the school create/support cultural experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

2. How does the school create/support academic experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

3. How does the school create/support language experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

4. How does the school create/support familial/community experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

Theoretical Design

Two theories will be used in order to frame this study, Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and Free Market Theory.

***Latina/o critical race theory*.** LatCrit, an interpretative lens, incorporates four functions: "(a) the production of knowledge, (b) the advancement of transformation, (c)

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the expansion and connection of struggle(s), and (d) the cultivation of community and coalition" (Fernández, 2002, p. 47). LatCrit is concerned "with a progressive sense of a coalitional Latina/Latina/o pan-ethnicity and addresses issues often ignored by critical race theorists such as language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality" (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 311). This theory also helps to identify theoretical frameworks that move beyond the traditional Black-White paradigm while still seeking to understand how race is performed, understood, and manipulated. LatCrit in education is used to examine the ways in which educational institutions operate to oppress and marginalize individuals, especially along the lines of language, culture, and nationality, as well as color, race, racism, and identity (Solórzano & Yosso, 2000).

Free market theory. In economics, a market that has no competition is called a monopoly; because of the lack of competition, the enterprise controls the quality of the product and the price that consumers pay for the product. Because of this control, these enterprises can afford to offer low quality products for higher prices because consumers do not have an option. Free Market Theory is an economic theory, which offers a possible solution to monopoly enterprises. According to this economic theory, "goods and services are provided most effectively and at the highest quality in a market setting, where consumers can compare prices and quality and make informed decisions about how best to allocate the money they have available to spend" (Henig, 1994, p. 57).

The key to Free Market Theory is autonomy; to create a market free from government and economic regulations so that it will be regulated by the individual consumers. Just as important as a free market is competition. Competition allows for businesses to lower prices, create better products, and use more effective marketing

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(Lubienski, 2003). Allowing consumers to regulate the market encourages businesses to be innovative with their products and to change administrative procedures in order to have a low cost, high quality product that leads to more business. Businesses who do not partake in innovation and change are at risk of losing consumers and, therefore, closing (Witte, 1991). Thus, businesses have to respond to consumer demands and to satisfy their expectations in order to be successful. In order for consumers to truly partake in Free Market Theory, it is important for them to gather enough information and understand its meaning(s) about the market and the product in order to make the best decision.

Free market in Catholic school. For the last few decades, Catholic schools have struggled with finances. Because of the lack of funding many Catholic schools have closed. It is for that reason that Catholic leadership has embraced Free Market models of parental choice in schools (O'Keefe, 1995; Grace, 2000). As a result, Bryk et al. (1997) have argued that Catholic schools have struggled to balance the Church's teachings on solidarity and social justice with market concerns. In other words, these alliances create a serious conflict between Catholic teachings and the radical individualism inherent in most school choice schemes (McLaughling et al., 2000). In using Free Market Theory, Catholic school leaders need to ask: "can a balance be found between Catholic values and market values, or will market forces begin to compromise the integrity of the special mission of Catholic schooling?" (Grace, 2000, p. 82).

In this study, LatCrit will be used to analyze Free Market Theory; the inspiration behind creating opportunities. The idea was to allow low income families to pull their children from underachieving public schools and to enroll them in a school, public or private, that is presumed to be achieving. Analyzing the case using the tenets of Critical

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Race Theory (CRT) (1. The idea that racism is endemic in U.S society, 2.Interest Convergence, 3. The social construction of race, 4. The notion of story telling and counter-story telling, 5. The maintenance of white privilege) and LatCrit (language, culture, nationality, color, race, racism, immigration, and identity) will allow the researcher to understand the ways in which each case is fulfilling its stated goal of providing low income families with high quality educational opportunities.

My Interest in Researching Latina/o Students who Receive Vouchers

I am a 1.5 generation immigrant; I live on the South Side of Milwaukee, in a predominant Latina/o neighborhood. I have lived in the same neighborhood for the last nineteen years of my life. When it was time for high school, both my parents and school administrators decided I would do best academically in a private school. The search began, and soon I had to make a decision between a co-ed parochial school or a same sex parochial school.

My parents believed all the myths about the failure of public schools and therefore worked multiple hours to pay for my tuition; we couldn't afford it, but deep down inside my parents understood the importance of a "good education." Four years later, my sister began high school, at this point the particular school we attended had become a MPCP school and my family qualified to receive a voucher. Our family was among the first families in the city of Milwaukee to use voucher money for parochial schools.

High school was a somewhat traumatizing experience for me. My high school classmates did not speak Spanish and did not share my same traditions. They looked different, they spoke differently, they were different. I quickly became seen and heard as the girl with the chola clothes and the thick Spanish accent. I was ostracized and made to

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feel inferior. After a few weeks, and as a survival mechanism, I changed my clothing style, lightened my hair, and lessened my accent. Over time my mother tongue became weaker. I assimilated into a White, middle/upper class society for survival. Assimilation came at a price. This pressure to assimilate resulted in the negation of my identity and language; it also resulted in an identity crisis: Ni de aquí, ni de allá, neither from here, nor there. Too Brown for my White classmates, too White for my Brown family.

After graduating from undergrad I went back to my same high school to work as a Spanish teacher. To my surprise, five years had passed but it felt as if I never left. Many Latina/o students were in my former shoes; they were singled out not only by their classmates, but also by their teachers. Many of them had to assimilate in order to survive causing behavioral problems and conflicts at home.

I became interested in this phenomenon, but had a difficult time in finding current literature on the experience of impoverished Latina/o students in parochial schools. The discussion often gets "swept under the rug" with market theory ideals demanding that families be allowed to have the choice to send their children to whichever school. It is important, in my opinion, to begin to unpack the experiences of Latina/o students, especially during a time where Catholic churches are recruiting more and more Latina/o students.

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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Catholic School

In order to better understand the ways in which this particular Catholic school shapes the educational experience of Latina/o students who receive vouchers, one must understand how Catholic schools have historically served the academic needs of students, especially students of color. The Catholic school mission calls for "the social well-being and development of the group itself" (Storz & Nestor, 2007, p. 59) by allowing individuals to reach their full potential by committing to educating the whole person and having high expectations for all learners. Further, following the Vatican II mandate, schools must build productive learning environments that include aspects of multiculturalism, diversity and social justice, as well as a college preparatory curriculum (Bryk, et al., 1997), academic course requirements for graduation, and community service programs (Bryk et al., 1997). Some researchers (Bryk et al., 1997; Greely, 1982; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987) believe that a Catholic education for marginalized students becomes the vehicle for social mobility.

In the last forty years, there has been a shift in urban Catholic school student population. Previously, the student population in Catholic schools (urban or not) was predominantly White. White flight changed the enrollment patterns, particularly for urban Catholic schools. Because of the lack of students, urban Catholic schools began to brainstorm ways to recruit students in their communities. Soon enough, scholarship funds, as well as other philanthropic monies allowed for urban students of color to attend Catholic schools (The Notre Dame task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009, Youniss & McLellan 1999). Although a new

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population, the reason for choosing a Catholic school over a public school remained practically the same.

Parents choose Catholic schools for a variety of reasons: first, because of the Catholic reputation for promoting a rigorous, college preparatory curriculum; second, the reputation for stricter discipline (Louie & Holdaway, 2009); and third, for religious exposure (Sander, 1995). Latina/o and African American parents, in particular, choose Catholic schools with the hope that the exposure to a more rigorous curriculum will provide their children with a better opportunity for college admissions and a college degree (Greely, 1982). For the purpose of this research, the author will explore the literature on the academic experience of students of color in order to paint a picture of how schools have previously shaped the educational experiences of students of color in general.

The Academic Experience of Students of Color in Catholic Schools

The idea that Catholic education is better for children of color comes from research done in the mid 80's to early 90's demonstrating the success of students of color. A plethora of research on the success of Catholic schooling was published in the early to mid-80's using the *High School and Beyond* Data set. The *High School and Beyond* Data set is a large scale longitudinal study on a random sample of over 1,000 10th and 12th graders in both public and private schools. The study consisted of interviews, testing and the collection of data collected every two years of Caucasian and minority students (Witte, 1992). Several researchers (Coleman, Hoffer & Kilgore, 1982; Hoffer, Greely & Coleman, 1985, Willms, 1985; Alexander & Pallas, 1985; Jenks, 1985; Coleman &

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Hoffer, 1987; Greely, 1982, Goldberger & Cain, 1982, Hoffer, 2000) analyzed the data and found positive correlations for students in parochial schools.

High School Achievement: Public, Catholic, and Private Schools Compared (1982) was the first study to use multiple regression. The variables included race and Latina/o identity, family income and parents' education. The authors discovered that the parents education, as well as the minority status of the family, did not have an effect on academic achievement for Catholic students; the effect was even less for high school seniors than for sophomores (Coleman, Hoffer & Kilgore, 1982). The authors also concluded that Catholic schools produced higher academic achievement and were less racially segregated (Coleman et al., 1982). Finally, the authors determined that Catholic schools were more effective for disadvantaged students (Coleman et al., 1982). Andrew Greely's (1982) *Catholic High Schools and Minority Students* agreed with the findings of Coleman and colleagues. Greely (1982) looked at single subject minority students in Catholic Secondary Schools and concluded that Catholic schools produce higher achievement in students of color than public schools. Coleman et al. (1982) and Greeley's (1982) findings were quickly and strongly challenged by other researchers. Most of the arguments revolved around methodological limitations associated with the *High School and Beyond* data base used both by Coleman and his colleagues and by Greeley.

In 1985, Christopher Jenks ran a series of calculations to find the cumulative effect of Catholic schooling on achievement by the end of senior year (restricted to SES and race/ethnicity). Jenks (1985) discovered that cumulative sector effects range from about 0.11 to 0.22 standard deviation; when these are divided by the average number of

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years in Catholic schooling (9.5 years), the average annual effect becomes only about 0.01 to 0.02 standard deviation per year (Jencks, 1985). Willms (1985), on the other hand concluded, that there is no pervasive effect between academic achievement and Catholic schooling. Using four different statistical models, Willms (1985) was able to determine a small advantage in science and civics, and a more substantial advantage in mathematics, writing, and reading; however on average, the Catholic school advantage was only about five percent of a standard deviation and therefore not statistically significant.

Using the 1988 data from the *National Longitudinal Study*, Gamoran (1996) also analyzed the effects in achievement growth for different type of high schools located in urban areas. Like the previous research, his analysis did not yield a significant Catholic school effect on achievement growth in the subject areas of science, reading, or social studies; however, Gamoran did find a positive effect of Catholic schools on achievement in mathematics.

In 1987, Coleman & Hoffer published *Public and Private High Schools* (1987) as a response to the criticism of Coleman and Hoffer's earlier work. Two years later, with the assistance of the U.S Department of Education, Coleman & Hoffer gathered more data from the same students providing longitudinal results for high school students. The authors were interested in discovering the factors which affect academic achievement in both the public and private sector in a two year period. In order to do so, they "distinguished between measures of traditional disadvantage", which include social class, gender, race, and ethnicity; and deficiency, which included household structural and functional problems. Once again, Coleman & Hoffer (1987) concluded that Catholic

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schools were more effective. O'Keefe & Murphy (2000) agreed; in their study *Ethnically Diverse Catholic Schools: School Structure, Students, Staffing and Finance*, reported that urban Catholic schools increased student achievement, as measured by standardized test scores and lower dropout rates for disadvantaged students when compared to public school students.

A number of researchers (Coleman et al., 1982; Jeynes, 2005; York, 1996) have indicated that disadvantaged students benefit the most from Catholic schooling. According to Jeynes (2005) data analysis "the achievement gap between high-SES and low-SES students is smaller in religious schools than in public schools" (p. 35) which led to the conclusion that academic achievement in Catholic schools is less dependent on the background that a student brings to these classrooms (National Center for Research in Total Catholic Education, 1984). Catholic secondary school is also more successful in educating Black and Latina/o youth from low social economic status (SES) backgrounds (Convey, 2011) as measured by graduation rates (Stevens-Arroyo & Pantoja, 2003). So what are the factors necessary to ensure that students of color are successful in Catholic schools? Below, the researcher will review several factors such as curriculum and instructions, and extra-curricular involvement, discipline, community and parent involvement and tuition, and how these factors influence the way Catholic schools shape the overall educational experiences of students of color.

Factors that Influence Academic Success

Several factors influence Catholic students in becoming academically successful. School climate, teacher expectations and pedagogy, tougher disciplinary standards, a stronger academic curriculum with more opportunities for advanced coursework, smaller class

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sizes, and a cohesive community are several of the factors that encourage students to excel in Catholic schools (Louie & Holdaway, 2009). The literature on factors that influence academic achievement in Catholic education can be divided into several categories: curriculum and instruction, discipline and behavior, community and parent involvement, and tuition.

***Curriculum and instruction*.** For the purpose of this literature review, curriculum addresses "issues such as the purposes and objectives for schooling, the worth of knowledge, curriculum design and strategies for curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation" (Gress, 2002, p. 116). Catholic schools are known for providing students with a college preparatory curriculum. Numerous studies indicate that a number of Catholic school students take more academic courses, and more academic and advanced courses; Catholic school students are also more likely to take more math and science (Coleman et al, 1982; Hoffer et al, 1985; Coleman et al, 1987; Lee & Bryk, 1989). Enrollment in science and mathematics are strong predictors of gains across all academic areas (National Center for Research in Total Catholic Education, 1984).

Only a small percentage of students in Catholic schools are enrolled in vocational or remedial programs; enrollment in these programs predicts lower levels of achievement (National Center for Research in Total Catholic Education, 1984). The low representation of students enrolled in vocational or remedial programs in Catholic schools has to do with teachers altering their classes to serve the needs of all students. These modifications are done with the goal of maintaining students in the average tracks (Camarena, 1990) instead of placing them in remedial programs.

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Extra-curricular involvement. Students' engagement in various co-curricular activities plays a substantial role in academic achievement. Students who participate in various extracurricular activities demonstrate a higher grade point average, are better prepared for class, and have higher expectations for themselves. Further, students are more likely to feel a sense of belonging if they feel a sense of attachment, commitment, and involvement in the school (French, Edwards, Allen & Aber, 2000). Because of additional financial sources, Catholic schools are more likely to have many more clubs and sport teams than public schools; these "clubs are not meant to be divisive" (Martin & Litton, 2004, p. 65) instead they assist students in building community.

The reality becomes that not all students are able to experience the advantages of extracurricular activities for a number of reasons. According to Stanton-Salazar (1997), the root of these barriers is financial capital. Situations like "working outside the home, not having the economic resources to participate in the school's extracurricular activities, or being treated as inferior because of visible markers that communicate the student's low socioeconomic status" (p. 24) also keep students from participating in the school's extracurricular activities. The National Center for Research in Total Catholic Education (1984) found that there are negative effects in academic achievement and college aspirations for students who work while in school. The reality is that for many low income Catholic students having a job is necessary to help support their families. Doing so affects the student's opportunity to build a stronger college resume, to develop a sense of belonging and to achieve academically.

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Discipline and Behavioral Problems

Catholic schools are known to have stricter disciplinary policy and higher behavioral expectations for students. Coleman and colleagues (1982) found that discipline problems were much lower in Catholic schools and this had significant effects on achievement outcomes. Similarly, Catholic school students "are much less likely to describe situations in which students talk back to the teachers, do not obey instructions, fight with each other, attack teachers, cut class, or miss school" (Greely, 1982, p. 31). Coleman and Hoffer (1987) attribute the lower percentage of discipline and behavioral problems to the fact that many of the schools are organized around parish churches. These schools then bring parents, teachers and students together, promoting greater face-to-face social interactions and opportunities for families and teachers create a sense of community. This sense of community is also highly stressed inside of the school.

According to Lesko (1988) Catholic high schools build opportunities for students to build community. Besides building community with one another, the author also explains how the idea of community is strengthen by having teachers and staff who are often described by students as caring. Finally, this community is only made possible because Catholic schools are able to maintain an environment that is peaceful and orderly, and that emphasizes academic pursuits (Coleman et al., 1982).

Community and Parental Involvement

The creation of community and the encouragement of parent involvement has implications for the "second family" that members of the church and catholic school officials encourage to form. According to Pope John Paul II (1994), "every child is a gift; it is our responsibility to share in their life, to assist in the betterment of the

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community of his/her family while at the same time creating community" (n.p). This theme of community is strongly emphasized in the first post-council document on schools from the Vatican in a 1977 statement. The document reads "Catholic schools aim at forming in the Christian those particular virtues which will enable him to live a new life in Christ and help him to play faithfully his part in building up the Kingdom of God" (The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977, n.p). Therefore, part of the mission of Catholic schools is to organize and encourage community and to assist in the betterment of communities who are in need (Bryk, et al, 1997). For many Catholic schools this is easily done because the schools are often attached to a parish and therefore families already know one another. Another reason Catholic schools have a higher percentage of parent involvement has to do with mandatory volunteer hours. Many schools ask parents to volunteer 5-10 hours per semester.

Tuition

Another factor that has a positive effect on academic achievement for Catholic students is tuition. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (2009), the average Catholic high school tuition is $10, 542. Although the role of cost as an incentive for academic success has been under-examined in research, The National Center for Research in Total Catholic Education (1984) suggests that higher achievement is expected from students whose families pay a substantial amount for their tuition.

Problems in Catholic Schooling

Although the vast majority of literature found on Catholic education demonstrates a positive correlation between enrollment and academic achievement, several pieces of literature were found and reviewed that demonstrate the opposite. Youniss & McLellan

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(1999) maintain that although Catholic schools have a mission of serving disadvantage students, over the last 25 years, the majority of students enrolled in Catholic schools have higher incomes. The authors argue that this is because Catholic schools were established as elite institutions that cater to wealthier families. In addition, families that experience the option of selecting a private school for their children "are more affluent, better educated, more successful, and more concerned about education" (Witte, 1992, p. 27).

The student population at these schools have been purposefully selected by using mechanisms, such as admission policies, lack of information for low-income families and high tuition bills (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Scanlan, 2008). By selecting students, Catholic schools do not have to worry about low achieving students and can therefore provide college preparatory curricula without having to offer remedial programs. This of course translates into higher assessment scores for the schools.

Lack of Quality Information. In order to provide all families with different educational opportunities for their children, quality information on the different schools must be accessible. Frankenburg & Lee (2003) see "the theory of choice as an equitable system that has always depended on full information to all families. Information must be made available to all potential students and parents and in a language that all can understand" (p. 11). The problem becomes that quality information is not available for all families (Curran Neil, 2005; Milwaukee Public School Survey, 2006; The Notre Dame task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009).

The Notre Dame task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009) reports that many parents found it difficult to find information

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about Catholic schools; besides not having information available, many of the schools also lack materials in different languages therefore making it difficult for parents, specially parents who do not speak English, to find and select an appropriate school for their children. Further, Curran Neil (2005) reviewed a booklet available in Philadelphia to parents about the various schools in that city. He finds that the short paragraphs written by the schools only included program descriptions and highlights of major goals and features. He concludes that "it was often impossible for parents and students to determine from the booklet the state of organization or disorganization of each school" (p. 282). The author also determines that parents are provided with little or no data information on program rate and admissions rate. A Milwaukee Public Schools Survey (2006) reported similar results:

> When asked how well informed respondents thought they were about the public schools in the Milwaukee School District, most (52%) said they feel only somewhat well informed. Racial differences are highlighted by the percentage of white respondents who feel very well informed (29%) compared to the percentage of African-American and Hispanic survey participants who responded similarly (23%). Furthermore, Hispanics make up the largest group of respondents who feel that they are not well informed (31%), compared to only 20% of whites who responded similarly (p. 5).

Although the survey was not specific, it clearly describes the reality for many parents who do not have access to quality information on different schools and are left uninformed. Frankenburg & Lee (2003) state that parents who are better educated are better able to acquire quality education for their students. These parents are also able to maneuver the system to their advantage (Moe, 2008, Curran Neil, 2005).

Selective Enrollment. Selective enrollment in Catholic schools lead to higher academic achievement, meaning, students who enroll in Catholic schools "may be smarter, be better off materially, and have parents who are themselves better educated

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and therefore more motivated to ensure academic excellence in their children" (Bempechat, Boulay, Piergross & Wenk, 2008, p. 168). Selective enrollment also encourages school officials to keep the brightest and best behaved students. Therefore, high graduation rates in Catholic schools is due to selective enrollment and not because Catholic schools offer a better education.

Curriculum and Instruction. Due to the population that is traditionally served by Catholic schools (middle/upper class Caucasians), the curriculum and environment in Catholic schools emphasize monoculturalism and monolingualism (O'Keefe & Murphy, 2009). The majority of teachers staffed at these schools are Caucasian, do not speak Spanish, and are "not likely to have any formal training to prepare them to tailor their curricular or instructional approaches to the particular community" (The Notre Dame task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009, p.31).

Traditional eurocentric topics and middle class ideals continue to saturate the curriculum and school environment, making the experience of schooling different for these students--especially Latina/o students and their families. Due to the mono-lingual and mono-cultural background of most teachers, the abilities of Latinas/os students often go unnoticed. The Catholic schooling experience for Latinas/os students is shaped by white, middle class ideals that pressure Latina/o students into discarding their previous knowledge and abilities by means of assimilation. As a consequence, Latina/o students assimilate without actualizing that "assimilating" into white American and learning English may not translate into equal economic opportunities in the long run. Little

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information is also available about the type of pedagogy used in Catholic schools for minority students as

well as the response of the minority student's parents and community to the type of education that they are receiving (York, 1996).

Latinas/os in Catholic Schools. Although the literature from the 80's demonstrates academic achievement for marginalized Latina/o students, current research demonstrates other factors necessary for Latinas/os to achieve in Catholic schools. According to research, successful Latinas/os are proficient in English, are literate in their native language, have higher self-efficacy, and are female (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009). In addition, prior exposure to Catholic schools, legal status, degree of integration into local parishes, and the "carrying capacity" of the Catholic schools, and the availability of financial aid also become apparent in Latina/o children who are successful (Lawrence, 2000). If this is true, then it can be conclude that not all Latina/o students will be successful in Catholic schools. Instead, the Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009) reports that Latina/o students in Catholic schools do not feel a sense of belonging. Further, parents of Latina/o students report a lack of participation in the schooling of their children because of language barriers (The Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools, 2009). They also report not feeling a sense of community and encouragement to participate as many are not members of the parish attached to the school (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987).

Catholic schools in the United States have been slow to realize the differences between Latina/o immigrants and the European immigrants who founded the schools.

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The reality is that a large portion of marginalized Latina/o students are growing up in environment in which the language of everyday use is not English. As a result, many will enter the school system with limited proficiency in English. Catholic schools have opened their arms to such students; however, they have seldom developed effective educational programs that provide success for all Latina/o students.

A Free Market Theory's Dream: The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program

The literature on Catholic education is either dated or under researched. There are very few current articles or books that talk about the new population in Catholic schools and how their needs are addressed in Catholic schools. In Milwaukee, for example, the Milwaukee Parental School Choice program has led to the enrollment of a different group of students. This has led to the change in student population and therefore a new set of struggles and of data that may not be representative of Catholic schools of the 80's.

Low income families in Milwaukee have various educational options, which are government funded. The choices are

- MPS Specialty Schools
- Contracted Agency Schools
- Partnership Schools
- MPS Small High Schools
- Charter Schools
- MPS Instrumentality Charter Schools (MPS employs staff)
- MPS Non-Instrumentality Charter Schools (staff non-MPS employees)
- Charter Schools Authorized by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
- Charter Schools Authorized by the City of Milwaukee Common Council
- Chapter 220 Program
- Statewide Inter-district Open Enrollment
- Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (Kisida, Jensen, & Wolf, 2011)

The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP) is the longest and largest voucher program in the United States (McShane & Wolf, 2011). Under this program, state funds (in the form of a voucher) are allocated to low-income families (family incomes is less

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than 175% of the federal poverty level)[1] who reside in the city of Milwaukee to attend, at no charge, private school located in the city of Milwaukee. According to the law, continuing students, and siblings of current choice recipients are also eligible to participate if the family income is less than 220% of the federal poverty level.

Over the last 20 years, the program has seen a rise in student enrollment as laws have been enacted to raise the cap of student enrollment allowance. In the last 20 years, the program has also seen a rise in schools who participate in the program. Figure 2.0 demonstrates how the program has grown in the 20 years. Currently, there are 102 schools who are MPCP schools and 20,189 MPCP students who attend them. Each student receives no more than $6,442 for tuition (Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 2011).

Figure 2.0 Historical MPCP Schools and Student Enrollment

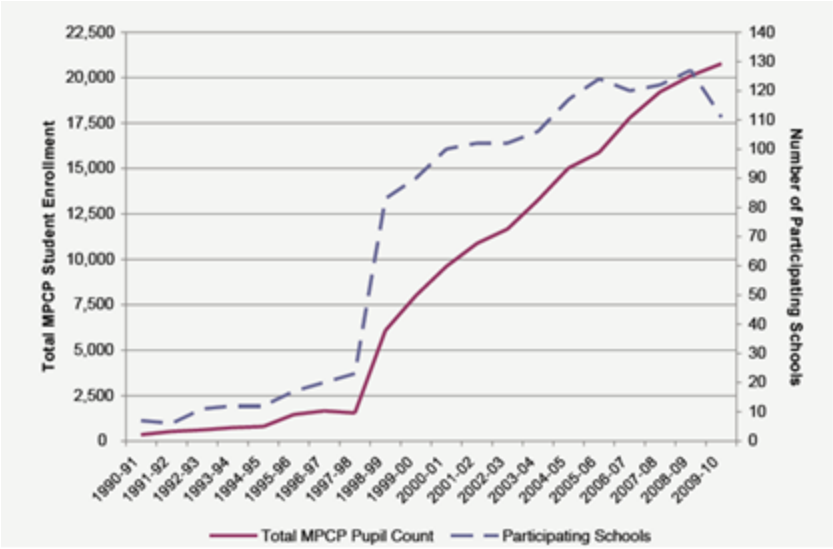

Figure 2.0. Demonstrates how the program has grown in the 20 years. Adapted from "The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program: Descriptive Report on Participating Schools 2009 – 2010" by B. Kisida, L. Jensen, and J.P Wolf.

[1] $39,630 for a family of four in the 2010-11 school year

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Families who qualify and are interested in applying to the program submit an application to the school of interest. The application can be optain online, from the private school the family wishes to send their child (children) to, or by contacting the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. The student's parent or guardian must submit the application directly to the school of interest. The application, along with proof of eligibility must be submitted during one of the nine open application periods (February 1-February 20, March 1-March 20, April 1-April 20, May 1-May 20, June 1-June 20, July 1-July 20, August 1-August 20, September 1-September 14, October 1-October 20). If the application is not receieved during this open application periods, it will be cosider ineligible. Within 60 days, the school must notify an applicant, in writing, whether the pupil has been accepted. The school can only deny MPCP participants if they have reached their maximum general capacity or seating capacity. The State Superintendent must ensures that private schools select students who are eligible for vouchers on a random basis, therefore, random selection (often in the form of a lottery) of new applications is required (Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 2011). However, preference is given to students and siblings who are already attending the school.

In order for private schools to continue to be eligible to participate in the program, they must meet at least one of the following standards:

1. At least 70% of the pupils in the program advance one grade level each year.
2. The school's average attendance rate for pupils in the program is at least 90%.
3. At least 80% of the pupils in the program demonstrate significant academic progress.
4. At least 70% of the families of pupils in the program meet parent involvement criteria established by the school (Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 2011).

As a way to evaluate the program, Wisconsin Governor Jim Doyle signed the Wisconsin Act 125 into law in 2006. This law requires MPCP schools to anually

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administer a nationally normed standardized test (such as terra Nova or the Iowa Test of Basic Skills), or the Wisconsin Knowledge and Concepts Examination (WKCE) in reading, mathematics, and science to their MPCP students enrolled in the 4th, 8th, and 10th grades. According to McShane & Wolf (2011) the national normed standardized tests "measure performance relative to other students by including questions meant to produce a full range of scores (i.e. very easy questions ranging to very difficult questions to separate the highest and lowest performing students), and performance is measured across a large national sample of students" (p.8). On the other hand, the WKCE is only admistered in Wisconsin and it is used to provide information about student attainment of subject-area proficiency. MPCP schools have the freedom to decide which test to administer. Figure 2.1 shows the tests taken by MPCP students in the 2009-2010 school year. The results of the tests are then provided to the School Choice Demonstration Project (SCDP) for analyzing.

Figure 2.1: Types of Tests Taken by MPCP Schools and Students in 2009-2010

	Schools		Students	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Nationally Normed	69	65.7%	6331	83.9%
WKCE Only	18	17.1%	1086	14.4%
Both Types Given*	18	17.1%	131	1.7%
Total	105	100.0%	7548	100.0%

Figure 2.1. This figure demonstrates what the number of schools that decided to administer either a nationally normed standardized test or the WKCE. Only 18 schools that participate in MPCP gave out both tests. Adapted from "Milwaukee Longitudinal School Choice Evaluation: Annual School Testing Summary Report 2009-2010" by M.Q McShane and P. J Wolf

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Evaluation of the MPCP

Multiple researchers, in the last 20 years have attempted to evaluate the program. Witte, Sterr & Thorn (1995) for example analysed the first five years of the program by comparing MPCP students with a random sample of MPS students as well low income students and found no statistical significance, meaning, that the performance of MPCP students was the same as MPS students. Greene et al.(1998) argue the findings of Witte et al. explaining the the research conducted by Witte el al. was biased. According to the article *School Choice in Milwaukee: A Randomized Experiment* (Greene et al., 1998), Witte et al. "compared students from low-income families with public school students from more advantaged background, leaving open the possibility that unobserved background charateristics could account for the lack of positive findings" (p. 348). In an effort to dispel Witte's findings, Greene and collegues performed their own study.

The authors conclude that students who remain in the MPCP program for three to four years perform better in math and reading. Like Witte's work, Green's work is also criticized and found problematic. Rousse (1998) in *Private School Vouchers and Student Achievement: An Evaluation of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program* concludes that Greene's findings may be biased because of non-random attrition. Instead Rouse (1998) compares scores of students selected that attend MPCP schools with those of unsuccessful applicants and also a random sample of students from the Milwaukee public schools. She concludes that students who attended a MPCP school scored about one to two percentage points per year higher in math.

The Wisconsin Act 125 also authorized the School Choice Demonstration Project (SCDP) a five year longitudinal study of 2, 727 MPCP third through ninth grades

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students. 2,727 Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) pupils in the third through ninth grades were also selected based on their similarity to the MPCP students for compasion. The goal is to determine how participation in the MPCP program affects changes in academic achievement (Legislative Audit Bureau, 2008). The latest reports, *The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program's Effect on School Integration* (2010), *MPCP Longitudinal Educational Growth Study Fourth Year Report* (2011) and *Milwaukee Longitudinal School Choice Evaluation: Anuual School Testing Summary Report 2009-2010* (2011) demonstrate no statistical significance between the two groups. The study *Milwaukee Longitudinal School Choice Evaluation: Annual School Testing Summary Report 2009*-2010 (2011) on the other hand reported some statistical significance for students in higher grades. They reported that "4th grade MPCP students who took the WKCE on average scored 14 to 27 scaled score points (equal to .26 to .56 of a standard deviation) below the average scores of MPS 4th graders" (p. i). However, "the 8th grade MPCP students who took the WKCE performed better than MPS students by 9 to 12 scaled score points (.17 to .23 of a standard deviation) (p.i). Further, *The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program's Effect on School Integration* (2010) reports a higher rate of attainment for MPCP students based on higher graduation rates as well as higher college enrollment rates for MPCP students.

Finally, current comparison data from the Department of Public Instruction paints a dissatisfying picture for MPCP schools. For 10th grade MPCP, 43% of students scored proficient or better in reading, while 26.1% of students scored proficient or better in math. For similar Milwaukee Public School students, 47.9% of students scored proficient or better in reading, and 30.1% scored proficient or better in math. Tables 2.0

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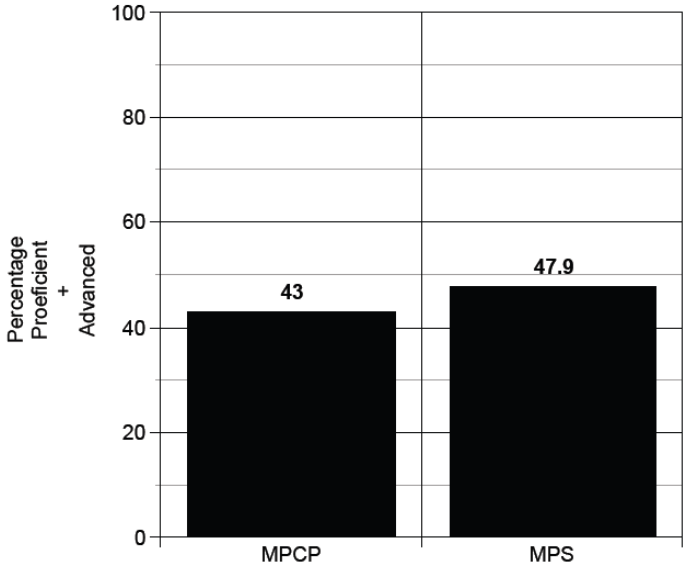
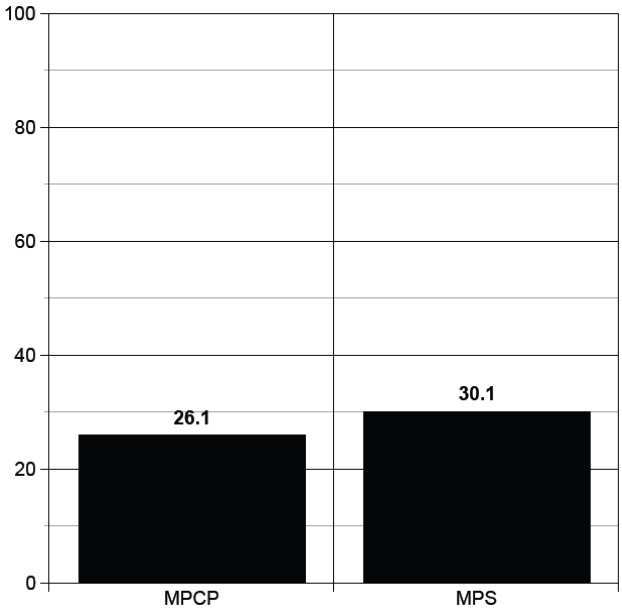
and 2.1 show the difference in scores for reading and Math (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2010).

Table 2.0: WSAS, All students, Reading- 10th Grade, 2011-2012



Source: See Analysis, 2011; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2011

Table 2.1: WSAS, All students, Math- 10th Grade, 2011-2012



Source: See Analysis, 2011; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2011

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Like the data provided for Catholic schools, the data for MPCP is also questionable. It is not clear whether or not religious schools are successful at providing better academic opportunities for marginalized students.

After reviewing the literature on Catholic schools and the data available on the MPCP it is easy to conclude that there are many gaps in this research. First and foremost, the research is dated. Catholic schools have seen a drastic change in student population since the early 90's which might change some of the early research of how Catholic educatios is or is not working. Further, the majority of the research available is the form of quantitative studies based on numerical data collected from tests and surveys. This quantitative research lacks to examine the overall experience of economically disadvantage students in Catholic high schools. Aspects such as, social capital, teacher/student relationship, curriculum and instruction, tracking, language, identity, social economic status (SES), and acculturation which shape the way in which a student experiences school are seldom included in the early research. The purpose of this research is to gather a holistic picture, one that will answer whether or nor choice schools, especially voucher schools, are providing Latina/o students, with high quality educational opportunities. The usage of Latina/o Critical Race Theory(LatCrit), as well as the tenets of Multicultural Education will assist in framing this holistic picture of the experiences of Latina/o students in a parochial school.

Critical Race Theory

In order to fully understand LatCrit it is important to understand where it came from. LatCrit can be categorized as a cousin to Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT began to formulate in the mid-1970's with the early work of Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and other

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scholars who were frustrated over the slow pace of racial reform in the United States (Delgado, 2000). These scholars understood that a new approach was needed to understand and grasp the more subtle varieties of racism that are ingrained in society. CRT grew out of this need; it provided a new approach to examining race, racism, and law in the current American landscape (Barnes, 1990; Crenshaw, 1988). CRT derives from several traditions, including liberalism, law and society, feminism, Marxism, Critical Legal Studies (CLS) to provide a more complete analysis of race and racism (Tate, 1997).

CRT includes several different elements:

1. Racism is endemic in American society and has been ingrained in laws, policies, culture and even psychology. CRT calls for a complete understanding of how race is performed, understood, and manipulated primarily in the United States especially as it relates to the maintenance of white supremacy.
2. Interest convergence (Bell, 1980) describes the idea that white elites will tolerate and/or encourage racial advances for people of color only when those advances also converge with the interest of whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000).
3. The social construction of race.
4. The notion of storytelling and counter-story telling. Through storytelling and counter-story telling the " writers analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably render blacks and other minorities one-down" (Delgado &

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Stefancic, 2000, p. xvii). Storytelling and counter-story telling also allows for the experiential knowledge of people of color to be viewed as legitimate and critical to understanding racial inequality.

5. The idea that the American legal system has historically allowed whites to maintain white privilege especially by means of meritocracy and color-blindness.
6. The idea of intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to the links between issues of race, gender, class and sexuality and how the intersections between these" further complicate academic and practical understandings of how and why people are being oppressed, or have been oppressed in the past" (Chapman et al., 2010, p.5). Intersectionality addresses the interaction between people's multiple identities and multiple oppressions bonded to those identities (Crenshaw, 1995).
7. Property refers to "external objects and people's relationships to them, but also all those human rights, liberties, powers and immunities that are important for human well-being, including freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, freedom from bodily harm and free and equal opportunities to use personal faculties" (Harris, 1993, p. 280). CRT includes the element of Whiteness as property to demonstrate how laws have protected forms of racialized property to favor whites. In other words, whiteness has become an object with inherent value that must be protected by social and legal institutions.

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CRT aims to "reexamine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in America" (Crenshaw, Gotonda, Peller & Thomas, 1995, p. xiv) by bringing into play "the connections between new policy initiatives, the lack of court support for desegregation, the impact of race and racism on urban educational reform, and the intersections of race and class" (Chapman, et al., 2010, p. 4). The United States has a history of using the courts, laws and policies to resolve racial injustice. The point is to understand how these laws and policies serve to systematically disempowerment people of color. CRT also rejects the traditions of colorblindness and meritocracy.

Colorblind ideologies develop from the idea that issues of racial equity have been resolved by past laws and policies targeting race, or can be resolved by future policies that look beyond issues of race (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Also influenced by the idea that blindness to race will eliminate racism, colorblindness has function to obscure the privilege of whites and "reverse the gains of the Civil Rights Movement by attacking race-based programs designed to provide historically oppressed groups access to social resources in general, and education in particular" (Zamudio, Russell, Rios & Bridgeman, 2011). Colorblindness blames racial injustices not on current legislative system but instead on individuals. As a result, minority groups are kept in subordinate positions (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

CRT also seeks to debunk the idea of meritocracy. Mainstream America has constructed an image of society as fair and democratic where individuals achieve based on their own merits. By focusing on an individual's efforts and talents, attention is diverted away from analyzing laws and policies that keep people of color subordinated (Zamudio et al., 2011). While this attention is diverted away, resources and opportunities

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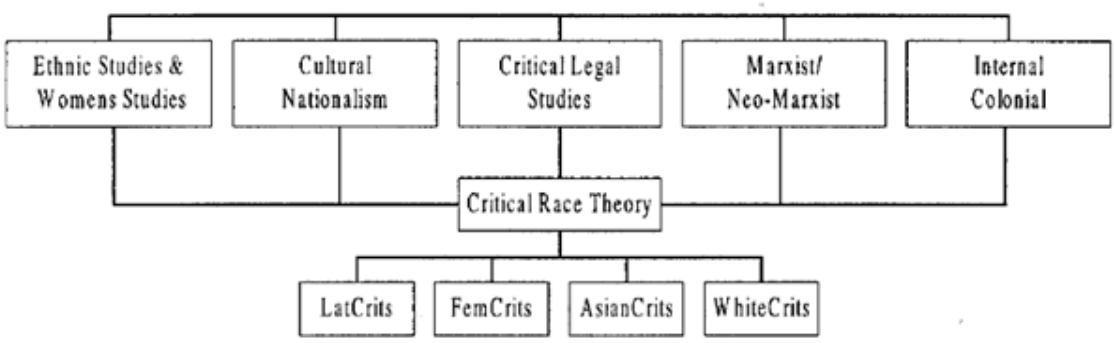
are given only to those who have power. Critical Race theorists seek to reveal how this myth fails to provide equal opportunity and racial equity.

CRT attempts to expose racial stereotypes, racial inequalities, sexism, classism and xenophobic practices (Solórzano & Ornelas, 2004) homophobia, economic exploitations and other forms of oppression or injustice (Valdes, McCristal Culp & Harris, 2002) by taking into consideration the multiple layers, or the "intersectionalities," that help build social and legal positions, in the hopes to elimination all forms of oppression (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado & Crenshaw, 1993). In order to better analyze the particulars of different groups, CRT has divided into different categories. Each category allows for a deeper analysis of the struggles of each specific group. Figure 2.2 shows the trajectory of CRT and the division in category based on groups.

Figure 2.2: *Critical Race Theory's Family Tree*



Source: Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001

Latina/o Critical Race Theory

LatCrit explains how CRT can be expanded beyond the black/white paradigm. This is done by integrating a more in depth analysis of the " cultural, political, and economic dimensions of white supremacy, particularly as it impacts Latinas/os in their individual

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and collective struggles for self-understanding and social justice" (Iglesias, 1997, p. 178). LatCrit is concerned "with a progressive sense of a coalitional Latina/Latina/o pan-ethnicity and addresses issues often ignored by Critical Race theorists such as language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality" (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 311) as well as colonization. Further, LatCrit is concerned with culture and the preservation of culture (González & Portillos, 2007). LatCrit is not clashing or in competition with CRT. Instead, LatCrit is complementary to CRT (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Valdes, 1996; Valdez, 1998). LatCrit also provides epistemological, methodological and theoretical contributions to educational research (Fernández, 2002) by including different aspects that affect the well-being of Latinas/os/as in the United States.

Although LatCrit focuses on predominately Chicano and Chicana students, their struggles and the justices experienced are also experienced by other Latina/o students; therefore I will use LatCrit in this study to encompass the experiences of all Latina/o students in the United States.

The Theories in Education

CRT and LatCrit in Education

A CRT lens allows one to view the persistence of inequality in education (Tate, 1997; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006) as well as a way to understand the experiences of people of color in our current education system (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). In particular, CRT details the intersection of race and property rights and how this construct could be used to explain the academic failure of many students of color (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005).

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CRT also challenges the material presented in the curriculum. According to Ladson-Billings (1998) the curriculum in our current education system is a "specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script" (p. 18). Further, the colorblind perspective of the curriculum "presents people of color as homogenized "we" in a celebration of diversity (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Meaning, the curriculum presents all groups (regardless of their struggles) as having the same struggles, experiences and the same injustices. This is problematic because it allows school officials, teachers and even students of color and their families to adopt a deficient ideology, to believe that all students, regardless of their color can pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Those who do not, are seen as lazy and uncaring about their education. Finally, CRT challenges the educational strategies implemented in classrooms. Critical Race theorists understand that instruction is often seen as a generic set of teaching skills that should work for any and all students regardless of their backgrounds (Ladson-Billing, 1998).

Throughout this study, CRT and LatCrit will be used to demonstrate the power relationship between the educational system and Latina/o students. This framework brings to the light the inequalities experienced by students of color, especially for Latinas/os, in our current educational system (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This framework also allow us to find ways to improve the educational experiences of student of color (Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999) and to understand educational issues such as school discipline and hierarchy, testing, tracking and curriculum (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

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Free Market in Education

According to several economic scholars (Garn & Stout, 1998; Henig, 1994) public schools are lazy monopolies, who, due to the lack of competition, offer a low quality education and less demanding work requirements for students. This is due to the fact that "public monopolies have little incentive to keep costs low or keep quality high since the absence of competition allows them to translate high prices and low quality into higher salaries and less demanding work conditions, without fear that their patrons will be lured away" (Henig, 1994, p. 54). According to neoliberal educational arguments, the problem with public education "is that government intrusion and burdensome bureaucratic regulations have created a government monopoly on schools that serves to smother innovation and change" (Weil, 2002). Further, public schools are only accountable to the government, consequently, neglecting the needs of the consumers (the parents and the students) (Lubienski, 2003).

Proponents of choice believe that freeing schools from "burdensome bureaucratic regulations…. give[s] educators the opportunity and motivation to experiment with new instructional strategies" (p. 396). Creating schools that are independent from government mandates allows for the creation of schools that are accountable to parents and students and who compete with one another for students (Moe, 2008). Parental/student school choice and competition between autonomous schools will then encourage diverse and innovative approaches for increasing academic achievement (Lubienski, 2003). The promise that the combination of autonomy, innovation, and accountability would lead "to improved student achievement, high parental and student satisfaction, high teacher/employee satisfaction, positive effects on the broader system of public education,

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and positive or neutral effects on educational equity" (Nathan, 1996), has led society to believe that an educational program which provides patrons with a choice can effectively change the problematic public school system and provide all students, especially students who are marginalized by the public school system, with a quality education. In addition, allowing parents to "shop around" and, if unsatisfied with the "educational product," take their business elsewhere dictates that "any school unable to compete advantageously with other schools would simply go out of business" (Weil, 2002, p. 46).

In this study, LatCrit will be used to analyze Free Market Theory; the inspiration behind creating opportunities. The idea was to allow low income families to pull their children from underachieving public schools and to enroll them in a school, public or private, that is presumed to be achieving. Analyzing the case using the tenets of CRT and LatCrit allow the researcher to understand the ways in which a MPCP high school affects the overall experiences of Latinas/os students who receive vouchers.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural Education (MCE) can be categorized both as a philosophical concept and as an educational process that is built on the ideas of freedom, justice, equality and human dignity (Grant & Ladson Billings, 1997). In the field of education, among scholars and educators alike, there seems to be a lack of consensus in regards to defining MCE. Although there are many discrepancies with the exact definition, both groups agree that one of the goals of multicultural education is to reform schools and educational institutions in order to provide educational equality for all groups. According to Nieto (2004) MCE is a

> process of comprehensive school reform and basic education or all students. It challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and

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> society and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic and gender, among others) that students, their communities and teachers reflect. MCE permeates the school's curriculum and instructional strategies, as well as the interactions among teachers, students, and families and the very way that schools conceptualize the nature of teaching and learning (p. 346).

Further, Piland, Piland & Hess (1999) quote and place and emphasis on Banks definition of multicultural education as a movement that is "designed to empower all students to become knowledgeable, caring and active citizens in a troubled and ethnically polarized nation and world" (p. 82).

The intention of MCE is to include groups that have been previously excluded by our traditional educational system, especially within the curriculum. In order to include these groups, multicultural education focuses on topics such as racism sexism, queer studies, disability studies, women studies, minority issues, issues of language, prejudice and discrimination (Nieto, 1994; Piland, Piland & Hess, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2001). It is important to note that in using MCE one must consider the struggles of English language learners and the benefits of language diversity (Nieto, 1992), something that is often forgotten in the field of MCE. Under our current educational system it is not uncommon for teachers and counselors to label English language learners as learning disabled and to place them in special education classes (San Miguel, 1987, Trueba 1989, Cummins, 2000). Many schools denigrate a child's native language. Doing so not only damage the child's self-concept (Kobrick, 1972), but also cut off normal communication development between the child and his/her family, culture and traditions (Sleeter & Grant, 1999). The central idea, whether we are talking about racism sexism, queer studies, disability studies, women studies, minority issues, issues of language, prejudice and/or discrimination is that children should have an "equal chance to achieve in school,

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choose and strive for a personally fulfilling future, and develop self-respect, regardless of home culture or language" (Sleeter & Grant, 1999, p. 157). In order to do so, advocates of multicultural education demand that schools organize "their concept and content around the contributions, perspectives and experiences of the people of the United States" (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997).

The goals are of MCE are 1.to reform schools and educational institutions so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, disability, learning and social class groups will experience equity (Banks, 2001a; Banks, 2001b; Rios & Rogers-Staton, 2011; Nieto, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1999), 2. to provide both male and female students equal opportunities to experience educational success and mobility (Ladson-Billings, 2001), 3. to help students develop a sense of civic efficacy (Banks, 1994), 4.to help individual students gain better self-understanding by observing themselves and their culture from the perspectives of other cultures (Banks, 2002), 5.to provide all students with the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to function in their communities, culture as well as within other cultures (Banks, 2001a), 6. to reduce the pain and discrimination for members of marginalized groups (Banks, 2001a), 7. to help students master literacy, numeracy, thinking and perspective thinking skills (Banks, 2001a), 8. to change the school environment so that it reflects the diverse groups in the United States (Banks, 2001a, Rios & Rogers-Staton, 2011), 9. to help teachers and students develop a sense of social justice (Nieto & Bode, 2008; Gay, 1994).

MCE in Education

In order for multicultural education to be incorporated successfully in schools, many changes have to be made to the curriculum, the teaching materials and styles. The

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culture, the goals of the school, as well as, the attitudes and perceptions of teachers and administrators must also change (Banks, 2001a). By making those changes and modifying teachers teaching strategies all students will be able to learn effectively and view our society from the perspective of different groups (Banks, 2002). In order to implement multicultural education correctly, James A. Banks developed both dimensions and approaches to multicultural education in order for others to better understand and better implement MCE in ways more consistent with the theory. These dimensions are Content Integration, Knowledge Construction, Prejudice Reduction, Equity Pedagogy, and An Empowering School Culture and Social Structure.

Content Integration. Content Integration is influenced by the degree to which teachers use content and examples from various cultures and groups in order to demonstrate key concepts, generalizations and theories in their subject area (Banks, 2001a; Banks, 2007). An example of content integration is including the frequency of certain diseases among different groups in the science curriculum.

Knowledge Construction. Knowledge Construction allows "teachers to help students understand, navigate and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives and biases within a discipline influence the way in which knowledge is constructed" (Banks, 2007, p. 20). Teachers help students to understand the way in which knowledge is created and how it is influenced by the ills of society (Banks, 2002). The key here is to assist students in developing both higher level thinking skills and empathy for groups who have been victimized by the development of the U.S (Banks, 2001a).

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Prejudice Reduction. Prejudice Reduction exemplifies the way in which teacher, by incorporating different lessons and activities, assists students in developing positive attitudes and relationships with members of different groups. This is done by including activities that portray positive images of different groups, by treating all students alike, and by emphasizing cooperation instead of competition (Banks, 2002; Banks, 2007).

Equity Pedagogy. Equity Pedagogy focuses on the way in which teachers analyze their own teaching materials and style to reflect the degree in which they include multicultural issues, "an equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social class groups" (Banks, 2007, p. 22). Included in here are various teaching techniques and practices that serve students with different learning styles in order to enhance academic achievement for all students (Banks, 2002).

An Empowering School Culture and Social Structure. In this dimension the school culture and social structure changes to portray the ideas and beliefs behind multicultural education. Here extracurricular activities, the hidden curriculum and other aspects of the school culture change in order to promote better attitudes and relationships between groups. By changing the school environment, both teachers and students will be enriched because the space allows for every group to share their culture. (Banks, 2007).

To change the school and school environment, the curriculum must be reformed. In order to reform the curriculum, Banks offers several approaches to multicultural education. According to him, the high level approaches (The Transformation Approach and the Social Approach) are the two dimensions that have a better impact on the students because they encouraged students to become functioning citizens of a global

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society (Banks, 1988). The approaches are The Contribution Approach, The Additive Approach, The Transformative Approach, and The Social Approach.

The Contribution Approach. The Contribution approach refers to the insertion of cultural artifacts such as ethnic heroes, food, dances, celebrations, and/ or music without providing any teaching of either their meaning or importance. With this dimension, the mainstream curriculum remains unchanged (Banks, 2007)

The Additive Approach. The Additive Approach consists of the addition of concepts, and themes without once again changing the mainstream curriculum (Banks, 2007). An example of this is the inclusion of one multicultural unit.

The Transformative Approach. The Transformative Approach allows for the transformation of the curriculum in order to provide the students the opportunity to view concepts and issues from the point of view of different groups, especially marginalized groups (Banks, 2007). The emphasis of the curriculum "should be on how the common U.S culture and society emerged from a complex synthesis and interaction of the diverse cultural elements that originated with in the various cultural, racial, ethnic and religious groups that make up U.S society" (Banks, 2007; Banks, 1988)

The Social Approach. This approach allows for students to develop a sense of civil and political efficacy. Teachers are agents of social change who promote reflective social criticism and the educational and social empowerment of students (Banks, 2007). MCE is important for this study in that it provides a framework beyond speaking about race and race relation. Further, while LatCrit encourages the discussion around the improvement of the educational experiences of student of color, MCE provides a framework of reference, an example, as to how one can go about improving the

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educational experiences by incorporating a curriculum that includes the ideas of freedom, justice, equality and human dignity. Using both LatCrit and Multicultural education will allow the researcher to document the ways in which a MPCP high school shaped the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers in hopes to understand whether or not parochial schools are a viable choice for the overall well-being and academic success of Latina/o students

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CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Purpose of the Research and Research Question

The purpose of this study was to document the ways in which a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers. More specifically the researcher explored the following questions: 1. in what ways does the school create/support cultural experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? 2. in what ways does the school create/support academic experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? 3. in what ways does the school create/support language experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? And finally, in what ways does the school create/support familial/community experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

This study was a qualitative, ethnographic, single case study bounded in one Midwestern, Catholic high school. The case/unit of analysis was the school since it is a "specific, complex, functioning thing" (Stake, 1995, p. 2). The school as a whole was investigated to gain a better understanding of how the case (school) is serving or disserving Latina/o students who receive vouchers. Particular "windows" within the case were explored in order to collect data. Within the case the researcher explored:

- Pedagogy
- School Environment
- The curriculum (both the academic and extra-curricular)
- Experiences and Perceptions from teachers, administrators, Latina/o students and families who receive vouchers

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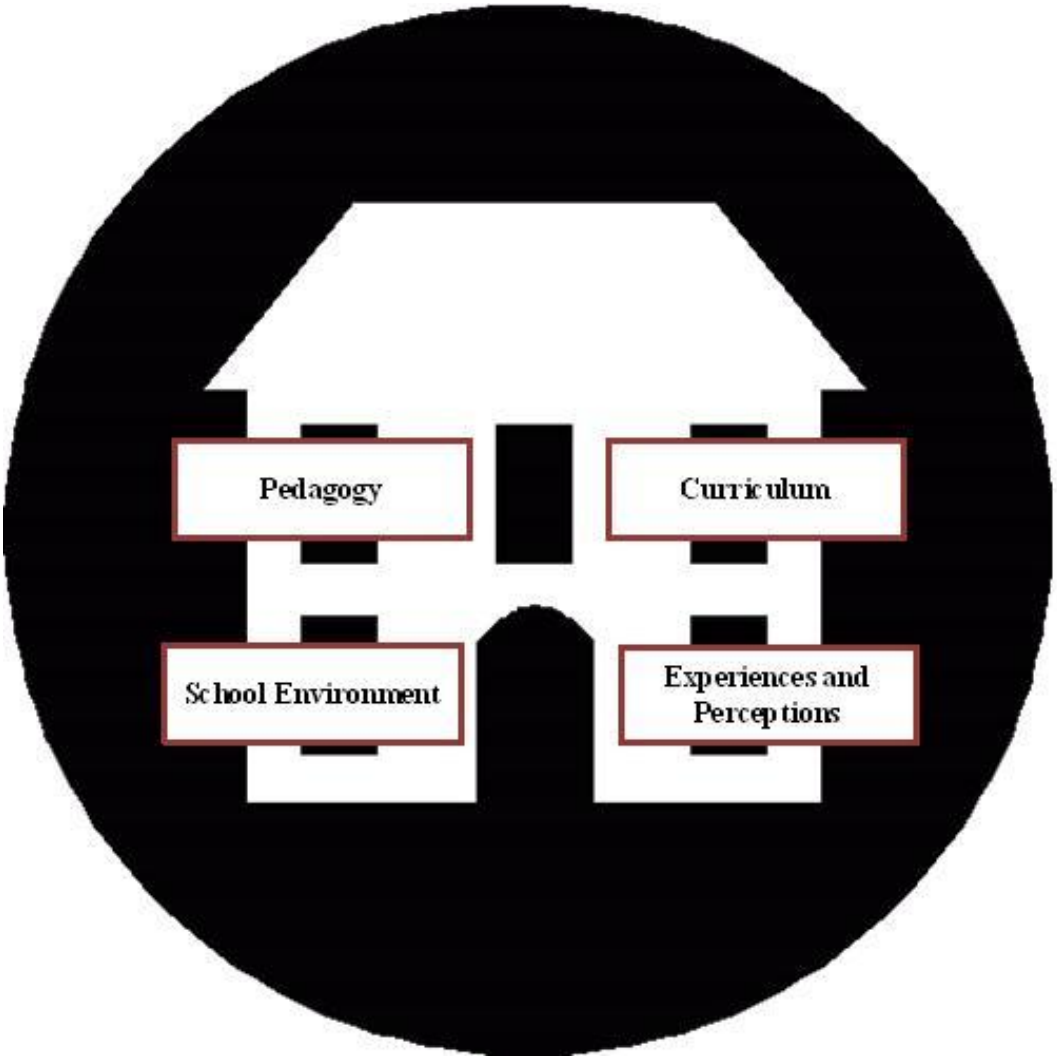
Various factors were explored within these windows such as identity, culture, language, pedagogy, curriculum, parental involvement, school environment, and teacher practices in order to gain a better understanding of how the case (school), as a whole, is serving, or disserving Latina/o students who receive vouchers. Figure 3.0 shows a representation of the school as the unit of analysis and the windows of information in which "one can look in" in order to collect data.

Figure 3.0: *The School as the Unit of Analysis*



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Timeline

The data collected for this research was gathered in one semester during the Spring of the 2011-2012. More specifically, the data was collected as follows:

- January-February: School wide observations
- January 25th- February 10th: Student recruitment. Parent consent forms will also be collected during this time period and calls will be made home to answer any questions.
- February 1st- February 8th: Teacher Survey
- February 13th- March 14th- First student focus groups
- February 27th- March 30th- Teacher Interviews
- March 5th- May 9th: Photovoice picture taking
- March 7th-March 14th: Parent Survey
- March 21st –March 27th : Second student focus groups
- March 26th- April 23rd : Classroom Observations
- March 28th- April 4th: Photovoice picture taking
- April 18th- April 30th: Third student focus groups

Case Study

Due to the purpose of this study, case study methodology was chosen. According to Yin (2009) a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (p. 18). Further, case study allowed for a detailed exploration of the how and why of the phenomenon (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). The phenomenon for this case is the ways in which a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers. Finally, case study research allowed for multiple perspectives on a specific topic; these perspectives came from either multiple data sources and /or multiple accounts (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Using case study gave the researcher the opportunity to observe the specifics and the uniqueness of the significant circumstances surrounding the case (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). A multiplicity of data sources, particular to case study methodology, such

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as direct observation, participant observations, interviews, documents, reports and physical artifacts (Glesne, 1999) were used. The researchers goal was to understand and interpret how the case (the school), as a whole, is serving or disserving Latina/o MPCP students. Using the data sources allowed the researcher to build a detailed picture of this very complex case; it also allowed the researcher to gather information on the how and the why of the case.

This study is a descriptive, instrumental case study. It involved the collection of in-depth and detailed data that are rich in content and involve multiple sources which allow for a descriptive explanation of the case. In an instrumental case study, the researcher focuses on an issue or concern and then selects a bounded case to illustrate the issue (Creswell, 2007). In this case, the study is bounded in one Midwestern, Catholic high school; the school becomes the case. This case was examined in depth, and in a holistic manner. Although the idea of analyzing the experiences of Latinas/os in Catholic school was replicated in a number of places across the country, little research has been conducted to analyze them in a holistic manner. The study therefore is unique. However because the case relates to other like cases, these finding can be applied to other like cases.

As an instrumental case study, the researcher documented the ways in which a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers.

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Methods

Site Identification

A specific criterion was set in place in order to find the most descriptive site. The criteria used to find the site location was:

1. The school must be a parochial high school in the city of Milwaukee.
2. The school must be a parochial high school that accepts vouchers as a form of payment.
3. The school must have a substantially large percentage of Latina/o student population who receive vouchers.
4. The school must have a substantially large percentage of Latina/o student body who speaks fluent Spanish.

The criteria set to locate the site was very important because they helped to stage the study. By having a school with a large Latina/o population, especially, Spanish speaking Latinas/os helped the researcher to collect data pertaining to the ways in which the school created and supported cultural experiences, language experiences and community experiences for the students. The more fluent the students were, the more connections they had to their Spanish speaking communities, their family and their culture. This linguistic and cultural capital was brought with them to school. Through observations, surveys and interviews the researcher was able to see how this capital was or was not supported in school.

Role of the School

The role of the administrators at the school was to give the researcher the opportunity to get to know both the students and the teacher. This was only available as long as the researcher had clearance into the building before school, during school and after school. After several discussions with the administrators, all parties agreed to the study, and clearance was given. Besides having access to school activities before, during and after

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school, the researcher also had the freedom to interact with students, parents, and teachers during parents meetings, church functions, Parent-Teacher Conferences and teacher functions.

Participants

Various participants were asked to participate in the study. These participants were teachers, administrators and MPCP families.

Teachers. The 15 teachers who participated brought a very important perspective to the study. They provided information and descriptions of the overall environment of the school as well as the quality of education provided to MPCP families. The teachers also provided the researcher with information in regards to how they perceived the school created/supported cultural, academic, language and familial/community experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers. Finally, more specific questions were asked to discuss how teachers incorporate and support cultural, home language and familial/community opportunities in their pedagogy as well as the academic opportunities available both in and outside of the classroom for Latina/o students who receive vouchers. The researcher recruited teachers from all departments, all grades and from different levels of teaching experience (novice, experienced and veterans). Working with the teacher participants allowed the researcher to collect data in regards to pedagogy, the curriculum, and their perception and experiences with Latina/o MPCP students.

Administrators. The two administrators brought an overall, general perspective of the environment as well as the mission of the school. Administrators also had an opportunity to discuss ways in which the school is inclusive for marginalized students. The topic of curriculum and pedagogy was also discussed with the administrators in order

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to understand the reasons behind the curriculum in place and the methods that teachers are encouraged to use in the classroom. Specific questions were asked in regards to theoretical frameworks adopted/recommended by the school to incorporate culture, the home language, and the community. Finally, the administrators discussed the opportunities available for Latina/o students who receive vouchers to succeed based on the curriculum presented.

Latina/o MPCP Students/Families. Latina/o MPCP students and families are the recipients of the program. The perspectives of 30 student participants and 13 families helped the researcher to better understand how they fit in within this complex unit of analysis. They were asked to discuss a number of questions relevant to the way they both experience the school, especially pertaining to how they feel their culture, home language, and community are represented in the larger school environment. The information collected from the students and families was important for this research as it tells the challenges and success experienced by the students and families. Especially as it relates to attending parochial school. These stories and experiences are lacking in the quantitative research available pertaining to Latinas/os in Catholic schools.

Recruitment

Teachers. All teachers were recruited to participate in this study. First, the researcher asked all (15) teachers to participate in a survey (Appendix A). Second, using snowball sampling, six teachers were recruited to participate in a semi-structured one-on-one interview. The researcher began the recruitment of these six teachers by speaking to the administrator and asking him/her for a key informant, a person that has important understanding of the case (Bloor & Wood, 2006) because of their relationship with

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MPCP families or their seniority status. After the first participant was identified, the researcher asked him/her for other key participants to interview.

Administrators. The researcher interviewed the two administrators in the building.

Latina/o MPCP students. Using purposeful sampling, the researcher used the following criteria to identify 30 MPCP students:

- Students who identify themselves as Latina/o
- Students who are participants in the MPCP Program.
- Students who were fluent in Spanish.

Eight students are freshman, 11 are sophomore and 11 are juniors. The purpose of the purposeful sampling was to select information rich cases (Patton, 2002) which allowed the researcher to learn a great deal about the issue at hand. The researcher aimed to include the majority of the Latina/o MPCP families for the survey, however only 13 families turned in their survey.

A number of events took place to recruit families. First a letter explaining the purpose and goals of the research was mailed out. The letter invited the families to encourage their child (children) to participate in the study to participate. It also invited them to participate in the Parent Survey (Appendix B). After sending the letter out, the researcher asked the principal to invite a group of students who met the criteria for participants to attend a "meet and greet." This meeting took place three weeks into the semester (two weeks after the researcher began observations) after school in the school cafeteria. 63 students showed up. During this meeting, the researcher put together a short presentation about the study, reviewing the purpose and goals. After the

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presentation, the students had an opportunity to ask questions, and all of them agreed to take a packet of information home to review with their parents. The packages were followed by a phone call (three days after packages were taken home) to parents to verify that they had received the packages and that they had an opportunity to review the material. Although the material was in both Spanish and English, the researcher wanted to go over the study with the families and answer any questions or concerns. Some of the main points covered with the parents had to do with time commitment, confidentiality, and safety. All of the phone calls were very successful. The majority of the parents had very good questions, many pertaining to the safety and confidentiality of the study.

Others worried about the time commitment and the lack of transportation for their children after school. As a matter of fact, several parents, although very interested in having their child participate, turned it down because their child was not doing well in school and he/she needed all the time possible to catch up. For the most part, many of the parents were very supportive. Many shared their experiences the minute the researcher was done with the explanation of the study. This phone call helped to introduce the research and the researcher. It also helped in gathering a basic idea of what parents felt about the school and the services provided by the school.

Data Sources

Several types of interviews were used with the different participants.

Interviews

Teachers. Using snowball sampling, 6 teachers were recruited to participate in one 30-45 minute semi structured interview (Appendix C). According to the literature, a semi-structured interview guide is one in which all the questions are more flexibly

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worded, and/or the interview is a mixture of more or less structured questions (Yin, 2009; Stake, 1995; Patton, 2002). The most important aspect of this type of interview guide is the fact that the pattern questions for the interview are not all predetermined; instead, the investigator uses a list of questions or issues to be explored as a guide (Merrier, 1998).

The purpose behind semi-structured interviews was to allow the participants to share his or her own insights about different topics and themes. This allowed for discussion to happen around themes and issues that are most relevant to the interviewee. Although all participants were presented with the same questions, certain sections were explored more in depth depending on the individuals experience and level of interest on the theme or topic.

Each participant was interviewed once, for 30-45 minutes during the school day (in their room), this ensured availability. Only one teacher interview took place outside of the school building because the participant felt uncomfortable and unsafe with sharing personal experiences inside of the school.

Administrators. The Curriculum Specialist and the Dean of Students were interviewed using a semi structured interview. Each participant was interviewed once, for 30-45 minutes during the school day, this ensured availability.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were important for this study because the interaction among the participants enhanced data quality as well as participants were "checked and balanced" on their responses (Yin, 2009). The focus groups allowed the students to explore themes such as their overall experiences at the high school, relationships with other students and teachers, and their experiences with academics.

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The researcher conducted eight focus groups with the student participants. Each focus group had between 4-5 students each and was made up of students from different grades. The researcher met three times with each group for a total of 60 minutes per session. The majority of the meetings took place after school in a classroom. Three meetings took place before school to give students who had commitments after school the opportunity to participate.

The first meeting consisted of a semi-structured interview (Appendix D). The guide used for this interview included questions pertaining to students' perceptions of the school. The researcher asked general questions about their high school, adult relationships, student/ student relationships and academics. The second and third meeting related to the discussion and analysis of pictures collected though photovoice (Appendix E).

Survey

Teachers. A survey was administered to the whole faculty/staff at the beginning of the semester. The purpose of this survey was to gather information about the teacher's views on the educational opportunity of Latina/o students who receive vouchers at the current school. The survey included several questions about pedagogy styles, information included in the curriculum, teacher/student relationships, cultural inclusion, language inclusion, and community inclusion. All answers in this survey were kept confidential by asking participants to not write their name down.

The survey was placed in 15 teacher mailboxes and asked to be returned a week from when first received. The researcher asked the teachers to place the completed survey in the mailbox belonging to the researcher (found inside the school's main office).

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Seven teachers completed surveys were returned. Several days after first handing out the surveys, a few teachers approached the researcher explaining why they had not completed the survey. Four of these teachers were new (only a few weeks new) and had not yet become acquainted with the school and therefore did not feel comfortable completing the survey.

Latina/o MPCP Students/Families. A survey was sent home to parents with students. This survey included questions pertaining to their levels of satisfaction with the school and the education the school is providing for their children. 60 surveys were sent home, however, only 13 were returned.

Observations

Observation is very important for several reasons; it is planned deliberately, is recorded and is subject to validity and reliability checks (Merriam, 1998). Observation also allows the investigator to observe things firsthand and use their own knowledge and experiences in interpreting what is observed (Merriam, 1998). Further, observation provides some knowledge of the context, and exposes specific incidents, such as behaviors, that can be used as reference points for other interviews (Merriam, 1998).

Observations of the culture of the school. Observations occurred in various ways. First, the researcher began by observing the overall culture of the school; the researcher documented the decorations around the school, the prayers recited in the morning, the interactions between students in the hallways, as well as many other general aspects of the school including lunch duty procedures and religious celebrations. Doing so provided a general understanding of the climate of the school as well as the way in which students interact with one another and with teachers and staff.

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These observations occurred throughout the semester. The researcher came to school early in the morning, walked around during homeroom, in between classes and after school. The researcher also participated in various all school activities such as mass, pep rallies, and culture shows.

Observations of the classroom. Using an Observation Protocol Tool (Appendix F), the researcher also collected data from observing classroom instruction. This gave the researcher the opportunity to observe the relationships between teachers and students, students and students, the instructional methods used, and the material covered. Specifically, the ways that teachers incorporated aspects related to the culture, language and community of the students were observed. In the actual lesson, the researcher looked for the inclusion of different teaching styles and aspects of multiculturalism such as inclusions of diversity and opportunities to use the home language.

The researcher observed five general classes with a heterogeneous student population that included Latina/o students who receive vouchers. These classrooms belonged to five teachers who were purposefully picked. These teachers were picked purposefully to keep the observation unbiased. In other words, teachers who were interviewed were not asked to be observed, mainly because they knew what the observation would include and hence might have tried to chance their lesson to fit the purpose of the observation. Instead, five teachers were chosen (one from each subject area and each with different teaching experience) to observe. Each classroom was observed three times throughout the semester.

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Photovoice

In an attempt to collect data from different sources, the researcher used Photovoice (Holm, 2008; Berg, 2007; Wang, Cash, Powers, 2000). Photovoice is an innovative Participatory Action Research (PAR) method influenced by literature on education for critical consciousness and Feminist Theory (Wang, 1999). The method allows for groups, especially marginalized ones, to define the strengths and concerns in their community through specific photographic technique (Gant, Shimshock, Allen-Meares, Smith, Miller, Hollingsworth et al., 2009). The goals are "to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and to reach policy makers and people who can be mobilized for change" (Wang et al., 200, p 82).

Several steps were adopted to execute this data collection method. First, the researcher asked all 30 students in the focus groups to participate, they all agreed. After, the group was established, the researcher requested a meeting with the students to introduce photovoice methodology and facilitate a group discussion. This initial meeting included a discussion of "underlying issues about the use of cameras, power, and ethics; potential risks to participants and how to minimize these risks" (Wang, 1999, p. 187). During this meeting, participants were also asked to take pictures of places or items (such as pictures, statues, flags, realia) that represent their culture, language, traditions, struggles and community inside of the school. Cameras were not distributed during this first meeting. A second meeting took place where participants received the cameras and instructions on how to use the camera.

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The participants had the opportunity to take 10 pictures in two months. Every month, the student was given one week to take five pictures. All disposable cameras were returned to the researcher after the week of picture taking was over for film developing. After the photographs were developed, the researcher met with each focus group to analyze the pictures. The groups stayed in the same focus groups. Each group met twice. These meetings happened soon after taking the pictures so that the information was fresh in the participants' minds.

The analysis of the pictures occurred in three stages (Berg, 2007). Each participant was asked to describe their pictures (Appendix E). During this stage, the participants explained how these pictures reflected their culture, language, traditions, struggles and community and well as their concerns and issues. Second, the participants contextualized the stories behind their thinking. During this stage the participants shared the reasoning behind their photographs. The final stage was codifying. During this stage, central ideas, themes and theories emerged from the student analysis of the pictures.

The original goal was to have students take 10 pictures in two months of places or items (such as pictures, statues, flags, realia) that represented their culture, language, traditions, struggles and community inside of the school. After the first set of pictures and the student analysis, both the research and the students realized that there weren't enough cultural relevant picture ideas in the school. At that point, the focus of the pictures changed for the second month (the last 5 pictures). During the second month, students were asked to take 5 pictures of culturally relevant items through the school. These items included anything from posters to books. During the second interview the

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students were asked what these pictures represented and why. This allowed for a comparison to be made of what is culturally relevant in the school and who is it aimed at.

Artifacts and Records

For the purpose of this study, a range of artifacts and school documents were used. Items such as school plans, curriculum guides, student work, course syllabi, the school mission statement, curricular projects, flyers for activities, letter/communication with parents as well as pictures, educational material, books, meeting minutes, internal manuals, written procedures, and wall posters helped the research to observe the everyday happenings of the school. These artifacts also help the research to understand organizational procedures. Percentages of choice student enrollment, percentages of Latina/o students, percentages of Spanish speaking Latina/o students, ACT scores by race/ethnicity, and other academic performance measures such as interim test scores were also used to understand the academic achievement of the Latina/o choice students in the school.

Credibility

To verify the quality of the research, several validation strategies were set into place.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation

The researcher conducted research at the site for a total of seven months. This gave the researcher the opportunity to build trust with the participants, to get to know the culture/environment of the school, and to check for misrepresentation of information.

Triangulation

Triangulation was used for "comparing and cross checking the consistency of information derived at different times and by different means" (Patton, 2002, p. 559). Triangulation was achieved by using multiple data collection methods such as

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observations, interviews and surveys. Using multiple methods "provides cross-data validity checks" (Patton, 2002, p.247) as well as allows the researcher to test for consistencies and develops a deeper insight of the data.

Methodological and data triangulation was achieved by using semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observation, photovoice and surveys, and sampling strategies. Using multiple data collection and sampling strategies methods allowed for the researcher to investigate and explore the questions from multiple perspectives.

Peer Review

The researcher established a peer review group that assisted in providing external checks of the research process. This team helped the researcher to view her biases in the research and how these may be affecting the analysis and meaning. For further validation purposes, the researcher kept written accounts of meetings in a personal log.

Clarifying Researcher Bias

Several factors assist the researcher in establishing an insider perspective. First the researcher has an extensive amount of experience in parochial schools as both a student and a teacher. Second, the researcher is a member of the Latina/o community in Milwaukee. Finally, the research shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants (Asselin, 2003). According to Adler & Adler (1987) this membership role (insider's perspective) gives researchers a certain amount of legitimacy and/or stigma. This gave the researcher more rapid and complete acceptance by the administrators, teachers, students and families. This role also allowed the researcher to "learn firsthand how the actions of research participants correspond to their words; see

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patterns of behavior; experience the unexpected, as well as the expected; and develop a quality of trust with others that motivates them to share (Glesne, 1999, p. 43).

Although the researcher shared many characteristics with the student participants, an outsider's role was still eminent. The researcher no longer worked in a Catholic school, nor did she share any characteristics with the teachers and administrators. Because of age, gender and ethnic differences, the researcher was an outsider to the commonality shared by participants. As a result, it was very important for the researcher to make the distinction between her experiences and the experiences of the students, parents, teachers and administrators. It was important for the research not to claim to "understand," instead, it was important to learn from them and their experience in order to gain insight into the ways in which this MPCP high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers. In order to do this, the researcher engaged in personal reflection using a journal on the subjective research process, with a close awareness of her own personal perspectives and biases. This journaling took place once a week.

Member Checking

The researcher assembled a group of participants from the study (three students and two administrators) for the purpose of sharing preliminary analyses, descriptions and themes. The hope was that by sharing this information, the participants helped the researcher to find missing information from the analysis, and view how the researcher's biases may have affected the analysis and meaning.

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Field Log

The researcher used a field log to follow up observations, interviews, and surveys. The purpose of the field log was to write down how the researcher planned to spend the time at the site, how time was actually spent, what was talked about, with whom and reflections on what was observed and discussed. The log assisted the researcher in keeping the data collection organized.

Data Analysis

In order to analyze substantial data, all interviews and observations were transcribed; the transcriptions allowed the researcher to view the information in its entirety. To analyze the data, the researcher began by reading the data over and over to code it. The questions: "What is the data saying?" allowed for the researcher to classify the date and to put it into themes and categories. Using inductive analysis allowed for the researcher to interpret and structure these themes and categories. After developing patterns, themes and categories, the researcher switched to deductive analysis which assisted in testing the categories and themes developed using pre-existing theories and literature.

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Chapter 4: Analysis

The School

> Walking into the four floor building, one is greeted with bright colors; the walls come alive. As you walk in, you can see a long, bright blue hallway to the right, a line of neat lockers to the left. Very large windows disclose a peak of the city line. At a distance, city markers, remnants of what this city once was (Personal Journal, January 7th, 2012).

Cream City High School (CCHS) is a parochial school located in the heart of a Midwestern Latina/o community. Because of its location, teachers (labeled as letters A, B, C, D, E, G, H or I), students (labeled as Focus Group) and administrators (labeled as administrator 1 or 2) describe CCHS as a neighborhood school where the majority of the students live within a five mile radius. The mission of the school describes the school as a religious institution with high standards and high expectations for all students. The mission states that:

> CCHS exists for Jesus Christ and His Church to provide a beacon of hope for our community. We prepare scholars for college and beyond through highly structures and rigorous academic programs as well as the continued formation of the Faith, ignitions strong, successful Catholic leaders. (CCHS Handbook)

Part of the unwritten mission, but mentioned in 28 out of 32 interviews with the students, teachers and administrators, speaks to the idea that CCHS exists to educate underrepresented and disadvantaged populations (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012), more specifically, the Latina/o population in this particular neighborhood (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012). The goal of the school is "to assist the communities of low income to get out of the cycle of poverty" (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012), and "to teach them the faith, the Catholic faith, so that they have full understanding of the beliefs, the tenants, the creeds, and then to be well versed in Western civilizations so they can be a good

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functioning citizen Catholics and members of society" (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

The school day begins at 8:00am. Students are required to attend homeroom every morning for 15 minutes. During homeroom breakfast is eaten, attendance is taken, and the morning prayer is announced. During this time, homeroom teachers also distribute informational handouts for students to take home (Personal Journal, April 18th, 2012). The homerooms are divided by grade; each homeroom has an average of 25 students. After homeroom, the students move to their first block class. The school day is divided into four academic blocks and a half hour lunch break. The students take eight classes in total; these are divided into two days where students attend four classes one day and the other four the next.

The block scheduling is new to this school year. Prior to this schedule, students attended all eight academic classes in one day leaving the teachers with minimal prep time and students' extremely tired and overwhelmed with homework (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012; Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012). The block schedule was chosen in order to alleviate these problems. According to Administrator 1 (personal communication, March 13, 2012), a sample of students were polled after the block scheduling began "and they said they were glad they didn't have to go to eight classes and do eight classes worth of homework every night. They also liked the depth they are able to cover in one class versus just getting though the material" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

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Student Population

The school is made up of predominantly Latina/o students. A small percentage of African American, Caucasian and Vietnamese students also attend the school. Most of the students are of Mexican background, but Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Salvadorian and Costa Rican students are also represented. There are 3 students of African American and 2 of European descent.

Although there are varying Spanish language abilities present within the Latina/o students, the majority of them are fluent speakers of Spanish. A small percentage (10%) can be categorized as English Language Learners (ELL). 95% of the student population at CCHS is Roman Catholic. 99% of the students attend CCHS with a voucher from the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program.

Teacher Population

With a student population of 283, the school is staffed by 23 teachers and support staff; out of the 23 teachers, administrators and staff, three are Latina/o and the remaining 20 are Caucasian. Five staff members are fluent Spanish speakers. This school year, out of the 16 teachers, 13 teachers are new to the building.

In regards to teaching licensure, 10 teachers are licensed by the state to teach, five teachers are not licensed, and one teacher is a long term sub from a temp agency (also not licensed to teach). Of the 10 teachers who are licensed, five teachers teach a subject in which they are licensed to teach, three teachers teach multiple subjects, however, are only licensed to teach one of the subjects, one teacher is not licensed to teach the only subject he/she teaches and one teacher is only licensed to teach middle school.

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Table 4.0: *Teaching Licensure*

Teacher	Subject	Years at school	Licensed to Teach	Licensed in Subject Area
Teacher 1	Theology/Math	First Year	Yes	Theology: No Math: Yes
Teacher 2	History	Third Year	Yes	Yes
Teacher 3	Math	First Year	Yes	No: License in Journalism
Teacher 4	Science	First Year	Yes	Yes
Teacher 5	Latin	First Year	Yes	No: License in English
Teacher 6	Literature	First Year	Yes	Yes
Teacher 7	Rhetoric/Literature	First Year	No	No
Teacher 8	Spanish	First Year	Yes	Yes
Teacher 9	History/Math	First Year	Yes	History: Yes Math: No
Teacher 10	Spanish/ESL	First Year	Yes	Yes
Teacher 11	Literature/History	Third Year	No	No
Teacher 12	Rhetoric	First Year	No	No
Teacher 13	Theology	Second Year	No	No
Teacher 14	Science	First Year	No	No
Teacher 15	History/Theology	First Year	Yes	History: Yes Theology: No
Teacher 16	Rhetoric/Health	First Year	No	No

Source: Wisconsin Educator License Data Base Search

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Table 4.1: *Teachers: Beliefs and Practices*

Participants	MCE Training	MCE Usage in the Classroom	Allowance of L1 in the Classroom	Ideologies	Reasons for Teacher Turnover
A	NO	Contribution Approach Only	Allow	N/A	
B	YES	Contribution Approach Only	Discouraged	Colorblind; Meritocracy	
C	NO	Multiple Approaches Used	Allow	Deficit view of families; Colorblind; Meritocracy	
D	YES	Multiple Approaches Used	Discouraged	N/A	Lack of support from administration, lack of relevant professional development opportunities.
E	YES	Multiple Approaches Used	N/A	N/A	Problems with favoritism, lack of support from administration, lack of guidance
I	YES	Multiple Approaches Used	Allow	N/A	Lack of support for ESL teacher and students, lack of curriculum material.
Admins 1	N/A	N/A	Discouraged	Deficit view of families; Colorblind	Lack of clarity in school philosophy
Admins 2	N/A	N/A	N/A	Deficit view of families.	

Source: Interview

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The Curriculum

The majority of the curriculum at CCHS highlights the teachings of a traditional classical curriculum. Subjects such as Literature, Latin, History and Theology focus on ancient Western cultures, more specifically the Greco-Roman, traditions and literature. Other topics outside of the Greco-Roman are covered such as U.S. History, American Literature and music genres. In Spanish class, the teachers also teach about Latin American countries.

The curriculum offered is made up of both regular and high level courses. The school offers Geometry, Pre-Algebra, Algebra, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, History, Theology, Literature, Rhetoric, Spanish, ESL and Latin. Currently the school does not offer any courses in Fine Arts; and Physical Education credits are taken in the summer. Only upper classmen have the opportunity to take Honors Literature, Honors History and Honors Chemistry. Although the school does not offer Advance Placement (AP) courses; the honors level "courses are similar to AP courses in that they are both accelerated and have higher expectations" (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Students are placed in these courses via a number of ways. Because of the lack of electives, students do not have many choices, therefore, students are automatically tracked in the regular level courses like Biology, Chemistry, Rhetoric, Spanish and Latin based on their grade level (i.e all freshmen take Biology, all sophomores take Chemistry). According to Administrator 1 (personal communication, March 13, 2012), the math placement is based on a placement exam; all students take this exam as incoming freshman to assess their math abilities and place them in the appropriate course (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012). For honors classes,

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placement is done by teacher recommendation "the teacher would say these kids are performing at a really high level so they should move to the honors section" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012). If a student is unhappy with his/her honors placement, he/she has the option of moving back to a regular level course.

The school also takes pride of the college preparatory curriculum. The idea of going to college is visible throughout the building. College scholarship boards are found on several floors and each classroom is adorned with various college flags and posters that describe where each particular teacher went to college along with the statement "ask me where I went to college." College posters embellish many of the walls; these posters range from local technical colleges to more prestigious universities. The high school also offers students a College Resource Room and a College Club; these two resources expose students to future careers, as well as, information about financial aid and college admissions. Besides informing students about colleges and college admissions, the high school emphasizes the need to score well on the college admissions exam, the ACT.

Finally, the school is described by the staff as English Immersion. For the students who are in the process of learning English, content might be explained to them in Spanish, however, the majority of teaching is done in English to ensure success in acquiring English (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012). In order to ensure this, teachers are instructed at the beginning of the year to remind students to use English only in the classroom (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012). Socially and outside of the classroom, students are encouraged to speak whatever language they are most comfortable speaking (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

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In order to document the ways in which CCHS affects the overall educational experience of Latina/o students who receive vouchers, multiple data collection methods were used. The methods used were interviews with students, teachers and administrators, both participant and non-participant observations of the academic setting, surveys to teachers and parents and the analysis of artifacts and records collected from teacher lesson plans, professional development opportunities, and administrators' memos. Using these data collection methods allowed the researcher to categorize and analyze the data collected into five categories: School Curriculum as Mono-cultural and Disempowering, Teacher Ideology and Instructional Practices, Instructional Practice, Parents' Interactions with the School and Student Disempowerment/Student Resistance. These categories demonstrate how this Catholic school is serving or disserving Latina/o students who receive vouchers.

School Curriculum as Mono-cultural and Disempowering

The curriculum at CCHS is made up of four concentration areas: the Classical Curriculum, the College Preparatory Curriculum, the English Immersion Curriculum, and Extra Curricular activities.

The Classical Curriculum

With the assistance and guidance of the administration, area organizations, and other high-performing schools such as Hillsdale Academy in Michigan, Cream City High School (CCHS) was able to develop a classic academic curriculum that prepares "scholars for college and beyond through highly structured and rigorous academic programs" (CCHS Handbook). According to Administrator 1 (personal communication, March 13, 2012), "the essence and spirit of the CCHS curriculum was founded on the

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idea of classical education." Classical education refers to a type of education that emphasizes learning about the Greco-Roman culture (Wilson, 2008). This is done by offering a "liberal arts curriculum and pedagogy which directs student achievement toward mastery of the basics, exploration of the arts and sciences, and understanding of the foundational tenets of the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman heritage" ("Hillsdale Academy 9-12 Reference Guide," n.d., p.23).

The goal of the Classic curriculum is to prepare students to express their own thoughts and ideas clearly, in both writing and speaking, to learn to make persuasive arguments and to construct articulate requests (Wilson, 2008). The curriculum emphasizes grammar, logic and rhetoric in all subjects and encourages every student to develop a "love for learning and live up to his academic potential" (Wilson, 1991, p.165).

Schools that adopt the Classical Curriculum are also known for teaching classical languages; consequently, CCHS offers Latin I and II to their students. Latin is taught for a number of reasons. First, Latin helps students reinforce the knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary (Perrin, 2004; Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 1996), as well as the grammar and vocabulary of other languages including Spanish (Perrin, 2004). Latin also assists students with "the essentials of the scientific method-observation comparison and generalization" (Wilson, 1996, p.135). Besides teaching Latin, the Classical curriculum emphasizes Ancient Civilizations and the foundation of Western European countries. Because of the nature of the curriculum, the inclusion of other cultures (besides Western European), viewpoints, and voices are minimal.

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The Inclusion of Multicultural Education (MCE)

> "It's a bad thing, like being Mexican" (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012)

The intention of MCE is to include groups that have been previously excluded by traditional educational system, especially within the curriculum. The goal is to enable students to make sense of their learning, to raise their critical thinking skills, to allow students to examine how their cultures and identities are represented or misrepresented (Lopez, 2011), and to explore topics such as freedom, justice, equality and human dignity for the purpose of encouraging students to develop an individual sense of civil and political efficacy (Banks, 2007). The role of the teacher in MCE is to be an agent of social change who promotes reflective social criticism and the educational and social empowerment of students (Banks, 2007).

The Contribution Approach. Within the context of the CCHS curriculum, MCE is only included if the topic taught relates in some way to the culture of specific students.

> While we are doing a lesson, if topics have to do with Mexican or Latina/o culture, then I'll mention, like I'll talk about it with them more specifically. Sort of, for example, when we discussed like Spanish-American conquest, you know, in Spain, so this is why obviously you are speaking Spanish…you are speaking Spanish because Mexico was a colonial empire of Spain, you know, so when…when it comes within the text and within that I'll make connections with what they know (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

When MCE is included, it is only from a contribution perspective. According to James A. Banks (2007), the Contribution Approach to MCE refers to the insertion of isolated cultural facts and artifacts (ethnic heroes, food, dances, celebrations, and/ or music) about ethnic groups into the curriculum without changing the structure of their lesson plans or teaching either the artifacts' meaning or importance. The Contribution Approach became

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evident during the interview of Participant D (personal communication, March 6, 2012); he brings in the culture of the students through the discussion of food.

> Students had a writing opportunity where they had to create a persuasive brochure on a Mexican restaurant from around the neighborhood, and they had to argue why it's the best; so they had to convince me, a white person, your white audience. I told them, I said, we didn't grow up in this culture, so you need to show me and tell me and explain to me why this is the best place to go for Mexican. So it was a great opportunity for them to do a little bit of research on a favorite place that they like to dine with family or friends or just on their own and share their knowledge and expertise of their culture and things that I, being a white person, may not know or even bother with, different cuisines and dishes that really showcase their culture, that's important to them.

In history, MCE is brought in through the discussion of heroes:

> What I did with the Mexican war, with my honors history juniors, I did Los Niños Heroes, the seven boys. I did connect that, that's really all there is (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

In Religion, the teacher encourages the students to make connections with the way in which they celebrate feast days.

> I try to talk about the representation of the Hispanic culture in Catholicism. We try to incorporate their rituals and celebrations in Catholic mass, and in Catholic feast days (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Various teachers encourage students to learn the content by making connections to their own cultures:

> By sharing their culture, I think especially in ESL, that's what they do there. What do you guys do?, let's talk about what you guys do and then we'll compare, we'll see what's the same, because we're talking about St. Patrick's Day, on Saturday is St. Patty's Day. What do you guys know about it? They were like, "It's a celebration, lucky, green." I'm like okay, what culture are we celebrating? They didn't really know. So they know about the holiday but not which culture it's celebrating. But anyway, just making connections with their culture and ours (Participant I, personal communication, March 9, 2012).

> I always ask for the students' own experiences and reflections, so how do you do things in your household? How do you do things in your culture? As opposed to my own, being Caucasian. So I just try to ask and elicit their own opinions when

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> it comes to their culture and their ties to their community (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

The quotes provided above are proof that various teachers at CCHS are only inserting isolated cultural facts and artifacts into their lessons. These inclusions require no change in the structure of their lesson plans. Including casual inclusions "gloss over important concepts and issues related to the victimization and oppression of groups of people and their struggles against racism and power" (Banks, 2007, p. 21). Instead of providing students with an opportunity to learn the importance of the artifacts and understand the issues from different perspectives, incorporating the minimal contributions of different groups further exotify groups and deepen prejudices and stereotypes.

Other Approaches of MCE. Other teachers make attempts to go beyond contributions. In his classroom, Participant D (personal communication, March 6, 2012) incorporates aspects of MCE into a unit he calls "Mo-town." During this unit, he incorporates instances of the history, challenges, struggles, and experiences of people of color during the 1960's.

> I'm talking about the ghetto and how they had to prove themselves and overcome so many racial, gender, and social economic barriers that many of them can identify with and many of them [the students] have been very outspoken when we talk about finding meaning to what we're reading in class. Many of the students are saying they have experienced that, I have been treated differently because of the color of my skin and I asked, "How did that make you feel?" So they understand how these huge super stars that they know today from, Stevie Wonder to Marvin Gaye to Diana Ross, they had to endure the same stuff in our nation at a time when people of color had to endure. It was a lot of fighting for equal treatment (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

Other teachers mirror these same inclusions:

> I think I might try to make a connection with them of what it's like to be in a foreign place or as an immigrant. Be able to make the connection of…you sort of know what it feels like to not have power or to be on the outside perhaps, and so that's how I sort of use perhaps their struggles to help them understand the

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> struggles of other cultures throughout the world at different times (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).
>
> We do talk about, especially within Catholicism, what used to be referred to as the liberation movement. It is no longer religiously acceptable to refer to liberation theology as it was, but it was a movement that began with the Latina/o culture about putting a focus on the oppressed, the impoverished, which originated in El Salvador, so I think I do a lot of terms of trying to discuss about our responsibilities with those communities whether they be Latina/o, African American, African, but we respond to the oppressed, the poor, the socioeconomically disadvantaged, by tending to care for them so I think one way we bring in the community is to talk about those struggles that they have and then what the Church's responsibility is to them (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012)

Despite the occasional insertions of MCE, the curriculum still remains a classic, traditional curriculum, one that "does not allow time to focus on anything besides European History" (Participant I, personal communication, March 9, 2012).

Teachers with MCE Training. For some teachers, the inability to include MCE into their curriculum was problematic. Many of these teachers, whose training focuses on the inclusion of MCE and social justice, longed for the opportunity to put their knowledge into practice.

> We spent a lot of time focusing on uncommon school techniques in the classroom and standards and we need to be focusing on what's our understanding of the culture? How can we incorporate culture? Because maybe, if we can do that, maybe we can get them to like what they're studying. Which then, as a result, they may perform better on tests and they may want to learn and do better instead of just being told you need to know this "because" (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).
>
> A goal would just be to have them gain as much education as possible about different cultures and different places so that they can know more and be less insensitive because of miseducation, you know, so that sort of…our goal is to allow a discussion to happen, not to shut anything off, but also allow it to be a discussion where we accept other cultures (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).
>
> You know, it just…most focus on the culture, actually accepting the fact that they're going to be bilingual and have it, have that culture and just incorporate

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> that more often, you know, incorporate that into teaching. They are majority Hispanic, here are some things that, you know, why don't you come up with a plan and research what we can talk about? How can we best incorporate that into our teaching? Things we can focus on, literature, books, here, here's some why don't we come up with a list of books that we can bring into this? And for God's sake you know, there shouldn't be an aversion, like if we want to offer a Spanish language book, I mean is that really such a bad thing to do? (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
>
> I would say areas to improve would be to increase diversity, actually, so that it's not always a connection, like, culture is important and it's important for identity, but it should never be something where your culture becomes negative toward others (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).
>
> You have to adapt to your students', you know, culture and their needs, which I know, I don't really do that in my science classroom but you know as a school you still have to do that and I think seeing that would make them, you know, better students overall, they would know that they would be they would feel accepted, they would have a place that they could feel accepted outside of their home when they come to school and they can still feel comfortable (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

These teachers understood that including MCE in their curriculum empowers students to become knowledgeable, caring and active citizens. They recognize that including the culture, language of the students, as well as issues pertaining to their struggles, students would respond by performing better academically. For these same teachers, their willingness to be inclusive was often blocked by administrative policies and a tight curriculum. They saw the prescribed classical curriculum as a roadblock, censoring them from incorporating multiple voices and perspectives because did not allow the Latina/o culture to be incorporated.

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The Student Experience of the Classic Curriculum

> "Everything is white, they try to make us white, we're not white, we're never going to be white, we're brown" (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

Students at CCHS are all very familiar with the curriculum. Regardless of the years in the school, all student participants agreed that CCHS' curriculum included many cultures except for the Latina/o culture.

> Student 1: Well, they're just focused on like…
> Student 2: Europe.
> Student 1: Yeah, Europe or Africa or stuff that we're learning now. It's not like our culture (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student 1: Because our Latin teacher likes to teach us about the culture of the Romans, the Italian, and the ancient race.
> Researcher: So who else do you learn about?
> Student 2: The Greeks.
> Researcher: So mostly European history?
> Student 2: Yep (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).
>
> Researcher: Whose culture and language do you learn about the most?
> Student 1: White people.
> Student 2: Catholics and Romans (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: I don't know, they just talk a lot about people that we don't really know instead of people we could actually know and we don't talk about our roots and stuff like that (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student 1: And like the books we read.
> Student 2: Yeah, they're European literature.
> Researcher: European literature, do you remember what the book is called?
> Student 2: Oedipus (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

Because of the emphasis on Western Culture, the student participants agreed that the curriculum did not maintain, support, or allow them to celebrate their cultural identity. As a result, many of the students reported losing their cultural knowledge and language.

> Student: Like I see some students that are Mexican and as soon as they come into this school they're all English and they're forgetting about their culture, they're

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> forgetting their Spanish, they're forgetting everything (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: And like forgetting everything that you know for something that you're kind of forced into and like you're not really given a right to choose whether you can really stay true to your Mexican roots or just blend into the American culture because it is what's available (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> Student: Yeah, I kind of feel that way because over here [at CCHS] we don't really talk about our culture and at home our parents don't really take time to teach us none of that either, so basically when people ask us about our culture we don't know anything about it, so yeah I guess it is kind of stripping us of our heritage (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
>
> Student: In this school, I feel like our Mexicaness goes away.
> Researcher: So you turn it off?
> Student: No, like literally, I am not Mexican anymore (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

The student's description of the curriculum can be captured by Valenzuela's (1999) ideas of subtractive schooling. The students felt as though the curriculum was encouraging them to exchange their cultural knowledge and identity for Western European culture. As one participant put it, the curriculum was pressuring them to give up their roots and become "white" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

> Student: Está bien que nos enseñen de la cultura Americana, pero no se tiene que olvidar de enseñarnos sobre nuestra cultura. Y, solo porque nos están enseñando sobre América, no se nos va a cambiar el pelo. No nos va a cambiar el color de los ojos, o de la piel. [It is fine that they teach us about American culture, but they shouldn't forget to teach us about our culture. And just because we are learning about America doesn't mean our hair is going to change. The color of our eyes is not going to change or our skin] (Focus Group 14, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Participants also described the curriculum as old (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012) and useless (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

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> Student: This is all stuff we don't relate to, like we are never going to use (Focus Group 1).

> Student 1: We need activities that help you in life, not just education; but like things that are essential for living.
> Student 2: Like how to do, like, the bank stuff, like a check. I don't know how to do a check (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

> Student: Cuando tenga un problema en la vida, no sabré que hacer. Aquí no, no veo que realmente te den información o ejemplos de como va a ser la vida en realidad [When I will experience a life problem, I will not know what to do. Here, I don't see that they are really giving you information or examples of how life will be in reality] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

The inability to connect with the curriculum, the limited exposure to information about other cultures and the feeling that the curriculum was "old" left many participants feeling uneducated and unprepared for life.

> Student: Like, it's just, like it makes me feel, like, later in life, I'm gonna be seen very selfish, like, or very self-centered because I don't know about African American and I'm just gonna create a stereotype (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

Adapting a MCE curriculum assists in correcting the stereotypes that students might have learned about people from other cultures (Gay, 1994). MCE does this by providing students with the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to function in pluralistic community (Banks, 2001a). By expanding the social, cultural and intellectual horizons of a student he/she learns to reject racism and other forms of discrimination. Students at CCHS saw a need for MCE.

Students desired a multicultural curriculum. They were interested in learning and celebrating their own culture as well as other cultures besides Western European.

> Student: In literature class, why can't it be something with Latina/o culture, why does it always have to be American literature? (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

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> Student 1: Because we don't celebrate things from like our cultures and stuff. Like sometimes MPS they have big celebrations.
> Student 2: Sometimes in History…
> Researcher: Sometimes in History?
> Student 2: Like for Martin Luther King Jr.
> Student 1: We didn't talk about that; we talked about Roman heroes instead.
> Student 2: Why can't we learn about Martin Luther King Jr.? (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).
>
> Student: Because, like, you know if you, a person that's like Mexican or Puerto Rican, like, they would really wanna get deep into the culture and learn more about it, but, like, it seems like they're just basically focused on like, back in the day type of culture (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).
>
> Student: Like it is, I think we should be able to learn both sides of the story, because what about, if we have to debate with someone, they might have a different story from us and we are not going to know their story (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Student knew that there was much more than Western European culture. They were interested in reading and learning about the heroes, the stories and the histories of their own people and the people who live in their communities. They wanted to become knowledgeable and active citizens in their pluralistic communities and they agreed that they were not receiving this kind of training at CCHS. Instead, many students reported that they did not feel they were being prepared for their future.

Lack of Representation

Using Photovoice methodology allowed the student participants to talk about how the school environment represented their culture and language. When the students began to look through their own pictures as well as the pictures of the other students in their group they were amazed to see how little representation of any culture was available at the school. This became especially true as students began to notice that many of them had taken the same pictures of the only culturally relevant material found in the school. When asked what they saw in the pictures taken, many of them responded with the fact that

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there were very minimal items available that represented their culture, language or traditions.

> Student: There is a major lack of heritage or representation in this school because….well look… everyone's pictures are the same. It's like if someone said go out to the world and take pictures of green things, there's different things, but when they say take pictures of heritage in here, they're all the same pictures over and over again. There is nothing, that is so sad (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

> Student: We see a lack of our culture everywhere, like it would have been easy for us to take the pictures then we would say "okay maybe yeah they're emphasizing or at least including our culture." But not really…the school just has a whole bunch of things about college, like okay, yeah college is important, but there's other things like where we come from, they're always just looking to the future and not in the past or like the origin of things, where we came from and made us. (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Students had a very hard time looking for materials that represented their culture, language and traditions. Many of them described how they found themselves looking inside every room and hallways in hopes to find something (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012; Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012). Others became very visibly upset because they found more representation of other cultures and languages instead of Latin American culture and Spanish.

> Student: I mean what the hell? We are all Latina/o here, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Colombian. What is this damn picture of the Trojan Horse supposed to teach me? What about the million American flags all over the building? I know I am in America, I can see it every day (Focus Group 19, personal communication, April 26, 2012).

> Student: I had an easier time taking pictures of other cultural items because they are more visible. You walk into this school and you would probably think it is white, until you see us, none of us white. I mean c'mon, look at the pictures we have, the American bald eagle, Kony? Really? Kony. A picture of Kony in Africa is more important than representing my culture? (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).

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Students saw the lack of Latina/o cultural relevant materials as a problem. They saw that other cultures (especially Greco-Roman) were taken priority in their classroom and in their walls. This idea only fueled their belief that their culture and language were not seen as important.

> Student: I would say the administration doesn't see any value towards our culture. Like, they don't think learning about our culture, or learning Spanish will help us go to college. For example won't do anything for you (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

> Student: It's a damn poster; they can't put up a damn poster? Will that mess up their classroom? I mean, you can have posters of Motown artists, but you can have something to represent me? What is that saying? That is saying that you don't care about me. You want me to go to college and do well, but it's not true. They don't care, they don't care about my culture, or where I came from, or how that affects me….they don't care, not even enough to put up a damn poster (Focus Group 19, personal communication, April 26, 2012).

> Student: It is difficult you know. It is difficult to go here because we don't have a lot of cultural things to show from our own countries or whatever, and we don't really learn about them, as we would like to learn. It is difficult trying to find something that showed a piece of who you are. That is wrong, because you can find a piece of who they are [teachers and administrators]; they don't have to worry about not fitting in. This school is for them, not us. They don't want to show our culture on purpose (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Teachers and administrators at CCHS "do not have to alter their own ways and systems, statuses, and privileges of experiencing life" (Milner, 2008, p. 335). They can instead enjoy a school that teaches in their home language and in their home culture. In their opinion, doing so will better prepare students for "the real world." Based on this, one can conclude that the policies at this school are attempting to change the child to bring them closer to the norms of whiteness (Zamudio et al., 2011). This is obvious in the way that culture is represented, or better yet, whose culture is represented.

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The Catholic Representation

In the course of the two months of taking picture, the students took 60 pictures of religious objects. When they began the discussion of what these cultural items meant to them, many of them discussed the Catholic tradition in Latin America and how important this tradition was to them. However, the conversation was deepened by the idea that the Catholic tradition was not exclusive to Latin American culture.

> Student: Like I mean, the religious things is there and everything, but that's not like really for us. It's not like how the flag is for us. These religious pictures, well it's just like for everybody, whether you are Hispanic or not. They are just to show that are a Catholic school. There is nothing cultural about it (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).
>
> Student 1: Okay, but if we remove the religious pictures, what do we have left?
> Student 2: Nothing (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Although several pictures were of the Virgin of Guadalupe (Patron saint of Mexico and beloved figure throughout Latin America) the remaining pictures were of religious icons found in any Catholic community. This bothered students. Although these pictures represented their religious tradition, it did so from a general perspective and not from particular Catholic traditions found in Latin American countries.

The College Curriculum

CCHS prides itself in being a college preparatory high school. Part of their mission is to ensure that students are able to get into college and be successful while in college. In order to prepare students for college admission, or more specifically, for the ACT College entrance exam, the school has adopted the ACT's College Readiness Standards. According to the ACT website

> The College Readiness Standards serve as a direct link between what students have learned and what they are ready to learn next. The suggested learning experiences, in turn, provide links between the Standards in one score range and

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> those in the next higher score range. The ideas for progressing to the next score range demonstrate ways that information learned from standardized test results can be used to inform classroom instruction (See Explaining What College Readiness Scores Mean, ACT Website).

Each teacher is responsible for incorporating the standards (reading, writing, math or science) into their curriculum. At the end of the quarter, students are assessed using interim testing. This test provides information on how well the students were prepared in the particular standard. From these results, teachers can modify and reteach the standard or incorporate a new standard into their lessons. According to Administrator 1 (personal communication, March 13, 2012), the purpose of incorporating the College Readiness Standards and interim assessment is "to make sure the curriculum is preparing kids for college."

These college standards are very evident throughout the school in the form of posters, after school clubs, career services, and academics. These standards are meant to provide students with the background necessary to score well on the ACT admissions test, as well as to attain the skills necessary to be a successful college student.

Using Photovoice methodology allowed the participants to talk about college, and their preparations of college via their pictures. The students reported that although ingrained in the curriculum, they did not feel prepared for either the test or college. Instead, they agreed that the college prep curriculum was merely a façade used to "make the school look better" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student: I don't like que ellos estan tratando de hacer esta escuela como que [that they are trying to make this school look like], they try to make it look like it's cool like it's the best environment for all the people……where everyone will be able to get to college….But that is not true. Many people are not ready to go to

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> college. Like me, I got a 9 on my pre-ACT. (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: It's like they always say that this school is college prep, but it doesn't feel like they're actually trying to prepare us…. Like they are not doing anything to prepare us (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

It is unclear whether the school's college preparatory curriculum is successful. Because the school is so new, this year will be the first year that students take the ACT; therefore, it is unclear whether the school's college preparatory curriculum is truly helping students with college admissions or achievement in college.

Testing. The only data available that demonstrates academic proficiency comes from the Wisconsin Knowledge and Concept Examination (WKCE). According to the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "The purpose of the WKCE is to provide information about student attainment of subject-area proficiency to students, parents, and teachers; information to support curriculum and instructional planning; and a measure of accountability for schools and districts" (see Wisconsin Knowledge and Concepts Examinations, 2012). Further

> the results of the WKCE are used by the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) as an accountability measure for school improvement to meet its statutory requirement of identifying low-performing schools, meet the federal Title I (NCLB) requirement to determine how well children are learning, and determine the extent to which schools and districts across the state are meeting the Wisconsin proficiency standards (see Wisconsin Knowledge and Concepts Examinations (Wisconsin Knowledge and Concepts Examinations, 2012).

The WKCE is administered yearly to public schools; in the fall of 2010, CCHS, along with all other MPCP, schools also administered the WKCE to their students. For the first time, the scores collected from 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 allow comparisons to be made between the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program, Milwaukee Public Schools, and state-wide school scores. Table 4.2 compares the scores of CCHS with other students in MPCP

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schools, MPS and state wide scores. The table also compares CCHS students with economically disadvantage students both in MPS and statewide. Although CCHS 10th graders scored substantially higher in Language Arts (43.4% versus 37.7%), and Social Studies (51% versus 41.7%) than MPS 10th graders, the scores for reading and mathematics show otherwise.

Table 4.2: *WKCE and WAA Combined, All Students, 2011-2012*

	Reading			Mathematics			Language Arts			Science			Social Studies		
	B	P	A	B	P	A	B	P	A	B	P	A	B	P	A
CCHS	40.8%	31.6%	13.2%	38.2%	28.9%	3.9%	39.5%	42.1%	1.3%	23.7%	32.9%	5.3%	14.5%	40.8%	10.5%
All MPCP	26%	27.5%	15.5%	23.8%	23.6%	2.5%	35.7%	33%	2.7%	16.7%	21.5%	6.9%	11.3%	26.4%	12.5%
MPS	24.1%	30%	17.9%	20.9%	28.7%	4.4%	37.4%	33%	4.7%	14.4%	21.8%	10.4%	11.3%	27%	14.7%
MPS- FRL*	25.8%	30.3%	13.3%	22%	26.3%	2.6%	40.2%	30.1%	2.7%	14.5%	20.9%	6.4%	11.6%	27.3%	10%
State Wide	12.8%	29.6%	48.6%	13.4%	46%	25.2%	21.2%	51.4%	18.7 %	10.2%	33.4%	39.2%	6.9%	30%	45.3%
State Wide-FRL	20.5%	32.6%	29.9%	19.7%	41.4%	10.7%	32.4%	44.2%	7.3%	14.4%	32.5%	21.5%	10%	32.4%	26.1%

B: Below Proficiency
P: Proficient
A: Advanced
*Free or Reduced Lunch

Source: See Data Analysis, 2011-2012; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2011.

NCLB Part II's intent to increase the academic achievement of students in mathematics and science has placed a strong emphasis on schools' mathematics and reading scores as a measure for yearly progress. When looking at the 2011-2012 scores for math and science, the difference in scores becomes insignificant. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 break down the scores for both mathematics and reading across all six categories. In mathematics, the difference between CCHS, MPCP, MPS and MPS FRL* students varies by only a few points. The same came be said for reading scores.

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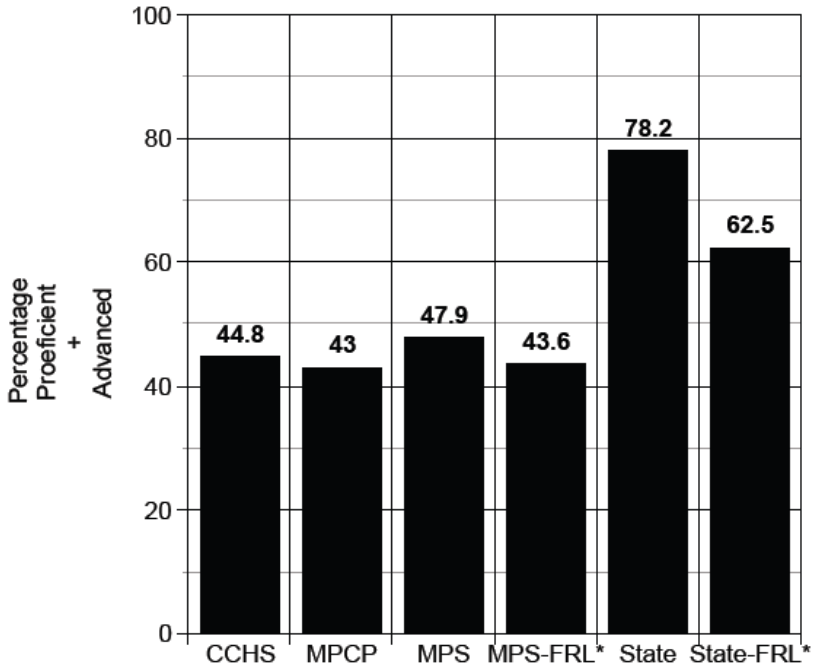
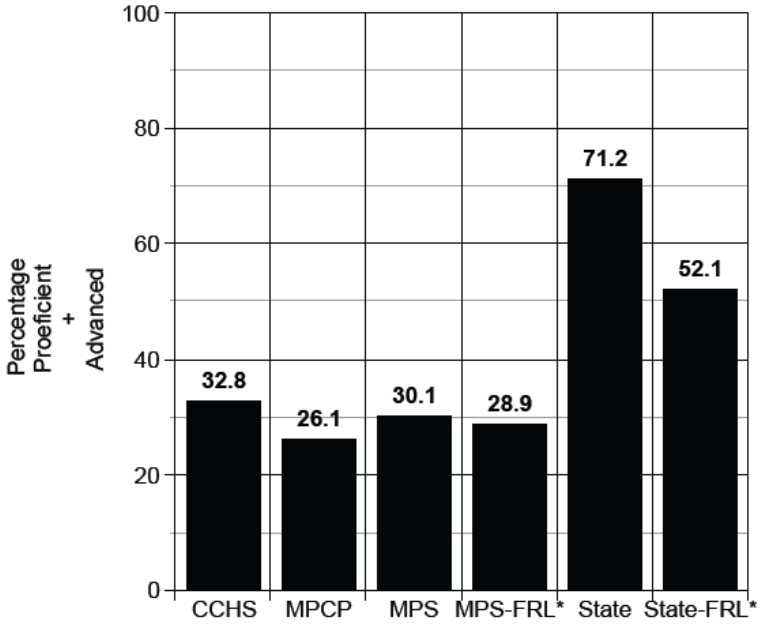
Table 4.3: WSAS, All students, Reading- 10th Grade, 2011-2012



Source: See Data Analysis, 2011; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2011

Table 4.4: WSAS, All students, Math- 10th Grade, 2011-2012



Source: See Data Analysis, 2011; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2011

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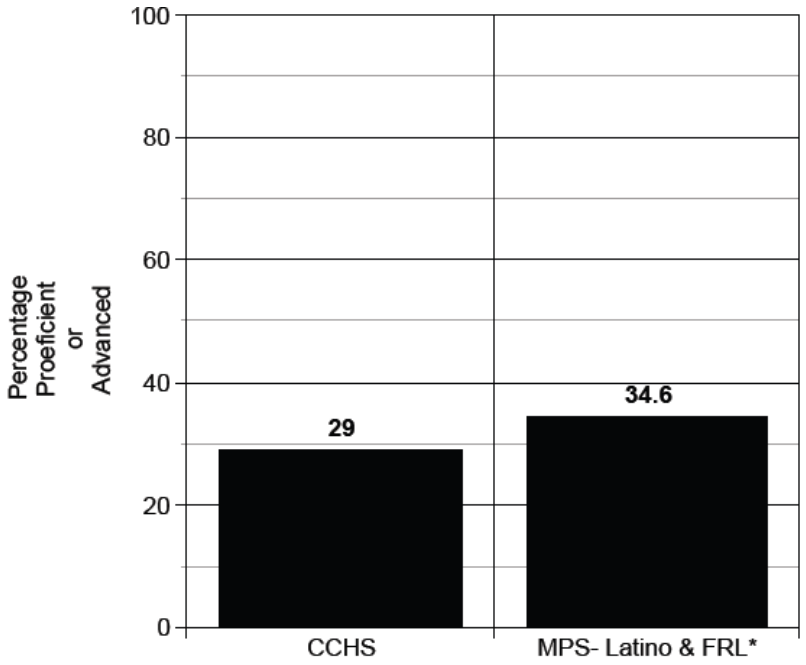
The 2010-2011 WKCE data has allowed for a better comparison between CCHS students and similar students in MPS. When using ethnicity and socioeconomic status as factors, the results show a similar picture. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 demonstrate that once again, the score between the two are insignificant.

Table 4.5: WSAS, All students, Math- 10th Grade, Latina/o FRL*, 2011-2012



Source: See Data Analysis, 2010; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 2010

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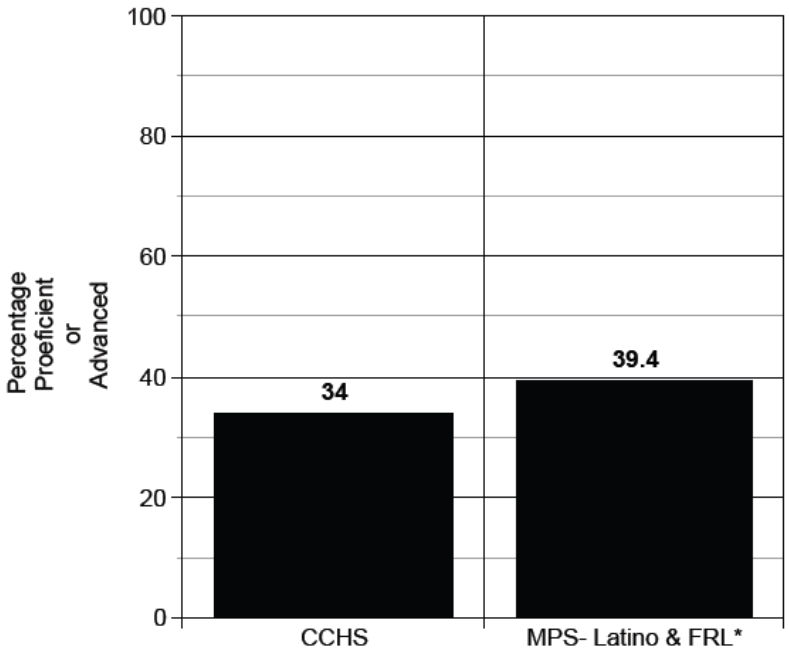
Table 4.6: WSAS, All students, Reading- 10th Grade, Latina/o FRL*, 2011-2012



Source: See Data Analysis, 2010; Wisconsin Student Assessment System, 201

The Role of Home Language in the Curriculum

"There is a time and a place for Spanish"
(Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

CCHS advertises itself as an English Immersion school. Although the school is English Immersion, ESL classes are offered to recently arrived students. Spanish is also offered and mandatory for all to take. Outside of the ESL and Spanish courses, students are expected to use predominantly English in the classroom. According to the administrator, "we are really trying to immerse them in the English language for school because that's what they are going to experience in college" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012). Although many teachers emphasized the importance of English

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fluency, many also spoke about the importance of bilingualism and strengthening the Spanish abilities of the students, especially their reading and writing abilities.

> I think discussing with them how important it is to be truly bilingual so with the Spanish course how yes, you speak Spanish but we want to refine that, we want to make sure that they can read and write and spell and speak Spanish all well so they could be truly bilingual (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

> I think in the high school anyway having the Spanish classes are really important because like I said so many of them can speak it and then they can't read or write it and we just really want them to be able to go into a work place setting and be truly bilingual because they're not right now; they're writing the letter 'k' for the word okay which is fine, but they don't think there's anything wrong with that. They aren't being lazy, but they've never had to write in the language in a professional kind of sense (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

> I certainly think the language is important and I want them to keep their Spanish and to practice it and I know, I mean, I know that they can speak Spanish, but a lot of times they can't write it or understand it or you know read it so well, so, like, I wish they'd knew it more fully in a way (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

> So in one area that's where it should be because they aren't fluent in their language, but we're starting to get that at the high school which is a good thing (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Informal versus Formal Spanish Usage. Although a large emphasis is placed on wanting the students to become better writers and readers in Spanish, the majority of the academic school day in conducted in English. Spanish is encouraged by the teachers and administrators during free time (before/after school, during homeroom, during lunch, and in between classes) and during Spanish class only.

> As far as speaking Spanish, it's secondary to the English language they are doing in the classroom (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

> I think for me, I give them the opportunity if they want to speak in Spanish during homeroom time, I mean its homeroom time and it's their way to get started for the day, have some breakfast; if they want to speak in Spanish, I don't degrade them for that (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

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> When they do have the free time or in the cafeteria they are able to speak however they want, whatever they feel comfortable (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Teachers and administrators understood the importance of bilingualism; however, their actions led to the belief that "there is a time and a place" for using Spanish. That time and place was not academically related, even in Spanish class.

The English only mentality at CCHS is influenced by decades of research on language acquisition that supports the adoption of English Immersion programs. According to this research the most effective way for English Language Learners (ELL) to learn a second language and subject matter in that second language is to learn in the second language instead of in the students' native language (Rossell, 2004/2005). A comprehensive review of 30 years in Bilingual Education research done in 1997 by the National Academy of Sciences titled *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda,* support this idea. They found that there is no conclusive evidence that native-language programs are superior to English-immersion. Because of these conclusions and the idea "immersing students in English will prepare them for college" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012), CCHS students are not encouraged to speak Spanish during the school day.

Regardless of the rule, many students used Spanish in the classroom for communicating with one another, to clarify information and instruction, to brainstorm, to work in small groups, and to socialize. Because of this, many teachers have no option but to allow it.

> There are times where interactions, whether it's in small groups and what not, where I do catch them [the students] speaking in Spanish. I can just tell by their disposition that they are working on it [assignment] so I don't correct them; if

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> that's a way for them communicate and enhance their learning I'm not going to say, "Oh no, you need English" (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).
>
> I mean I'm not going to say don't, you shouldn't be, or like if I'm giving directions and I can tell they're translating them. Sometimes they say them in English and then say it in Spanish for some of the ELL students. So if they hear it from a student in English and then they can hear it multiple ways, in different ways, it helps them (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Some teachers even allow students to write class papers and conduct presentations in Spanish.

> I remember one student would write their paper in Spanish and then they translated it which was fine (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> For those students who do not speak any English or write any English I do allow some of them to do their homework in Spanish and then have it corrected by a student that I trust (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> The whole year I was really struggling to get them interested in chemistry and I just thought for some of them, they asked me that if they could because I have a lot of the ESL kids in my chemistry or even and some of them who are not ESL but they probably should be in ESL but they're not; you know, they're really struggling in English. But so a few of them, when we were discussing this project, said, you know, "Can I type up this in Spanish and can I do the lesson in Spanish?" and I said that's fine as long as I have an English translation (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

These teachers are aware that allowing students to make connections in their home language assists them in learning the material better.

> I think there's a definite benefit, because if the kids recognize something in their own language, I think, now not knowing this, I'm not, you know, familiar with some of the research, but I'm assuming that they would be more likely to retain that information if they hear it in their own language. Versus, you know something like English that they are trying to learn and then they're hearing all these other strange words they have to add on to that, like if they're just trying to master the basics of English, how are they then going to (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

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Although these teachers are unfamiliar with language acquisition methodology they understand that not speaking the language does not mean that the student does not know the content of the subject. By using their Spanish, teachers allow students to learn content and demonstrate their knowledge of the content. This gives students, ESL or not, an opportunity to be academically successful because they are not falling behind.

No Spanish at All. Not all teachers are accommodating. Several teachers are very strict about the usage of Spanish in the classroom. These teachers reported feeling uncomfortable with allowing students to speak Spanish in their classroom, and therefore ask students to stop or limit their usage of Spanish.

> Given that maybe they're talking something bad about a teacher or another student, I ask them to stop (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

> I will correct students if I find that they are speaking a lot of Spanish with a partner and it doesn't look as though that their working at what the task is; I will say, "Okay, no more Spanish, it needs to be in English." I need to understand what it is they are trying to say and verbalize with their partner (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

> I say, "Please stop speaking Spanish because I want to know what you are saying because it doesn't sound like you are being nice to each other," you know, so like then, I'm like, I say "Stop speaking Spanish because it sounds like you are insulting and saying bad things," but, you know, it only has to do with the tones of their voice (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

These teachers, although they do not speak Spanish, claim they "know" when a student is on/off task, or are worried that the students might be mistreating one another or talking bad about a teacher. In order to avoid those scenarios, they ask students not to use Spanish in the classroom. This erroneous and deficit perspective on the usage of Spanish affects student academic achievement. According to García-Nevarez, Stafford & Arias

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(2005), “teachers who are not properly trained [in language acquisition methodology] can cause emotional and psychological impairment in students’ educational futures” (p. 296).

At CCHS only one out of 16 teachers at CCHS is trained in ESL methodology. If the other 15 teacher were aware of the research in language acquisition, they would know that allowing Spanish in the classroom gives students an opportunity to access their own knowledge and experience (Moll, 1992). Further, using Spanish in the classroom allows students to be more open to learning by reducing the degree of language and culture shock (Auerbach, 1993). In other words, allowing Spanish in the classroom is beneficial, not detrimental to the success of students.

Because CCHS is predominantly English Immersion, all the lectures, materials and testing is in English. Even though several teachers are accommodating to the needs of the students, these accommodations might not be helpful for the students in the long run.

> I encourage them to write their notes in Spanish; all my notes that I give them are in English, the tests will be in English, so therefore, if they would write their notes and ideas in Spanish, it may not translate well to be substantive, so therefore I would not necessarily encourage it (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

> But the thing is that all the materials are coming to them in English so it’s really not much easier for them to express it in Spanish or, like, the few times that I’ve done that they say well just write in Spanish, it wasn’t any better really, like they still didn’t know what to write because they didn’t know the information (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

The importance of being bilingual is expressed by many of the teachers and staff; however, the school mission and the actions of the teachers demonstrate otherwise. CCHS’ demonstrates a "fixation on teaching English as quickly as possible" (Stanford

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Working Group, 1993, p. 8) without understanding what the repercussions of doing so are.

Not allowing students to use Spanish in the classroom has several negative consequences. First, it may cause students to develop a negative view of their language and may keep students from seeing the importance of maintaining their language. (García-Nevarez et al., 2010). Further, this negation of language can result in behavioral problems, low self-esteem, conduct disorder, a higher percentage of parent-child conflict and alienation and depression (Lau, Yeh, Wood, McCabe, Garland & Hough, 2005). Finally, keeping students from speaking Spanish in the classroom may interfere with the development of what Jim Cummins calls (1984) Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). CALP includes skills such as comparing, classifying, synthesizing, evaluating, inferring and critical thinking. It is the context reduced, academic language often presented in lectures and academic texts. According to Cummins (1984), CALP under the right circumstances, takes five to seven years to develop, however, Thomas & Collier, (1995) add that if a child has no support in native language development, it may take seven to ten years for them to catch up to their monolingual peers.

The development of CALP goes hand in hand with the usage of Spanish in that "conceptual knowledge developed in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible" (Cummins, 2000, p.39). That is, if a student understands academic concepts in their own language, all they have to do is acquire the label for these terms in English. The knowledge is already there, just not the language. By not allowing students to use Spanish, the learning of those concepts may not happen in either language and therefore students will be more likely to experience academic failure.

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Spanish Class. The only academic class where students are provided with the opportunity to read, write and interact in Spanish is Spanish class. The school offers three levels of Spanish: an introductory level for the non-native Speakers and levels I and II for Native Speakers. These Native Speaker classes focus on themes such as heroes, relationships, immigration, human rights issues, identity, geography, Latin American history, culture, and grammar. Students read literary works written by Latin American authors such as Rigoberta Menchú, Sandra Cisneros and Esmeralda Santiago. These literary works are read in mostly Spanish.

The abilities of the students range from novice to advance. Several students are recent arrivals and therefore have impeccable grammar abilities in Spanish. For other students, the ability to read and write is nonexistent. Students are placed based on their academic year in school and not necessarily based on their ability. Therefore, every class has students with a wide range of abilities. The classes are taught by two, first year, Caucasian, bilingual teachers.

The students describe these classes as "teaching Spanish in English-with Spanish words" (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012). Students report that at least one of the two teachers teaches the class in mostly English.

> Student: A veces yo le digo, "porque no da las instrucciones en español, ya que esta es clase de español las da en ingles." En veces da paquetes en ingles [Sometimes I tell her "why don't you give us the instructions in Spanish?" this is Spanish class, but she gives it in English. Sometimes we even get packets in English] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

> Student: Pero, en la clase de español, las preguntas siempre leemos en español, pero al momento que hace preguntas [la maestra] es en ingles. Yo veo que algunas veces que yo conteste en español o que alguién más conteste en español no lo ignora, si no que "oh ok," y espera que alguién mas le responda en ingles. Le digo, "Porque tiene que hacer eso? Es clase de español" [But in Spanish class, the questions we always read in Spanish, but the moment questions are made,

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> they are in English. I noticed that sometimes I answer in Spanish, or someone else answers in Spanish she doesn't ignore us, instead, it is like "oh ok" and then she waits for someone to answer in English. I tell them "why do you have to do that? This is Spanish class (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

The students are also bothered by the teacher's lack of native-like fluency. They often find themselves correcting her and questioning whether or not she can truly speak Spanish.

> Student: Yeah, with the Spanish teacher, you are supposed to speak Spanish, but yet you don't understand what I am saying and you tell us that we have to speak English? It's like, dude, this is a Spanish class (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: She takes a long time saying a word, and..
> Student: Her accent really bothers you. It really gets to you. If she keeps on talking, you want to do something to her.
> Student: Si, te pone nerviosa [yes, it makes you nervous] (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: All we learn in Spanish is right out of the book; it's not even like a Latina/o that teaches us. She doesn't know what she's talking about, when, like, conversation comes up, if I talk to her she's not going to know either, we have no possibility of learning that from anybody here. (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Students reported feeling disconnected to the class because the Spanish being taught is not the Spanish that they are accustomed to speaking.

> Student: She doesn't speak our Spanish, the Spanish that we talk.
> Student: Like she teaches the "vosotros," like, we don't even use that! (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: Our Spanish teacher is white, and they are teaching us Spanish from Spain, not Mexico or the Spanish that we are used to speaking (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: She doesn't talk about what we know, like words we know (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

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According to the students, the content covered in the class is impractical. Students are to learn typical grammar points such as subjunctive, imperfect/preterite, etc., without connections to other writing. These grammar points are reviewed and assessed using very traditional language instruction methodology. The emphasis on grammar leaves little time for the inclusion of culture, communication, communities, connections and comparisons-- the standards in foreign language education (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, n.d). This emphasis on grammar is difficult for the students who are fluent Spanish speakers. Many expected Spanish to be more culturally based (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).

> Student: Somebody can ask you questions of your culture and you're not going to know, so they can assume you're not Mexican, or you just don't know your stuff, but all you really know is the grammar; you're like a white person, because all they know is our language, they just know the Spanish, but they don't know no culture (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

> Student: I want to learn more about history in Spanish class, because right now it's mostly about grammar, and nothing really about history (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

As a result of restrictive language policies, and a Spanish curriculum that is not geared towards heritage speakers, students reported a loss in their ability to speak Spanish.

> Student: The only time I speak Spanish like, 50% English, like 20% Spanish in the class, and 20% at home (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: Yeah, like, our parents are telling us, like you can't translate like you used to. Like you used to know so much, like you had such a diverse vocabulary in Spanish and now you know the basics, just the basics, you can't get past that because in Spanish class you can't learn more Spanish words (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012)

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> Student: I just know that when I was in Mexico I spoke a lot of Spanish and ever since I came here, to CCHS, I'm forgetting everything (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).
>
> Student: Yeah, like, when I used to speak it, I was so good. But how long has it been since we've been here, 5 years I think, and now, sometimes I have to wonder how to say something in Spanish
> Student 2: Sometimes with family it's hard….
> Student 1: Yeah, I am always like ummm….ummm…umm… trying to think of how to say it in Spanish (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

Participant I sees this loss of language with her students.

> I feel as a school, they don't like to promote the Spanish language. Starting from kindergarten, its English only, direct instruction, kindergarten through 8th grade, they want the kids to learn English, English, and English only. So what happens is that they lose a lot of their Spanish, they lose their reading and their writing. Then they think they want us to teach this high school course for Spanish speakers and it's like "Let's teach them how to read and write," and it's like, it's too late, that's something that they should have already been working on, they should have been building both languages from the start (personal communication, March 9, 2012).

The ESL Population. For students who are learning English, the curriculum is equally as problematic. Students are placed in ESL "based on just speaking with them [the student] and their parents" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012) and asking questions such as "Did you take ESL at your prior school?" However, for many, placement is a matter of observation: "We sort of look and see the first week of school, like, oh, they're really struggling, let's send them to ESL" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).Therefore, at the end of the day, this decision becomes an administrative decision (Participant I, personal communication, March 9, 2012). Because the program is mostly aimed at new arrivals (within their first year of arrival), students who have lived in the United States for over a year may not have the opportunity to enroll since "they've already been here for 2 years" (Participant I, personal

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communication, March 9, 2012). The administration assumes that the students will be ready for an inclusive, English-only classroom after their first year in ESL.

The ESL curriculum focuses on developing oral skills and acquiring vocabulary. A vocabulary online course (similar to Rosetta Stone) is offered to students, as well as a face-to-face class. Participant I struggles with this course.

> One of the issues that I have is that they gave me the materials and they were all direct instruction so they were all scripted: "Hello…my name is Tammy….today I'm going to teach you this, this, and this…" and again direct instruction has been not…studies show that direct instruction is not really benefitting the students. They kind of just threw the materials, like here, here you go, teach the ESL class. This is not going to work for me, so basically I'm on my own; I just do whatever I feel is best for the students (personal communication, March 9, 2012).

The training that Participant I has received on ESL and language acquisition allows for her to know that one acquires language by understanding messages and by obtaining comprehensible input (Krashen, 1992). Studies also suggest that the most effective kind of comprehensible input for advanced grammatical development is reading (Elley, 1991) and not repetition of words and stand-alone grammar drills.

The struggles Participant I experiences arise from what she describes as a lack of understanding from teachers and administrators about language acquisition.

> At the beginning of the year, they [the students] had an ESL vocabulary class and a teacher taught it, but he had no idea how to deal with the ESL kids because he had no background in it what so ever. The administrators ended up making the class into a study hall. The students got a study hall until we switched schedules and now they're doing a computer based program (personal communication, March 9, 2012).

This lack of understanding is evident through the ways in which students are placed into ESL, and in the ways the curriculum and instructors are chosen for the ESL courses. Participant I also struggles with the fact that students who need ESL services cannot receive it because they are no longer categorized as recent arrivals.

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> I have brought up the kids that don't speak English [to the administrator]; I'd like them to read the material in Spanish so they're at least comprehending the material, but the administration says that they're leery about letting them read materials in Spanish because they want them focusing on English (personal communication, March 9, 2012).

The students are aware of the school's position on ESL.

> Student: "Aprendes or te friegas. Es la ley" [You learn or tough luck. That is the Law] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

Due to the "one year rule," former ESL students who are now placed in mainstream classes feel that they were not given the opportunity to learn the language.

> Student: A mi me cuesta trabajo hablarlo y simplemente la escuela te da una oportunidad. A mi me dieron una oportunidad; el primer año tuve una clase de ingles en esta escuela. Lo que aprendí, para ellos bueno; lo que no aprendí, bueno, cuando tengas tiempo, lo tienes que aprender. Estoy estancada. [It is hard for me to speak it and the school only gave me one chance. This school gave me one chance; the first year I had an ESL class. What I learn, great for them, what I did not learn, learn it when you have time. I am stuck] (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: Yo ni siquiera he terminado de aprender el ingles, cuando comenzaron a meterme todo en ingles. Y, ya estoy en el 10, luego el 11, luego el 12 y no hubo tiempo para estudiar bien el ingles. [I had not even finished learning English when I was already given everything in English. And now I am in 10th, then 11th and then 12th and there was no time to learn English] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

These students know that they have not had the opportunity to develop English. For many, they have not had a chance to develop either the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) or CALP (Cummins, 1984). BICS refers to the language skills needed in social situations, the day-to-day language needed to interact socially with other people. This skill takes about two to three years to develop (Cummins, 1984). Therefore students do not have the English skills necessary to navigate social or academic settings. As a result, these students struggle with speaking in English, as well as doing academic work in English, although working very hard to excel in school.

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> Student: Yo he batallado mucho con el ingles, por que le he echado ganas, yo hablo, y lo [I have struggled a lot with English. And I try very hard, I speak and speak, but it doesn't come out right] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

Students feel that if they were given the curriculum in Spanish and more assistance from the teachers and administrators, they would not fall behind--and would even have time to learn more English.

> Student: Yo estoy segura de que en este caso, si nosotros tuviéramos la oportunidad de aprender el ingles y nos dieran en español todo lo que mis compañeros hacen mientras que nosotros aprendemos ingles, seria fácil. Realmente los maestros se darían cuenta de que somos capases. Que realmente sabemos hasta un poco mas de lo que ellos pensaban que nosotros sabíamos, simplemente que no nos dan la oportunidad que nosotros necesitamos [I am sure that if we had the oportunity to learn English and if they gave us in Spanish the same work my classmates are doing while we learn English, things would be much easier. The teachers would know for sure that we are capable. That in reality, we might know even more than our classmates. Simply, we are not given the opportunity that we need] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

> Student: Que ellos [los maestros] mismos nos ayuden mas, que no simplemente nos den el trabajo y si entiendes bueno. [That they [the teachers] would help us, that they don't just give us work and too bad if you don't understand] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

When asked what more the school could do to help them become successful, the students agreed that they needed teachers and administrators that understood their struggles; but most importantly, they needed teachers and administrators that understood that they required different instructional methods and materials in their home language.

> Student: Porque no nos quieren entender que necesitamos diferentes cosas, como alguien que hable español, más gente que quiera entendernos, ¿porque no entienden eso? [They don't want to understand that we need different things, like someone who speaks Spanish, more people who can understand us, why can't they understand that?] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

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> Student: Pero ellos, no nos ayudan lo suficiente, o no saben, ellos mismos como ayudarnos [They don't help us enough, or they don't know how to help us] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

These students understood very clearly that the teachers and administrators were very bias about language acquisition methodologies. Worse yet, these students knew that the teachers and administrators were very reluctant to learn about language acquisition because many were convinced that an English Immersion program was the best program to "assist" students in acquiring English. This lack of opportunity, understanding and help has caused some of the ESL students to give up.

> Student: Mi mamá siempre me dice, "Tu eras tan inteligente." Yo le digo, "Pues jefecita, así es como son las cosas," y es que uno, nomas se rinde. No es que me rinda, yo sé que soy inteligente, pero en vez de ya más enfocarme en la escuela y en enfocarme menos en escusas me enfoco en cosas diferentes, más como, más, usar más la astucia. Tenemos que cambiar la inteligencia por la astasia. Intentar hacer cosas astutas, como dicen en México, ponerme bien abusado. [My mom always tells me "You used to be so smart." I tell her, "Well mom, this is how it is," you just give up. Well, is not to give up, I know I am smart, but instead of focusing on school and focusing on making less excuses, I focus on different things now, more like, how to use my cleverness. We have to switch our intelligence for cleverness. Try to do clever things, like they say in Mexico to become very clever (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

> Student: Solo vengo a esta escuela para que a mi mamá no le cobren. Yo no entiendo ingles. No entiendo la materia. ¿Porque usted cree que los maestros se quejan que yo duermo en la clase? Me aburro, no entiendo mucho. No hago la tarea porque me toma horas traduciéndola. Nadie habla español para preguntarles si estoy entendiendo bien. ¿Que mas voy a hacer? [I only come to this school so they don't charge my mom. I don't speak English. I don't understand the material. Why do you think the teachers complain that I fall asleep in class? I am bored, I don't understand much. I don't do my homework because it takes me hours to translate. No one speaks Spanish so that I can ask if I am understanding correctly. What else can I do? (Personal Journal, April 9th, 2012).

Students at CCHS experience linguicism. Phillipson (1988) defines linguicism as "the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between

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groups which are in turn defined on the basis of language" (p. 339). Further, the author notes that linguicism allow the dominant language group to present "an idealized image of itself, stigmatizing the dominated group/language and rationalizing the relationship between the two, always to the advantage of the dominant group" (p. 341). This is very evident at CCHS with the language policies and the belief that using mostly English as the language of learning and instruction (with limited support in Spanish) will help students become more proficient in English. Following this view, CCHS teachers and administrators believe that the failure to master English is an individual problem rather than a result of systematic and institutional policies designed to keep students from learning English. Although the roots of English Immersion have been largely covered, and despite the fact that they are based on arguments which have been challenged by research, the teachers and administrators see the English Only policy as natural and commonsense. They see this policy as a way to "better prepare" students for college.

This coded talk about issues of language plays well into the master mainstream narrative that "American equals white, and white equals superiority" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p.60). Therefore adopting the English Immersion program at CCHS and offering minimal ESL services are purposefully adopted to address the student deficits and bring them closer to the norms of whiteness (Zamudio et al., 2011). However, the result of this policy (students becoming more fluent in English) is purposefully and skillfully slow and of course, at the will and design of those in power (Milner, 2008). In return of becoming "fluent" in English, students must give up their language and culture meanwhile those in power "do not have to alter their own ways and systems, statuses, and privileges of experiencing life" (p. 335).

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The Extra Curricular Curriculum

Culturally Relevant Assemblies and all School Celebrations.

> One and only ONE cultural event happens during the ten months students are in school. December 12th, the celebration for La Virgen de Guadalupe (Personal Journal, February 8th, 2012).

At CCHS, the school programming available for students is minimal; the programming available for the 2011-2012 school year consisted of a few pep rallies for Homecoming and Catholic Schools' Week, religious celebrations including weekly mass, a celebration for the Feast Day of our Lady of Guadalupe, and a Career Day. During the interviews, none of the participants spoke about the pep rallies; however, all participants were very eager to share their experiences with the Lady of Guadalupe celebration.

> We bring in special food and mariachi bands, so we keep things alive, their Hispanic culture alive (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

On this day the school transforms. The food served to the students for breakfast and lunch change to more traditional Latina/o dishes, such as tamales and sweet bread. The students are serenaded by live music, and the grand culmination is the mass. Students describe this day as "magical," the one day where they can walk around feeling proud of who they are.

This pride and comfort is also experienced at times during weekly mass. Several times during the school year, Father Carlos[2] leads mass. Unlike Fr. Carl[3], the monolingual priest, Father Carlos is bilingual and often leads mass bilingually. Father Carlos gives the homily in Spanish, prays the more traditional prayers in Spanish, and even sings some of the well-known Spanish hymns with the students. Students report a sense of relief knowing that Father Carlos is leading mass. Many sit up a little bit more

[2] Name was changed.
[3] Name was changed.

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straight and really pay attention (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

> Student 1: With father Carlos he gives you advice.
> Students 2: He talks about things we know about.
> Student 3: Yeah, he puts life lessons into what he says at mass.
> Student 1: He makes you be interested in it.
> Student 3: Yeah, like, he hypes it up (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Participant D (personal communication, March 6, 2012) sees this transformation.

> I think the fact that Father Carlos is here helps a lot because students are able to relate to him and he'll give homily in Spanish and things, and, like, just relate it to stories that they are familiar with growing up, like Juan Diego.

The students are able to relate to him and appreciate that something in the school building "relates to who they are" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Outside of religious celebrations, pep rallies, and the occasional Career Day, students did not have other opportunities to come together as a school. When asked to explain the reasoning behind the lack of school programing, teachers, administrators, and students agreed that planning school activities wasn't something people were interested in doing. Although teachers, administrators and students were encouraged to assist in planning and executing activities, few stepped up.

Clubs and Sports. CCHS is organized around providing students with different extracurricular activities. During any given day, the end of the day announcements are filled with reminders about after school club meetings and sport practices. The school has various clubs: Book Club, College Club, The Invisible Children, and Campus Ministry. It also offers students the opportunity to play soccer, basketball, football, rugby, volleyball, and cross country. Students are also able to practice cheerleading and dance. Last year, the school also offered a "Hispanic Club."

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> Student: Last year, there was a club where we would talk about other cultures, and our culture (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

> Student: We used to make things that represented us, like piñatas and stuff. I really liked that because it helps us to stay connected with our roots (Focus Group 8).

Students felt comfortable in this space. They were able to speak in Spanish, make comparisons between their traditions, and most importantly, reconnect with their Latina/o identity (Focus group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012; Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012). The club moderator is a community member and not a CCHS teacher; she did not return this year to moderate the club for personal reasons. Because no one at the school volunteered to moderate the club, it was "forgotten" (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012). Although other clubs and sports are available to students, several students talked about not having an interest in joining any of the activities because they were boring and "too white."

> Student: Well, I don't really like this school, because there are not a lot of programs you can be into, and all the clubs are really boring. Such as college club, book club, I mean no one wants to be in those (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

> Student: They also have football, and c'mon, no Hispanic plays football, that is for whites (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

These same students all spoke about their interest in reviving the Hispanic Club because "no other club seemed interesting" (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

In regards to culturally-relevant clubs, the Dance Club is the only after school activity that attempts to incorporate any Latina/o culture. After listening to students' interest in learning to dance traditional Latin American Folklore, a mother volunteered to

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teach a dance class after school. The few times the researcher attended practice and observed the mother teaching choreography to eight girls, the music of choice was English pop and reggaeton.

> Other student participants reported participating in many other clubs and sports.
>
> Researcher: What afterschool activities are you involved with?
> Student: Cheerleading.
> Student: Nothing.
> Student: Soccer.
> Student: Campus ministry.
> Student: I signed up for rugby, but that has not started though (Focus Group 1 personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: I'm in book club, campus ministry, college club.
> Student: I was in homecoming committee, but that's over now (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).
>
> Student: Sports and cross country.
> Student: Volleyball, basketball.
> Student: Basketball and soccer (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

They joined these activities for several reasons. First, students understood that joining different clubs and sports would assist them in creating better college resumes and in possibly getting sports-related scholarships. Second, students reported joining clubs and sports to stay out of trouble after school.

> Student: The clubs help to keep people, I don't know, they influence more, instead of having kids out in the streets you know, be involved in school and in the community (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Finally, for other students, joining a club or sport allowed them hang out with their friends.

> Student: My friends are in it, and like, I don't know how to explain it, we go to the basketball games, and they call us to help out 5th street, we get to spend time and hang out (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

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Most clubs were very well-attended; however, one club in particular--Campus Ministry--was very popular with the students. Students joined this club because they enjoyed helping others.

> Student: It's not because "Oh you need to go," it's because in my opinion, we do stuff for, like, the less fortunate and I like that. I like to help others even though I don't know them, I still help them (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: I think that campus ministry is groups that likes to help out people. And that is really me, I really like helping out whenever I can. I don't know, at the end of the day, after you help someone you just feel really good about it (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

The club is led by the Theology teacher and it focuses on doing "a lot of work with the community" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012). They organize food drives, volunteer at soup kitchens, and participate in community beautification projects. Participant B (personal communication, March 7, 2012) agrees that Campus Ministry is a very important club for CCHS students because it allows them to "actually make some sort of a difference or add something positive to the community by helping out." Administrator 1 (personal communication, March 13, 2012) agrees that Campus Ministry is important because it allows for them [the teachers] to "go out and show the kids what their community looks like," because in her opinion, "a lot of them [the students] don't get out in their community very often." As a result, the students are "enhancing their community" and learning "what it means to be a participant in the community" (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

Another popular club was the Kony 2012 club. Kony 2012 is a club that started while the researcher was conducting the research. A school staff member reported watching the Kony 2012 video on YouTube and "felt touched," and "[called] to action"

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(Personal Journal, March 15th, 2012). She quickly ordered the club kit from the Kony website, and a few days later, Kony 2012 posters hung around the school. When the researcher asked the student participants, many reported an interest; however, only a few knew what the intention of the club was. According to a student participant, the Kony 2012 Club is

> an organization about people that want to stop a guy named Kony that lives in Uganda, Africa. He takes little kids. This is basically just like a campaign to stop the cause to make him famous because no one really knows about him and they put these [posters] all over so that people could find out about him (Focus group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

She reports assisting in planning activities for the club.

> Today they're going to cover "The Night with Kony" so that the president knows what's going on in Africa and so they catch him (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

Other student participants were angered by this club.

> America is so worried with other people's problems, but they don't even see their own. They're [America] trying to like separate us based on race again and they're going back to like pre-civil rights movement, which was like the whole black thing. Now they're basically starting to segregate Hispanics and Latinas/os and that's not right. This Kony things is wrong, they're being huge hypocrites saying we care about the world when they can't even fix themselves. How about we learn about our struggles and what is going on in Arizona? (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

> In Mexico and even Puerto Rico there are similar things going on. There's kids getting killed because of the narcotics and everything and you don't see, like, nothing about that in this school (Focus Group 17).

The knowledge of current political turmoil that the students had was very impressive. Many of the students stayed behind after the interviews to engage the researcher in topics of Latin American politics. Many students wanted to be involved in political matters; however, they were interested in supporting a cause that was relevant to them and not a "pet project" picked by the staff.

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Career Services. At CCHS, preparing students for college not only comes from the curriculum, but it also comes from exposing students to things such financial aid workshops and career services. Over and over, students are made aware of the importance of going to college and establishing a good career. Because many of the students are first generation college students, the school finds it very important to expose students to different options for their future. One event which did so was Career Day.

According to the organizer, the goal was "to get people in the military, in the law enforcement, the medical profession, the education background…to get as many people as possible" to speak to the students about their career. He wanted the students to "get the exposure" and to become "aware of what it all entails and the training" it takes to enter into a particular career. He wanted to expose students to as many careers as possible; he didn't want it to be "solely be a bunch of doctors and nurses." Instead, he was interested in "different backgrounds that are very successful at what they do." Besides exposing students to different careers, he also wanted students to understand that one can be successful in a career with or without a college degree. On Career Day, the normal school schedule was suspended at noon.

After lunch, each classroom became a presentation room where people in a related field would speak to the students. Each session was 30 minutes long, allowing the students the flexibility to attend several sessions. On the day of Career Day, the researcher was provided with a list of career discussion sessions that students were able to attend.

> Out of 13 possible career options that students could attend, 2 careers required a bachelor's degree (Nurse, Graphic Designer), 2 careers required bachelor's degrees + (Lawyer, Professor), and the remaining careers such as firefighter, police officer , Child Day Care Provider, Real Estate agent, insurance agent, hair

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> stylist, make up stylist, and U.S Navy, required some college or training. 1 other career discussion available (Maid) did not require any college or training. The sad reality is that 6 of the jobs were service jobs, and 9 jobs required little to no college (Personal Journal, February 1st, 2012).

When the researcher inquired about the reasoning behind the careers presented, a school staff member responded with "well, they all make very good money." Other school staff members soon joined the conversation. They spoke to the lack of support and time to prepare for the activity. The activity (Career Day) was forced upon a staff member by administration, and although the staff member disclosed to the researcher that he had successfully done this same activity at his prior school, at CCHS he struggled because of the lack of time he was given to plan the activity. During this conversation, not one person found it problematic that some of the careers presented were very stereotypical "careers" in Latina/o communities, and the majority of them did not require a college degree.

The reality is that many students and teachers at CCHS spoke of being unsure about college. For many, "being college ready" or "going to college" were buzz words. They were first generation high school graduates and therefore the steps to get to college were very foreign to them.

> Student: I don't think it's that like…it seems like, they think they're motivating us and stuff but I don't feel motivated at all, like I want to be successful and do well on the tests, but sometimes I think about it and I feel like I don't want to go, I feel like giving up. Like right know I don't know if you have to sign up for the ACT, I haven't even signed up, and like I don't feel prepared, so I just feel like not doing anything (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

> Student: I think they just put the posters up but they don't really talk to us about college, they just want us to look at it and if we don't them too bad (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

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Students had no guidance and little information about how to navigate the college admissions process. Because of this, students like the participant in Focus Group 17 (personal communication, April 20, 2012) decided to give up. Although the school is providing the students with some information, students felt it was not enough. Besides not having enough information about the college admissions process, students also reported a lack of understanding about how financial aid works and where to find scholarships. This was especially true for undocumented students; for undocumented students, the idea to go to college was just that-- an idea.

> Student: Like, basically they're just putting up things for certain kids that they know they can't get to, like some kids know that college isn't available for them and for them to just have college everywhere it's kind of like a reminder that "Oh I'll never get there" (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

> Student: They're just pressuring and pressuring and pressuring. Like they say "Oh, you can all go to college" and that's not true because not everybody can pay for college (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

Students at CCHS were encouraged to go to college, but never educated about the process or given the tools necessary to achieve that goal.

Teacher Ideology

Perceptions of Families and Students

While interviewing the teachers and administrators at CCHS, their ideologies became transparent. Paul Gorski (2011) describes that ideologies are develop "based upon a set of assumed truths about the world and the sociopolitical relationships that occur in it" (p. 3). The author goes on to explain that the most devastating type of ideology is deficit ideology, which develops when one mistakes difference (particularly difference from ourselves) for deficit (Gorski, 2011). This ideology creates low expectations for students

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and it also keeps teachers and administrators from recognizing the forms of capital that student' bring with them into the classroom (Ford & Grantham, 2003).

Life for teachers and administrators was much different from that of CCHS students. All of the teachers and administrators are Caucasian, and the vast majority grew up in middle class, suburban environments. These experiences influenced them to adopt certain ways of thinking about urban environments and the people who live in them (Gorski, 2011; Ford & Grathman, 2003). Many of them function from deficit, color-blind, and/or meritocracy ideologies.

Deficit ideology was one ideology that surfaced the most during interviews and observations. According to Gorski (2011), the function of deficit ideology "is to justify existing social conditions by identifying the problem of inequality as located within, rather than as pressing upon, disenfranchised communities" (p.4). The focus is to "fix" marginalized people rather than to fix the conditions which are marginalizing them (Yosso, 2005). This ideology is justified by well-established, mainstream stereotypes of marginalized people that often depict them as intellectually, morally, and culturally deficient or deviant (Villenas, 2001; Gorski, 2011). This deficit ideology became apparent from the comments teachers wrote in the Teacher Survey. These teachers perceive the students as "uncaring" about their education and success.

> I think the challenge lies in creating a culture where students want to succeed, believe success is possible and realize that they only way to succeed is hard work (Teacher Survey).
>
> If all students care about their education, the school's job would be almost complete (Teacher Survey).
>
> Many students show a lack of interest in their education (Teacher Survey).

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The teachers also depicted the families at CCHS, because of their socioeconomic status, lack of English proficiency, and immigration status, as "hands-off" and uncaring about their child's future.

> I think I can make that claim based on knowing that if I asked them at home is your, is academics a priority, most of them would tell me, "No, it's not a priority" (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> Our kids are not horrible, they're good people, who do care, but they haven't been taught how to care about their futures (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).
>
> We need the parents to encourage these kids to care about their academic future. We're talking about sending kids to school here to encourage them to go to college; however probably less than 5% of their own parents attended a college university of any type. So it's very hard to drive home the fact they need to be prepared for college when there is no college in the family as a point of reference. I think that parental involvement needs to improve, they care about their child, that is obvious, but they don't necessarily care about their academic future (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> I think that so many of their [students] futures are taken for granted. For many, they're going to be a mother, or they're going to be a wife, or they're going to work like their dad in a factory, or they're going to work like their uncle at a food place, or they're going to be a carpenter or what not. There's no sense of them ever breaking out and becoming something completely different. I think what's important is that we need to teach them how to be successful, and teach their parents that they need to break out and be something better than maybe then maybe have envisioned for their kids (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

CCHS families are depicted as being deficit and deviant. They are often described as placing too much emphasis on "every day home responsibilities." As a result, the teachers believe that this is why students are not able to spend time on academics.

Although teachers and administrators are aware of students' socioeconomic backgrounds, and are aware of the impact that poverty has on families, none of them spoke to the ways to change the institution of poverty. Instead, many offered ideas on how to better educate families and how to break families from the "cycle of poverty."

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> We need the parents to encourage these kids to care about their academic future. We're talking about sending kids to school here to encourage them to go to college; however, probably less than 5% of their own parents attended a college university of any type. So, it's very hard to drive home the fact they need to be prepared for college when there is no college in the family as a point of reference (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

> We need to teach them how to be successful, and teach their parents that they need to break out and be something better than maybe they envisioned (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

> I think our mission is to serve the community, the Hispanic community, the communities of the low income, to just get them out of the cycle of poverty (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

Many of the teachers expect for families to "break out" of the cycle of poverty, however, no one of them spoke about the ways in which they were assisting the families in doing so.

Colorblindness

Along with the deficit ideology, other teachers also expressed a colorblind ideology. According to Rosenberg (2004), colorblindness allows people to "deny that race, especially skin color, has consequences for a person's status and well-being" (p. 257). These dispositions towards race may "create internal obstacles to the implementation of both effective pedagogy and curriculum and a transformative response to inequitable policies" (Chubbock, 2004, p. 302).

At CCHS, colorblindness is evident in the curriculum chosen for the students, as well as in the adoption of language policies. When the researcher asked about the inclusion of teaching methodologies preferred by Latina/o students, or the incorporation of resources to make the material meaningful for Latina/o students, the answer was "no." Instead, many teachers talked about using instruction methods and resources good enough for any student.

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> I don't know if I can speak to anything specific that works for them simply because they're Latina/o; I think I can tell you what works for a child academically, but I think it's not limited to their cultural background. What works for them is constant attention, helping them with what they're doing (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> Academically, I don't think that we make any changes based on it [race] (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

Many of the teachers and administrators did not see the importance of taking race/ethnicity in consideration when planning or executing lessons. Administrator 1 adds, "we don't see color, we only see scholars who will graduate and go to college" (personal communication, March 13, 2012).

Meritocracy

Teachers and administrators at CCHS also buy into "the individualistic myth that, no matter what your color, if you work hard and stick to your goals, you too can achieve the American Dream" (McIntyre, 1997, p 135). Teachers and administrators at CCHS believed that achievement had to do with personal responsibility.

> I feel like everybody has an equal opportunity based on the actual school, I mean, in their life, equal opportunity based on their culture and our country. No, but, like, as far as our school, I mean, you sign up for classes, if you are willing to work hard you have as much opportunity as anybody else has (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).
>
> It is a difficult situation because they are…like, I can think of a number of students who don't understand a lot and a lot of it has to do with the language; however, part of it has to do with their effort as well. I mean, they've been here a long time (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> But you see the difference, you see students who have come recently and are doing great because they put a lot of effort into it. You see people that have come recently and I understand the difficulty of it and yes it would be scary and hard, but they are making very little effort to learn how to cope with that situation (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

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For these teachers and administrators, students earn merit based on the work they put in, the effort they make, and the obstacles they clear (Ullucci & Battey, 2011). CRT theorists believe that by focusing on an individual's efforts and talents, attention is diverted away from analyzing laws and policies that keep people of color subordinated (Zamudio et al., 2011). While this attention is diverted away, resources and opportunities are given only to those who have power. This "pull yourself- up-by-the-bootstraps" mentality does not take into consideration how the school's policies have failed to provide equal opportunity and racial equity. In other words, the teachers and administrators do not take into consideration the school's subtractive language policies, the disempowering curriculum or the outside forces that may be impeding a child from becoming academically successful. Instead, teachers and administrators are fixated on using stock stories, accounts that justify the world as it is (Delgado, 2000). Stories that serve as a camouflage for their own self-interest, power and privilege at the expense of student academic failure. For many students, these other factors are ever too real; they know that although they are trying and taking responsibility, they cannot seem to succeed (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 12, personal communication, March 19, 2012). These competing ideals between teachers and students often take a toll on the establishment of teacher/student relationships.

Teacher/Student Relationships

> "Do you even know me?" (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

The Teacher Survey demonstrated a positive environment based on respect and the valuing of students, which would allow for authentic relationships between teachers and

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students to develop. Table 4.7 demonstrates how many of the teachers reported caring about students, and respecting students and their families.

Table 4.7: Caring about Students

	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree
1. Teachers know about their students' lives outside of school.	2	2	1	2
2. Students and teachers treat each other with respect.	2	4	0	1
3. Faculty and students value what most students have to say.	4	1	2	
4. The teachers and staff think about students as individuals.	3	2	0	2
5. The teachers and staff care about most students.	2	4	0	1
13. Most teachers respect those of all socioeconomic status.	4	3		

Source: Teacher Survey

However, when the researcher talked to the students, this was not the case. Many students at CCHS reported having a difficult time forming relationships with teachers and administrators. Many reported that teachers didn't care about them or their job as teachers.

> Student: In some…in a way that is true because, um, like, you talk to a teacher and then you feel that you really don't have a connection with that teacher (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student 1: It's just like, I don't really, like, get deep with them that way.
> Student 2: Because, like, they say that they don't really care about our lives; so why should I? (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).
>
> Student: No one cares (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

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> Student: I don't know, I just feel like he doesn't care about the students, he just comes because he needs the money and the job (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: They really don't care; they don't want to relate to us. They are the teachers; they are above us, that's how it is (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: It sounds like the real problem is not having a teacher from the same background as any of us, they don't really know nothing about our background and how are we supposed to know how are we going to relate (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012)?

For many students, teachers were functioning under an aesthetic care paradigm; that is, the teacher "tends to be concerned first with form and non-personal content and only secondary, if all, with their students' subjective reality" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 22).

> Student: Only when they're mad and we're talking about work and we change the subject, they're like, "We don't care about your life, let's talk about work" (Focus Group 4).
>
> Student: Something I don't like is that this school doesn't care about families' issues (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

According to Valenzuela (1999), Latina/o students learn better under an authentic form of caring, one that is reciprocal and takes the whole person into consideration. This lack of knowledge for what students deem as "caring" drives teachers to believe that Latina/o students do not care about their education, and Latina/o students to believe that teachers do not care about them (Valenzuela, 1999). It also leads students to lose respect for teachers and to take the failure of their teachers personally; "they lose respect for their teachers precisely because they feel that their teachers have lost respect for them" (Katz, 1999).

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Students also talked about instances in which the words and actions of teachers and administrators made them feel disrespected; as a result, they lost respect for the teacher or administrator.

> Student 1: He [the teacher] told us one thing in class: "The way I treat you here is the same way you are going to be treated in life." And he was yelling at us.
> Student 2: They say, "If you don't succeed here, you are not going to succeed in life." It's like, who are you to tell me if I can succeed or not? (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: They tell us all these bad things that happen if we don't go to college, like working at McDonald's (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).

> Student: Academics, they tell us you have to get good grades to go to college; if you don't get good grades, you're going to be a loser in life. Basically, they put it into nice words for you, if you don't go to college you're lost (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).

> Student 1: Well, last year, when they had the big protest in the school, an administrator at the school told us, "If you don't go to this school, you are either going to South Division or end up working at McDonald's," and he gave us, he had applications ready for us.
> Researcher: For McDonald's?
> Student 1: Yes.
> Student 1: He said if you plan on leaving this school, you can come and get an application.
> Researcher: What do you think he was saying?
> Student 1: That we're no good.
> Student 2: Saying that his school is as good as it gets, and if you're not here, you're going to end up flipping burgers at McDonald's with 8 kids back at home.
> Student 1: I felt like he basically was telling us that we belong at McDonald's because we're not smart enough (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

> Student: Yes, I remember my teacher saying that supposedly the way we were acting, we were fitting into the stereotype, like the role, we're all gang bangers and all this and that (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

Other teachers used the public school sector as a "warning," indicating that public schools are where students who did not try hard enough went; attending these schools would serve as a punishment for them.

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> Student: And my teacher says, "I will make sure you go to South Division. And I will take you there in my car to make sure you go there," and, "You won't get any better school than this one" (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: If you don't follow the rules, they just tell you to go to South Division, and make sure you go there where you will fit in (Focus Group 1 personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: They [teachers and administrators] would tell us, "If you don't like it here, go to South Division." And then they would say, "After South, you can work at McDonald's" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Besides threatening students, the participants reported a constant surveillance from the teachers and administrators that often resulted in a discipline infraction.

> Student: Some people, like, they would give out demerits to some students out of nowhere. Like, you were talking and we're like, "No they weren't," and they're like, "Yes they were," and it's like we can't even say anything to defend ourselves, we just have to say, "Ok, whatever" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: She is like the one who, I feel is really strictest. She will catch you for anything, any little thing. If you are wearing the wrong shoes, or just something in your hair and nail polish. She will give you a demerit or you will be suspended (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: For every little thing is was demerit, demerit, and I'm like, damn. Everything. They are always watching (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: Yes, they are really picking…if you don't do what they say...they start picking on you (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: Porque, intento portarme bien porque yo no quiero detención por tres horas, pero, pues, no, el a mi no me cae bien el, y yo trato de hablarle lo mas menor posible, pero pienso que me sigue para darme los demerits [I try, because I do not want detention for three hours, but, he doesn't like me. I try to talk to him the least possible, but I think he follows me to give me demerits (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).
>
> Student: I don't like him; he gave me a demerit out of nowhere. I was just like walking to the bathroom and he was like, "You got demerits" because this one freshman was screaming in the hallway and then he was like, "It was you," and I

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> was like, "You don't even know me." You don't even know what I sound like so why would you even say it (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

This was especially true if the teacher was "in a bad mood," or if the student was questioning the teacher's/administrator's behavior.

> Student 1: Because he like, he's very moody. Like one day he can be, like, he has this rule in his classroom: be respectful, be positive, and be, I don't know, something else. He is almost never positive with us.
> Student 2: He's always moody and if, like, we make a joke or something, he's already really, really, mad and to the point where he's, like, and we can't even joke around with him or try to, like, loosen up the classroom. So it's not, like, always boring and direct instruction and, like, he just won't allow it (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student: If you tell them they're doing something wrong, they get defensive and they might even give you a demerit or something for disrespecting them (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).

As a result, students felt afraid of their teachers and administrators.

> Student 1: You don't want to ask them [the teachers] for anything or even, like, just, you just want to go to the class and just leave after.
> Student 2: I'm kind of scared in asking the teacher because he's, like, very strict.
> Student 1: They [the teachers] are strict and we don't really want to go to them because you feel like, "Oh my gosh, he's gonna tells us something mean" (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).

Because of the above behavior, students reported having a difficult time in establishing relationships with teachers and administrators. It was especially difficult for students when the teachers chimed in on their lives.

> Student 1: A while ago I got in trouble for something and, like, this teacher, I don't know who she is. She started talking to me like, like if she knew me. I have never spoken to her before, and she was like, "I know what's going on at your house, I know everything."
> Student 2: Yeah, they did that to me too. A teacher told me that the reason why I was doing bad at this school was because I'm having issues in my home and I need to stop, like, including that in my school stuff. And I was like, if you say you know me, then you must know it's not that. Like they try to…and then they would always tell me, "Oh, you're the one with the problem, you're the one with

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> the problem," it's not us, it's you. I have never spoken to her before (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).
>
> Student: I don't know, like, she thinks she knows everything about student, but she doesn't (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Overall, an overwhelming amount of students felt as if the teachers and administrators did not care for them.

> Student 1: Some don't really care, well, yeah.
> Student 2: They do care, but they don't try enough (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student 1: She doesn't care about me or my academics; I have a class that I am not used to it. I am not good at Algebra and I tell her to at least switch me up with another teacher who teaches it better, and she is like, "You stay in there," and then she asks why I am failing it. I am failing it and she doesn't care (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: Like, I think that, like, some teachers they help me and encourage me, but some teachers is just like, it makes me wonder why they even here, like what's the point if they're not really gonna, like, help you or care for you or anything like that? (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).
>
> Student 1: And she don't even listen. Sometimes she doesn't really care what you think, say, or do, as long as you got your uniform in right.
> Student 2: Yes, they only care about the school looks and how people see it, they don't really care about us (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Although an overwhelming majority of students felt that teachers and administrators did not care for them, many of the students talked about having "educación" and hence respecting all teacher and administration regardless of the treatment received. Educación is defined by Valenzuela (1999) as "a competence in the social world, wherein one respects the dignity and individuality of others" (p 23). Being "bien educado" is very important for Latina/o families as it serves as a foundation for moral, social and personal responsibility, as well as other learning (Valenzuela, 1999). Because students were "bien educados," they reported respecting the staff regardless of the mistreatment received.

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> Student: Well, I try to be respectful to every, like, teacher even though I don't like what they do, I still like to be respectful to them (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).

> Student: Well, even though I don't have nobody, I, like, respect them and, like, be polite to them and that, like, not argue with them (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Authentic Caring at CCHS. Other students reported that although the vast majority of teachers were uncaring, they had at least one person in the building whom they trusted. These teachers embody authentic caring (Noddings, 1988). According to the students, these teachers not only care about their grades, but they also care about the whole person. These teachers take the time to get to know them, their families and their circumstances (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012) and are constantly making sure students are well.

> Student: I don't know, because she is like, she is always asking me how I am and stuff like that; like, a lot of people don't do that. She is always worrying about me, I like a person who does that. Like, she cares about how I feel and stuff like that (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

> Student: Because they're not only there, they're there not only for teaching you, like, what you need to learn about this character or whatever, but, like, if you had something, like, if you experienced something with your family a day before and you come to school and they see you, like, sad or whatever or upset, they actually take their time to talk to you (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Students describe these teachers as "understanding" if a problem at home or in the students' personal life arises that keeps them from completing an assignment.

> Student: And sometimes, if I am having issues, she is lenient and you are like "Oh, I forgot my homework," and she is like, "Don't worry, you can turn it in at the end of the day and it won't be late," or "Oh, I need to finish a couple of things in here," "Oh ok, go and finish it really fast." Stuff like that (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

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These teachers also make themselves available to students to go over assignments, or to just "hear them out."

> Students: And he listens to you and sometimes he stays after school and helps us (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).
>
> Student: The majority of people, the teachers, some of them, you know, look after you after school, before school, so you can get help with homework (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

The teachers provided the students with advice and guidance. This advice was well-received by students because of the relationship they developed with the teacher.

> Student: He is helping me succeed in life, with college, and also when I have problem at home; he is always there for me to give me advice or to help me out (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: I see her as, like, a person to talk to about stuff; like, she was always there for me, she was always… (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: Yo tuve un problema con drogas. Un día hablando con mi maestro estábamos bromeando, pero el después, el habla conmigo y me dice, "A mi sobrino le pasa esto, y mira como termino, y yo no quiero que termines así." [I had a problem with drugs. One day, while talking to my teacher, we were joking around, but then, he talks to me and says "My nephew has the same issue as you, and look how he ended up, I don't want you to end up like that"] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

These teachers demonstrate what Noddins (1988) termed authentic caring. Authentic caring allows for an exchange to occur between teachers and students. That is by teachers taking an interest in students' welfare and creating a nurturing, mutually respectful relationship the student will react by having a more positive experience in school, both academically and in building relationships with teachers.

These teachers are also described as not so strict. According to the students, their life does not revolve around disciplining them.

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> Student: He doesn't yell at you like that; if you do something wrong, he just tells you to stop, he doesn't keep telling you stuff. He doesn't say, "I am going to give you a demerit." Stuff like that. He doesn't yell at you like other teachers do (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Overall, the students felt that these teachers "got their back." They helped, defended, gave advice, and most importantly, really got to know their students. The sad reality is that most students talked about the same three staff members, one of whom is not a teacher at all.

A Picture of Despair and Hopelessness

Due to the experiences inside of the school, outside of the school, between peers, and from the teachers and administrators, many of the students felt voiceless and disempowered. Using photovoice methodology gave students the opportunity to voice their concerns; however, when asked if they wanted to share this information with teachers and administrators, many became uninterested and instead talked about how they were powerless.

> Student: Nosotros somos estudiantes contras personas que tienen sus títulos y mandan aquí. A pesar que somos muchos no se va a poder [We are students against people who have degrees, and who are in charge. I know there are a lot of us, but we won't be able to do anything] (Focus Group 14, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

> Student: Yo no creo que se pueda hacer nada porque estamos en su escuela; ellos no lo van a cambiar solo porque nosotros pedimos. Ellos van a decir, "Es tu decisión estar aquí, si no te gusta, vete;" te van a botar. [I don't think we can do anything because we are in their school; they are not going to change it because we ask them to. They are going to say "It's your decision to be here, if you don't like it, leave;" they will kick you out (Focus Group 14, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

> Student: In our group, we always think of how it could be different, how it should be different, about how we cant't make it different because we have no say. Like, I've heard them say, like, the administration that your rights end at the door, so we don't feel like people. We don't get treated like people (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

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The students reported that even if they tried, the teachers and administrators would not listen to them.

> Student: We can't really do anything because they're never going to hear our opinion (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

> Student: I took a picture of the little sign that says "Stand up for what's right even if you're standing alone," and I think that's sort of hypocritical because if you try to stand up for what you think is right, nobody is going to listen, and if the thing you're trying to oppose is set into someone else's mind, they're going to do whatever it takes to just put you down and they'll probably brainwash you into thinking what they believe and assure you that you are wrong (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

> Student: Because they'll shut you down, they won't listen, they'll put you aside (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

The students knew the mind set of many of the teachers and administrators. They knew that if they shared their concerns, they would be told that their focus should be on "school" and not other "useless" information (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012; Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

> Student: I would say the administration doesn't see any value towards culture, like they don't see how it would help us go to college. They say having a Mexican flag in the hallway won't prepare me for college (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

Instead, students became accustomed to putting their head down (Focus Group 12, personal communication, March 19, 2012), accepting their reality, and just living (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

Instructional Practices

Every single day teachers begin their classroom instruction the same way. Every teacher begins the day with a "Do Know" activity; these activities tie the content from the previous lecture to today's lecture. A number of other instructional practices were noted

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by the researcher while doing classroom observations. Several teachers used more traditional lecturing approaches, while other teachers planned activities that were more hands-on and interactive. The lessons observed included combinations of whole group/small group discussions, small group work, theater productions, small group lab experiments, and whole class competition activities (such as Jeopardy).

When discussing these activities with the students, they assured the researcher that the activities observed were not common. In fact, most of the participants reported that in many of their classes, the only methods of teaching used were direct instruction, the use of power point presentations, and note taking.

> Student: Like, just a lot of notes or stuff like that (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).

> Student: It's direct, like direct instruction. Like, we don't really think and they just tell us and then we have to repeat it. They don't tell you, "Oh, why do you think this happens?" or "How about this question?" Like that, they just say…
> S. Yeah we are just told, this is what happened and this is why and there, period (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student 1: He [the teacher] is boring and he only lectures and lectures.
> Student 2: Yeah, with my other teacher is just lecture too (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student 1:He [the teacher] only shows us the projector thingy, the slide show, talks a little bit about it and that's it.
> Student 2: "Here you guys, take some notes, hear a little bit about it (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

These answers were supported by an interviewing with Participant B (personal communication, March 7, 2012), who explained that the teaching methodology was exactly what the students described.

> I provide them with two sets of notes: one is a hand out with more detailed notes, and then I basically let them keep that for reference later, and then we go through a slide show of notes where they don't have to write as much because they can go back to the notes that I provided them as a hand out, so they are taking notes.

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> Then, I give them basically a homework worksheet each class and each sort of section with the text book where they have the notes for it just to remind themselves, just remind themselves of the information so that they don't hear it once and forget it (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

From the students' perspective, the PowerPoint, note taking, worksheet scheme was the traditional teaching style of most of their teachers. When the researcher inquired about whether the teaching practices were the teaching style encouraged by the school, neither of the administrators were able to answer the question. The students, however, assured the researcher that this was the style teachers were encouraged to adopt.

Students also reported the teaching methodology as very "hands off," where they had to figure out the material on their own, with little to no assistance from the teacher.

> Student 1: Depends on the teacher you have. Like, there are some teachers that do know how to teach and there's some that just like she said, they just give you the work, and expect you to do it on your own.
> Student 2: He never teaches us in our class. We teach ourselves.
> Student: And then Math class, it's just 5 of us in the most complicated math class and he's over there and we teach ourselves (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student 1: Um, some teachers, they're, like, lazy.
> Researcher: What do you mean?
> Student 1: They don't, like, I don't know, they just sit there and they just expect…
> Student 2: Yeah, like, they just give us the work and expect us to do it without, like, explaining it to us (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student: When there's something we need the help on, he's like, "Oh, go and look at your books; look at the example," but we actually need him to tell us each step (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

> Student 1: I think that's the only class, like, where is complicated because you don't have a teacher where she will tell you you're supposed to do this step.
> Student 2: Like, she just keeps giving us packets and packets (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

> Student 1: Lo único que hace es llega, te da la hoja y tu averigua como hacerlo.
> Student: Nosotros necesitamos que ellos mismos nos ayuden mas, que no simplemente nos den el trabajo y si entiendes bueno. [Student 1: The only thing

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> that he does is give you a sheet of paper and you figure out how to do it. Student 2: We need that they [the teachers] help us, we need for them to not just give us the work and if you understand good] (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).

The students reported having to figure out material on their own because of the unavailability of the teacher during class or the students' perception that the teacher lacked content knowledge. While observing several classes, the researcher noticed that the various teachers would give students the work and then retreat to their desks, where they sat without interacting with the students. Many students asked the researcher for assistance, or gave up and did not complete the work.

The Few, the Proud, the "non" Traditional

Despite many of the teachers using more traditional teaching methodologies, the students talked about five teachers who taught outside of the prescribed scheme.

> Student 1: In my class, he would make us act out, and he's like, "Oh, who wants to be this?" and then…
> Student 2: He'd be like, "You be Russian."
> Student 1: Oh yeah, "You be Russian, and you're this, and you're gonna fight her, and you're Mother Theresa," and he does, like, games where you take on the personality of who we are reading about (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student: Like, sometimes in classes we are active, like "You get up and move to this side if you agree or disagree," so that's, you know, fun (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

> Student: She actually took her time, and she just told us, "Oh, you guys are supposed to do this step and then this step." Everybody from that class passed (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

> Student: My teacher, he lectures us but he gives us break time and helps us individually, so he spends time with people who don't get it. So I think I like him better (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: Some teachers, like, I don't know, they actually take their time, to like, teach us 'til we get the subjects and all the stuff (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012).

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These teachers also encourage group work, which, according to the CCHS students, was very uncommon but, very much appreciated because it gave them a better opportunity to interact with, and therefore, better learn the material.

> Student: In some classes, like, we are allowed to work with groups...like when I work in groups is better because sometimes I can't figure it out by myself (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

> Student: Sometimes they allow peer learning, like me try to help her out. I like it 'cause I can, since it's easy for me, like help her out, be like, "Oh, you know, it's this, this, and that" (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

Teacher Turnover at CCHS

The teachers who choose to teach using different techniques and methodologies are, according to the students, "let go" because they are not "following the teaching rules." This year alone, and for reasons not disclosed to the researcher, three teachers were let go before the end of semester one. Two more teachers will be let go at the end of the year. Teacher turnover is a problem at CCHS. Over the last three years, CCHS has started every year with a new teacher team. Also, in the last three years, it was not uncommon for teachers to be let go mid- semester, and for a new teacher to begin soon after. According to Administrator 1, these teachers were let go because "their philosophies and missions did not match the philosophy and mission of the school" (personal communication, March 13, 2012).

***The Effects of Teacher Turn Over*.** The issue of teacher turnover was very problematic for the students. Students felt the constant movement of teachers was keeping them from learning material because the new teacher often did not know where to begin and the students had to get used to a new person with new teaching and assessment styles.

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> Student 1: I tell that to my parents and sometimes they are like, "Why do I send you there? You are not learning, you are failing, they don't even have teachers for you."
> Student 2: And it's not our fault.
> Student 1: Yeah and my mom gets mad de como estan las cosas[of how things are], yo no se porque tengo [I don't know why I have] bad grades, ella sabe que siempre le he dado [she knows I have always given her] good grades and this year, "Why are you failing?" and I am like, "I am not, it's the teachers. I have three new teachers, in three weeks." (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: The way the teacher teaches affects me sometimes, that is one way that is affecting the students, when suddenly they fire three teachers, or supposedly they left. It really affects us because some teachers had different types of methods for teaching, and the homework, and how they grade and stuff like that. So everyone was so confused when the teacher left and new ones came in (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: I find it hard to adapt to a new teacher, because you just missed out on so much you could have learned. So now it puts everything further back, so by the end of the year, you may have not learned what you would have and what you should have (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

The high teacher turnover also affects the teaching community; since so many are new, a new community needs to be built.

> There are so many of us that are new that it doesn't get a real time to coalesce, it never really forms, it never really creates a really strong bond because there's a high turnover rate. So we try to make it good, but it's very difficult when everybody has their own schedule, their own lives; and it's very hard when you're not here year after year after year. I think we try to be positive but some days it's just impossible (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

When the researcher questioned administration about the teachers that left, the administrator responded with the fact that these teachers did not fit the teaching philosophy at CCHS. Previously, she had not articulated a philosophy. When asked about it, she stated the following as the teacher philosophy:

> The philosophy focuses on the whole student that we are trying to educate, not just academically, but as a Catholic, as a responsible person with good character and that we're not going to say if you don't do your homework, you get an F. We are really going to try and help the students along and their families, which we

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> understand that they aren't necessarily as educated as the students and can't help them with their homework, so we have to take on that primary role (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

When asked for further clarification, the administrator was unable to give any more information and as a result, the expectations for teachers and the teaching philosophy of the school is unclear.

Many of the teachers observed by the researcher also lacked clarity about what the administration expected of them. Many of them lived in a constant state of panic, hoping not to "upset administration" and hence get written up. One of the teachers observed asked to be interviewed outside of the campus. The teachers the researcher interviewed inside of the school made sure the room was locked and the administration could not listen. The researcher had to assure many of them that all information gathered would be kept confidential.

As the researcher developed relationships with the teachers, they began to open up about what happened to the teachers who were fired. Many of them brought up the fact that these teachers did not agree with some of the policies and the subscribed teaching methods. When they spoke out against certain policies, there was backlash from administration in the form of write-ups. After a few write-ups, the teachers were asked to leave. It is for that reason that many of the teachers do not challenge the rules and regulations that come from administration. According to some of the teachers, not all teachers are punished for sharing their ideas. The teachers that are allowed to disagree or state their personal opinions are part of the "administration favorites."

> The administrative staff plays favorites with teachers; they will tend to take the opinion of certain teachers; they weigh them more than if someone else says it and someone that they hold in more regard, they're not going to accept you know,

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> a valid, if it is it could be, a very valid suggestion, they don't accept that (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

The lack of Guidance and Mentorship for Teachers. Several teachers reported a lack of support, mentorship and guidance from the administration. Under the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction Initial Educator Support system, districts are supposed to provide the following to new teachers:

1. Provide ongoing orientation that is collaboratively developed and delivered by school boards, administrators, teachers, support staff, and parents/families.
2. Provide support seminars which reflect the appropriate standards (teacher, pupil services, administrator), and the mission and goals of the school district.
3. Designate an administrator who may serve, subject to school board approval, on the initial educator's Professional Development Plan (PDP) team.
4. Provide a qualified mentor.
   A qualified mentor is an educator who holds a Professional or Master Educator License, is trained to provide support and assistance to initial educators, and has input into the confidential formative assessment of the initial educator. Training should include knowledge and understanding of the Wisconsin educator standards as well as the Professional Development Plan (PDP) process. The mentor is **not** part of the formal employment evaluation process (See Initial Educator Support Systems).

The teachers interviewed stated that many of these requirements are not met. There is no mentorship set in place or PDP assistance. Teachers also reported receiving little to no feedback on their teaching from administrators.

> Participant: She has observed my room I think twice over the course of the year; and it's been about maybe not more than 10 minutes that she comes in there and then leaves.
> Researcher: Does she give you feedback about that?
> Participant: Yeah, like, the 10 minutes that she's in there, yeah, which….and what she told me once was that, well, I didn't want to stay because you were doing an activity and I didn't want to be a bother and I said, I told, I said flat out, "That's the time that I want you in there observing me because then you can see my interactions with my students and critique that" (Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

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> I will say this, I was only observed one time by my supervisor for 10 minutes out of this entire year and that was later on that day that I was questioned, that was already established prior to that, but she came in for 10 minutes and left, never gave me a debriefing afterwards as to my performance. The one who has observed me twice is one of my colleagues who is going to become an administrator. So I think this is his training, and now nothing against him, but he's got less experience than I do as a teacher. So how is that fair for me to grow as a teacher? (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

The teachers also report a lack of quality and relevant Professional Development (PD) seminars. According to the administrator, the PD opportunities vary "based on the needs of the teachers." So far they have covered behavior management, unit planning and curriculum mapping. They have also covered general curriculum topics, physical space, sensory models for forms of reading and differentiated instructions. The teachers reported an interest in more relevant topics.

> In fact, me being a white male not brought up in the Latina/o community teaching almost 100% Latinas/os on a day to day basis, for professional development, given that our staff is all white, having people come in and say these are issues in the Latina/o community, these are issues with students at this age in the Latina/o community, these are things that they hold very sacred and very valuable so that we can be aware of these things and maybe incorporate that into our lessons of some sort…I think that we are trying to fix them into being like white Anglo-Saxon individuals and dismissing their whole entire culture (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

This is especially true based on results from the Teacher Survey where the majority of the participants reported not feeling qualified to address the needs of English Language Learners, or to incorporate diversity into the curriculum.

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Table 4.8: Qualified to Teach

	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree
14. Most teachers incorporate aspects of diversity into the curriculum	0	3	4	0
19. I am qualified to address the needs of students who are English Language Learners.	0	2	5	0

Source: Teacher Survey

Parents' Interactions with the School

Choosing CCHS

CCHS is part of a Midwestern Catholic school located in the heart of a Latina/o Community. The school houses over 500 children grades K-12. The school is very popular in the community; it is not uncommon to run into a community member whose children are enrolled at this school. The information for this section comes from conversation with parents as well as the Parent Survey that was sent out to current parents. Sixty surveys were sent home; however, only 12 were returned.

In the survey and in conversation, it became apparent that parents choose CCHS for a number of reasons. One main reason has to do with the religious aspect. Many families want their children to grow in the Catholic faith and hence choose CCHS. Because the school is in the community, it is even more appealing to families. These families do not have to travel far and can enroll all of their children in one school, regardless of the grade. For many of the CCHS students, high school was year number 9, 10 or 11 in this same school, with the same classmates.

Besides its location and religious foundation, the size of the school is also a plus. In the Parent Survey, all 12 families expressed concern about larger schools. During Parent/Teacher Conferences, several parents also expressed this fear to the researcher.

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They worried that their child would get lost in the larger neighborhood high schools. The students expressed this same concern and reported that coming to a small school allowed them to really get to know everyone and feel more comfortable.

> Student: I think the best thing is that you can come…like, it is really slow, I mean small, and you can talk to most of the people that go here, although some people are like preppy, but still you can talk to them (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: Well, like, the thing I said that you know everybody in the whole school...well, not everybody, but, like, some people, and that's good because you're not gonna feel uncomfortable of coming to school and, like, bullying and stuff like that (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student: This is like somebody's house and everybody just hangs out here (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).
>
> Student: The fact that everyone knows everybody, like, helps to, well since they know each other, there is less of a chance of anyone starting something (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Because of the size of the school and the fact that many of the students knew each other from previous years or from the membership to the adjacent church, the parents felt that CCHS was safe. The teachers agreed. They felt that safety was a major strength for CCHS.

> So, in terms of strengths, it's safe too; it's a very safe environment and the kids they want to be, they don't want to be here, but then they're here, they're here early for various reasons and then they stay late and we have to kind of, like, force them out, so they feel safe (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
>
> It [the school] is safe, it's comfortable, you know, if you are just moving to Milwaukee for the first time ever, and you're, you know, by word of mouth, trying to find a school, CCHS is a safe school, much safer than the schools around here (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).
>
> The way I look at it is that if we didn't have CCHS, I think a lot of these students would be going off to other schools in the public school system; that wouldn't be the best environment for them. I think that many of them really find it safe to be

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> at this school given their home life or where they're coming from (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

The students concurred. They too felt the school was very safe for them.

> Student: Well, I just feel like it is safe (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).

> Student: Well, this is basically a safe environment because you hear a lot about other schools and daily fights and stuff like that, here is like that really never happens, and it feels comfortable to be here without any dangers (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

For parents, the school is a great package; it is a small, safe, religious school close to home. Other things also made the school more marketable. Earlier this semester, a note went home explaining to parents the new, free, pediatric clinic that the school was opening. This clinic was available for current students and their immediate families, at no cost. The clinic has a pediatric doctor, a nurse practitioner, and medical assistants who provide both urgent care and regular primary care needs to families. Another service provided by the school is the All Day Summer Program. This is an all-day summer day care program for children 4-12 years old at low cost to the families. Furthermore, the school also offers a new K-3 program, also at no or low cost to families depending on income. These were all services that parents desired. The health care, in particular, was very important, as many students enrolled in the school did not have health insurance. Finally, the church prepared all students for religious sacraments. Due to all of these factors, families were very quick to enroll their children.

Parental Involvement

A growing body of research suggests that when parents and teachers/administrators collaborate effectively, students are more likely to behave and perform better in school (Epstein & Lee, 1995; Henderson & Berla, 1994; Reynolds, 1991). According to the

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CCHS handbook, parents interact with teachers and administrators in a number of ways. Parents are encouraged to participate in the CCHS Home and School Association.

> As a means of communication and support between the home and the school, it is strongly recommended that parents join and actively participate in the St. Anthony Home and School Association. Monthly Home and School meetings will be held during the year and parents are encouraged to attend each meeting to learn important information and become involved in their student's school (CCHS Handbook).

Parent-teacher conferences are another opportunity for parents to interact with teachers and administrators.

> Parent- teacher conferences are scheduled twice per year, one in the first semester and one in the second. These times are designated for discussing a student's academic achievement and development as a Catholic Citizen. Parents are required to attend conferences if one is requested by their teachers (CCHS Handbook).

Finally, parents are encouraged to attend sporting events and talent shows, and to chaperone dances (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

The reality is that on a day-to-day basis, and even with parent-teacher conferences and the CCHS Home and School Association, parent participation is low. In fact, when the researcher inquired about the CCHS Home and School Association, the administration reported not knowing exactly what the group was.

> I have no idea; I don't know anything about an association. As far as I know I had a couple of parent meetings, but they have been generic, so I am not really sure (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

Despite the lack of awareness, the administrators were attempting to start up a Parent Group with very similar goals as the CCHS Home and School Association.

> We are trying to get parent groups together to see what their needs are; we want to get a group of parents in here for college to show them how to register for ACT. They probably don't know how to do that online because they probably don't have computers or internet and things like that (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

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> We just started really reaching out to parents for ideas and for their feedback, so we have one parent meeting earlier this year and actually we have one tonight, for parents to talk about the curricular changes, the schedule changes, and the possibility of expanding next year just to get their input. So it's more of an open forum, so if a parent wants to come they can; it's not required (Administrator 1, personal communication, March 13, 2012).

The researcher attended one of the Parent Group meetings. For this particular meeting, twenty families were identified as strong members for the Parent Group. The day of the meeting, only three families attended. The presentation was in English, but translation was available. The information presented pertained to the changes the high school will experience next year. The parents asked college-related questions. Unfortunately, the presenters did not have information. In fact, the presenters actually gave erroneous information in response to some questions.

Low parent attendance is very common for meetings and activities that are not mandatory for CCHS parents; according to Participant C (personal communication, March 23, 2012), families do not come into the school unless they have a scheduled meeting with one of the administrators. The parents that do participate are few. These few parents are visibly more involved and proactive.

> I think they're the more proactive ones: "Hey, how's my kid doing?", "Hi, how's the school?", or they get a report card and call the school right away and want to meet. They're always the first; they'll offer to help if you need help with office stuff or doing this. We don't usually take them up on it, but they're really proactive (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

According to the teachers and administrators, the low parent involvement is due to conflict with time.

> I think it's very hard, because I believe many of our parents do work day jobs, they work multiple jobs, so for them to take the time to just come in to school, things are difficult, it's a lot to ask of them (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

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> We try [to incorporate families] but it's difficult too because of their work shifts, because they work extremely hard (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

> I want to have the parents involved and to understand what is going on, so I'll have parent meeting or like I'll send forms home explaining what the time of the meeting is. And even though I call and survey parents about what the best time to meet is, it never works out. I feel like we are dealing with families that are, I was going to say unconventional, but no, that's not the right word. We are dealing with families who aren't all the same for one thing and don't fit the middle class stereotype of "we work from 9-5." So I have these parent meetings and like 10 parents come when there's like 25 students interested. So turn out is low and I don't know how to make that better. (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

> One of the reasons for the lack of parent involvement has to do with time. Like Parent/Teacher conferences in the fall, we have parents. We see almost everyone but that is because we have at different times of the say, so if they work a night shift they can come, or if they're working during the day. But with other parent meetings is really hard to do that. I just think some of them [parents] have a lot more important things to worry about than school. You know they think, "my kid is in high school they're sixteen, they can worry about their own things, I have 4 other kids and I need to worry about them first", or "I have two jobs and I need to worry about that more" (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

This time conflict is very evident, especially during Parent Teacher Conferences. In the fall, parent attendance is very high because the conference is mandatory, and it is scheduled during different times of the day during a span of two days. The spring conference however, has lower attendance because it is only offered for one day between the hours of 3:30 pm and 6:30 pm.

For one teacher in particular, low parent attendance was equivalent to low parent expectations and a lack of understanding of the importance of academic achievement and college admissions.

> I think that parental involvement needs to improve. They care about their kids, that is obvious; they don't necessarily care about their academic future (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

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Further,

> I think that so many of their futures are taken for granted that they're going to be a mother, that they're going to be a wife, that they're going to work like their dad in a factory, or they're going to work like their uncle at a food place, or they're going to be a carpenter or what not; there's no sense of them ever breaking out and becoming something completely different (Participant C, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Fortunately, other teachers and administrators did not take on such a deficit model mentality. These participants saw the lack of physical parent involvement, yet they understood that at home parents were very much involved. Equally important, teachers knew that parents were on the same page as the school in regards to the child's academic achievement.

> I'm finding that many of my students, there is no motivation behind them wanting to do their work or even caring, but, if there is one thing I am finding, is that when they are aware that their parent is coming in to talk a teacher it seems as though work gets done and things are turned in. So what I'm implementing, and I just started this last week, is that I've been trying to find out what's going to motivate them to do the work, and obviously parents are by far the number one. It's the home that's going to instill this, so I'm having a mother coming in every Thursday (Participant D, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

> With the culture of the parents here, they are fully behind the teacher; and knowing that it is on them, and it runs the conference really well. It's like, well, they have this opportunity, they look over at their child and it's like oh… and then they see the guilt on the face and it's unfortunate to see that, but it reaffirms me in that okay, now we're on the same page (Participant A, personal communication, March 23, 2012).

Besides time conflicts, other aspects of the school's policies might also be serving as gatekeepers for parental involvement. One such policy is the Visitor Policy.

> Parents and families are always welcome in the school. Should a parent wish to observe a class in session, a request to the principal is required, at least 24 hours before the requested visit (CCHS Handbook).

When the researcher inquired about the Visitor Policy, Administrator 2 spoke about one

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incident with a parent that led to the Visitor Policy.

> I can think of an incident where a parent came into the school and in the middle of class started yelling at the teacher, basically. About their student and that she was picking on them. I just think it is a safety issue (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

When asked about the possibility of parents coming in without 24 hour notice to talk to a teacher, or sit in a class, Administrator 2 (personal communication, March 15, 2012) said this was not possible. All classroom visits and teacher meetings had to be set up in advance. Besides this policy, the language barrier might also keep parents from getting involved. Although translators are always at hand, it is difficult when multiple parents or teachers need translations. Furthermore, some messages might get lost in translation.

> It's hard! There are so many times where I would love to make a phone call but I'm like, I have to go to the office and ask the translator to make a phone call for me. I have to tell her what I want and sometimes just the communication to her to the parents, just… something could be lost through the translation, it's just super hard (Participant B, personal communication, March 7, 2012).

Although all documents are translated in Spanish, the live communication between teachers and parents is minimal. For the most part, teachers and administrators recognized that the involvement of parents was important, yet little was done to increase participation (Participant I, personal communication, March 9, 2012; Participant E, personal communication, March 21, 2012). As a result, parents were unaware of things that went on in school, or changes that were going to be made in the curriculum (Administrator 2, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

This lack of information became very evident one day when the researcher received a phone call from her sister. The researcher's sister is a social worker; on her case load was as student from CCHS. The researcher's sister was called by the child's mother in a state of panic; the child was getting kicked out of school. The researcher's

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sister was unaware of the rules or regulation of the school and was having a hard time establishing support in favor of the child. The researcher provided her sister with the school's manual.

The lack of information about the school, and the programs that should be set into place for struggling children disempowered this child's mother. After the researcher's sister reviewed the manual with the mother, she was prepared to face the administration and demand better services for the child. She did so, and as a result, the child was not kicked out of the school. Other parents soon started approaching the researcher during Parent/Teacher conferences asking where they could get more information about student's grades, or how to best contact the teachers. In the Parent Survey, one parent wrote in

> Nunca me dejan saber si el desempeño del alumno baja antes de que cierren los semestres. Si el alumno baja el nivel académico y lo nota el maestro, el maestro debería de hacer llegar una alerta antes de que cierre el semestre, pero no lo hace. [They never let one know if the performance of the student is low before the semester ends. If the student lowers their academic levels and the teacher notices that, the teacher should alert one before the semester is done, but they don't do it].

To this parent, along with others, the communication was lacking. They wished there would be more communication. This comment was also expressed to the researcher while translating for Parent/Teacher conferences. The few parents that the researcher translated for asked the teachers for more communication. In return, the teachers asked the parents for email addresses, which many parents do not have. Although this lack information seems to be a problem, it did not seem to bother the parents who participated in the Parent Survey. The majority of them stated that they received enough feedback from teachers on how their child is doing; the majority also "somewhat agreed" that the

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communication between them and the teachers was sufficient to assist them in helping support their child's learning.

Student Disempowerment/Student Resistance

Life in general is very difficult as a teenager. At CCHS, students not only are dealing with traditional "teenage drama," but they are also dealing with a curriculum, school policies and several staff members that degrade and disempower them. Students are disempowered outside of the school (during competitions), and inside the school (student to student, teacher to student, administrator to student).

Discrimination Outside of the School

The sports team, especially the soccer team, is a very popular group among the students. The team won the league's championship last year; as a result, they have carved a space for themselves in a predominantly Caucasian soccer league. The championship trophy came with a price. Administrator 2 (personal communication, March 15, 2012) explains that the sports teams, especially the soccer team, "have been called names," to the extent that during a game, a coach for the other team got kicked out for calling CCHS students racial slurs. Administrator 2 (personal communication, March 15, 2012) also shared that on one occasion, the coach of an area suburban school called to complain that CCHS students were using Spanish on the field. He complained that his team could not understand what the CCHS students were saying, and so he thought this was an unfair advantage. On another occasion, the Dean of Students at CCHS pulled soccer players from the field during a game because they had not served detention. The next day, a coach called the school congratulating the Dean about "the great things she was doing with *these* kids." Administrator 2 (personal communication, March 15, 2012) was visibly

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upset sharing these stories. She wondered whether coaches were calling "to congratulate" other teams and to complain about other students. The discrimination felt outside of the school was also felt inside. This time it did not come from the teachers or administrators. Instead, it came from their own peers.

Peer to Peer Discrimination

For the most part, students reported getting along with one another and respecting one another; however, a few students reported feeling singled out and out of place. The division among students did not happen because of generational differences (1.5 generations, versus first generations, versus second generations); instead, the division occurred based on the level of what they labeled as "chicanismo" (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012). The student participants define a Chicano as "a person of Mexican descent living in the United States" (Personal Journal, March 14, 2012). Even though some of the students in the "chicano" category came to the United States as young children, and others other were born in the United States, they all had something in common--a certain degree of cultural adaptation which made them "a little bit American and a little bit Mexican" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012). Chicano students were easy to pinpoint: they spoke Spanish and English (with more emphasis on the English), listened to both Spanish and English music (with a larger emphasis on English). However, the students in this category were very proud of their Mexican roots and expected others in this particular group to participate in both Mexican and American traditions and culture, without overdoing one or the other. Those students who represented one culture more than the other were placed in two different groups. The

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other two groups of students were labeled as paisas (less American) and gueros (more American).

In the Mexican community, "paisa" is derogatory slang used to describe recently arrived individuals. The term is used to emphasize the lack of cultural adaptation and ignorance for all things "American" including music, style of dress, and the English Language. On the other side of the spectrum were "gueros." "Guero" is also a derogatory term used in Latin America, the English equivalent of "whitey." Students who had lighter skin, lighter eye color, acted more "American" and in some instances did not speak Spanish were referred to as gueros. The paisas and gueros were often mocked and singled out by the Chicano students.

> Student: Y como a mi me cae mal cuando la gente se ríe de como yo hablo. Pero aquí se ríen de ti, te dicen paisa, que esto, que lo otro, super Mexican! [I really hate when people laugh at me because of how I talk. Here they laugh at you, they call you paisa, this and that, super Mexican! (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).
>
> Para la independencia [de México] yo me vine con mi camisa Mexicana, y la vez que me vine con una hebilla de "Hecho en México," todos se rieron. [For the Mexican Independence, I came with my Mexico shirt and a belt buckle that said "made in Mexico." They all laughed (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).
>
> Student: I always speak English, and in school they always think that I'm…not white, but, like, not Mexican. So I feel like they always try to make me be just like them, and I feel uncomfortable speaking Spanish in school. They call me 'La Guera' sometimes, "The white one."
> Researcher: And how does that make you feel?
> Student: It makes me feel kind of, not different, but, like, not exactly the same as them. Since they're all, like, the same. They all know same things.
> Researcher: What do you mean?
> Student: Well, since I don't listen or do anything really with, listen to their music, anything really, like, that it doesn't really add anything good to my situation, so…like, they all know, they all say, "Oh, do you know this song? It's so nice." I say no, so now they don't even ask me anymore. Like if they go, "Have you ever tasted this?" or "Listen to this?" and I go, "No! I've never even heard of that"

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> then they go, "Well, you're not a true Mexican." I say, well, I am Mexican-American (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student: Sometimes we joke around, but, it's just, we don't take it serious and, like, we make sure we are playing around, because one of our friends, she is super pale, so we mess around with her and call her white (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

These students were singled out because they were labeled by their peers as either "too Mexican" or "not Mexican enough."

Student Resistance

According to Delgado Bernal (1997) resistance theory is "distinct amongst social reproduction theories in that the concept of resistance emphasizes that individuals are not simply acted upon by structures, but they negotiate, struggle, and create meaning of their own" (p. 12). That is, students recognize, negotiate and struggle with structures in order to create their own understanding and meanings from these interactions.

Most resistance theories include different forms of oppositional behavior, such as self-defeating or conformist strategies that feed back into the system of subordination (Solórzano & Delgado- Bernal, 2001). However, by using LatCrit the researcher uses a race, class, language, immigration, accent and phenotype conscious framework to examine student resistance outside of this oppositional behavior. It is important to use these different intersectionalitites because Latina/o students live between and within different layers of subordination and hence do not fit neatly into a single category of consciousness or forms of resistance (Yosso, 2000).

Students at CCHS resisted their schooling experiences in three ways. They resisted through familial experiences, through small groups, and through a united front where they created a sanctuary for themselves.

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Familial Experience. Due to the subtractive nature of the school which viewed "students' culture and language as impediments to their academic success" (Antrop-González, 2006, p. 284), students had to find ways to support their culture and language. The researcher was surprised to hear students expressing an uncaring attitude about the lack of culture and language support in the school. When the researcher asked about it, students assured her that it was not a big deal because they had families who were proud of their heritage and went out of their way to ensure that their children were grounded in their culture, traditions and language.

> Student: I tell my mom, que a mis hermanitas, que les diga la historia de México, para que entiendan, y también se sientan orugullosas [I tell my mom, that for my sisters, to tell them the story of Mexico, so that they know it and feel proud] (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Well, I think, like, my parents have taught me a little more about my culture than the school has, so I'm ok with it I guess, because I know more than other people (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student: Because even though we don't celebrate it here, we still celebrate it at home (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: Well, my dad, like, they bring, like, the videos they have from Mexico and then he shows them, then we talk in Spanish, celebrate Spanish stuff (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).

Many of the students reported traveling to Mexico, or their family coming to visit. During these visits, families would take time to teach their children about the Mexican history and traditions. Other students took matters into their own hands.

> Student 1: Picture number two: it's supposed to be of Pancho Villa, who's, like, up here with, like, the Mexican Military and some other Mexicans over here with nothing, and then they have guns, and we don't have any guns.
> Researcher: Where did you find that from?
> Student 1: I had a book at my house, I know it isn't from school, but I read that book when I'm bored.
> Researcher: Why does that book interest you?

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> Student 1: Because there's nothing here that actually tells me, "Oh guess what…" Pancho Villa carried that bandera [flag] and lost niños heroes and they killed themselves but nobody tells us that (Focus Group 12, personal communication, March 19, 2012).

Another participant shares the same experience. According to him, "If I ever want to learn more about my history, I will probably go and read about it" (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012), which he did, like the participant above. Other students carried things like the Mexican coat of arms, the flag, or other items to represent their culture. It wasn't uncommon to see pockets of students early in the morning gathered around a cell phone that was blasting the latest Mexican corrido. The students assured the researcher that although at school they could not demonstrate who they truly were, they were proud of their heritage; and that is something that "they can't take away from us" (Focus Group 14, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

For many of the students, another way to maintain their language and heritage/culture was through family life. Many of the parents spoke only Spanish and therefore, in order to communicate, the students had to speak Spanish with their families (Focus Group 17; Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012). Family life revolved around activities that involved understanding and speaking Spanish such as watching Spanish novelas or going to Spanish mass. Other students were also the language brokers for their families, and therefore had to translate for their parents. These activities assisted the students in maintaining and developing their Spanish.

The reality is that these experiences are very limited for the student participants. They only see their extended families so often, or travel to Mexico once a year. For many of the students, learning about their culture and language at home is not an option either because their parents worked long hours or night shifts, or because their parents did not

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speak Spanish (Focus Group 3; Focus Group 8; Focus Group 13). The majority of the student participant's day revolves around subtracting their heritage and language, as a result, many do.

***Small Group Resistance*.** Inside of the school, different groups of students formed who revolted in different ways. One group of students involved those who decided to achieve academically despite the challenges. Researchers (Yosso, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 1997) refers to this resistance as Transformational resistance. Transformational resistance refers to student behavior that demonstrates a critique of subordination as well as a desire for social justice (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). According to Yosso (2000) students who are part of this resistance "(a) confront the negative portrayals and ideas about Chicanas/os, (b) are motivated by these negative images and ideas, and (c) are driven to navigate through the educational system for themselves and other Chicanas/os" (p. 109). Several students at CCHS demonstrated all of those characteristics.

> Student: I feel really, like, not stressed, but overwhelmed going here; but at the end of the day, I am here to learn and not to have fun (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student: Something they [the teachers] can be harsh to you on homework and stuff, but at the end everything is ok: just get your work done and you can usually get along with them (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: In that way, I make sure I know the material and I don't fail it**.** I am here to learn, that's it (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

These students were part of the 20% this quarter who received GPAs above a 3.0. They are high-achieving scholars, despite their experiences. They see their achievement as the ultimate trophy, or as one student described: "This is a way for me to shut them up by doing well. How many Latinas/os do you know taking honors calculus? This is us, we

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can do it" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012). These students were proud of their achievements; they used these achievements to demonstrate their capabilities as scholars and to break away from the stereotypes placed on them.

Other students chose to "act out" as a way to revolt against the school. Researcher Delgado Bernal (1997) refers to this type of resistance as self-defeating resistance. According to the author self-defeating resistance "refers to students who may have some type of critique of their oppressive social conditions, but are not motivated by an interest in liberation or social justice" (p. 23). According to Jim Cummins (2000), when students experience a great amount of cultural and language devaluation in school, "they perceive that their identity is endangered by the process of devaluation and consequently drop out of school in order to preserve their sense of self" (p 3). This "resistance for survival" (Robinson and Ward, 1991) is represented by behaviors that are not transformational, instead, they help to recreate "the oppressive conditions form which it originated (Delgado Bernal, 1997, p. 23).

Although students at CCHS do not officially drop out, they instead do not perform well academically and "misbehave." According to a participant:

> Student: We act out, like, I get why a lot of kids don't really care. They get detention or anything because we are trying to speak our mind I guess (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

Another student shared that he acts out because he doesn't want to turn into something he is not (Focus Group 3 personal communication, February 27, 2012). He was well aware of the subtractive curriculum and said, "I rather be Mexican than intelligent" (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012). He explained that intelligence meant doing the school work, and succumbing to giving up his cultural roots. This

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contradiction was appalling to him; ultimately, he chose to be Mexican, and not "school smart," in order to preserve his identity. He also explained that as a consequence, he got bad grades and many disciplinary infractions.

Student Walk-Out. For other students, another way to resist was to be vocal and opinionated about their experiences, or to "fight the cause" (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012). This was especially the case last year.

Many of the students talked about a student walk-out that they mobilized and organized last year. From the students' perspectives, the reasons behind this boycott had to do with the lack of respect from teachers and staff, the lack of communication from teachers and administrators, overtly militaristic discipline policies, the lack of quality food, and the constant teacher/administrator turnaround (Personal Journal, March 16th, 2012). On the first day, the students organized an all school walk-out, which turned into the occupation of the cafeteria. The first day, the students demanded to speak to the president and the principal of the school. Both came immediately and addressed the students with threats and punishments. School was dismissed immediately.

The following day, the students gathered in the cafeteria immediately after arriving to school. Once again, teachers and administrators addressed the students. The teachers and staff were now willing to listen to the students' concerns. A staff member shared with the researcher that he was asked to take notes. He took a notebook full of notes, all of which were student concerns. The meeting with the students took the majority of the day. When the students were released, they were met by a very large group of parents who were demanding to speak to the administrators as well. Translators, including the researcher, were called in. The parents shared the same concerns as the

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students: they wanted to make sure the school was providing the students with a good education and a safe environment. Reflecting on these two days, a student participant shares that "nothing has changed since then, things have only gotten worse" (Focus Group 4, personal communication, February 21, 2012). For them, the concerns voiced last year are still valid; the problem now is that many of them are afraid to speak out. In their minds, the walk out was a failure. It didn't get them anything; instead, it only "pissed them [teachers and administrators] off" (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012; Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Assimilation

A final group of students revolted by assimilating to the status quo and adopting the ideologies pre-eminent in the school. Sólorzano & Delgado Bernal (2001) refer to this group as Conformist resistance. Conformist resistance 'refers to the oppositional behavior of students who are motivated by a need for social justice yet hold no critique of the systems of oppression" (p.319). These students are well aware of the need for social justice, yet have no critique of the systems of oppression. Instead of blaming oppressive systems, they blame themselves or their culture for their failures.

> Student: I don't know, it just depends on the student. Like, they offer it to you, and it's up to you if you want to absorb that or how much you want to absorb (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: You know, other schools might be better, but you can go to the biggest, best school, but it's up to the student if they want to succeed in the school (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
>
> Student: It's your choice to not do the assignments, and to be successful (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

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These students did not use this idea of personal responsibility as an opportunity to rise despite the circumstances. Instead, they shared these statements to blame the victim, to demonstrate the idea that if students tried a little harder, they would be successful. They were quick to downplay the issues, voicing that "there really wasn't anything wrong with this school" (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012), and found it very problematic to listen to their peers express negative views about the school. These students demonstrated a sense of elitism. A "we are better than them" mentality became evident while they talked about schools in the public sector.

> Student 1: Unlike other public schools, here they teach students. In other schools they let people do whatever they want.
> Student 2: Yeah, like here they make you do the work, more than public schools. In public schools they don't care, I mean there, if you do it, you do it, if not; you don't (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: I think we are getting a good education compared to other schools. Like in public schools, not a lot of people learn there because they are more concentrated about their social life instead of their educational life (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student: Let's face it, Catholic School gets you more educated for college (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).
>
> Student: I feel like the education they're giving us since middle school, is been more helpful than like in other schools, like public schools. Some of the students go to public school and they have not learned anything and it's like at CCHS they have a program where they will help …and I don't know I just felt like CCHS has a lot of opportunity for us, Hispanics (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Although many of them had never gone to a public school, students were informed of the public school system by word of mouth or the media. They bought into the stereotypes portrayed about the local public school systems.

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Collective Resistance: The Eye of the Storm as a Sanctuary

Previous research (Antrop-González, 2006; Bloom 1995; Standwood & Doolittle, 2004) points to ways in which schools are able to create sanctuary-like environments for students. Through open dialog, flexible policies, authentic assessments, and the ability for teachers to develop authentic relationships with students, schools are able to develop a safe environment. These factors are not characteristics of CCHS. In order to seek refuge from the very aggressive school policies and bias teachers, students build a sanctuary for themselves where they take comfort in one another. To them, their peers--not the teachers and staff--were family. Together, the students built a safe space inside of the school building, one that "feels like home" (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012; Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

> Student: It doesn't matter what class you have, you have somebody that is going to make class interesting because you talk to everyone and chill with them. You have fun, you hang out with them after school, and usually in bigger school, you know, maybe a few people in one class and when they are separated they get bored or you are just like, I want this class to end. Here, you know the person right next to you and, like, the whole, the person in front of you, behind you and next to you (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
>
> Student: I like how it's more home-y, like, it's like a second home (Focus Group 2, personal communication, February 17, 2012).
>
> Student 1: Because I know everybody here and, like, we're all friends and we just…
> Student 2: This is like somebody's house and everybody just hangs out here (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

Many of the students alluded that this sacred space was only possible because they shared the same ethnicity and language.

> Student 1: Well, I chose this school because I feel most comfortable with my same race, I can be myself.
> Student 2: Yeah, me too. At first I didn't feel comfortable, but when I got there and I saw the people and they were the same race as me.

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> Student 3: Yeah, it's a great experience because not only are they, I feel like it's family here, you know. You get to be connected with your own race and people (Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).

Inside of this sacred space, students were free to be themselves without worrying about being disciplined or made to feel embarrassed about their ethnicity.

> Student 1: We're friends, like, we act like ourselves and not like them [the teachers], because when we're together, we all act how we want to instead of trying to fit in to what they [the teachers] want us to be.
> Student 2: I guess we keep us, us….
> Student 1: And they keep you, you… (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

Students reported that inside of the school building they were two people: the person that teachers and staff wanted them to be, and themselves (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012). This sanctuary allowed them, for at least a few minutes a day, to be themselves without repercussions.

The boundaries for this sanctuary where clearly marked and visible. It was created anytime a groups of students came together without a teacher or administrator present. The boundaries were the Spanish language, the Spanish music and the sharing of traditions and culture. If one is not familiar with the Latina/o culture or with the language, he/she would not be able to join in with the students. This was their point, their way of keeping the distance and a clear division between themselves and the rest of the school.

The sanctuary served as a healing station, as well as a charging station. Students took comfort in one another and talked about the very difficult experiences they were enduring both inside and outside of school. They gave each other advice and support, but most importantly, they kept their culture and language alive in a place that was constantly

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bombarding their identity. What is most interesting about this sanctuary is that despite the division based on cultural knowledge (chicano, paisa, guero), all were welcomed into this sanctuary.

Photovoice

Photovoice allows for groups to define the strengths and concerns in their community through specific photographic technique (Gant, et al., 2009). The first month, all 30 students took 5 pictures each of places or items (such as pictures, statues, flags, realia) that represented their culture, language, traditions, struggles and community inside of the school. The second month, all 30 students took 5 pictures each of any cultural relevant items through the school. These items included anything from posters to books.

During the interviews the students were asked who these pictures represented and why. These pictures consisted of nine pictures of college related items (college flags, and posters); five pictures of extra-curricular activities (food drive with the Rescue Mission, Diversity Scholars, poetry contest, and activity board, recycling club); 20 pictures of the Mexican flag, six pictures of the school uniform, 18 sport related pictures, two pictures with the rules for interim testing; 13 pictures of the school building; ten pictures of the American flag; 60 pictures of religious related items (books, cross, statues, church, pictures, shrines and rosary); 15 pictures depicting various cultures (flags, books, Greek and Roman posters, Kony posters); 15 pictures of items related to Spanish class (grammar posters, music posters, dictionary); nine pictures of food; eight pictures of positive messages; four pictures trees or the road; to pictures of maps; one pictures of the flag of Puerto Rico; one picture of a Mexican Coat of Arms; three pictures were taken of a multicolor crayon pack. During the interviews several themes emerged. The four

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strongest themes were the lack of representation (which is detailed in the section under School Curriculum as Mono-cultural and Disempowering), the Catholic representation (which is detailed in the section under School Curriculum as Mono-cultural and Disempowering), the college curriculum (which is detailed in the section under College Curriculum) and a picture of despair and hopelessness (which is detailed in the section under Teacher Ideology and Instructional Practices).

Many of the images provided where very powerful and students provided just as powerful explanations for their pictures. The picture provided below, for example, is a picture that drew a lot of conversation from the students. The students described this image as a symbolic representation of their experiences.

Student 1: This image is the school. American, it is everywhere. They want us to be American.

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> Student 2: Yes, what is this called? A subliminal message?
> Student 3: Yeah, yeah…a subliminal message. Not only do they want us to be white through everything else, but now they have to have construction material thorough out the school with the word American (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).
>
> Student: This image is problematic to me. This is the message we get. It is everywhere, whether we want to see it or not. It is there. Up front for all to see. Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).

Like this image, other images taken spoke to lack of culturally relevant representation the Catholic representation, the lack of college curriculum and a picture of despair and hopelessness for the students.

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CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Using CRT and LatCrit has allowed the researcher to document the ways in which a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school affects the overall educational experience of Latinas/os by identifying and analyzing the instances of subordination based of race, class, gender, language, immigration status, accent and phenotype experienced by students and their families (Johnson, 1998). CRT and LatCrit have also permitted the researcher to "analyze and challenge racism in curricular structures, processes, and discourses," (Yosso, 2002, p 82) as well as evaluate the school's claims of color-blindness and meritocracy. CRT and LatCrit have also allowed the researcher to bring to light the multiple forms of capital that CCHS students bring to the school.

Color- Blindness as Racism

Bonilla Silva (2006) calls color-blindness a new racial ideology which he labels as colorblind racism. Colorblind racism "explains contemporary racial inequalities as the outcomes of nonracial dynamics" (p. 2). Colorblind racism functions very similar to passive racism in which instances of racism occur, but they are often very subtle or covered with an explanation of how they will benefit the discriminated people. Hence, the racist assault goes unnoticed and therefore unchallenged. At CCHS, color-blindness racism is evident in the curriculum, the language policy, and teacher ideology.

The curriculum at CCHS aims at keeping the "classics" alive. The over-emphasis on Western European knowledge and Latin keeps students from learning about the history, traditions, and culture of other non-Western European nations, including their own. The language policies at the school send a dual message: "We want you to become bilingual, but on your own time." This is evident in the lack of quality ESL and Spanish-

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education programs, as well as in the lack of qualified teachers for those programs and language policies. Besides curricular choices for students, teacher ideologies based on color-blindness and meritocracy create "internal obstacles to the implementation of both effective pedagogy and curriculum and a transformative response to inequitable policies" (Chubbuck, 2004, p. 302). Further, this color-blindness mentality contributes to a collective ignorance and relieves individual teachers and administrators from fighting against the impact of racism (Ullucci & Battey, 2011). Instead, it encourages viewing Latina/o students through a deficit lens that encourages an inferior educational opportunity. As a result, students at CCHS are kept from becoming academically successful.

Microaggressions

According to Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez & Willis (1978) microaggressions are:

> subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are put downs' of blacks by offenders. The offensive mechanisms used against blacks often are innocuous. The cumulative weight of their never-ending burden is the major ingredient in black-white interactions (p. 66).

These racial microagressions send messages implying that people of color are unintelligent, foreign, criminally prone, and deserving of socially marginal status (Constantine, 2007; Smith; Yosso, Ceja, Smith & Solórzano, 2009). At CCHS, various types of microagressions are seen daily, for example with the deficit views of Spanish, the mono-cultural curriculum, the treatment between group of students, in teacher to student interactions (laughing at racist jokes, mispronouncing students' names to make them sound White), and in the teacher ideology.

Although at times subtle, students at CCHS are well aware of these microagressions, and are also aware of the messages they emit.

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> Student: I mean, like…I feel like they [teachers and administrators] think that white people are the only ones who have knowledge more than anyone else (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).
>
> Student: We are a Caucasian school; it's just a bunch of white teachers, and then, like, it makes us feel kind of, well, it makes me feel kind of bad because the maintenance people are all Hispanics and then all the high people like, like administrators, they're all white, so it makes me feel the lack of equality…and here they say that we're equal or whatever yet they tell us we don't have rights here (Focus group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).
>
> Student: I think that they feel like the white people are more intelligent (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
>
> Student 1: I think they are racist. I feel that way because they think that white people from here are smarter than Hispanics.
> Student 2: I mean, why can't we have a Hispanic teacher?
> Student 3: Like I feel that they do that because they feel that whites are much, more…have more education.
> Student 2: Yes, supreme, like white supremacist (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
>
> Student: It's messed up here…cause it's like stereotypical, White people ruling the Mexicans or White people ruling the Hispanics (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

Students see past these messages and understand the impact that this mentality has on how they experience "school." As a consequence, students begin to adopt the idea that they are not smart enough and blame themselves and their culture for their lack of success. Further, students begin to internalize the idea that "becoming white" is the only way to succeed at school.

Whiteness as Property

Historically, laws have protected forms of racialized property to favor whites. Because of this protection, whiteness has become an object with inherent value that must be protected by social and legal institutions. Whiteness includes power, privilege, esteem, social status, linguistic status, and the ability to reproduce these benefits and interests to

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their children and future generations (Milner, 2008). Further, whiteness as property functions on several levels: the right of disposition; the right to use and for enjoyment; reputation and status property; the right to exclude (Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Although all levels are present at CCHS, the right to disposition, and reputation and status property are the most salient.

The right of disposition refers to the right to use and enjoy the reputation and status of whiteness and the absolute right to exclude (Ladson-Billings, 2010). At CCHS the right of disposition is noticeable in the way "students are rewarded only for conformity to perceived "white norms" or sanctioned for cultural practices" (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995, p. 59). By doing so, whiteness is transferred.

At CCHS this transfer of whiteness occurs in various ways: hiring practices (all administrators and teachers are White; janitors, secretaries and kitchen help are Latina/o), the exclusion of Latina/o history and culture in the curriculum, and in the exclusion of language policies to assist students in learning English. These policies are adopted to bring students closer to the norms of whiteness (Zamudio et al., 2011). The reality is that because race and racism are endemic in American society, CCHS students will never be able to "claim" their rights of disposition because of their non-white heritage (DeCuir-Gundy, 2006).

Reputation and status property was also a part of CCHS. In legal cases of liberal and slander, to damage a person's reputation is equivalent to damaging a person's property. Drs. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) state that in the case of race "to call a white person "black" is to defame him or her" (p. 60). According to DeCuir-Gundy (2006) there is a value in white identity. Further, she states that the property rights of

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reputation involve the "establishing whiteness as the most desirable race and thus the most reputable" (p. 104). In other words, constructing and maintaining whiteness requires whiteness to be viewed as superior and others as inferior.

In the case of education, to identify a school or program as nonwhite diminishes its reputation and status (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Therefore, the status and reputation must assert the maintenance of whiteness and white supremacy. It is for that reason that CCHS uses the Classic curriculum that only emphasizes the Greco-Roman culture. The policy in the language program also serves to assure the school's reputation and status as maintaining white supremacy. Since bilingual education is often seen as a nonwhite form of second language learning in the U.S, CCHS chooses to have an English Immersion program. Through these policies and practices, CCHS restricts the access of students of color to high-quality MCE curricula. Students are very aware of these restrictions. They are also very aware of the ways in which these policies and practices are harming and endangering their academic success.

Interest Convergence

Interest Convergence stresses the idea that white elites will tolerate and/or encourage racial advances for people of color only when those advances converge with the interest of whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). An example of interest convergence at CCHS is seen in the parents' perceptions of "good Catholic schools" and the use of the voucher program to maintain Catholic schools and foster white supremacist ideas.

Research states that parents with children in the MPCP value different aspects of schooling than do middle class parents (Chapman & Antrop-González, 2011; Milwaukee Public Schools, 2006); Curran Neil, 2005). MPCP parents are satisfied with things such

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student emotional well-being and teacher/student relationships (Milwaukee Public Schools, 2006). Many of these MPCP families also make choices about schools based on safety, or the appeal of a school's theme/mission. This choice often has nothing to do with higher academic achievement or high graduation rates (Curran Neil, 2005). The parent surveys given to CCHS parents demonstrate this same idea. Many of them are, for the most part, pleased with things at CCHS. The reality shared by students and teachers is that many parents are clueless of what actually happens in school. For these parents, CCHS being safe, small and religious are reasons enough to continue to support it; the teachers and administrators depend on these "needs". By allowing Latina/o students to gain access to "better education," the cost paid is sacrificing the students' capital, community, culture, identity and language. In return, Catholic schools can have large enrollments and therefore stay open.

Another example of interest convergence has to do with the language policy adopted at CCHS. Teachers and administrators clearly believe that English Immersion is a superior program that will allow students to quickly become proficient in English. As a result of adopting this program, students learn English but very slowly and painfully. This is especially true for recent immigrants. These students have to endure years of minimal understanding before they reach "proficient" skills. Further, for all students, by choosing to become "proficient" in English, they must give up their language and culture. Parents are pleased because their children eventually learn the language of power. In return, the teachers and administrators on the other hand "do not have to alter their own ways and systems, statuses, and privileges of experiencing life" (Milner, 2008, p. 335).

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These teachers and administrators do not have to worry about speaking Spanish, or about becoming culturally competent because students will "become" white.

Worthless Capital

Social Capital according to Bourdieu (1989) is "the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p. 248). Further, social capital is "1) cumulative, 2) possesses the capacity to produce profits or benefits in the social world, 3) is convertible into tangible resources or other forms of capital, and 4) possesses the capacity to reproduce itself in identical or in expanded forms" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p 8). It is widely believed that "if one is not born into a family whose knowledge is already deemed valuable, one could then access the knowledges of the middle and upper class and the potential for social mobility through formal schooling" (Yosso, 2005, p 70). Those who fail to acquire social capital will more than likely struggle to succeed academically.

Unfortunately, students at CCHS are able to acquire little social capital in the forms of English and the traditional curriculum, but are made to shed any capital that they brought with them into the school. Because of the lack of information about how communities of color function and the lack of knowledge about the students' backgrounds, teacher and administrators at CCHS deem the students' social capital and other types of capital as worthless.

Through interactions and interviews, the researcher noted other types of capital that students brought with them into the school. Students brought with them Linguistic

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Capital (Yosso, 2005), Familial Capital (Delgado Bernal, 1998), Navigational Capital (Yosso, 2005) and Resistant Capital (Yosso, 2005).

Linguistic Capital

Linguistic capital is tied to the multiple languages and communication skills that Latina/o students bring into the school (Yosso, 2005). Many of these students are also language translators for their families and therefore have very strong cognitive and literacy skills (Tse & McQuillan, 1996). At CCHS, students' bilingual capabilities are very evident despite the anti-Spanish language policies. It is not rare to hear student's code switching with one another, or even translating for classmates or parents. For many, their Spanish vocabulary is impeccable and very advanced for their age.

Familial Capital

Familial capital refers to the cultural knowledge passed down by family members in regards to the meaning of community, and the history shared by these communities (see Delgado Bernal, 2002). From this information, students learn the importance of community and maintaining ties to the community. As a result, students learn important lessons about the meaning of caring and coping which influence "their emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness" (Yosso, 2005). The majority of CCHS students have lived in the community for most of their lives. Many of their parents are involved in neighborhood associations, church associations, ESL classes and other community business organizations. These children have grown up in these organizations and therefore have developed a deep appreciation and pride for the community they live in. Many of the students expressed a desire to give back to the community, to continue to nurture it and make changes for the better.

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Navigational Capital

Navigational capital "refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions" (Yosso, 2005, p 80) that were not created with people of color in mind. Because of their role as language and cultural brokers, CCHS students have had to learn quickly the navigational ropes of traditionally White institutions. Many students had to accompany their parents to appointments in the Court House, police station, hospitals, etc. Students talked about having to find the appropriate cultural skills to fit into these different scenarios, along with the vocabulary suitable for the situation. These navigational skills were learned on their own, via a trial/error methodology. Once they gained the proper skills and vocabulary, they taught their parents. Part of the Navigational Capital was also learning when to code switch personalities, or as one student put it, "I have to understand when to be White and when not to" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Resistance Capital

Resistance Capital refers to the knowledge and skills learned by means of oppositional behaviors that challenge inequality (Freire, 1970). CCHS students demonstrated different instances of resistance, whether it was in small groups or as a large group. These students are also influenced by a Latina/o community that is highly visible in resisting inequalities. Year after year, a large protest is organized (by many of these students and their families) to bring attention to issues of immigration in the community. It is not rare to see these children marching with their families; the researcher has also seen some of the CCHS students walking around the neighborhood in caps and gowns attempting to get people to sign the Dream Act petition.

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Social Capital refers to the benefits acquired from social networks. These benefits come in specific forms of knowledge, skills and abilities that are valued by groups in society who are privileged (Yosso, 2005). Because the American legal system has historically allowed whites to maintain white privilege, the value in social capital is available only to allow whites to maintain their power (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Franklin, 2002). Allowing whites to define social capital leads to the belief that white culture is the norm and that any capital outside of the white, middle class capital in not valuable. The parameters of what is valuable and what is not limits the amount of capital that people of color have. Many types of capital that students brought with them were not seen as valuable. Many students felt alienated, and stressed because of the lack of appreciation for the knowledge that they bring to school. As a result, the school fails to view the students' social capital and other types of capital as worthless.

The (not so) Hidden Curriculum of CCHS

The curricular choices at CCHS allow for students to receive a particular type of educational experience and curriculum knowledge (Anyon, 1980). In this working class (Anyon, 1980) school, students are not expected to do much outside of following the rules. According to Jean Anyon (1980), students in working class schools

> Follow the steps of a procedure. The procedure is usually mechanical, involving rote behavior and very little decision making or choice. The teachers rarely explain why the work is being assigned, how it might connect to other assignments, or what the idea is that lies behind the procedure or gives it coherence and perhaps meaning or significance. Available textbooks are not always used, and the teachers often prepare their own dittos or put work examples on the board. Most of the rules regarding work are designations of what the children are to do; the rules are steps to follow. These steps are told to the children by the teachers and are often written on the board. The children are usually told to copy the steps as notes. These notes are to be studied (n.p).

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At CCHS, students were not encouraged to be critical thinkers or to ask questions. The protocol was to listen to the lecture and take notes, with minimal interaction and group work. In combination with the lack of culturally relevant curriculum, students at CCHS are being taught to "take direction without question, memorize without critical analysis, and focus on remedial, manual labor-focused curriculum rather than a college bound curriculum" (Yosso, 2005, p. 96). When Latina/o cultural relevant material is presented, it is very artificial. According to Swartz (1992), the content available for students that does not reflect the dominant voice "must be brought under control, mastered, and then reshaped before it can become a part of the master script" (p. 341). This is why the contributions of Latinas/os and other groups is minimal, and when presented it is only done to support whiteness as property. This results in the further exotification of groups. It also deepens prejudices and stereotypes.

Although CCHS offers Honor courses, these courses are not any different from regular courses (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012; Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).

> Student 1: Even in the difference between honors and no honors, like, you are still doing the same work, the same lesson, the same everything.
> Student 1: Yeah, like, it makes me feel weird, like, I am like, oh in chemistry I am doing this and doing this and then I ask someone not in honors and is like, "Oh, we are doing the same thing." Why don't they switch everyone to honors if we are all doing the same thing? (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Students have become aware of the discrepancies in courses and have repeatedly asked for "real" advanced courses (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012). Further, students "opportunity to learn" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) is hindered by the lack of material resources (science labs, computers) available for students

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(Personal Journal, April 14, 2012). On paper, the school is college prep; but in reality, the school's not so hidden curriculum is robing students of "intellectual property" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), thus giving students little or no opportunity to learn despite the attempt to mandate "educational standards" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 55). The goal of the school is then to prepare students to maintain their place in their current social class. This is especially evident when talking about the students' experience with college enrollment.

Students at CCHS are bombarded with the words "College" and "ACT." Their four years are planned for a successful ACT score and a presumed easy college admission. Outside of "college" and "ACT," students lack information about college admissions. The students were always interested in discussing "college" with the researcher. They were curious to know the process of applying for college, what college life was, and most importantly, how to pay for college. They were unaware of the different criteria involved in the admissions decision; for many, they thought that taking the ACT was the only step one needed to take in order to be admitted to college. They were unaware of the differences between two-year and four-year colleges. They had no clue what a major or a minor was, nor did they know what a typical day in the life of a college student looked like. They understood that one needed to apply for scholarships, but they didn't know where to find them, or what an application would require them to do. Many of them had never done any volunteer work; others had very low grades. Although seemingly engrained in the school culture, the school did not actually teach the students the ropes of college admissions. When students asked about other information pertaining to college, many of them were told to "google it," or given a pamphlet (Focus

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Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012). Students were lost; not only did they lack information about college, but many of them also lacked the academic background to be admitted into college.

Many of the teachers and administrators at CCHS function under the mentality that college admissions is a fair and equal process, when in reality, "most college admissions processes are unfair because they assume K–12 schooling is equal, which it is not" (Yosso, 2002, p. 94). Further, students are counseled to attend technical colleges because "it is cheaper and faster" (Personal Journal, April 14, 2012) and told to later transfer. When the researcher asked administrations for clarification on what type of college they were encouraging CCHS students to attend, the answer was confusing.

According to Administrator 2, "College is college, regardless if you go to a four year college or a two year college" (personal communication, March 15, 2012). It became evident that CCHS was tracking students into remedial or vocational trajectories. Once again, this corresponds with colorblindness and discriminatory school-based structures and practices, rather than what Participant C (personal communication, March 23, 2012), called "a lack of student or parent interest in academic success." This also speaks to the maintenance of white supremacy. CCHS is making sure that students are not competing with white counterparts for scholarships, college admissions and careers.

Conclusion

This study addresses the following questions and sub questions:

> How is a MPCP parochial high school in a Midwestern city serving Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

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1. How does the school create/support cultural experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

2. How does the school create/support academic experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

3. How does the school create/support language experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

4. How does the school create/support familial/community experiences for Latina/o students who receive vouchers?

Through the collection of pictures, students were able to conclude that there was a lack of culturally relevant representation in the school. Students saw the lack of Latina/o cultural relevant materials as a problem. They saw that other cultures (especially Greco-Roman) were taken priority in their classroom and in their walls.

Besides culturally relevant representation in the forms of posters or classroom/school decorations, the school seldom offers culturally relevant clubs or assemblies. The few opportunities where often overshadowed by poor planning, or the lack of club moderators. The lack of cultural experiences is also evident in the curriculum.

The curriculum at CCHS aims at keeping the "classics" alive. The over-emphasis on Western European knowledge and Latin keeps students from learning about the history, traditions, and culture of other non-Western European nations, including their own. Because of the emphasis on Western Culture, the student participants agreed that the curriculum did not maintain, support, or allow them to celebrate their cultural

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identity. As a result, many of the students reported losing their cultural knowledge and language.

Although the school curriculum places a strong emphasis on achievement, the WKCE scores for students at CCHS do not demonstrate a higher proficiency from students in MPS with similar backgrounds. In fact, when comparing math and reading scores, the difference between the two is minimal. The reality is that many of the students at CCHS are not achieving academically. For teachers and administrators, students are able to achieve based on the work they put in, the effort they make, and the obstacles they clear (Ullucci & Battey, 2011). This "pull yourself- up-by-the-bootstraps" mentality does not take into consideration how the school's policies have failed to provide equal opportunity and racial equity. In other words, the teachers and administrators do not take into consideration the school's subtractive language policies, the disempowering curriculum or the outside forces that may be impeding a child from becoming academically successful.

The language opportunities at CCHS are also inexistent. The school prides itself in incorporating an English immersion program for their students. as a result, students are asked to only use English in the classroom. According to Administrator 1 the purpose behind this rule is ensure that students are immersed in English. It is her belief that "immersing students in English will prepare them for college" (personal communication, March 13, 2012).

The importance of being bilingual is expressed by many of the teachers and staff; however, the school mission and the language policies demonstrate otherwise. For example, Spanish classes are offered, however, they are taught in predominantly English

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by non-native Spanish teachers. Another example speaks to the lack of opportunities for ESL students to develop fluency in English. ESL students understood very clearly that the teachers and administrators were very bias about language acquisition methodologies. Worse yet, these students knew that the teachers and administrators were very reluctant to learn about language acquisition because many were convinced that an English Immersion program was the best program to “assist” students in acquiring English.

From the analysis of the language policies, one can conclude that CCHS’ demonstrates a "fixation on teaching English as quickly as possible" (Stanford Working Group, 1993, p. 8) without understanding what the repercussions of doing so are. Although the roots of English Immersion have been largely covered, and despite the fact that they are based on arguments which have been challenged by research, the teachers and administrators see the English Only policy as natural and commonsense. As a result, students struggle to develop fluency in English, and to maintain/develop their Spanish.

Finally, familiar experiences at CCHS are minimal. CCHS struggles with parent participation. Low parent attendance is very common for meetings and activities that are not mandatory for CCHS parents. Because of this, many teachers depicted the families at CCHS as “hands-off” and uncaring about their child’s future. Several policies at CCHS serve as gatekeepers for parental involvement. One such policy is the Visitor Policy. According to this policy, parents need to make requests 24 hours advance notice to visit the school. Translators are also a problem. The only person in the office who is bilingual is the secretary, and she is often busy with her own work, or translating. Because of the lack of translators, communication between parents and teachers is minimal. As a result

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of the policies, and the lack of translators parents complained that they did not feel included.

Voucher schools like CCHS were another resource for families, especially low income families, to get away from underachieving schools. The information pertaining to CCHS provided in this dissertation shows a different, and quite dismal, picture. In theory, voucher schools are supposed to be innovative schools that provide families with a better educational opportunity for their children and hence create competition with other public schools. This is not the practice at CCHS. The school functions in a subtractive manner; that is, the school takes away and devalues the knowledge and capital students bring into the school. This, then, creates an unsafe space for learning and achieving. The argument for or against voucher schools has lost its focus; their main focus has been on "how good it would be to get choice, not on how to make it work for all children when it occurs" (Hill, 2005, p. 142). The focus becomes even more unclear when the theory behind voucher schools (Market Theory) focuses on the business side of school. That is, Market Theory focuses on making sure that "goods and services are provided most effectively and at the highest quality in a market setting, where consumers can compare prices and quality and make informed decisions about how best to allocate the money they have available to spend" (Henig, 1994, p. 57). This very complex Market Theory does not take into account the complex ways in which erroneous ideals of race/ethnicity and class intersect and influence the many choices of those with power and privilege to better "educate" poor, Latina/o students.

Further, the elements of Free Market Theory are in conflict with Catholic values in education as well as Catholic teachings (Grace, 2000). According to Bryk (2000)

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> market forces, for example, cannot explain the broadly shared institutional purpose of advancing social equity. Nor can they account for efforts of Catholic educators to maintain inner-city schools (with large non-Catholic enrolments) while facing mounting fiscal woes. Likewise, market forces cannot easily explain why resources are allocated within schools in a compensatory fashion in order to provide an academic education for every student. Nor can they explain the norms of community that infuse daily in these schools (p. 31).

By embracing the ideals of Free Market Theory, the Catholic Church has compromised the integrity of the special mission of Catholic schooling.

The findings become even more appalling when taking the Catholic school's mission into consideration. The school's mission calls for "the social well-being and development of the group itself" (Storz & Nestor, 2007, p. 59) by allowing individuals to reach their full potential through a commitment to educating the whole person and having high expectations for all learners. Further, following the Vatican II mandate, schools must build productive learning environments that include aspects of multiculturalism, diversity, and social justice, as well as a college preparatory curriculum (Bryk et al., 1997), academic course requirements for graduation, and community service programs (Bryk et al., 1997). Sadly, CCHS is not abiding to the call of the Vatican; instead, it has chosen to function from a business mentality, where the students become numbers and their educational plan becomes a label. Further, the school picks and choses which students "will reach their full potential," or in other words, are closer to whiteness. Students at CCHS who are most proficient in English, who have learned "to do school," and who have found an ally in the building to help guide and support them will be successful. Students who do not develop this "full potential" are left behind. This is especially true for English Language Learners who have received little to no assistance.

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Catholic schools are also called to challenge racism and racist ideals that permeate our society, especially subtle and covert racism (O'Keefe, 2000). In the U.S Catholic bishops' letter (1979) on racism *Brothers and Sisters to Us* states the following about racism:

> Crude and blatant expressions of racism sentiment, though they occasionally exist, are today considered bad form. Yet racism itself persists in covert ways. Under the guise of other motives, it is manifested in the tendency to stereotype and marginalize whole segments of the population whose presence is perceived as a thread. The minority poor are seen as the dross of post-industrial society-without skills, without motivation, without incentive. They are expandable. Many times the new face of racism is the computer print-out, the graph of profits and losses, the pink slips, the nameless statistic. Today's racism flourishes in the triumph of private concern over public commitment and personal fulfillment of authentic compassion. It is Christ's face that is the composite of all persons, but in a most significant any of today's poor, today's marginal people, today's minority (p 13).

Because of this, the Catholic Church and Catholic schools are called to solve racism. The Bishops in this 1979 letter understood that racism "is a fundamental sin, a primary pathology in human society, "a radical evil" dividing the human family and denying all new creation of redeemed world (O'Keefe, 2000, p. 192). The majority of teachers and administrators at CCHS are oblivious to these teachings, and those who are, still manage to adopt color-blind, deficit ideologies. As a result students live day to day in a negative learning environment filled with low expectations, hopelessness and the idea that their culture and language is not valuable. They have been set up to fail by an institution that is supposed to provide them with better educational opportunities.

Implications

A plethora of research exists that discusses the steps teachers and administrators should take in order to provide all students with a quality educational experience. Instead of quoting from that literature, the researcher has decided to make this space into a podium

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for students to share their ideas. Photovoice allowed the researcher to collect these ideas. Although the students felt voiceless and powerless, in the safe space of interviewing and their sanctuary, they were able to share ideas about what the school could do in order to better their experiences. The following ideas were shared during the different interviews.

- Establish a multicultural club that went beyond talking about culture. Students were interested in talking about social justice issues surrounding their communities. They wanted to become informed, but most importantly, they wanted to become agents of change (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
- Students wanted a culturally relevant curriculum that taught the material from different perspectives. They were interested in learning more about their own history and struggles, as well as the history and struggles of other groups (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
- Incorporate Spanish into more of their daily school routines. For example, say morning prayers in Spanish instead of English (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).
- Ask teachers to use detention time in more productive way; instead of a no-interaction policy, have the teacher monitoring detention, as well as other teachers tutoring students who are on detention or want to stay after school for tutoring (Focus Group 18, personal communication, April 25, 2012).
- Provide detailed, clear and realistic information about college admissions and college retention (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).
- Have a full time counselor who is familiar with college information, scholarships and community service (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).
- Bring college students who have similar backgrounds to CCHS students to talk about what college is about (Focus Group 13, personal communication, March 20, 2012).
- Build more opportunities in the academic curriculum, as well as in the extra-curriculum, for students to be able to freely, and without punishment, represent their culture, identity and language (Focus Group 12, personal communication, March 19, 2012).
- Incorporate more art in the hallways and classrooms that is culturally relevant to the students (Focus Group 12, personal communication, March 19, 2012).
- Hire a more diverse teacher population; especially teachers who look like the students and speak Spanish (Focus Group 10, personal communication, March 21, 2012).
- Students asked to be appreciated and loved for who they were and what they brought into the school (Focus Group 16, personal communication, April 23, 2012).

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- Have real high standards, and provide a curriculum that will truly prepare students for college admissions and college retention (Focus Group 17, personal communication, April 20, 2012).
- Expect more from students (Focus Group 9, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
- Embrace the community; don't be afraid of it (Focus Group 11, personal communication, March 23, 2012).
- Stop teaching them only about Europeans; "the world doesn't revolve around White people" (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
- Hire a Spanish teacher who knows the pedagogy and methodology necessary to teach Native Speakers; most importantly, a teacher who is a Native Speaker (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).
- Incorporate more celebrations and traditions relevant to the Latina/o culture (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012) as well as other cultures (Focus Group 1, personal communication, February 15, 2012).
- Treat all students and teachers alike (Focus Group 7, personal communication, February 23, 2012).
- Incorporate food that is more culturally relevant to the students and that is of better quality (Focus Group 3, personal communication, February 27, 2012, Focus Group 5, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
- Work with teachers to dispel ideologies that keep them from becoming allies to the students (Focus Group 6, personal communication, February 22, 2012).
- Work with teachers to help them become aware of their privilege and how that influences the way they teach, and the way they interact with students (Personal Journal, March 18, 2012).
- Provide English Language Learners with opportunities to develop both social and academic English (Focus Group 8, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

The student's ideas are very important in creating a school that fosters learning, relationships, appreciation of language and culture and success. Besides their suggestions, it is very important to also closely examine aspects of the hidden curriculum such as attitude, ideologies, expectations, school and classroom organization and interaction, privilege, rewards and sanctions (Ramdeen, 2000) in hopes to change them to benefit Latina/o students.

Using CRT and LatCrit encourages the discussion around the improvement of the educational experiences of student of color. The incorporation of MCE provides a way to improve the educational experiences by incorporating a curriculum, and policies that

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includes the ideas of freedom, justice, equality and human dignity. These are all ideas that the students at CCHS are asking for. Adopting MCE will give the school the tools necessary to provide equity for all students, to help students develop a sense of civic efficacy (Banks, 1994), to help to students to better understand and function in their own culture as well as others (Banks, 2001a,; Banks, 2002). Finally, adopting MCE will allow for the school environment to reflects the diverse groups in the United States (Banks, 2001a, Rios & Rogers-Staton, 2011) and for teachers and students develop a sense of social justice (Nieto & Bode, 2008; Gay, 1994). Making these changes will allow all students to have a more significant chance of educational success.

A Need in Catholic Education

These suggestions speak to a new need in Catholic education. With a voucher program in effect, Catholic schools have opened their arms to a new population of students. This shift in student enrollment (from majority middle class Caucasian to low income Latina/o and African American students) poses new challenges to urban Catholic schools who are now serving higher numbers of children in poverty, children of color, and children who are English language learners (Scanlan, 2008).

Unlike the studies done in the mid 80's and early 90's that address the effectiveness of Catholic schools for poor children of color, this particular Catholic school may not be more effective for disadvantaged students. CCHS does not have a quality academic curriculum, and teacher expectations are blurred by deficit ideologies that blame students for their academic failure. Further, policies and practices are set into place to ensure that students do not become academically successful. The experience that CCHS offers students is shaped by white, middle class ideals that pressure Latina/o

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students into discarding their previous knowledge and abilities by means of assimilation in hope that they become more "white." The reality is that these students' will never be able to "claim" their rights of disposition because of their non-white heritage (DeCuir-Gundy, 2006). Instead this experience has harmed and endangered their academic success. The Notre Dame Task Force on the Participation of Latina/o Children and Families in Catholic Schools (2009) calls for the recruitment of more Latina/o students in Catholic schools, but until the issues mentioned in this research are addressed, schools like CCHS will continue to prepare students of color for failure.

Study Limitations

One of the biggest limitations of this study is that the researcher collected data from one site only. By going to various sites, the researcher could have had collected multiple stories from different locations and hence created a more reliable data source and a wider view of the experience of multiple students. Within the site, another limitation came from the lack of representation from multiple ethnicities. The students who participated in this study are for the most part of Catholic and of Mexican descent. The students from other nationalities did not show interest in the study, despite a couple of attempts to talk to them. Of the 30 participants for this study, only two did not identify as Mexican, and only one did not identify as Catholic. Their stories and experiences got somewhat lost in the narrations, as they were overpowered by the experiences of Mexican students. From the little bit they shared, it became clear that although Latina/o, their stories were somewhat different from that of the Mexican students. The same can be said about the ESL population. Because the participation of the students was on a volunteer basis, there was little control of who participated and who did not.

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Another limitation arose from the limited information gathered from parents. Although a survey was sent home, the parents did not provide comments. Therefore, it was difficult to understand how they truthfully saw the school and the educational experiences their children were receiving. Finally, another limitation became the lack access to curricular material. The researcher had very limited access to curriculum, either because it wasn't accessible (no permission to access it), or it was not created. Most of the curricular information gathered came from interviews and classroom observations. By analyzing actual curricular documents, the researchers would have had an opportunity to learn more about topics and themes covered.

Future Research

The information gathered is only the first layer of the experience of Latina/o students in voucher schools. For future research, it will be very important to recreate this same study in multiple locations in order to create a stronger data source that demonstrates how voucher schools affect the experiences students of color. This is important because the data available portrays numbers and statistical formulas, leaving behind the rich stories. The numbers never incorporate factors such as capital, teacher/student relationships, curriculum and instruction, tracking, language, identity, social economic status (SES), and acculturation; therefore, it is of extreme importance to collect qualitative data to demonstrate the overall experience of Latina/o voucher students in Parochial schools in hopes to fully understand whether or not parochial schools are a viable choice for the overall well-being and academic success of Latina/o students.

Future research should also focus on the experiences of English Language Learners (ELL) in Catholic schools. The research presented here only demonstrates a

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small glimpse into the way in which Catholic schools affect their educational opportunities. Future research should include more detailed interviews with the students, as well as the investigation of bilingual education programs, materials, and resources available for students. Finally, research should be conducted to better understand what low income parents feel about Catholic schooling, how and why they chose Catholic institutions, how they experience the schools, and whether or not they believe these schools are fulfilling their goal of educating their children.

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Appendix A

Teacher Survey

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your school? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
1. Teachers know about their students' lives outside of school.				
2. Students and teachers treat each other with respect.				
3. Faculty and students value what most* students have to say.				
4. The teachers and staff think about students as individuals.				
5. The teachers and staff care about most* students.				
6. Most* teachers and staff promote academic success for all students.				
7. Most* teachers emphasize helping students academically when they need it.				
8. The school provides adequate counseling and support services for most* students.				
9. Student discipline practices and policies are fair for most* students.				
Comments				

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	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
10. The school gives most* students equal opportunity to participate in numerous extracurricular and enrichment activities.				
11. The school environment emphasizes showing respect for most* students' cultural beliefs and practices.				
12. The faculty and staff respect all races and cultures.				
13. Most* teachers incorporate aspects of diversity into their curriculum.				
14. Most* teachers incorporate opportunities for students who are bilingual to use their home language.				
15. The teachers and staff have high expectations for most* students.				
16. The curriculum in this school appropriately challenges most* students.				
Comments:				

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about yourself as a teacher? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
17. I am qualified to implement curriculum.				

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	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
18. I am qualified to address the needs of students who are English Language Learners.				
19. I am qualified to address the needs of students from different ethnic/cultural backgrounds.				
Comments:				

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the students in your school? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
20. Most*students feel a sense of community.				
21. Most* students feel listened to represented, and that they have a voice.				
22. Most* students are represented in extracurricular activities.				
23. Most* students care about learning and getting a good education.				

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Comments:				

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the way the school is preparing students? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
24. The school is preparing most* students to achieve academically.				
25. The school is preparing most* students to go to college.				
26. The school sets high standards for academic performance for most* students.				

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about parent participation at your school? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

	A Agree	B Somewhat Agree	C Disagree	D Strongly Disagree
27. Most* parents are supportive of the school and its activities.				
28. Teachers accommodate to the needs of the families.				
29. Teachers are respectful of most* parents.				
Comments:				

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Appendix B: Parent Survey

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
My child is given opportunities to demonstrate his or her learning in a number of ways.					
My child's academic needs are satisfactorily addressed.					
Communications with school staff help me support my child's learning.					
Latina/o cultural values are evident throughout the school environment.					
The teacher's goals for my child are reasonable.					
I regularly receive feedback from school staff on how well my child is learning.					
My family is treated with respect at this school.					
I would recommend this school to other parents.					
The teachers, staff, and administration at this school demonstrate a genuine concern for my child					

What is working well at your child's school?

What areas at your child's school could be improved?

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Appendix C
Interview Protocol for Teachers

Interview Questions	NOTES
Environment • How has the student population changed at this school over time?	
Mission • What would you describe as your school's mission? • How do you see the mission put into action?	
Academics • How do you incorporate instructional materials that reflect the culture or ethnicity of your students? • What are some of your resources for addressing the diversity of learners in your classes? • How do teachers and counselor encourage students to enroll in rigorous courses (such as honors and AP), regardless of their race, ethnicity, or nationality? • How does the classroom celebrate diversity, equal opportunity and equity? • In your classroom, how are students able to affirm their race, gender, disabilities, language, sexual orientation and social background? • How do you develop respect among individuals of various races, genders, classes, abilities and sexual orientation in your classroom?	
Language Experiences • What do you feel is the role of student's home language? • What are ways in which you motivate	

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students to learn and maintain their home language? • What are some ways in which students are able to use the home language in your classroom?	
Cultural Experiences • How would you describe the school's culture? • What are ways in which the school encourages students to become/maintain biculturalism? • How is your classroom inclusive of students that have been traditionally marginalized (i.e low income, special learning needs, ELL, people of color? • How do you incorporate other groups, their histories, and struggles (For example Latinas/os) into your lessons? • What are ways in which you encourage students to become/maintain biculturalism?	
Familial/Community Experiences • How do you develop a sense of community for students that have been traditionally marginalized (i.e low income, special learning needs, ELL, people of color? • How is your classroom inclusive of families that have been traditionally marginalized (i.e low income, special learning needs, ELL, people of color? • How do you foster a positive interrelationship among students, their families, the community, and school? • Do you provide communication with parents in their home language?	

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Overall • What is working well for Latina/o students who receive vouchers? - Academically? - Culturally? - Community? • What are areas that could improve?	

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Appendix D

Student Interview Protocol

Interview Questions	NOTES
Re: General Questions • Tell me about your schools. What is it like to go here? • How would you describe your school's culture? • How does (school name) recruit and welcome students? • What is the best thing about your high school? • What don't you like about your high school? • What school activities are you doing? How did you choose them	
Re: Relationships • How do you get along with the adults in the school? • Can you tell me about an adult at school that you have a good relationship with? Why do you like that person? • Do you ever feel singled out-good or bad-because of your race/ethnicity or language?	

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Interview Questions	
Re: Academics • Who has talked to you about college? • What type of classes are you taking? Do you have an ESL class? How do you feel about these classes? Are you being academically supported in these classes? • How did you pick those classes? • Do you feel like your culture and language is portrayed in your classes? • What type of education do you think you are getting at this school?	
Re: Perspectives • If I were new students in your school, what would you tell him/her? • What do you tell other kids about your school? • How is your cultures and language supported in you school? • What are the most important values you bring to the school? • How do you put these values into action?	

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Appendix E

Photovoice Interview Protocol

1. What did you like about taking these pictures?
2. What challenges and issues did you face while taking the pictures?
3. What do you see in these pictures?
4. How do they represent culture and language?
5. Whose culture and language do these pictures represent and why?
6. What is really happening here? How is your culture and language portrayed throughout the building?
7. How is your community portrayed throughout the building?
8. Why does this situation concern or strengths your view on how this school portrays your culture and language?
9. How does this affect your academics? Identity? Relationship with people?
10. What can we do about it?

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Appendix F

Observation Tool

I. Academics	Strong	Some	None
Acknowledged/celebrated student strengths/successes			
Active participation by a broad range of students			
Students comfortable asking questions/requesting assistance			
Awareness of students' prior learning and experiences			
Showed proactive preparation for a variety of student needs			
Attended appropriately to students who struggle with learning			
Attended appropriately to students who are advanced with learning			
Comments:			
I. Home Language Inclusion	Strong	Some	None
Opportunities available for students to use home language			
Comments:			
I. Cultural Inclusion	Strong	Some	None
Demonstrated sensitivity to different cultures/ethnicities			
Inclusion of instructional materials that reflect the culture or ethnicity of students			
Comments:			
I. Familial/Community Inclusion	Strong	Some	None
Classroom is inclusive of families that have been traditionally marginalized			
A positive interrelationship among students, their families, the community, and school is visible			
Comments			

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Appendix G

UNIVERSITY of WISCONSIN
UWMILWAUKEE

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New Study - Notice of IRB Expedited Approval

Date: January 9, 2012

To: Thandeka Chapman, Ph.D.
Dept: Urban Education

Cc: Tatiana Joseph

IRB#: 12.200
Title: Mi Hogar y Mi Pueblo: A study of Latino Voucher Students in a Parochial High School

After review of your research protocol by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Institutional Review Board, your protocol has been approved as minimal risk Expedited under Category 5, 6 and 7 as governed by 45 CFR 46.110.

After review of your research protocol by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Institutional Review Board, your protocol has been approved as minimal risk Expedited under Category 5, 6 and 7 as governed by 45 CFR 46.110.

This protocol has been approved on **January 9, 2012** for one year. IRB approval will expire on **January 8, 2013**. If you plan to continue any research related activities (e.g., enrollment of subjects, study interventions, data analysis, etc.) past the date of IRB expiration, a continuation for IRB approval must be filed by the submission deadline. If the study is closed or completed before the IRB expiration date, please notify the IRB by completing and submitting the Continuing Review form found on the IRB website.

Unless specifically where the change is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects, any proposed changes to the protocol must be reviewed by the IRB before implementation. It is the principal investigator's responsibility to adhere to the policies and guidelines set forth by the UWM IRB and maintain proper documentation of its records and promptly report to the IRB any adverse events which require reporting.

It is the principal investigator's responsibility to adhere to UWM and UW System Policies, and any applicable state and federal laws governing activities the principal investigator may seek to employ (e.g., FERPA, Radiation Safety, UWM Data Security, UW System policy on Prizes, Awards and Gifts, state gambling laws, etc.) which are independent of IRB review/approval.

Contact the IRB office if you have any further questions. Thank you for your cooperation and best wishes for a successful project

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2005 B.A Spanish Language and Literature, College of Arts and Sciences, Marquette University, Milwaukee.

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DISSERTATION TOPIC

How a Milwaukee Parental Choice Program Catholic high school shapes the overall educational experiences of Latina/o students who receive vouchers.

PUBLICATIONS

Peer Review Articles

Chapman, T. Hartlep, N., Joseph, T., Lipsey, T., Vang, T. (2011). "FUBU[i] (ForUsByUs) Style: Researchers of Color Documenting the Lives of Students of Color in Majority White Suburban Schools." *Qualitative Research*. Under review.

PRESENTATIONS

Invited Addresses

Joseph, T. (2011). *Hispanic or Latina/o: How does my identity shape who I become?*. Hispanic Nurse Association. Alverno College, Milwaukee, WI.

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Joseph, T. (2011). Key Note Speaker. *Celebrating our Achievements.* Omega Delta Phi National Fraternity Midwest Regional Conference, Milwaukee, WI

Joseph, T. (2010). Invited Panelist. *Redefining Latinas.* Latina Leadership Summit. Marquette University. Milwaukee, WI.

Joseph, T. (2010). *These are my Damaged Petals.* Latina/o Solidarity Day. Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI

Peer Reviewed Presentations

Chapman, T.K., Hartlep, N., Joseph, T., Lipsey, T., Vang, M. (2012). "FUBU (ForUsByUs) Style: Researchers of Color Documenting the Lives of Students of Color in Majority White Suburban Schools." Critical Race Studies in Education Conferece. New York, New York.

Chapman, T.K., Joseph, T., Hartlep, N., Lipsey, T., Vang, M. (2012). "Revisiting the Double-Edge Sword of Curriculum." AERA. Vancouver, Canada.

Hartlep, N., Joseph, T. (2012) "Prepackaged Social Justice Curriculum: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly." Anti-Racist, Anti-Bias Conference. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Chapman, T.K., Hartlep, N., Joseph, T., Lipsey, T., Vang, M. (2011). "FUBU[4] (ForUsByUs) Style: Researchers of Color Documenting the Lives of Students of Color in Majority White Suburban Schools." AERA. New Orleans, Louisiana.

Chapman, T.K., Hartlep, N., Joseph, T., Lipsey, T., Vang, T. (2011). "Students of Color Surviving Majority White Multi-Racial School Contexts: A CRT Analysis of Student Identity." AERA. New Orleans, Louisiana.

Chapman, T.K., Hartlep, N., Joseph, T., Lipsey, T., Vang, T. (2011). "Researchers of Color Documenting the Lives of Students of Color in Majority White Suburban Schools." International Qualitative Congress. Urban, Illinois

Joseph, T. (2010). "Multicultural Education: A Path to Educational Reform." Anti-Racist, Anti-Bias Conference. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Joseph, T. (2010). "Multicultural Education: A Path to Educational Reform." Texas National Association of Multicultural Education. Texas Chapter of the National Association of Multicultural Education. Denton, Texas.

[4] The term Fubu originated as an acronym of "Five Urban Brother United" but quickly adopted a secondary meaning of "For Us by Us" that represented the uniqueness of an urban clothing line designed and owned by African American entrepreneurs for African American youth in inner city areas. Since its inception, the clothing line has expanded and become inclusive of all urban clothing consumers.

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Joseph, T. (2010. "Multicultural Education in the Classroom: An Analysis of 9th and 10th grade Religion, Social Studies, Science and English Curricula." UWM School of Education Research Conference. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Current Research Project

Chapman, T.K., Joseph, T. (2009). The experiences of students of color in suburban schools. North Shore Research Consortium.

Duties: Conduct a number of focus groups;
transcribe interviews;
analyze data from interviews;
write research papers based on data collected;
present findings at various conferences and professional development sessions.

Program/Research Development

Valenzuela, A./NLERAP, Inc. (2011). [subcontracted to T. Joseph as UWM TEI Research Assistant]. Teacher Education Institutes Initiative/National Latina/o Education Research and Policy (NLERAP) Project. New York: W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

Duties: Compose meeting agendas;
attend meetings and take minutes;
schedule meetings and assist in ordering light beverages and snacks for meetings;
conduct literature reviews as directed by faculty to facilitate the conceptualization and writing of grants related to this project;
assist director is the construction of budgets, and reports;
maintain organization of region documents;
maintain the budget;
write invoices.

TEACHING

Undergraduate Courses:

CURRINS 637. *World Language Methods and Materials.* Basic principles and practical instructional techniques intended to prepare teachers with experiences and background to teach world languages.

CURRINS 639. *Critical Issues and Methods in World Language Teaching.* Advanced preparation for teachers of world languages that will equip them for teaching world languages to students from early childhood through adolescence.

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CURRINS 508. *Language and Urban Schooling.* General overview of the major issues in both first and second language acquisition, and the relevant implications for urban schooling

CURRINS 542. *History and Politics of Second Language Education*. General overview of the history, politics, legal and social contexts of language education in the United States today.

K-12 Teaching Experience

2008-2012. Substitute Teacher. Carmen High School. Milwaukee, WI.

2008-2012. Substitute Teacher. St. Anthony School. Milwaukee, WI.

Summer 2008-2011. Instructor. Marquette University. Milwaukee, WI. Taught a College Survival Course in the Student Support Services Summer Program for incoming low income/first generation college freshman.

2005-2008. Certified High School Spanish Teacher. Pius XI High School, Milwaukee, WI. Taught Advanced level Spanish.

SERVICE

2008- Present Secretary, Walker's Square Neighborhood Association.

2007- Present Advisor to Sigma Lambda Gamma National Sorority. Omicron Gamma Chapter, Marquette University.

2012 Fiesta Walk Coordinator, Mexican Fiesta.

2012 Community Safety Task Force Member, South Side Organizing Committee.

2011 Conference Presentation Chair, AERA.

2010 Oral Competition Judge, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

2007-2010 Volunteer Coordinator, Mexican Fiesta.

2005- 2010 Pre-college Advisor, United Community Center.

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AWARDS

Joseph, T. (2011). The James and Yvonne Ziemer Graduate Fellowship Recipient. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Milwaukee, WI.

Joseph, T. (2011). LULAC Scholarship Recipient. Milwaukee, WI.

Joseph, T. (2011). Hispanic Professionals of Greater Milwaukee Advance Degree Scholarship Recipient. Milwaukee, WI.

Joseph, T. (2008;2009;2010). Advanced Opportunity Fellowship Recipient. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Milwaukee, WI.

Joseph T. (2000-2005). Educational Opportunity Program Recipient. Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS

National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME)
American Educational Research Association

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