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# Reification, Resistance, and Transformation? The Impact of Migration and Demographics on Linguistic, Racial, and Ethnic Identity and Equity in Educational Systems: An Applied Approach

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Reification, Resistance, and Transformation? The Impact of Migration and Demographics on  
Linguistic, Racial, and Ethnic Identity and Equity in Educational Systems: An Applied Approach

by

Rebecca A. Campbell

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Anthropology  
College of Arts and Sciences  
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## **DEDICATION**

My grandmother, Rosamond, told me that when she was little, her mother told her she had two choices: she could be a nurse or a school teacher. While she had an amazing nursing career, how awesome is it that the choices before me feel almost endless? It is my hope that this research can multiply the choices and possibilities for people in linguistic, racial, and ethnic minority groups, so that we and our children can achieve our personal dreams. This research is a first step in my efforts to do my part to dismantle the pervasive system of inequality. I look forward to the next decades of work in this pursuit.

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## ABSTRACT

Using an applied anthropological approach focused on language, this study investigates the relationship between linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities and school resource access in the context of migration. This project examines how these identities are established, experienced, reified, and resisted by various school actors. Exposing power at its roots through a multi-level analysis, this research informs on how people negotiate socialization into particular identities, propelling them toward positions in school and society of varying opportunity.

Focused on two elementary schools in a central Florida county that has been and is undergoing demographic changes, this work offers applications for educational institutions dealing with migration. One school's orientation to meeting needs of non-English speaking students significantly impacts its ability to reach and form relationships with parents and improve the educational outcomes for children. The second school's cultural responsiveness makes it possible to meet higher expectations. At both schools, there is a disconnect between how the school and state think about people and how those people think about themselves, which erases groups and raises questions about how well students from those groups are served.

While the ideologies promoted in dominant society are constraining, struggles and resistance do impact and reorganize the system. This study provides recommendations for the research site and similar schools to address linguistic, racial, and ethnic educational inequity. For instance, this project emphasizes the need to provide linguistically appropriate school-home communication. It also offers a means for the schools and state to better serve students by understanding the nuances of identity through more appropriate measures of race and ethnicity.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Research Aims

There are two aims of my dissertation. First, I investigate the relationship between linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities and school access in the context of migration in a central Florida county. Second, I examine how these identities are established, experienced, reified, and resisted by students, school employees, teachers, and administrators in the classroom and school. Educational institutions are important settings where questions of linguistic, racial, and ethnic identity are addressed and norms for interaction and hierarchies are enacted (Wortham, Murillo, and Hamann 2001). In schools, students' educational experiences are shaped by how they relate to a broader functioning society outside the institution (Collins 2015).

In pursuing both of these aims, I use language as a window for understanding construction processes and their meanings. Additionally, I consider how language is used to restrict access for racial and ethnic minoritized<sup>1</sup> groups, as language ideologies are key to colorblind racism. For example, U.S. schools and society have demonstrated language discrimination and prejudice, which in turn have been shown to function as a surrogate for racism and other prejudices (hooks 1994; Lanehart 1999; Perry and Delpit 1998; Wiley 2014; Woolard 1998). For instance, schools are maintained as "white public space" (Hill 1998) or as "off limits" to people of color through English only policies or when people repeat "ethnic

---

<sup>1</sup> I adopt McCarty's (2002) operationalization of "minoritized" to convey the power relations through which groups are marginalized socially, politically, and economically in society.

sounding names,” Spanish-accented English words, or African American language<sup>2</sup> spoken by others. My two research goals are situated to inform how people are socialized into or resist being socialized into particular identities, which then propel them toward positions in school and society of varying power and opportunity. This is a complex process, one we generally do not clearly understand (Lippi-Green 1997).

As applied anthropology examines issues from multiple perspectives and seeks to address social problems (Kedia and Van Willigen 2005), I explore this project’s aims from the perspectives of various people and institutions; this includes students, school employees, teachers, school administrators, school district personnel, people in the county, and state level policies. Because I recognize that much research about people of color excludes their perspectives (Milner 2007), my participants have various racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities. My approach is multi-vocal, multi-racial, and multi-ethnic and my research serves as a vehicle for their voices as I maintain participants’ own words in the data presented.

In the struggles for power in the context of immigrant integration into new areas, schools are at the frontline between receiving communities and migrants as the new racial and social order is negotiated (Winders 2013). Although the migration examined in this dissertation is not “new” in the sense that it began as recently as the 1980s-1990s, it did begin in the 1950s-1960s, and groups today continue to struggle over school and other resources at the research site. More broadly, schools are also primary agents in reproducing social inequality among established groups, especially through the use of linguistic mechanisms (Bourdieu 1991; Gramsci 1971; Hymes 1996; Phillips 1998). According to Gramsci, these linguistic mechanisms sustain

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<sup>2</sup> Discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, I use African American Language to refer to the speech used by some African Americans and others which has roots in West Africa. An example of a characteristic of this way of speaking is the use of invariant “be” (Lippi-Green 1997). For instance, a speaker may say “I be flossin’ my teeth” to indicate that their flossing of teeth is habitual or unvarying (i.e., that they floss their teeth daily).



inequality and control through hegemony, which refers to an ideology that justifies the relations between those in control and the subordinate class(es) (Phillips 1998).

Globalization has spurred migration and the demographic changes. Local institutions will experience this movement on an increasing scale, making it crucial for studies to address the impact these factors have on local institutions and the education of migratory populations. Such research on migration, including my dissertation, is essential in today's globalized society where the movement of people is made easier through the impact of a postmodern world (Appadurai 1996) while the fit of newcomers into host societies often engenders struggles.

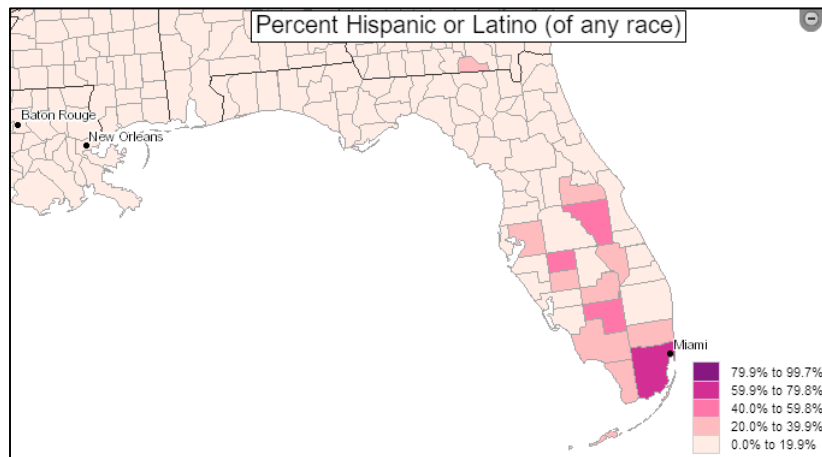
### **Research Location and Contributions**

Aside from the understandings gained by addressing my research aims, my study is important for several reasons. First, it offers insight on both areas similar to the research site today as well as areas experiencing migration in the future as a result of globalization. Second, its applied contributions include recommendations that can be enacted to improve the experience and empowerment of all actors involved in education, which can advance teaching environments in U.S. schools, particularly those schools in the Southern U.S. and research site. Third, my project has empirical significance and contributions to classroom ethnography, the linguistic anthropology of education, and critical race pedagogy. Before discussing these further, I detail the research location and context to situate the significance of these contributions.

The research site is a central Florida county in an area of six counties known as the Florida Heartland. Within the county, school data was primarily collected at two elementary schools, which I describe in detail in Chapter 4. I call this county Central County as a

pseudonym, as I agreed with the school district superintendent when I entered the field that I would not refer to the county by name in write-ups. To maintain the privacy and confidentiality of participants, I do not include participant names.

Central is ~650 square miles (USF FIOG 2012) and its population is between 25-30,000, according to the 2011 Census estimate. This makes the area a non-metropolitan county in terms of demographics and population density. Central has been and is going through demographic changes that mirror changes expected across the United States in future decades. For example, from 1990 to 2014, the portion of non-Hispanic whites in Central decreased from 71% to 48%, the portion of Latinos<sup>3</sup> increased from 23% to 43%, and the portion of African Americans<sup>4</sup> increased from 5% to 8% (Census Bureau 2015). In 1990, the national population was 76% non-Hispanic white, 9% Latino, and 12% black. This changed to 62% non-Hispanic white, 17% Latino, and 13% black in 2014 (Census Bureau 2015). Relatedly, in the 1990s and 2000s, the movement of Indigenous Mexicans to areas in the United States has quickly increased (Pérez-Rendón 2011). Figure 1.1 shows the concentration of Latinos in Florida counties.



**Figure 1.1: Map of Florida counties showing the percentage of the population that is Hispanic or Latino. Map created using 2010 Census data (Census Bureau 2015).**

<sup>3</sup> Includes those identifying as any race.

<sup>4</sup> Includes those identifying with black race only, includes any ethnic group (ex. Latino).

Going back to the first contribution of this research, these data support the need for research that provides important insights on issues which will arise as more areas of the United States experience similar, significant demographic changes. As can be seen in Table 1.1, Central's changes are a magnification of those the United States experienced: in all areas non-Hispanic whites declined substantially and Latinos increased significantly; however, the similarity in changes for African Americans was less pronounced (i.e., at all levels, African Americans increased only a few percentage points from 1990 to 2014).

**Table 1.1: Table showing selected racial/ethnic makeup at national, state, and county levels during 1990, 2000, and 2014. Numbers are shown as a percentage of total population.**

|  | Non-Hispanic White | Black <sup>1</sup> | Latino <sup>2</sup> | Non-Hispanic White | Black | Latino | Non-Hispanic White | Black | Latino |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|--------|--------------------|-------|--------|
| <b>United States</b>   | 76                 | 12                 | 9                   | 69                 | 12    | 13     | 62                 | 13    | 17     |
| <b>State of Florida</b>  | 73                 | 14                 | 12                  | 65                 | 15    | 17     | 56                 | 17    | 24     |
| <b>Central County</b>  | 71                 | 5                  | 23                  | 55                 | 8     | 36     | 48                 | 8     | 43     |
| <b>Year</b>  | 1990               |                    |                     | 2000               |       |        | 2014               |       |        |
| <sup>1</sup> Includes those identifying with black race only, includes any ethnic group (ex. Latino) |                    |                    |                     |                    |       |        |                    |       |        |
| <sup>2</sup> Includes those identifying as any race  |                    |                    |                     |                    |       |        |                    |       |        |

As shown in Table 1.2, the Central K-12 school district is comprised of 59% Latino students, 32% non-Hispanic white students, and 8% African American students<sup>5</sup> (FLDOE 2015). At the same time, in Central about 88% of teachers are non-Hispanic white, 10% are Hispanic, and 2% are black (FLDOE 2012). Nationally, in 2011-2012, 82% of all public school K-12 teachers were non-Hispanic white (NCES 2013). In 2060, Latinos are projected to make up about a third of the national population (Census Bureau 2015). Although racial and ethnic diversity is more robust than the three categories I have focused on, I use these categories as a departure point because they are the three largest groups, based on how the Florida Department of

<sup>5</sup> Figures for the 2013-2014 school year.

Education (FLDOE), and thus the schools, calculate (and construct) race and ethnicity. The county's details, both the particular and its commonalities with Southern U.S. and schools in the United States and elsewhere, make it both an informative case study for the local and other areas both now and in the future.

**Table 1.2: Table showing the racial/ethnic makeup of students in Central, all residents in Central, Florida's students, all residents in Florida, and all residents of the United States (Census Bureau 2015). Numbers are shown as a percentage of total population.**

|   | Non-Hispanic White | Black | Latino |
|---|--------------------|-------|--------|
| United States   | 63                 | 13    | 17     |
| State of Florida  | 56                 | 17    | 24     |
| Florida's Students  | 41                 | 23    | 30     |
| Central County  | 48                 | 8     | 43     |
| Central's Students  | 32                 | 6     | 59     |
| Year  | 2013               |       |        |
| Note: Racial/ethnic categories here are mutually exclusive. |                    |       |        |

The second reason why my work is important is because of its applied characteristics for schools in the present in informing the processes by which schools deal with population change. As applied anthropological research does (Kedia and Van Willigen 2005), my work identifies problems and issues and makes recommendations to address them (Chapter 7). By uncovering issues that have been disregarded by school agents, my work brings to the attention of stakeholders in education the possibility of addressing issues previously ignored. I offer community leaders, policy makers, educators, parents, students, and others outside academia who similarly focus on the interplay between education, language, and social change in this context an opportunity to consider diversity in education through new lenses. My research also identifies strategies used by school agents and other actors that have worked in the research setting, highlighting tactics that could be useful in similar contexts today.

A third contribution of this research lies in its impact on the linguistic anthropology of education. Aside from expanding the ethnography of Florida schools, my project builds on previous studies in the field relating to language socialization (Ochs 2000; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984) and critical pedagogy. By examining language use in elementary schools to show how speech abides by or conflicts with rules about its use, and how those violations are handled, I consider whether violations are addressed, repeated by a listener, and so forth. These rules about how a language should be used in particular contexts are known as language ideologies. Language ideologies or ideas about language, are really ideas about people (Phillips 2004). Lippi-Green adds, “when we ask individuals to reject their own language, it is not the message, but the social allegiances made clear by that language ... [that is perceived as the] underlying problem” (1997:63). I build on linguistic anthropology research as I consider how teachers, students, and other school actors use language to talk about language, race, and ethnicity which creates sociocultural norms about these topics in school. My work is especially informative for this theory in the context of migration. For example, unlike other European language varieties such as French or British English, Spanish is not widely regarded as a prestige language according to dominant ideologies in the United States. However, I look at such things as the value or treatment of Spanish use in schools in Central, given the high proportion of the population that is Latino. This may be relevant given that Davis (2012) found demographic changes and institutional shifts caused movement in language hierarchies by showing that teachers used language to negotiate sociolinguistic hierarchies in a multilingual school in Sri Lanka. The idea that bilingualism positively impacts national competitiveness and individual development and is associated with high achievement (Portes and Rumbaut 2001) also motivates my work. However, as I discuss in Chapter 2, the status of Spanish use depends on the status of

the speaker as “elite bilingualism,” or when non-Hispanic whites learn a second language, is valued whereas, for example, Hispanics who speak Spanish learning English is often seen as negative (Fuller 2012).

More generally, my work speaks to Wolf’s (1999) call that research interrogate how conflicts between tradition and variability are negotiated. It also illuminates how power operates and the process of active silencing of some by those in power (Trouillot 2003). To do this, I expose power at its roots (Trouillot 1995) and consider how people are channeled into or resist the hierarchical systems of race, ethnicity, and language in schools within the context of migration. In this way, I seek to understand how schools reproduce, construct, and/or contest racial, ethnic, and language ideologies to inform how schools attempt, or do not attempt, to meet the needs of an increasing number of racial, ethnic, and language minoritized students in the United States (Census Bureau 2015). Although the ideologies promoted in the dominant society are constraining, struggles and resistance do impact and reorganize the system through interaction (Ortner 1994).

## **Research Questions**

At the elementary classroom level, I investigate how privilege is constructed, the strategies used to negotiate place, and the various approaches used to counter inequality. This allows me to inform on processes of socialization into particular identities that propel people toward statuses of differential power. Specifically, the research questions driving this project are:

1. Are there hierarchies of groups (racial, ethnic, or linguistic) regulating access to (school) resources? Is the school producing a culturally patterned belief system about these hierarchies?

2. How are these identities, linked to racial, ethnic, or linguistic groups, experienced/established/articulated at micro-level interactions among a variety of individuals in the school?
3. What strategies are created or expressed by various group members (whites, Latinos, African Americans, teachers, students, etc.) to deal with racial, ethnic, or linguistic differences in an elementary classroom?

## **Dissertation Overview**

The remaining chapters are organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I operationalize important variables, including “race,” “ethnicity,” “culture,” and “nonmetropolitan.” I then explain a main theoretical underpinning of this research: that language ideology is a key component of colorblind racism, which perpetuates racial inequality. Colorblind racism is the process through which nuanced racism is practiced today, in addition to more overt forms, this racism blames “market forces” or cultural deficiencies of minority groups for racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2010). I discuss language education planning in light of this. The chapter goes on to explain language socialization theory as well as the anthropological approach of my study both generally, and then specifically in terms of the linguistic anthropology of education. For example, anthropology is concerned with social realities influenced by such things as diasporas, politics, economics, and linkages between “microcultural worlds of language and discourse to macrosocial forces” (Kroskrity 2000:2). These concerns make the discipline especially useful in educational inquiry (Wortham 2003). Focusing on schools as state agents, I explain the necessary background to show how micro, “glocal”<sup>6</sup> (Robertson 1992), and macro level forces expressed during school registration, school events, and classroom experiences create boundaries that in

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<sup>6</sup> Briefly, “glocal” refers to the synthesis of local and global (Robertson 1992).

turn cause the “erasure” (Gal 2005), rearticulation, reification, “rescaling” (Lempert 2012) or contestation of cultural and linguistic identity. I discuss the linguistic anthropological approach of my research as it builds on the linguistic anthropology of education and centers on theoretical frameworks addressing culture and power and ethnographic methods that use language as a window to see into “the relationship between larger sociocultural patterns and the (re)production of inequity, on the level of person-to-person interaction, inside the classrooms” (Rymes 2003:122, citing Phillips 1993).

In Chapter 3, I outline the macro setting of migration and its impacts on education using an anthropological approach grounded in history and power. I then focus on the county level to situate it as local within the neoliberal globalization context by talking about the county’s agricultural origins. At the county level, I focus on four main factors to illustrate its particular Southern U.S., and broader context: agriculture, intergroup relations, education, and religion. I connect Central today to its past, as well as to the present in terms of the U.S. South and the broader United States, especially in regards to orientations to language and cultural diversity in schools. This teasing out of what is particular and general about the site allows me to inform both how this site is distinct and how it is representative of local and larger socio-historical processes. My orientation is “anthropolitical” (Zentella 1997) in that it connects language to social identities, political economy, and broader social forces (González 2005). In this approach, I recognize the neoliberal globalization (Harvey 2007) context of contemporary life. For example, I acknowledge that life today is a result of the combination of modern, globalized settings driven by technology and migration (Appadurai 1996) with economic realities shaped by neoliberal market principles that promote a “hands-off” mentality toward corporations and markets (Lewellen 2002). However, the labor pushes and pulls driving migration for work are part of the



hegemonic project of neoliberalism that seeks to restore power to the elite through capital accumulation (Harvey 2007). I also use a political economic model to understand that social organization and cultural forms are impacted by how people make a living, although I agree that local context is the product of historical relations of European Expansionism and colonial trade (Wolf 1982). Political Economy is an anthropological approach that applies materialism to non-capitalist societies (Roseberry 1988). This introduced the importance of historical approaches mindful of colonialism to ahistorical anthropological theories existing anthropological understandings of social organization and culture and resulted in anthropologists focusing on the impacts of class and hegemony in the evolving world system (Roseberry 1988). Accordingly, there are several units of analysis in this research: the global level, the state level, the school district level, school level, and individual level (parents, teachers, staff, district employees, and students).

In Chapter 4, I provide the rationale for the methods I used in my multi-level ethnographic study, conducted during the 2014-2015 school year. This includes information on participants, research sites, and classrooms observed. I also explain specific methods used, like home visits, observations, surveys, interviews, and secondary data analysis. Mixed methods allow me to move from qualitative to quantitative data collection and analysis to evaluate the systematic nature of observations (Bernard 2011). I explain how these methods specifically provide data to inform my research questions and also mitigate the limitations of this research. I then discuss how data was analyzed, including textual analysis, which examines the information included in communication, who the sender and receiver are, and how that communication impacts interlocutors (Fairclough 2003). I used Critical Discourse Analysis, which focuses on hierarchical relationships and how interlocutors wield power through the things they say (Van

Dijk 1998). A Fairclough orientation to Critical Discourse Analysis connects language with power, but it is better coupled with a language ideologies approach which “differs from CDA in its emphasis on awareness, its recognition of multiple and contesting ideologies, and on its preferred use of ethnographic approaches to collecting and interpreting data” (Kroskrity 2016:96). Further, I use critical ethnography because it allows the researcher to locate times and points of discourse, including counter discourses (Hadi-Tabassum 2006), which illuminate how power works. Critical Discourse Analysis is suitable method of analysis since it is interested in continuity and change (Fairclough 2003) as well as the role that “discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance” (Van Dijk 2008:354). I end the chapter discussing my positionality, issues of reflexivity, and the reality that ethnography is partial and subjective.

Chapter 5 is the first of two data chapters. Here, I answer my first research question, which examines whether racial, ethnic, or linguistic hierarchies regulate access to (school) resources and if the school is producing a culturally patterned belief system about those hierarchies. To address this research question, I explain how hierarchies of groups, based on constructed identities such as language, race, and ethnicity, restrict or privilege access to school resources, reproducing inequality. I focus on the availability of Spanish-speaking translators and the frequency in which documents were sent home from school in both English and Spanish. I draw on realities like the representation of children from various groups in the “advanced” and “regular” tracked classes as well as their representation in school competitions. By comparing two schools I realized that there is a clear difference in their orientation to this matter. Each school’s outlook on serving various groups, which was promoted through patterned institutional rules, practices, and dialogue, impacted those groups’ access to school resources. I consider how

ideologies matching or mismatching these orientations are also found, in some ways, at the district, community, and state levels and between various linguistic, racial, and ethnic groups. I also consider the reality that linguistic, racial, and ethnic statuses intersect with each other but also with citizenship and class statuses to impact individuals and their access. For example, I found that families of color and those with less English mastery had shorter interaction times with personnel in school offices than white families, which suggests these families receive less access to school resources and information.

In Chapter 6, I answer my second and third research questions, which consider how racial, ethnic, or linguistic identity articulates at school as well as the strategies used to deal with differences in the classroom. Here, I examine how identities are formed and performed in school sites by demonstrating how people have dealt with these identities in the educational terrain. At the micro-level, linguistic interactions shape the way students and even adults think about themselves, according to language socialization theory (Ochs 2000). In my discussion, I explain how notions of *Latinidad* and blackness are constructed as well as how learning about race impacts identity. I explain the various strategies that actors use to deal with difference in the classroom, as people vary in their response to difference and do not always sit back and accept dominant ideas about groups they may identify with. These interactions illustrate the patterned racial, ethnic, and language ideologies circulating at these schools and the county. In some ways, constructions of race, ethnicity, and language appear to stem from the state. For example, the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE) defines race and ethnicity in their demographic calculations using categories they have constructed as mutually exclusive. Following suit, if a student is Latino then that student may not be reported as belonging to any racial group. In this way, the state and schools collapse groups, leading to student misidentification, which mis-

serves students. For instance, Latinos who are American Indian, African American or black, or Asian are reported only as Latino and their racial identity is erased, which erase differences and details that would have enabled the school to serve students better. In another example, lumping together groups such as Haitians and African Americans essentializes black students; although Haitian students who are Creole-speaking may be counted as English Language Learners, in this category they are collapsed with children in various racial, ethnic, and other group statuses where English learning may or may not be an issue. Therefore, these calculations obscure intersecting identities. Further, by privileging students' Latino identities on official reports of race and ethnic background at Central, the state has erased the 10% of middle schoolers who are of American Indian descent.<sup>7</sup> Instead, the state reports that less than 1% of that student body is American Indian. This process results in multiple groups being collapsed or misrepresented as homogenous, including blacks/Haitians, Latinos/American Indians, and so on.

In the final chapter, I sum up the main findings of this research and how it contributes to knowledge and theory, especially in the linguistic anthropology of education. I then offer recommendations for implementations at the field site through policy and other changes or strategies. In addition to contributing to anthropological theory, these recommendations allow my dissertation to offer an applied element to improve educational equity in society and specifically areas encountering or that will encounter similar population changes. I then detail what applied anthropology research means and how my work is defined as such. I conclude with the dissemination plans for my work.

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<sup>7</sup> A less pronounced by still significant similar erasure was found at both of the elementary schools I worked at. More details on this are provided in Chapter 6.

## **CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THIS RESEARCH**

I open this chapter by defining the key terms in this study, such as race and ethnicity. Then I explain how language enacts colorblind racism through discrimination. Colorblind racism is racism that is done or explained via nonracial dynamics (Bonilla-Silva 2010); for instance, this is done when the culturally influenced languages of minoritized groups are corrected, penalized, or stigmatized because they violate the norms of “standard” language. As I discuss, the standard language and ideologies supporting its use have come about as one of the ways that the majority maintains dominance over minoritized groups. The Standard Language Ideology refers to the specific rules and ways of thinking that privilege Standard American English, or “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (Lippi-Green 1997:64). Language ideologies are rendered invisible because they are unmarked and considered true rules of language; this obscures the fact that they are socially constructed. Language ideologies are assertions of power (Bourdieu 1991) and control access to resources. I use Lipsitz’s (1998) “possessive investment in whiteness” and its connection to white domination on a global level to show the broader context in which power is embedded within language ideologies. Next, I discuss language ideologies’ use in state institutions, such as schools, via language policy planning. Language planning ranges from culturally fair language policies to those erasing or

subtracting language and/or culture. Then I explain how my work is related to language socialization (Ochs 2000; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). This research context is a county in the Florida Heartland which has experienced periods of migration resulting in a higher than average portion of the population that is Latino—a trend becoming more common in various areas in the United States.

### **Operationalization of Key Terms**

In this study on the presence and articulation of linguistic, racial, and ethnic hierarchies and identities in a context of migration in a nonmetropolitan county, there are terms that need to be operationalized for clarity. Here, I define race, ethnicity, culture, and nonmetropolitan.

Race is simultaneously real and not real. It is not real in that it is a social construction that has no real biological basis because there is no genetic basis for defining someone as belonging to a particular racial group (Graves 2012). Social construction refers to how collectively and through interaction, people come to make a reality that produces definitions that help them understand their social world. Race can be thought of as a regime of looking (Seshadri-Crook 2000), based on perceived biological differences. Fuller states, “the basic idea about the social construction of ‘race’ is that how we deal with physical differences (not the physical differences themselves) is culturally determined” (2012:48). Ideas about race are created from agents of socialization, including the media, the family, religion, and of course, education. For example, Jewett (2006) examined how students, teachers, and administrators constructed race through discourse, practices, pedagogies, and policies. Here, race was constructed as sameness, difference, or as being colorblind.

At the same time, because many publics believe that race reflects real biological differences linked to intrinsic behaviors, capabilities, and even culture (Wade 2008), race has real social effects. Because they are repeated and pervasive, racial ideologies are naturalized; members of a society assume they are facts and not cultural constructions (Fuller 2012). In highly racialized societies, like the United States, physical attributes are more consequential than wealth, culture, or education (Seshadri-Crook 2000). Categorizations of race function to establish differential relations between groups in constructing the logic of domination. Historically, scientific racial categorizations were made to justify a priori ideas about racial groups (Ferber 2012). These mistaken accounts still surface today in race relations. For instance, failing to consider the historical effects of discrimination and the legacy of slavery and segregation prevents an individual from understanding the roots of today's inequality (Rickford and Rickford 2000). Colorblind institutionalized racism and ethnicism live through the idea of the American Dream. This myth blames those who do not succeed for their own failures rather than acknowledging structural and historical inequalities and how these affect contemporary life. Race is "a particular kind of social differentiation that marks some groups of people as fundamentally and irredeemably dangerous, suspect, polluted, and Other (Urciuoli 1996:17) ...[it] is typical of contexts of conquest, post- and neo-colonialism, slavery, and immigration" (Dick and Wirtz 2011:E4).

Following suit, ideas about race have impacted social policies, and vice versa. These "social and historical processes by which groups come to be defined in racial terms...[by]...state-based institutions" are known as racial formation (Omi and Winant 2012:36). In the past, the United States has defined race legally and even used it as a precursor to citizenship. For example, some states defined people as being black if they had "1/32 negro

blood” and demanded that birth certificates match accordingly (Omi and Winant 2012). Informed by Social Darwinism, which equated race with culture, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) maintained racial segregation in public facilities (Baker 1998). The main element of the *Plessy* ruling was that facilities had to be “separate but equal” in order to not breach the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment, guaranteeing equal protection for all citizens. Later, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) ruled racially segregated institutions unconstitutional and inherently unequal and called for the desegregation of schools. De facto segregation did not end with *Brown*, and both legal (de jure) and social segregation policies informed the organized structure of everything in the United States. The theory informing *Brown* was cultural relativism (Baker 1998). Among other works, UNESCO’s 1950 statement, *The Race Question*, which debunked scientific support for racism, was drawn on in the court’s ruling on *Brown* (Baker 1998). It should be noted that although racial laws allowed Mexicans to attend schools, they could still be banned for migrant status or language issues (Foley 1997).

As social scientists widely accepted Boas’ critique of race as biology, a color-blind thesis became the dominant framework of understanding race. This framework goes so far in its rejection of the race construct that it rejects that it is even socially constructed (i.e., people claim not to “see color”). Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues that colorblind racism is the main element of today’s racism. The key component of colorblind racism is the claim that today’s racial inequality is a result of nonracial dynamics. Rosa (2015) argues that we should think of race as a constellation that can be reconfigured depending on context. My project shows that the state and schools are socializing children and families into a new racial system (Waterston 2006; Bonilla-Silva 2010). This system, which has blacks, Latinos, and whites occupying points of reference, is replacing the bi-racial system marked by blackness and whiteness at opposite poles. A carryover



from the traditional dominant U.S. racial framework, hypodescent<sup>8</sup> is still the rule and multiracial people are categorized as the race of their heritage that has the lowest status. In the new racial framework, Latinos are usually identified by ethnicity instead of race (Bonilla-Silva 2010), this dissertation illustrates such processes of racial and linguistic erasure for American Indians due to their concurrent status as Latinos. In the United States, today people are often told to not speak about race and any discussion of it becomes “automatically racist” (Bonilla-Silva 2010). For example, Winders (2013) examined how teachers identified students and found that they used colorblind terms in which notions of space and language served as proxies for markers of race. Avoidance of racial terms is a main marker of the colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2010), which is defined as when people and institutions perpetuate racial inequality “unknowingly” or based on factors that may sometimes be tangentially related to race, such as language or class. The color-blind thesis has caused the legal crippling of some affirmative action programs (i.e., *Missouri v. Jenkins* 1995) and was surely central in the Supreme Court’s recent (2016) revisiting of the *Fisher v. Texas* case which dealt with the use of race in college admissions processes.

The racial framework that has been dominant in the United States for the past centuries assigns individuals a single, mutually exclusive racial category. Individuals from more than one racial group are ascribed the lower status race based on rules of hypodescent:

How the continuum of human variation is divided up is cultural and how people who do not fit neatly into one category are viewed is also culturally specific. In the United States, most people – like President Obama – who have one White parent and one Black parent are categorized as ‘Black’. This is based on the historical context of contact between people of African descent and people of European descent in the United States. The colloquial phrase ‘the one drop rule’ makes reference to the idea that anyone with any trace of sub-Saharan ancestry is not accepted as ‘White’... is indicative of the cultural perspective on Whiteness in the U.S. Whiteness is something which is ‘pure’ while Blackness is something

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<sup>8</sup> Hypodescent refers to the identification of mixed status individuals as the lower-ranking status.

which is maintained even when diluted. This is because of the cultural value of Whiteness over Blackness; it has nothing to do with biology (Fuller 2012:50).

Because race is arbitrary and not biology, it is difficult to measure. The way the census measures race has changed over time. The “one-drop rule” may be a colloquialism now, but it was once part of the official instructions census takers received in 1930. Enumerators were told that “a person of mixed White and Negro blood was to be returned as Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood” (Pew Research Center 2015a:1). In 1890, people could be “quadroon” or “octoroon,” one-quarter or one-eighth black (Pew Research Center 2015a). Recently, “starting in 1997, OMB required federal agencies to use a minimum of five race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” (Census Bureau 2015). If people do not identify with any of these, in 2000 or 2010 Censuses, they could mark “Some Other Race” (Census Bureau 2015).

I recognize that both “African American” and “black” are terms that lump diverse individuals together. In this research, African American participants often used both the term “African American” as well as “black” and I retained their self-identification for use during analysis. Haitians were less likely to refer to themselves as African American and because of this and their linguistic heritage, they comprise a separate group in my analyses. Similarly, Bailey (2000, 2001, and 2002) showed that many Dominican Americans identified as Black but not African American. Importantly, Bailey showed that blackness is canceled by Spanish language proficiency, indicating that according to racial and language ideologies, people cannot really be black and Latino. This is shown to more widely in that it was not until December of 2015 that Mexico began recognizing an ‘Afro-Mexican’ category on their census (Ontiveros 2015). In keeping in line with participants’ self-identification, as people often identified as both African

American or black, I use either of those terms to refer to that group. Haitians identified as Haitian and also black. I refer to them as Haitian instead of African American in order to point out the differences they noted in their experiences, which, for example, especially related to language.

Also a socially constructed category, ethnicity refers to the cultural traits, such as language, religion, food, music, and other cultural practices that are thought to be shared amongst a group, but it also includes physiological markers like skin color. Race is a marker for some ethnic groups, such as Afro-Mexicans. Like race, it is often used as a marker of difference (Fuller 2012). Omi and Winant (1994) state that the use of the term in the United States came about as a way to differentiate between groups that are white. Although the ethnic diversity within whites is more easily understood by some, specifically when that ethnicity is white Australian, Scottish, Irish, English, Italian, French, etc., diversity for whites becomes unclear when those whites are ethnically Mexican or Hispanic. In the 2010 Census, the Latino population mainly identified as “White” or “Some Other Race” (Census Bureau 2015), as people of Hispanic origin may be of any race. However, being that they are popularly constructed as non-white in the United States, Latinos are sometimes excluded from receiving some of the benefits of whiteness (Gómez 2008) unless they can pass for white, in terms of physical appearance. On the other hand, considering that the race of someone who is Latino can be American Indian may be hard for some to understand, as I explore in Chapter 6. On this, as it relates to indigenous Mexicans, Casanova, O’Connor, and Anthony-Stevens state:

Although Mexican Indigenous im/migrants fit within the Latina/o im/migrant category, their cultural traditions, languages and ethnic backgrounds also place them in the American Indian category; yet, because of different histories of colonization and government policy in Latin America, they end up at the margins of multiple racial, ethnic and national spaces (Casanova 2012; Zúñiga et al. 2014). To some extent, even to focus on “Mexican” Indigenous peoples does not reflect

the fact that Indigenous communities very often transcend national boundaries. (2016:192)

Like the Pew Research Center, I use the words Latino and Hispanic interchangeably. However, my preference is for the term “Latino” as “Hispanic,” first used in Census 1980, privileges relationship to Spain. The 1930 Census was the only time Latinos were measured in any form until the 1970s (Pew Research Center 2015a). “Latino” appeared in Census 2000 and includes most people of Latin American ancestry. My understanding is based on works by Lugo-Lugo (2008), González (2005), and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001), among other authors, who problematize these terms as pan-ethnic markers that clump or group together diverse peoples through labels in a process that “erases their differences, isolates them, and renders them as a particular homogenized ‘other’” (Lugo-Lugo 2008:613). Ultimately, I decided to use both terms and the reason why is because “Hispanic” was the term most often used by participants, including Latinos, African Americans, and non-Hispanic whites at my research site. Sometimes people referred to themselves as “Hispanic,” but they also used other terms, such as “Latino/a” or “Mexicano/a.”

In terms of defining “Mexican,” it should be noted that Mexicans and Mexican Americans are racially mixed and have a complex history of conquest (Menchaca 2001). On this, Menchaca notes, “Their White heritage began in Spain, the Indian in Mexico and the U.S. Southwest, and the Black in West Africa. Most Mexican Americans are a predominantly mestizo people” (2001:18). This has impacted Mexican Americans as they and their ancestors are/were placed “in ambiguous social and legal positions—they are discriminated against because they are only partly White, yet they have been spared the full impact of discrimination because they descend from Spaniards, one of the White peoples of Europe” (Menchaca 2001:37). Foley (1997) agrees that Mexicans’ status of being legally white but not “common sense” white put

them in limbo. Additionally, ideologies in Mexico still oppress indigenous Mexicans (Stavenhagen 2002; Castañeda 2004), and it was not until the 1500s that indigenous Mexicans were legally defined as humans, and that was only after much debate and research (Menchaca 2001). Menchaca adds, “Within fifty years of the conquest, Spanish-Indian relations were redefined and race became a principal factor in the social and economic organization of Spanish colonial society. Exemptions were made for the Indian nobility, and this tokenism effectively served to entrench a racial order that solely benefited White people” (2001:49). Ideologies still exist today in which the language of indigenous people in Mexico is constructed as a lower status *dialecto* as compared to the higher status of the Spanish language as an *idioma* (Meek and Messing 2007).

Again, I do recognize that like “Black” or “African American,” “Latino/a” and “Hispanic” clump together groups. However, in my writing, I attempt to avoid this by using nuanced analyses and explanations. For example, in the field and in research write-up/notes, when possible, I recorded the self-identified ethnicity or race of participants (as in González 2006). This enables me to de-clump, to an extent, African Americans and Latinos, which I do by talking about African Americans and Haitians as well as Latinos who are indigenous and non-indigenous. In my writing I do not de-clump for whites because the clumping together of white groups has less negative impacts than the clumping together of minoritized groups, as it relates to this study. I partly base my rationale for using participants’ self-identification on Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco’s (2001) work, where they explain how immigrants, and often their children, straddle two worlds. Thus, participants’ self-identification is more accurate than a label I impose (Rosaldo 1993) and can better inform my analyses. Nieto (2004) adds that groups and

individuals continually resist and appropriate categories, which further supports my reliance on participant identification.

“Race” is often conflated with the term “culture.” Admittedly, culture is not a word that is easy to define. As early as 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn had already reviewed 164 definitions of culture. However, Silverstein’s definition of culture is a starting point: “Culture is, in some sense, encyclopedic knowledge unevenly distributed over socio-historically specific groups of people who actualize their groupness through interaction, principally, discursive interaction” (2006:482). According to Geertz, it is a “historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (1973:89). Likewise, Murphy wrote:

Culture means the total body of tradition borne by a society and transmitted from generation to generation. It thus refers to the norms, values, standards by which people act, and it includes the ways distinctive in each society of ordering the world and rendering it intelligible. Culture is...a set of mechanisms for survival, but it provides us also with a definition of reality. It is the matrix into which we are born, it is the anvil upon which our persons and destinies are forged. (1986:14)

In addition to the actual knowledges and meanings that are learned, culture is also a process of learning, ordering, transmitting, sharing, exchanging, organizing, and identifying. Yet, that which early anthropologists had traditionally considered to be culture is better understood as not unitary but shaped by the intersection of various positions (like class, gender, race, and ethnicity, etc.) and social forces (such as globalization, colonization, power differences, mode of economy, socio-political organization, etc.) (Collins 2000). Abu-Lughod (1990) critiques the term as allowing for multiple difference in the form of multiple cultural groups, which coupled with power, becomes hierarchizing. Also, culture can be essentializing as it can freeze differences, which are actually learned and changing (Abu-Lughod 1990; Bhabha 2012). Culture

can overemphasize coherence (Abu-Lughod 1990). Issues of positionality, bias, and partial truths in writing about culture (Clifford 1986b) are important in this discussion of what culture means; after all, whose definition of culture is the authority (Clifford 1986a)? In thinking about the impact of culture on individuals, it must be remembered that the self is always constructed and is not naturally occurring. The self is constructed based on boundaries created in opposition to perceived “others”; this construction process and boundary-making is violent in rejection of forms of difference (Abu-Lughod 1991). Past notions of culture do not take in to consideration diversity within a group (González 2006). Rather than focusing on “culture,” Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti use “...’practice,’ that is, what it is that people do, and what they say about what they do” (2006:40). In their work, which bridged the home lives of students to teachers and schools by showing the latter how to draw on the home knowledges and practices of students, the authors took a processual approach (Rosaldo 1989) which stressed how “ideas, events, and institutions interact and change through time” (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti 2006:37). They considered multiple perspectives and “...when we move away from uniform categorizations of a shared group culture, issues of contestation, ambiguity, and contradiction are often the focus of ethnographic analysis” (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti 2006:41).

Having just problematized “culture” as I did here, and as anthropologists do, brings in to question as to how I can examine a “school culture” or “culturally patterned belief system,” as I write in my research questions. Schoen and Teddlie (2008) developed a model of “school culture” which had three levels: artifacts (which have symbolic meaning and are easy to see yet hard to decipher), espoused beliefs (which are the stated values and goals as well as expressions of beliefs by members), and basic assumptions (which comprise taken for granted ideas about how to school operates, including time, learning, reality, relationships, activity, and “man” of

which people are unaware). Each of the three levels has four dimensions, including student-centered focus, quality of the learning environment, professional orientation, and organizational structure. In another instance, on “school culture” Peterson and Deal write:

Culture exists in the deeper elements of a school: the unwritten rules and assumptions, the combination of rituals and traditions, the array of symbols and artifacts, the special language and phrasing that staff and students use, and the expectations about change and learning that saturate the school’s world... It shapes how they interpret the hundreds of daily interactions of their work lives and provides meaning and purpose for their interactions, activities, and work... A simple way of thinking about culture is “the way we do things around here” ... The culture influences and shapes the ways that teachers, students, and administrators think, feel, and act... (2011:9-10)

To understand “school culture” I marry these definitions with anthropological critiques of culture. To be clear, in my work I use “school culture” or “school orientation” to mean the practice or ways schools do things which can be measured through artifacts and ideologies (both espoused beliefs and those that are taken for granted) which influence how various actors involved in the school think and behave. After all, anthropologists have conducted much research on schools, as this chapter shows, though they vary in their use of the phrase “school culture” in their writing. For example, in McCarty’s (2002) *A Place to Be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-determination in Indigenous Schooling*, “school culture” appears one time, although the book clearly examines the way the school is organized. For example, Rough Rock had a “Navajo emphasis” and was a “community-oriented school” where school was taught in Navajo and instructors from the community were brought in to teach teachers the language. The school was centered on kinship, family, and communalism, and had a dormitory program.

The U.S. Economic Research Service (2014a; 2014b) labeled Central as nonmetropolitan. In 2013, the ERS developed nine codes to describe areas on a continuum from rural to urban. First, the metropolitan or nonmetropolitan status of areas (not counties) was determined by the Office of Management and Budget with data from the census, worker commuting and population



criteria, and the 2006-2010 American Community Survey (Office of Management and Budget 2013). Then, the ERS distinguished metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties based on their adjacency to metro areas along with their degree of urbanization (U.S. Economic Research Service 2014a). Central is considered nonmetropolitan and has been labeled a 2013 Rural-Urban Continuum Code of 6 as it has an urban (not total) population from 2,500-19,999 and is adjacent to a metropolitan area (U.S. Economic Research Service 2014b).

### **Language Ideologies as Key to Colorblind Racism**

In this section, I explain how racial and ethnic ideologies converge with language to reproduce inequality via the valuation of language (language ideologies). Central to this discussion is Gramsci's idea that language use cannot be divorced from issues of power and domination (Ives 2008), which warrants the in-depth investigation of power as a major underlying factor of language use in schools. This point is then couched in a broader discussion of how investing in whiteness through willful ignorance of privilege is part of a larger worldwide racial order (Lipsitz 1998). This order as well as the power of the Standard Language Ideology exist partly due to the invisible nature of ideologies and how they control access to resources. Next, I discuss how language ideologies affect students, the influences on teachers' language ideologies, and how ideologies result in the monitoring of the speech of minoritized peoples. I conclude this section by showing how identity politics factor into individuals' resistance of such ideologies.

In addition to overt racism and discrimination, there is also a covert nature to racism in the United States today. Bonilla-Silva calls this the "New Racism" (2010). For instance, the

Standard Language Ideology can be seen as veiled racism (Perry and Delpit 1998), as discriminating “on linguistic grounds [is] publicly acceptable where the corresponding ethnic or racial discrimination is not” (Woolard 1998:19). As bell hooks (1994:168) writes: “I know that it is not the English language that hurts me, but what the oppressors do with it, how they shape it to become a territory that limits and defines, how they make it a weapon that can shame, humiliate, colonize.” Lanehart adds:

There are still too many people who are willing to believe in the myth of a prescribed language and demanding that others do the same—or else. The intolerance for language variation as a product of racism is real. Language diversity provides a means for justifying discrimination based on differences. I am very concerned with the socioeconomic restraints placed especially on minorities who do not speak this prescribed English. This language farce is merely an easy target for a greater problem. [1999:219]

To illuminate how racism and ethnicism are expressed through language ideologies, I must discuss the nature of ideologies. According to Woolard (1998), an “ideology” has four main characteristics: 1. It is about representations, beliefs, ideas, and concepts. 2. It is derived from social position, and is “naturalized” or presented as unquestioningly true. 3. It is seen as a practice serving and linked to positions of power; it maintains domination. 4. It distorts or rationalizes itself through illusion. Silverstein (1979) is credited with beginning the movement of a language ideologies approach to mainstream linguistic anthropological orientation. Specifically, language ideologies are the ideas about how language should be structured in relation to social contexts (Errington 2000). Power is the core of language ideologies, it drives them. Although language ideologies may not be intrinsically negative, I favor Lippi-Green’s definition of language ideology, which centers on “the promotion of the needs and interests of a dominant group or class at the expense of marginalized groups, by means of disinformation and misrepresentation of those non-dominant groups” (1997:64).

Standard languages reproduce the power of the school, state, and nation. Produced by writers given the authority to write it, the standard language is imposed on society as the only legitimate language. A standard language is “known and recognized (more or less completely) throughout the whole jurisdiction of a certain political authority; it helps in turn to reinforce the authority which is the source of its dominance” (Bourdieu 1991:45). Bourdieu “sees the culture of education as a creation of the dominant culture, which is a culture that automatically works to sanction its own language varieties” (Corson 2000:72). Language ideologies are promulgated by institutions which in turn reproduces the entity (Phillips 1998:213, Bourdieu 1991; Fuller 2012). The classroom is a central place in the development of language ideologies (Smitherman 2000). According to Lippi-Green, “the educational system...is the heart of the standardization process” (1997:65). Indeed, instruction in schools “includes formal instruction in the linguistic prejudices of the middle classes” (Sledd 1972:319). The standard language is “fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are also charged with the task of inculcating its mastery”; it is a “system of norms regulating linguistic practices” and teachers are “empowered universally to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to the legal sanction of academic qualification” (Bourdieu 1991:45). Power imposes meanings which legitimate those meanings and hide how power is exercised. For example, educational policies calling for standardization should not be attributed only to the mechanical communication needs within territories; rather, these policies do power and maintain inequality (Bourdieu 1991). Thus, standardizing language is less an issue of communicating and understanding and more a matter of an individual recognizing authority.

Standard languages promote nationalism, and in the United States, the use of the standard language is considered American. Silverstein (1996) refers to this as “mongolot standardization.”

Bolmmaert and Verschueren (1998) refer to it as coming from the “dogma of homogeneity” which is a concept of society that sees differences in language, religion, etc. as dangerous. In reproducing the power of an entity, language is used to measure national identity and unison: “normative monolingualism... revolves around the underlying ideas of monolingualism as the norm, linguistic diversity as an impediment to unity” (Fuller 2012:10). For example, although immigrants often make more money in the United States and may have an improved standard of living, they are often harassed in public, especially if they do not “act American.” Urciuoli (1996), in her study on Puerto Ricans, set in New York’s Lower East Side, notes that acting American means speaking “unaccented” English. Urciuoli’s example of linguistic discrimination provides background for studying the hierarchies this research is centered on. In another example, Stuesse’s (2002) article on events during the implementation of an ordinance calling for the use of Spanish publicly in El Cenizo, Texas highlights hegemonic ideas of what is culturally authentic. She writes about a nationally-syndicated radio show calling the City Hall in El Cenizo and a council member answers the phone is subject to the radio host’s rant. The caller states that the city has made Spanish its official language (which is not true), even though they are in America. He tells the councilwoman, “We should annex that part of Mexico and make that part of America and then send you to the other part to go live there...” (Stuesse 2002:14). The councilwoman replies, “No, no, no. You have to understand that only because somebody speaks Spanish does not make them un-American or any less of an American...” (Stuesse 2002:13-14). In the United States, the use of English is associated with intelligence and the use of Spanish and other heritage languages is rendered “suspect on national, intellectual, and moral grounds” (Coryell et al. 2010:455).

Even practices challenging the Standard Language Ideology may reify it. For example, “Many scholars of language ideologies (Gal 1998; Kroskrity 2004; Silverstein 1996) demonstrate that even if an alternative ideology overtly challenges the hegemonic ideology, reference to the dominant ideology contributes to its hegemony” (Fuller 2012:5). What this means is that in order for challenges to take place, they must recognize the perceived mainstream views on the hegemonic norm. Additionally, Wirtz (2015) paid attention to the communicative repertoires of children, strategies for expression, and routines of play to show the reinforcement of English monolingualism and the de facto demotion of Spanish in a dual language elementary school that had aimed to create a bilingual community of practice.

Gramsci’s hegemony is clearly visible in the blocs, such as the legal system, media, schools, and so on, in U.S. society which reproduce the Standard Language Ideology. These blocs are interested in promoting norms and values based on Anglo values. For instance, “the status of Standard [American] English has everything to do with the power of the groups that come the closest to speaking it as a native language” (Kibbee 1998:530). Perhaps unwittingly, many teachers, administrators, and policymakers have acquiesced to hegemonic language ideologies of those in power; in fact, language has been the tool of hegemony in the United States (Hymes 1996). Bourdieu (1991:62) agrees: “The educational market is strictly dominated by the linguistic products of the dominant class” and it sanctions and replicates the pre-existing economic differences. The main difference between Bourdieu and Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony is that the latter centers his ideas on “the political process of establishing consent, rather than [Bourdieu’s focus on] the institutional process of reproducing it” (Friedman 2005:239-40; my emphasis). Like Bourdieu, Phillips (1998:212) stresses “language use in institutional settings as constituting and reproducing the ideological hegemony of the state.”

Because language is a tool of power, linguistic analyses allow for the measurement of indicators of ideologies of power (Phillips 2004). Issues of inequality between groups are imbued with power-laden judgments about the inferiority and invisibility of groups. This notion is central in debates about English only rules, the place of Spanish in schools, and the treatment that the use of African American Language (also known as Ebonics, Black English, African American Vernacular English, etc.) receives in school. For example, Lanehart (2001:7) writes: “I do not think you could find many people who would successfully argue against the idea that African American English is so ridiculed and despised because it is spoken by a people who are ridiculed and despised.” Lippi-Green adds, “to suggest that children who do not speak \*SAE [Standard American English] will find acceptance and validation in the schools is, in a word, ludicrous” (1997:68). Fuller supplements:

There is a hierarchy of languages, English being superior to Spanish (and other foreign languages), and there is also a hierarchy of dialects of American English – varieties associated with the educated middle class, or those varieties sometimes referred to as ‘White’ ways of speaking, are perceived as being at the top, and ethnic dialects (such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Chican@ English) and non-standard dialects associated with poor, rural and uneducated people are at the bottom. (2012:8)

Therefore, any study of language must look at broader social relationships. For example, Alim writes that “any study of Black Language (BL) must take into account the persistent racial tensions existing between Black and White communities in the United States” (2004:231). Taylor adds, “To suggest that the problem is rooted in ethnocentrism and in the relegation of people of African heritage to second-class status in the United States is not a stretch in logic. Indeed, it is the case around the world that the status of a group’s language within the larger society is often tied to the group’s social status” (1998:35). In agreement, Hymes “stresses the coercive and power-laden forces through which some languages and forms of talk thrive while

others fail to thrive or decline, so that while people voluntarily take up and discard forms of talk, they also are forced to do so” (Phillips 2004:474). Thus, people take up Standard English not entirely voluntarily but because their home dialect or language is not valued and they would not be accepted in situations, like interviews, professional jobs, positions in government, etc. if they utilized it.

Not only does the dominant group often promote these language ideologies, but so can minoritized groups. For example, Taylor states “it is often the case that some members of lower-status groups elevate the status of the dominant group’s language while devaluing that of their own group’s language. This is especially true for those members of lower-status groups who have managed to assimilate into the dominant group” (1998:35). Kroskrity agrees, “Even those who do not control the standard will often manifest compliance with its authority” and the resulting domination is rooted in people’s iconic connections or indexing of “linguistic forms and social classes and their associated power and resources” (2000:28).

### **Is Language a Resource? Constructing Bilingualism Depends on Learner and Second Language Status**

According to mainstream U.S. language, racial, and ethnic ideologies, the valuation of language ability depends on who the student is and what their second language is. Some believe that bilingualism is a deficit which impacts students’ abilities in school (Fuller 2012). This is usually the case when referring to students for whom English is a second language. Even using “Limited” English Proficient as a category of ability for students promotes a deficit model and it does not capture linguistic reality (Zentella 2015). Viesca (2015) showed, in her e-ethnography of publicly available texts (tweets, in this case), that English as a second language is seen as a

learning deficiency instead of a strength. She drew on tweets by U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan who posted about the importance of needing to know a language in addition to English, although he does not support policies promoting this.

At the same time that non-Hispanic whites are lauded for learning some Spanish, Latinos are encouraged to move away from using anything other than English (Pavlenko 2002) as “language ideologies might function to construct expertise in Spanish as a resource for the professional advancement of middle-and upper-middle class foreign language learners, while simultaneously casting it as a detriment to the social mobility of heritage language users (i.e., U.S. Latinos)” (Pomerantz 2002:275). Fuller (2012) calls this “elite bilingualism”: “In the US, elite bilingualism is found when Anglophones speak another language; this is viewed as a positive achievement and, increasingly, as a resource for participating in the global economy. So elite bilingualism is a good thing; it is not connected with lack of participation in the mainstream culture – quite the contrary: it is assumed to be a ticket to success in that sphere” (Fuller 2012:136).

The valuation of language learning can also depend on the linguistic background of the person doing the evaluation. In her article on ideologies on monolingualism, Ellis (2006) explains that monolingualism can be seen as unmarked, a cognitive limitation, or as a pathological state. While throughout the world bilingualism and multilingualism are more common than monolingualism, speakers of world languages, such as English, often believe that monolingualism is the (unmarked) norm (Ellis 2006).

The notion that language is a resource (Ruiz 1984; Fuller 2012) for any speaker, including the home language of immigrants, provides justification for the relevance of my research for students, schools, and communities. Linse (2013) states that multilingualism causes



higher scores on cognitive measures, more professional/vocational opportunities, an amplified academic vocabulary, and an increased knowledge base. In globalized societies, bilingualism positively impacts national competitiveness and individual development (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006) show that bilingual students, who are typically second and third generation immigrants, outperform their monolingual peers.<sup>9</sup> Trueba, Spindler, and Spindler (1989) agree, when comparing children of similar socioeconomic background, children of immigrants perform better than comparable non-immigrant youth.

If schools reject native languages as resources, they devalue the speech and lifeways of children's home cultures and force assimilation and diminishing use of nonmainstream languages and cultures, a move that could reproduce broader linguistic, racial, ethnic, cultural, and class inequalities. This devaluation negatively impacts students' self-esteem, which can be a reason for downward mobility (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). This downward mobility is thought to be caused when parents are unable to guide and keep up with how their children are socialized. Portes and Rumbaut write: "to the extent that language fluency is an asset and that knowledge of a foreign tongue represents a scarce resource, immigrants' efforts to main this part of their culture heritage and pass it on to their children" should be supported (2006:243). Thus, it is important to know in what manner Central's schools treat language abilities and cultural knowledge, topics I examine in Chapters 5 and 6.

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<sup>9</sup> However, Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006) find that this outperformance declines the longer that these children are socialized into dominant U.S. culture. Longer periods of socialization in this context leads these children to start to more closely match their native U.S. born peers in their decreased drive and educational ambition.

## **Investing in Whiteness through Language Ideologies Reproduces Inequality**

Reproducing the Standard Language Ideology in the United States reproduces inequality. The status quo in language policy and planning “favors students who arrive at school speaking Standard American English (with tolerance for regional variation)” (Baugh 1998:284). Definitions of “appropriate language” are centered on Anglo values, and whiteness yields privileges to those who are white (Lipsitz 1998). Further, studies of classroom interaction have demonstrated that the contributions made by ethnic minoritized children do not get fused into the construction of the occurring classroom reality the same way that the contributions of Anglo children are (Phillips 2004). Aside from language privilege, advantages are garnered through discrimination in its various forms such as housing, unequal educational opportunities (which are partially this way due to linguistic prejudice), insider networks employment opportunities, and the intergenerational transfer of wealth built on the same discrimination. Whites are invested in this identity as it reproduces advantage, privilege, and domination. Insidious is the, perhaps subconscious, willful ignorance that many whites use to deny that racism and white privilege exist (Wise 2012), further masking and magnifying white global domination.

Specifically, language ideologies support the status quo and reproduce unequal relations of power that perpetuate domination by concealing or justifying those relations (Thompson 1984). Bourdieu (1991) writes that even though the linguistic capital prized in education is unequally available to members of different groups, the educational system operates as if there is equal access. Hymes elucidates: “Class stratification and cultural assumptions about language converge in schooling to reproduce the social order. A latent function of the educational system is to instill linguistic insecurity, to discriminate linguistically, to channel children in ways that have an integral linguistic component, while appearing open and fair to all” (1996:84).

Language ideologies are often concealed because they become naturalized; they do not require justification and become unmarked and are “just the way it is” (Fuller 2012; Fishman 1985). Standard languages are popularly thought to be unmarked, ethnically uninfluenced and culturally neutral, although they clearly do not result in a “culturally neutral national language” (Kroskrity 2000:17). Because the Standard Language Ideology is based on a language perceived to be neutral (here, Standard English) the ways that the Standard Language Ideology reproduces inequality are rendered invisible and those in power retain control (Gramsci 1971). Perceived invisibility makes the Standard Language Ideology naturalized, harder to resist, and its consequences seem fair. However, social scientists know that the esteeming of certain ways of speaking over others is linked with certain people being more valued than others (Milroy 2001; Phillips 2004; Silva-Corvalán 2001).

Another way that language ideologies reproduce the status quo is through controlling access to resources. For example, Alim states, “there is nothing standard about ‘standard American English.’ Standard simply means that this is the language variety that those in authority have constructed as the variety needed to gain access to resources” (2004:246). Likewise, Sledd argues that “the object of life in the U.S.A. is for everybody to get ahead of everybody else, and since linguistic prejudice can keep one from moving up, it is taught that people who want to be decision makers had better talk and write like the people who make decisions” (1972: 320). The status quo is reproduced by making some students, such as those whose home language varieties appear farther from Standard English, work harder and more than other students. According to the Standard Language Ideology, if you cannot spell, speak, or write in the mainstream standard language, then you deserve a lower grade which may disqualify you

for other school activities. Further, if you or your family do not speak the standard language, you may have difficulty communicating with the school.

Such processes of gatekeeping resources naturalize groups' positions in the global racial hierarchy (Bourdieu 1977). As ideologies link the macro to the micro or the state to the individual (Althusser 2006), the Standard Language Ideology is one linkage between the white global institution and the student. Language ideologies are recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) in that they are an illustration of the repetition of social relationships on different societal levels (Fuller 2012). The "signs of everyday discourse generate, and in turn draw from, ideological regimes," such as regimes of "race" (Dick and Wirtz 2011).

In enforcing language ideologies, Hill (1998) states that "white public space" is guarded and constructed linguistically through the monitoring of language of racialized groups, like Latinos and African Americans. This speech is evaluated for markers of linguistic disarray while, simultaneously, the speech of whites is largely unmarked. For example, Taylor (1983) calculated that when teachers had a negative attitude toward African American Language, they were 95% more likely to evaluate readers differently based on how they speak during reading. In another example, Collins showed that although all students have dialectical influences in their speech, African American children's dialect-influenced speech is more often "corrected" in the classroom (1996). At the same time that speakers of African American English are penalized, Spanish is considered offensive or out of place in "white public space"; although Spanish is acceptable in certain "ethnic" situations. This monitoring is often said to be carried out for improved communication and national unity, however, it promotes tension and insecurity that can silence groups (Zentella 2002). Groups can become silenced because they may be aware that their language will be monitored so they may refrain from talking to avoid being marked.

Additionally, monitoring minoritized groups can be done through racialized discourse. Racialized discourse is language that interprets or reacts to behavior with a lens focused on race; it elevates whiteness and covertly reproduces racism, particularly colorblind racism. Dick and Wirtz define it as “actual language use (spoken and written) that sorts some people, things, places, and practices into social categories marked as inherently dangerous and Other” although they focused on “covert racializing discourses, which racialize without being denotationally explicit about race” (2011:E2). Racializing discourses work because of iconization, which is how indirect and direct social indexicality come to construct the racializing code (Dick and Wirtz 2011; Hill 2005; Irvine and Gal 2000; Ochs 1990). An example of racializing discourses is Mock Spanish (Hill 1995), which simplifies and devalues Spanish. An example of this includes adding -o endings on non-Spanish nouns or adjectives, to show that Spanish is not really a language (e.g., “el cheap-o”). In Stuesse’s (2002) study mentioned earlier, the man from the radio calls the El Cenizo “El Sneeze-O,” which Stuesse says is most likely a jab at the notion of a “lazy” Mexican work ethic. It is also an example of Mock Spanish because it simplifies Spanish by taking an English word and adding an –o at the end. For whites, Mock Spanish actually is a marker of “with-it-ness” (Zentella 2003) or Anglo identity (Barrett 2006). Additionally, racializing discourses include the use of “articulate” to refer to African Americans, implying that African Americans who speak Standard English or not Ebonics are exceptional (Alim and Smitherman 2012). In these ways, racializing discourses construct whiteness as the norm (Fuller 2012).

## Doing Identity through Language, Identity Politics, and Academic Learning

Identity is something we do, not something we are (Fuller 2012). In doing identity, language serves as capital for the discursive construction of social identities, such as ethnic identities, within groups (Kroskrity 2000). Ethnic practices, including language, are used to show others who we want to be (García 2010). This is done as language shapes identity through processes of identification of language with community and using language to affirm identity (Lanehart 1999). Further, “identity is seen as not the source but the outcome of linguistic practice (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004); that is, we don’t speak a certain way because of our identity, we have particular identities because we speak in certain ways” (Fuller 2012:37). Freire (1985:186) said: “language variations (female language, ethnic language, dialects) are intimately interconnected with, coincide with, and express identity. They help defend one’s sense of identity.” Bakhtin (1986) clarifies that language ascends from an individual’s need to express and objectify themselves, and if language functions as communication then that is just a latent function outside of its essence.

The relationship of language to community identity from an anthropological perspective offers insight into such things as why students continue to use varieties besides Standard English in the face of (Standard) English only formal and informal pressures. In doing identity through language, Lanehart (1999) argues that African American Language continues to exist because, like other varieties which are not considered “standard,” community members have either little contact with other language varieties or define themselves in some way by their speech. Similarly, in *I am My Language*, González (2006) discussed the idea that language impacts identity, and identity shapes and is expressed by language. Anzaldúa comments on the connection of language to identity when she writes, “So, if you want to really hurt me, talk

badly about my language” (hooks 1994:168). In another case, Mendoza-Denton’s 2008 study on Chicana/o and Mexican girls, that took place near a suburban Bay Area in California, shows that Latinas affiliated with gangs use language (and even makeup) to position themselves as belonging to particular gangs or national traditions (e.g., Norteñas or Sureñas). Previous studies have linked discourse about language, ideology, and boundary as indications to how people move toward identities in contexts of demographic change (Anzaldúa 2012; Falconi 2013; Messing 2007). Studying identity is important in this field of inquiry because “ideologies of language, identity...are the components of cultural change itself” (Messing 2007:557).

In another study, Coryell et al. (2010) looked at how Spanish/English language users constructed identity in response to notions of language (e.g., “proper Spanish” vs. local “Tex-Mex”). For example, the authors looked at “how the notion of language purity exerts its influence in borderland communities, requiring learners to separate their bicultural home and formal academic worlds” (Coryell et al. 2010:465). Among their findings, Coryell et al. (2010) showed that “formal Spanish” or “true Spanish” is an imagined norm spoken by Spanish teachers and Mexican nationals, symbolically linking culture and communication. Therefore, speaking “true Spanish” would be “culturally proper,” although Coryell et al. argue that the desire to speak proper Spanish has to do with the identity one seeks to move away from/to.

Lippi-Green sums up the idea that people do identity through language:

Language is...a flexible and constantly flexing social tool for the emblematic marking of social allegiances. We use variation in language to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who we are, and who we are not and cannot be. Speakers choose among sociolinguistic variants available; their choices group together in ways which are obvious and interpretable to other speakers in the community. This process is a function and necessary part of the way we communicate. It is not an optional feature of the spoken language. (1997:63)

Because of the connection of language to identity, language ideologies are used as the basis for the exclusion of languages, topics, and identities that are not associated with the community and its code (Phillips 2004). Gramsci notes “to give up one’s language, by necessity or apparent choice, is to lose a culture and a sense of oneself and one’s history” (Ives 2004:673). Further, subtractive policies result in students giving up “the possibility of looking at things from a different perspective and becoming bound to the symbols and perception embedded in a single tongue” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:242). Such language education policies and planning are important because of the immense connection between language and identity which impacts learning and education (Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza 2012). For instance, Wortham (2006) showed that social identification jointly emerges with academic learning.

However, social actors vary in their responses to linguisticism and racism, which is relevant given my research questions. These responses can take the form of identity politics, which refers to one’s efforts to get people to recognize their true self (Harris-Perry 2011; Mirón and Lauria 1998). In an example of identity politics and its relation to school culture, Mirón and Lauria (1998) investigated how schools serve as a mechanism for identity construction. Here, they specifically looked at racial and ethnic identity as both accommodating white hegemony and resisting it. In their comparison of an all-African American city-wide and more diverse neighborhood school, Mirón and Lauria found that City High students felt their teachers were helpful and nurturing but Neighborhood High students stated that teachers perceived that Asian and white students were more intelligent than their African American counterparts. The authors argue that the schools differently impacted the identity politics of students because of differing school cultures (Mirón and Lauria 1998:209):

We infer from the analysis of student data the existence of two distinct school “cultures” at Neighborhood High (residentially based schools) and City High



(magnet schools). Full-scale ethnographic research is needed to confirm our suggestion that school culture is a powerful explanatory theoretical category that largely accounts for the vastly different responses of students and teachers to distressed social conditions in the inner city. According to Clarke and Hall, culture 'refer[s] to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life-experience. Culture is the way, the forms, in which groups "handle" the raw material of their social and material existence.... [It is] the practice which realises or objectivates group life in meaningful shape and form.' [Clarke and Hall 1976:10]

Another example of such agency use or identity politics could be when a student uses their home language in the face of protests of school authorities (as shown in Fordham 1999). Such actions are a political move in which actors are resisting hegemony and attempting to have others recognize their true identity. Taylor concurs, writing that "some members of lower-status groups work assiduously to retain their language, either as an act of defiance or as an effort to preserve the continuity of their culture" (Taylor 1998:35). Milroy and Milroy (1991) argue that attempts to stigmatize or get rid of varieties other than the standard will fail and would be seen as an attack on the speakers' values and social identity.

### **Language Education Planning**

Approaches to language teaching are based on teachers' notions of exactly what language is as well as how it develops (Whong 2011). Teachers' and others' ideas about language and the place that language varieties have in school may be explicit and based on research or they may be subconscious (Whong 2011). Such beliefs may also be explicit and not based on research but rather based on an individual's socialization, cultural learning, and institutional practices. Major sources of the ideologies that are discursively used to construct definitions of language come from those in power or state institutions (Bourdieu 1991; Linguistic Society of America 1997;

Phillips 2004; Thompson 1984; Woolard 1998). The state has defined these languages in this manner to achieve a political end, to either evoke a sense of togetherness with or distinction from another group. It is important to consider how language has been approached in education more broadly, given that my research examines the role of language in identity construction, resistance, and access to resources in school for various groups, including African American, Haitian, Hispanic, and Hispanic American Indian students.

In terms of broader approaches to language planning, Debose (2007) identified three: *suppression, limited recognition, and full recognition*. These three categories of approaches offer a concise way of organizing the various policies and orientations to integrating language. For example, linguistic eradication and subtractive bilingualism (Valenzuela 1999), are suppressionist. Suppressionist approaches could also be known as “language restrictionism” (Wiley 2000), in that they seek to suppress or restrict home language use. Submersion practices are simply putting English language learning students in classrooms with little or no language help, arguing that if they are submerged in the language, they will naturally learn to speak it (Fuller 2012). This does not recognize that home language nor take advantage of it to help students learn the dominant language. Moving toward limited recognition, linguistic assimilation to English has been the main theme for programs for non-English speakers (Wiley 2014); “The assimilationist bilingual discourse, or reluctant bilingual discourse (Zhou 1997), sees the student’s native language as a temporary bridge to learning the societal language, English” (De Jong 2011:1). On one hand when a student is taught to change the way they talk using their language or dialect and intermixing words, phrases, and grammatical constructions from the two languages it is known as codeswitching or bidialectalism and constitutes limited recognition. On

the other hand, additive bilingualism<sup>10</sup> and Culturally Responsive Teaching, which I discuss toward the end of the chapter, are closer to the full-recognition end of Debose's (2007) continuum.

More than ten years ago, Wainer (2004:1) recommended "investment in a local infrastructure for training teachers how to successfully educate immigrant students in their communities." The often harrowing conditions in which immigrants and their children learn English in schools can result in many negative impacts like "lowered self-esteem and heightened alienation and second, in a strong tendency toward loss of fluency in the original language" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:130).

These conditions can be similar for other children who speak varieties outside of Standard English, and can arise from negative attitudes from faculty, staff, and other students. Most school districts have not enacted adequate language policies for students for whom Standard English is not native (Baugh 1998). This is coupled with the "expectation of lower academic achievement potential for African Americans [that] is so pervasive it might be considered an axiom of American Education" (Fairchild and Eward-Evans 1990:79). Teachers may operate on the "presumption that speakers of AAVE<sup>11</sup> would be 'handicapped' in competitive academic environments, pathologists, legislators, English teachers, and educators in general have encouraged black students to master SAE...thereby restricting the likelihood of black academic success" (Baugh 1998:289). Such expectations were illustrated in the late Justice Scalia's recent comments during the *Fisher v. Texas* affirmative action in college admissions case, where he asked if black students would do better in a "slower-track" school than a selective

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<sup>10</sup> Additive bilingualism is "where a second language is learnt by an individual or a group without detracting from the development of the first language. A situation where a second language adds to, rather than replaces the first language" (Centre for Research on Bilingualism 2015).

<sup>11</sup> African American Vernacular English

college (New York Times 2015). This opinion illustrates a broader racial ideology in the United States, where blackness has a set of meanings and expectations attached to it that are often negative. For example, people like Barack Obama and Oprah Winfrey have been called “not really black” because of the way they speak and their social status (Fuller 2012). There is a dearth of research on the best way to nurture positive attitudes about African American Language by teachers (LeMoine and Hollie 2007), although Bowie and Bond (1994) showed that exposure to research about African American Language correlated with improved teacher attitudes about it. However, Baugh (1998) states that educators’ ideologies have arisen without much influence from research in this area.

Research does show the effects that non-culturally responsive, subtractive, Standard Language Ideology-based pedagogy can have on students. For example, outcomes of Standard Language Ideology-based education range from people affirming their own culture, not overtly rejecting majority values, “codeswitching” identities, and/or internalizing negative stereotypes of their culture (Wortham, Murillo, and Hamann 2001). There are factors that impact these outcomes, such as parental socioeconomic status and the agency with which parents can foster retention of their home language with their children (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In Chapter 6, I consider how language policy and planning has been implemented at my research site.

In a discussion about approaches to language teaching related to this research project, it is important to consider the social context as well as history (Cooper 1987). The social context and history producing orientations to language teaching centers on the language policies, laws, and cases relevant to incorporating minoritized language, specifically African American Language and Spanish, in education.

During the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1917, the government subsidized American Indian Boarding Schools (Lomawaima, Child, and Archuleta 2000). The main purpose of these schools was to “civilize” and assimilate American Indians to Euro-American values (Holm 2005). Students were often forced to get new haircuts and anglicized names and were not permitted to speak their native language. Students received punishments for not assimilating and were at risk of molestation and various kinds of abuse (Lomawaima, Child, and Archuleta 2000).

While American Indian Boarding Schools banned native languages, many people believe that all of U.S. education has historically been in English only. However, for Euro-American children in the 1850s to the 1900s, there were bilingual education programs and children were often taught in the local community language, such as German (Fuller 2012). For example:

There were many languages spoken on this land before English speakers arrived to claim it, and many of them continue to be spoken. Also, many other immigrant languages, in addition to English, have been and are spoken in the U.S. In part of the southwestern U.S., Spanish was spoken before it became U.S. territory, and before English speakers arrived there; in other parts of the country other immigrant languages (e.g., German, French) were the dominant local and regional languages before English became the de facto national language. Thus the area now designated as the U.S. has always contained speakers of a multitude of languages. (Fuller 2012:10)

As discussed earlier, in 1896, it became law that schools should be racially segregated (*Plessy v. Ferguson*). At this time, a large influence on educational reform was Social Darwinism which provided European culture as a central model of all behavior, including language. This same ideology informed concepts of race, as I mentioned previously. However, in *The School and Society* (1899), Dewey rejected the classic curriculum as sole purveyor of culture and stated that there is no cultural elite. Clearly, though, Dewey’s research conclusions did not translate into paradigm changes at white schools--then or now.

By 1900, teaching classic languages, such as Latin, was declining and there was a movement toward how to teach English (Applebee 1974). The emphasis on English in schools coincided with the Nationality Act of 1906, which required immigrants who wanted to become citizens to speak English (Fuller 2012). At the same time, the 1900s began a decades-long transition in schools toward the needs of students, at least in terms of the type of literature chosen for students to read, which it was argued by Chubb needed to be respectful of adolescent minds (Applebee 1974). Schools for African American students, although lacking similar resources as compared to white schools, implemented similar movements influenced by scholarly research (Willis 2002).

Although Applebee (1974:174) argues that the progressives of the Progressive Era (1890-1920) “documented the wide range of individual differences in ability and achievement that could be expected within any high school classroom, and experimented with ways to provide a meaningful program in literature for all students,” he failed to provide evidence that this extended to students of color. If anything, at this time, efforts to improve schools for African Americans were based almost entirely within African American communities (Willis 2002).

Foreign and bilingual education increased with more scientists beginning to reject Darwin’s ideas, the end of WWII, the declining number of foreign born, and the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling. In the 1950s, whites put forth work on improving the facilities and number of teachers in black schools, although this was often in an effort to stave off integration, as was the case in areas in the U.S. South (Stuesse 2008).

In the 1960s in the United States, contemporary language politics about language minoritized students first emerged (Schmidt 2000). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 disallowed discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or nationality in any program receiving

federal monies (De Jong 2011). The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) created Head Start and Title I, which offers support for at-risk students (De Jong 2011). The Bilingual Education Act (BEA) in 1968 created financial incentives through grants and in order to be eligible for federal dollars, “districts had to implement bilingual education programs for the specified target groups in order to receive federal funding” (De Jong 2011:1). Most of the subsequent re-authorizations of the BEA were assimilationist, at least under the Reagan Administration.

Especially at the time of the *Brown* decision, many people, especially whites, subscribed to the Eurocentric dominant paradigm at the time, the Deficit Hypothesis. The Deficit Hypothesis argued that enslaved Africans brought no culture with them to the United States and other places that received them. This hypothesis was rejected by Herskovitz (1941) as he showed the cultural continuities of elements of African American cultures from origins in African cultures. However, even after Herskovitz’s work, in the *Journal of Negro Education* Newton (1962:499) used the following verbiage to refer to African American Language (popularly known as Ebonics) and children who spoke it: “substandard language,” “verbal destitution,” “culturally submerged groups in culturally depressed areas,” “instructional problems,” lack of “language fluency,” “ineffective language skills,” lacks “language dexterity” and “verbally inept.” Here, inadequate language skills meant the use of varieties other than Standard English; during the time, this was still considered pathological or subcultural.

Four years after Newton’s article, Love (1966), wrote also in the *Journal of Negro Education*, that the problem of educational inequality for African Americans centered on the failure to recognize that the language used by many of these students was a separate, legitimate variety. Although teachers noticed trends in “mistakes” made by some students, these teachers

had not recognized that this language had as much right to exist as Standard English, Love suggested.

Nonetheless, the Deficit (or Deprivation) Hypothesis continued in somewhat altered form to explain the performance of lower-class children (Kahn 1992). For example, in 1971, Bernstein argued that there existed a hypothesis by that same name, the Deficit Hypothesis, which accounted for the English mastery of white middle-class children and the restricted ability of working-class children (1971). In response, scholars such as Labov (1972) rejected this hypothesis, stating that it is really a difference hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the language of children from various classes is often different, and working-class children have different not inferior language for which they are penalized in school.

Further rebuttal of the Deficit Hypothesis spurred the Conflict Hypothesis and Discontinuity Theory (Kahn 1992). The Conflict Hypothesis focused on negative school outcomes as a result of minoritized children having to learn using white middle-class values, thinking, and motivation (Kahn 1992). The Discontinuity Hypothesis (Ogbu 1985) stated that the oral culture of minoritized groups caused a discontinuity in learning in schools as learning programs were founded in the literate culture of whites. Here, Ogbu (1985:860) also questioned “the ways majority groups have treated specific minorities and how those minorities have responded to such treatment.” By 2003, Ogbu (2003) had refined his Continuity Thesis and argued that many African Americans have adopted an “oppositional culture,” which consciously rejects the norms and values of mainstream/dominant culture. Specifically, Ogbu stated that historically blocked opportunities for education have led to some “oppositional” values, such as the adoption of a negative reaction to success in schooling. Similarly, Smitherman and Cunningham (1997) state that some speakers of African American Language may resort to



avoidance, not learning, and spending less time on English class homework and studying as resistance (Fordham 1999). However, Ogbu's (2003) notion of oppositional culture has been criticized and his work is considered too generalizing. Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998) evaluated Ogbu's oppositional theory across a large sample of non-Hispanic white, Asian American, and African American high school sophomores and his theory was not supported. Although it may be true that minoritized students can have negative feelings towards the imposition of a language which is different from their home language, Ogbu's theory blames the victim instead of focusing critique on the institution.

Schmidt (2000:11) states that since the 1970s, the three central themes in language policy conflict are "(1) education policy for language minoritized children; (2) access to civil and political rights and government services by non-English-speakers; and (3) the establishment of English as the sole official language of the United States and its political subdivisions." Before embarking on a history of language education policy, I should note that while the United States does not have a federal official language, a total of 31 U.S. states have laws stating the English is the official language (Grovm 2014), though Hawaii and Alaska have more than one official language. In 1986, California was the first state to pass a state amendment declaring English its official language (Foley 2014). In 1988, Florida approved a state constitutional amendment which declared that the official language of the state was English. According to The Florida Legislature (2016), the constitution reads "Section 9. English is the Official Language of Florida. (a) English is the official language of the state of Florida. (b) The Legislature shall have the power to enforce this section by appropriate legislation."

These battles for English only state laws provide some context to understanding educational language policies. In 1974, *Lau v. Nichols*, the judge disagreed with the San

Francisco Unified School District's policy of letting Chinese American students who were non-proficient in English "sink or swim" (Wright 2010). As a result of this case, the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights mandated schools to employ bilingual education courses for students who have limited English ability. Judge Douglass wrote:

Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (Wright 2010:1)

None of these policies and laws were readily applied to African American Language. However, the Ann Arbor decision did take this step on July 12, 1979. In this case, there were eleven African American litigants in remedial classes due to evaluations which did not take into account their linguistic heritage (Baugh 1998). Smitherman (1981:336) includes a quote from Judge Charles Joiner in reaching his decision: "It is not an issue in this case that the students have been misclassified as handicapped. The procedures used in making the classification completely follow the law." While the judge ruled in favor of the students, he said it was because of "teacher training" and did not attempt to resolve the "linguistic classification" problem. Baugh wrote (2004:310) that "the judge in the Ann Arbor case ruled that teacher's ignorance about and negative attitudes toward the vernacular variety of the African American students who were the plaintiffs in the case did indeed constitute a barrier to the attainment of equal opportunity." In this case, Baugh (1998) recounts that the school district did not call any witnesses and instead it opted to indicate that it had no obligation to make provisions for any student who spoke any dialect of English outside the local regional standard. In response to the case, Benjamin Alexander declared:

I will not accept the legitimacy of Black English or any other kind of nonprescribed English—no matter what many of my colleagues may say...My parents' words came back to me when I read of the recent ruling by U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner in Ann Arbor, Michigan. His ruling, which calls for implicit recognition of Black English, is nothing more than blatant plantation mentality. I cannot support it...If people cannot communicate in SAE and have not developed their talents and skills—then who wants them...I consider it a cheap insult to see educational standards lowered in Ann Arbor schools—solely for black students. How can we justify recognition of their nonprescribed broken English and then ask teachers to learn it? (1979: 437–438)

In 1981, a Standard English Proficiency (SEP) program for speakers of African American Language began in California. This program recognized the rule-governed character of African American Language and encouraged its use to assist in acquiring the standard (Perry and Delpit 1998). In the years before 1995, the Oakland school district had an average GPA of 2.4 (it was 1.8 or D+ for African American students). While African American students made about half of the district's population, they accounted for 80% of suspensions and 71% of those labeled "special needs." Perry and Delpit noted that at Prescott Elementary, where most teachers were voluntarily implementing the SEP, African American students were performing above average.

The 1991 Immersion Study (Ramirez et al. 1991) was in response to rulings like *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). This study showed that early transitional bilingual programs helped children more than English-immersion programs. Under Clinton, the 1994 reauthorization of the BEA was pluralist since it supported language maintenance programs focused on content and the development of language and literacy (De Jong 2011).

The year after Clinton's pluralist move saw the resurgence of the Deficit Hypothesis in the work of Hart and Risley (1995). In their book, the authors argued that youngsters in poor households hear 30 million fewer words than children in wealthier homes by the time they are three years old. By looking at 42 families from various economic levels, Hart and Risley concluded that wealthier kids hear more words from their parents and this impacts them later in

life. Although being highly critiqued by many anthropologists, this “Word-Gap study,” continued to circulate and received renewed interest from the media (i.e., National Public Radio 2015a) in the mid-2010s. However, the Language and Social Justice Task Group of the American Anthropological Association, as of December 2015, is drafting a response to NPR which problematizes and rebukes the study (see Avineri et al. 2015 as well). Some of the reasons for rebuke include the study’s small sample size and the fact that the words counted only came from parents in the original study, ignoring people who care for children when one or both parents are working, such as siblings, other family members, or babysitters.

One year after the original publication of the “Word-Gap study,” in 1996, Toni Cook, a member of the Oakland, California school board, constructed a taskforce on African American education. Some of the members on that taskforce had been a part of the previously mentioned SEP program for Standard English proficiency for African American Language Speakers. On December 18, 1996, the school board of Oakland, California declared that Ebonics was the main language of its 28,000 students who were African American (Baugh 2004). The Oakland Resolution would require every school in the district to implement the SEP. Baugh contends that the school board’s use of “Ebonics” did not stimulate support for their cause. According to Lippi-Green (1997), “the historical devaluation of AAE set the political stage for the hostile reception of Ebonics, without the apparent linguistic discrimination that confronts the vast majority of AAE speakers ever being addressed” (Baugh 2004:315). Smitherman (1998:30) notes that the term “Ebonics” “reaffirms the interrelatedness of language and culture and links Africans in America with Africans around the globe.” Smith writes:

When the term *Ebonics* was coined it was not as a mere synonym for the more commonly used appellation *Black English*. Rather, the term *Ebonics* was a repudiation of the lie that Niger Congo Africans had no fully developed languages originally and that the genesis of human speech for English-speaking African

slaves is an Old English “baby talk” or European invented pidgin/creole vernacular. [1998:55]

Oakland eliminated reference to “Ebonics” in their school plans, just like many public school districts in the United States, as “every effort has been made to avoid calling special attention to the linguistic legacy of African slavery and its relation to the education of black children” (Baugh 2004:315). The controversy was never resolved but rather abandoned (Baugh 2004).

Perry and Delpit (1998:xiv) agree that African American children need Standard English to succeed educationally today, explaining that the notion that African American Language would be taught instead of Standard English in the Oakland Resolution was a distortion put forth by the majority of the media. Various people, including African Americans and whites, the religious right, democrats, conservatives, and more vigorously opposed it. For example:

The immediate and continuing media response to the Oakland resolution has been, overwhelmingly, one of mockery, ridicule, and outrage. Notice, for example, the common charge that the Oakland resolution is an attempt to elevate “street slang” to the level of Shakespeare, say. This is, of course, a clever but willful category error: Every group has its slang (defined as “the nonstandard vocabulary of a given culture”)—even the media, not to mention the Elizabethans, as a cursory reading of the footnotes to Shakespeare’s plays and poems quickly reveals. (Perry and Delpit 1998:38)

The media’s reaction to the resolution is an illustration of how whiteness functions in U.S. society (Perry and Delpit 1998). Some African Americans were ambivalent about the resolution:

besides being bothered by the equation of Black Language with one of its most informal varieties, these individuals were also concerned about the implication that Black Language doesn’t have multiple varieties, oral and written, formal and informal, vernacular and literary, as well as the excision from the public conversation of the notion that for African Americans, language use is fundamentally and exquisitely contextual. (Perry and Delpit 1998:10)

In response to the Oakland resolution, Jesse Jackson said “In Oakland some madness has erupted over making slang talk a second language... You don’t have to go to school to learn to talk garbage” (Adamson 2005:101) though Jackson did change his mind and eventually support the Board (Adamson 2005). Brent Staples (1997), author and editorial writer for *The New York Times*, wrote an opinion piece for the newspaper following the Oakland resolution where he asserted that the school board deserved scorn. Staples’ point of contention was that the Board declared “broken, inner-city English a distinct, ‘genetically based’ language system that merited a place in the classroom” (Baugh 2004:308). This notion of genetic basis was shortly later removed from the Resolution and replaced with verbiage saying that this language system has origins from languages in West and Niger-Congo regions. Baugh (2004) states that Staples’ castigation did not acknowledge the linguistic heritage of the descendants of enslaved Africans, whereas European immigrants, though they might have immigrated in poverty and not speaking English, were not enslaved prisoners kept from others who spoke their language in order to prevent revolt, yet, European immigrants’ linguistic legacy is acknowledged in the policies and practices in American education. Baugh argues that Staples believed the falsehood that linguistic behavior is free will and not a product of historical and racially segregated circumstance. The Linguistic Society of America’s 1997 resolution explained the political nature of assigning varieties as languages and dialects and used examples of Chinese dialects which are not mutually intelligible and the separate Swedish and Norwegian languages which generally understand each other. The LSA stated that Oakland’s decision to recognize African American Language was linguistically and pedagogically sound, also noting that calling African American Language “slang,” “mutant,” “lazy,” “defective,” “ungrammatical,” or “broken English” is incorrect and demeaning (Linguistic Society of America 1997). Secretary of Education Richard Riley declared

that funds for bilingual education would not be able to be used for African American Language speakers (Baugh 2004).

Along these lines, movement against bilingual programs picked up steam in California in the 1990s (Crawford 1992) and resulted in Proposition 227. Passing in 1998, it made English only instruction the default in the state. Two years later, the provisions for funds for states implementing bilingual education programs and bilingual teacher preparation ended. Initiatives like Prop 227 were passed in Arizona in 2000 and Massachusetts in 2002. A Bordertown just north of Mexico where business, including retail and public services and even city council meetings are conducted in Spanish is the focus of Bratt's (2007) work, which looks at the realities of Arizona's 2000 English only policy. Bratt writes: "While educational research has largely supported bilingual education as a way to help students become competent in English, public policies in Arizona were forcing schools to discontinue their bilingual programs" (2007:3). Because of "voter-mandated language discrimination in Arizona, predominately English-speaking students are allowed to develop an unhealthy superiority over Spanish-speaking or other students with home languages other than English" (Bratt 2007:3). This policy frustrated students and teachers and negatively impacted student performance and even behavior. A UCLA Civil Rights Project examined the impact of this policy, along with similar policies in Massachusetts and California. That project found that these policies did not improve outcomes for those learning English, and reading success was better using bilingual education (Gándara and Hopkins 2010). Around this time, in 2001, the BEA reauthorization turned to No Child Left Behind, which focused on learner accountability as measured through testing (De Jong 2011).

No Child Left Behind mandates that states identify specific reading and math learning standards and create tests for these standards, which are given in third through eighth grade

(Hayes 2008). The test results are made publicly available, and are presented for the whole student body as well as by subgroups, which include English language learners, racial and ethnic groups, and children from low-income families (Klein 2015). If a school does not make “adequate yearly progress” it could receive remedial actions from the state (such as requiring tutoring for lowest performing students, curriculum restructuring, or the dismissal of teachers and administrators). The language arts curriculum must be “scientifically validated,” and technology should be used to increase reading test scores. Funds are available for summer reading programs and at-risk students, which include children whose parents are migrant workers, children who are delinquent or neglected, children who are English Language Learners, American Indian children, and homeless children (Hayes 2008).

Some reports, such as those broadcast on ABC News<sup>12</sup>, stated that gains in reading scores were seen after the implementation of No Child Left Behind. However, many of the reports cautioned that because states could design their own tests and may have created tests lowering academic expectations, the observed gains may be artificial (Hoff 2007). The federal test, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, given to a sample of children all over the nation, and then compared to the state designed test scores, showed that state measures varied in their ability to test reading (by 60-80 points on a 500-point scale) (Cavanaugh 2007). Other reports declared the law a “dud,” pointing out that children in some states were held to much higher standards than those in other states (Lewis 2005). Yet other articles stated that overall reading ability had decreased and the gap between black and Latino students compared to white students had not markedly narrowed since the law was passed (Cech 2007).

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<sup>12</sup> ABC News, “Report Card: No Child Left Behind,” 29 May 2007, [www.abcnews.go.com/GMA/Politics/Story?id=3221230](http://www.abcnews.go.com/GMA/Politics/Story?id=3221230).



Last year, in December of 2015, President Obama signed the Every Student Succeeds Act, ending No Child Left Behind. It is supposed to usher in an era of decreased testing, although some critics point out that it may not decrease the amount of testing children do in school (National Public Radio 2015b). This is certainly a relevant issue, given the large amount of testing students endure, something that I witnessed in the field during the several final months of the school year (2014-2015).

### **Language Evaluation for Multilingual Speakers**

Just as language policy planning in education depends on the ideologies of teachers and administrators, language evaluation for students depends on the ideologies of the rater (Kang 2008). When non-native English speakers are tested by speakers who share their native language, the listeners are able to understand them better and score higher (Major 2002). As a whole, the United States has not been linguistically tolerant (Wiley 2014). This is evident when considering policies about and methods used to measure children's language abilities. For example, for multilingual speakers, there is no assessment/evaluation of minoritized language; there is only evaluation of the dominant language (Jiménez et al. 1999). For English mastery, tests that have been used to evaluate dominant language use in the classroom include both standardized and non-standardized versions. These tests can be written or oral and may provide multiple choices, sentence completion, and more. They can measure particular components of language and language skills, like auditory discrimination, vocabulary, and articulation. Biases in the measurement of linguistic abilities are often the most egregious when linguistic features, rather than content, are the objective of the measure (Hoover, Politzer, and Taylor 1995).

Language tests have a linguistic bias as they focus on general language ability rather than an evaluation of the oral reading they require. For example, on the Templin Darley Test of Articulation the only acceptable articulation of “th,” final “r,” or “st” is the standard American English articulation (Wolfram 1976). The Wepman Test of Auditory Discrimination asks test takers to discriminate between minimal pairs (like pen/pin) although these phonetic distinctions may not exist in certain varieties. Further, when researchers “translated” items on the Boehm Test of Basic Concepts into African American Language, elementary school students performed significantly better (Williams 1997).

In providing background for my study examining how language impacts resource access for various groups, which can also include grading, Craig and Washington (2006) note the lack of culturally appropriate instruments to evaluate language. This prevents distinguishing between typical and non-typical language learning by students. This also points to a broader ideology on the place of non-mainstream culture influenced English and other languages in evaluation of students’ language. Craig and Washington add that because there were not culturally appropriate measures before 2000, there were errors in the evaluation of a number of African American students. For example, Craig and Washington explain that this could cause students who were developing language normally to be labeled as having a disorder and, at the same time, could prevent the identification of students with real language problems. To attempt to resolve this matter, some standardized tests were reformed incorporating a few African American Language phonological features. Tests may have been curved, or points added for items impacted by African American Language (Craig and Washington 2006). For example, Haynes and Moran’s (1989) study reformed part of the Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation (Goldman and Fristoe 1986), which yielded promising improvements. Additionally, Cole and Taylor (1990) adjusted

the scoring of the second edition of the Templin-Darley Tests of Articulation (Templin and Darley 1969), the revised Arizona Proficiency Scale (Fudala 1974) and the Photo Articulation Test (Pendergast, et al. 1969) to improve performances and increase the face validity of each test. Steps like this reduce false articulation diagnoses of African American Language speaking children (Craig and Washington 2006) and children who speak English that is accented or influenced by another language. Unfortunately, such culturally informed changes did not occur on other language tests (Wiener, Lwenu and Erway 1983). However, Craig and Washington (2006) noted the improvements of a more representative standardization sample and improved measure in the third edition of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn and Dunn 1997). They (Craig and Washington 2006) present a model (MPAL) for evaluation of the language use practice and speech practices of African American students that focuses on screening for and identification of language problems as well as language skill assessments.

### **Culturally Responsive Teaching and Critical Pedagogy**

As evidenced by the lack of culturally appropriate measures for language evaluation, in language planning, questions arise as to whether home languages should be negated (subtractive policies) or used (additive policies) to help students acquire the standard (Taylor 1998). Resistance to the Standard Language Ideology can result in a curriculum rooted both in dominant language mastery as well as in the retention of heritage language and culture (Davis 2012). At the same time, the Standard Language Ideology may not be the only language and/or cultural ideology at a school because schools are “complex ideological landscapes where multiple (and sometimes competing) sociolinguistic norms and hierarchies are reproduced and contested” (Davis 2012:E62). Taylor (1998:37) writes that the biggest challenge faced by educators is how

to teach children Standard English in a positive, sensitive way that does not denigrate students, recognizes the students' right to maintain their home variety, and uses other varieties as vehicles to acquire the standard. In resisting standard language ideologies, teachers may use approaches that are culturally responsive, by drawing on home language or culture, or programs that are more critical, by questioning power relationships and definitions of "proper" language.

Culturally responsive programs have high expectations of students rather than overemphasis on remediation to fix a deficiency. Such programs cultivate an appreciation of linguistic diversity using multicultural materials and develop linguistic awareness (Pearson, Conner, and Jackson 2013). These programs also recognize the need to learn Standard English but do not seek to replace children's other language in all contexts with it. McIntosh et al. argued that culturally responsive practices improve "general language skills, receptive vocabulary, and expressive vocabulary" as well as "general language abilities" (2011:1). Culturally responsive pedagogy may utilize early education in students' heritage language, which has not been shown to disrupt English performance (Durán, Roseth, and Hoffman 2010). According to Klinger et al. (2005), culturally responsive instruction assumes "that all students can excel in academic endeavors when (a) their culture, language, heritage, and experiences are valued and used to facilitate their learning and development; and (b) when they are provided access to high-quality programs, services, and supports" (McIntosh et al. 2011:184).

Culturally responsive teaching also asks teachers and other leaders of rural institutions to dispel misconceptions and shape perceptions of immigrants by emphasizing their contributions (Fennelly and Federico 2008). This is important for acceptance and socio-economic mobility and integration of immigrants (Chiswick and Miller 2002; Gonzalez 2000; McHugh, Gelatt, and Fix 2007; Parra and Pfeffer 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006).

An example of a culturally responsive language program is The Academic English Mastery Program (AEMP), designed by Noma LeMoine (LeMoine and Hollie 2007) to address the literacy and language needs of students who speak “nonstandard languages.” It is currently implemented in 50 schools in the United States. The AEMP creates additive curricula infused with strategies from research on how to best assist in the acquisition of Standard English, both written and oral, while validating the home dialect. In the AEMP there are professional development seminars, some weeklong, along with demonstrative lessons and more. The six approaches the AEMP is founded on are: (1) improving teachers’ linguistic awareness and knowledge of NSLs [nonstandard languages]; (2) using second-language acquisition practices in school; (3) daily infusing of linguistic material into instruction; (4) having an approach to cultural awareness, literacy, and infusion that is balanced; (5) supporting learning by incorporating learning styles and strengths of Standard English Learners; and (6) emphasizing culturally responsive pedagogy and the integration of students’ history and culture into the program of study. Classroom environment and teacher attitudes are two other points considered important in the program. This first approach may help teachers realize that penalizing students for making mistakes from applying home language rules to English, like using multiple negation, regularizing irregular past tense verbs, habitual *be*, consonant cluster reduction, or zero copula (Fuller 2012), is institutionally discriminatory.

In terms of making such culturally responsive approaches systematic, Apthorp, Wang, Ryan and Cicchinelli (2012) examined the skills and knowledge that teachers in K-8 schools in the seven Central Region states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado) are expected to have, in the form of professional teaching standards. These skills are: “recognizing and supporting diverse language backgrounds, differentiating

instruction, selecting materials or curricula, knowing theories of second language acquisition and related strategies of support, communicating with students and families, and assessing students' language status and development" (Apthorp, Wang, Ryan and Cicchinelli 2012:iv). The researchers (2012:iv) found that all of the states did include skills for teaching English Language Learning students. Specifically, they indicated differentiated instruction was designed "to accommodate the learning needs of English Language Learning students and communication with students and families for whom English is not their native language." These states referenced from two to five of these six topics in their standards.

In a different approach to culturally responsive strategies, Messing (2006), Tenery (2006), and González, Moll, and Amanti (2006) show the positive impacts of drawing on student knowledge in the classroom. In their funds of knowledge approach, they revealed how home visits led to transformations in how teachers conceived of their students, often moving them from unconscious judging to better understanding of their students' everyday lives outside of school. This helped the curriculum better fit the community context and knowledge and skills of families. McIntyre and Stone (1998) and Bui and Fagan (2013) offer more examples of projects incorporating students' culture and the positive outcomes of this.

However, just because programs may be said to be additive or culturally responsive, negative ideas about the home language may be found in the program and hinder it (Fuller 2012; Wirtz 2015). Additionally, Sookrajh and Joshua (2009) found that a major obstacle in culturally fair language policy is that in dissemination there can be a lack of measures and guidelines made available to ensure meaningful implementation. Additionally, Baugh (1998) argues that districts that have tried to help students by focusing on teacher education have put forth little effort in reforming policies. For example, Baugh (1998) explains that the teachers were aware of

students' African American Language though the teachers were "unaware" that they were asking students to codeswitch.

In contrast to culturally responsive teaching, Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza (2012) explain that critical pedagogy focuses on the connection of language to social and political structures. Critical pedagogy focuses on identity and how schools socialize students into segments of society. Teachers practicing critical pedagogy aim to help students explore and question how schooling can reproduce inequality by legitimizing standard English, standardizing whiteness, and devaluing non-whiteness (Alim and Smitherman 2012; Fecho 2004).

Alim and Smitherman (2012) state that teachers should not leave out critical issues of race and class or kids will see their language and selves as having a lesser role in schools. Howard agrees, writing that "students need to be given the opportunity to study race as a social construct, as well as the social, political, historical, geographical, cultural, and economic ramifications of racism" (2003:39). bell hooks (1994) adds that African American Language creates space for differing cultural production and epistemologies critical to resistance. Smitherman and Cunningham (1997) suggest providing African American youth with the history of Standard English and African American English in effort to progress and avoid "having to surrender one language (African American English) for another (standard English)" (230-231). Unfortunately, this does not call for teaching those histories to other students, as perhaps this approach could help whites understand the privilege they receive based upon language. On the other hand, adopting a more culturally responsive approach, Smitherman (2000:128) states: "What students need is not models of correctness—they have their own anyway—but broader understanding of the intricate connection between one's language and his cultural experience, combined with insight into the political nature and social stratification of American dialects."

In terms of how racial and ethnic identity is talked about in class, incorporating immigrants into the racial system is unpredictable and there is a need to have clarity about how racial categories will be discussed in the classroom in light of histories (Marrow 2009b). This is especially important as Winders (2013) showed that teachers used colorblind terms to talk about students. Because demographic changes did not fit teachers' racial frameworks, language and place became stand-ins (Ladson-Billings 2006) for race. Teachers de-raced language (Pollock 2004) and "ELL" (English Language Learner) came to mark Latino, "bused" was used for black, and "regular" or "neighborhood" signified white. Teachers often sorted students by language (English and Other), and their strategies were reproduced by the school.

In non-critical, non-culturally responsive teaching settings, students may learn to devalue their self and language which can negatively impact self-esteem (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza 2012). Wirtz (2015) showed that even in a dual language elementary school, teacher discourse sees the fault in poor student performance lying in the student body, behavior, or attitude, rather than the institutional context that made social, economic, and cultural differences stand out. In terms of teacher preparation, teachers are trained to see children as organizing their own destiny (Wirtz 2015).

### **Theoretical Contributions**

My research examines both what people do and how their actions can inform theory, thus, like Hill (2000) and Baba (2000), I combine theory and practice in my orientation. My dissertation offers an under researched context to understand processes of identity formation within the environment of migration and racial and ethnic group dynamics. It also informs on the



dearth of literature on language socialization experiences of children who are of Mexican Indigenous origin (Velasco 2010), and further analysis of the data gathered in this research project in future publications will yield related results.

Language socialization focuses on “socially and culturally organized interactions that conjoin less and more experienced persons in the structuring of knowledge, emotion, and social action” (Ochs 2000:230). Specifically, in their focus on caregivers (mostly mothers) and children across three cultures, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) put forth a theory on the socializing function of acquiring language. Language socialization theory spoke to absences in research on language acquisition and child socialization. For instance, previous studies concluded that the use of simplified “baby-talk” registers were a universal feature of language learning. To debunk this, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) compare U.S. middle-class whites, the Kaluli in Papua New Guinea, and Western Samoans and consider the differences and similarities in the processes through which their children are socialized to use language and how that socialization relates to the features of each culture. For example, the authors connect the cultural norms found in each group (such as whether each group adapts situations to the child or expects the child to adapt to situations) to corresponding patterns in caregiver speech. These patterns include simplified “baby-talk” vs. nonsimplified language as well as two-party vs. multiparty communicative situations. In some cases, language the child hears rather than language directed to/at the child comprise a bulk of their early language socialization experiences. Indeed, “all interactions are potentially socializing contexts” (Schieffelin 1990:19; Ochs 1988:6). Through their mastery of these linguistic practices, children come to be culturally competent; through performing language as they have learned, children embody the values and meanings espoused by their culture. Ochs and Schieffelin’s main point is that how children acquire language is intimately tied to the

acquisition of sociocultural knowledge or “how, in the course of acquiring language, children become particular types of speakers and members of communities (Ochs and Schieffelin 2008; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 1986b, 1996)” (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012:2). In other words, language socialization as a paradigm is concerned with the acquisition of habitus or “ways of being in the world” (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004:349).

Based on the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979), language socialization stems from linguistic anthropology and can be used to examine the orientation of social actors to others and institutions, though its focus is often micro-linguistic. Sitting at the nexus of cultural and linguistic practices and focusing on language shift and change, research in language socialization recognizes “the importance of sociohistorical, political, cultural, and linguistic forces at play in contact situations, and the resulting variations in forms and valuations of bilingualism, multilingualism, and multiculturalism” (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2012:485). Language socialization as a paradigm uses “linguistic methods to understand sociocultural processes” such as migration and cultural contact in settings that are transnational, postcolonial, and globalized, such as the United States (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2012:485).

While language socialization’s focus is often on the family, it has been applied to previous studies of identity construction in educational contexts. For instance, González (2001) studied identity development in the borderlands of the United States and Mexico. In her ethnographic work with families, she focused on discourse during bed time, meal times, and homework times. She showed the multiple and contradicting processes through which mothers and their children negotiated broader forces that encouraged and discouraged the use of particular languages (English or Spanish), socializing them toward identities and corresponding emotions related to the status of those identities. From the schools, a “one nation one state”

ideology was pushed, delimiting the incorporation and valuation of languages outside of English. The elevated status and ideologies of English held by the school were replicated to an extent during homework time, while discussions in Spanish about food and family socialized it a tool of love and resistance. Since all of a child's languages are important to their development, among her policy implications, González recommends that schools recognize and support all children's languages. This is important given that classroom interactions construct and reflect hierarchy and construct the world in which children live (González 2001).

Studies on language socialization should be ethnographic, longitudinal, and illustrate the acquisition of specific cultural and linguistic practices (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). My work is informed by language socialization research as that field understands that these interactions between interlocutors are cultural arrangements and assumes that ordinary conversation has the potential to transform an individual and society (Ochs 2000). Language socialization considers the agency of multiple parties in socialization discourse and focuses on how "subjectivities, stances, and positions are negotiated and achieved, not given" (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004:350). Language socialization's most important contribution to anthropology is that it offers "a processual account of how individuals come to be particular kinds of culturally intelligible subjects" as it asks "How do different kinds of culturally specific subjectivities come into being?" (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004:351). Central to this process is indexicality (Woolard 2005), which refers to how social status, identity, and power are indicated or pointed to in talk and discourse about talk. In language socialization research (Ochs 2000:230):

the researcher is primarily directed at the activities undertaken rather than zooming in and tracking the actions of any one participant. Activities (e.g., telling a story, playing a game, preparing and consuming food, attempting to solve a problem, having an argument) are examined for their social and linguistic organization, including the spatial positioning of more or less experienced participants, the expressed stances, ideas, and actions that participants routinely provide or elicit and, importantly, the responses that

such expressions receive. With an eye on interaction, we examine the language structures that attempt to socialize (e.g., the use of strong evidentials to claim facts or the use of affect morphology to instantiate moral values) and the interactional effects of such attempts (e.g., Are stances, ideas, or actions acknowledged? Do others display alignment? Non-alignment? Minimally? Elaborately?).

In my own work, within a socio-political and historical context, I use language, learning, and the learning of language in these two elementary schools in the context of demographic change to understand identity formation in the construction of knowledge about and informing linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities. In these schools, I look at how these identities are negotiated, contested, reified, changed, and/or “rescaled,” especially within the context of teacher and student relationships. Rescaling deals with changing categories of social actors, so that more or less people become included or excluded through discourse, or how definitions of people become changed through discourse (Lempert 2012).

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter, I have laid the groundwork for my study by explaining how language ideologies can be used in colorblind racism to reproduce inequality. I explained what ideologies are and how language ideologies are seen in policy planning, language evaluation, as well as identity. Additionally, as this research speaks to the implications and processes of racial identification and ascription that occur in schools, and at the state level, I operationalized key terms relevant to my study, including “race,” “ethnicity,” and “culture.” The history I have provided on the development of language planning and policy as well as laws about the integration and treatment of language, racial, and ethnic groups offers a broader context for understanding orientations to language and people at my research site.

In this chapter, I have illustrated the importance of my research and research in general that examines how racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities are integrated into education. To show how the research site is informative in this discussion, I address the research setting, and connect Southern U.S. and national history to Central today in the next chapter. Together, these two chapters provide the background to show how Central's details, both the particular and more generally, make it an informative case study for the local area and possibly others, both now and in the future.

### CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH SETTING

As an aspiring social scientist, I have been interested in language, race, and ethnicity since I began my undergraduate career in the early 2000s. There is a clear social justice mandate for understanding ideologies in order to address how inequality is reproduced in education, as I laid out in Chapter 2. Specializing in the linguistic and cultural anthropology of education, I became interested in the educational opportunities for students in Central after reading a rapid ethnographic assessment of the county (Jackson et al. 2012). In that report, some people in Central reported race and class discrimination, racial/ethnic segregation, conflict related to dissatisfaction with schools, and a lack of recognition by the mainstream society of Latino culture (Jackson et al. 2012). I learned more about the site by examining other sources as well as making initial site visits in the beginning of 2014. What became apparent was that migration had played an important role in the county, and based on my training and the rapid assessment by Jackson et al. (2012), I knew that questions about racial, ethnic, and linguistic educational equity were likely to be relevant. More broadly, Central's uniqueness as well as its commonalities with other areas made it an appropriate site to understand how the movement of people impacted these issues. For example, in Central there is a high use of languages other than English in the home, and while 43% of the population is Latino (USF FIOG 2012) only 8% of teachers are Latino.

In this chapter I first talk about the broader context of migration in the United States and education in light of this. Secondly, I bridge the Central of today to historical Central by describing the county's past and present in four main areas: the economy, intergroup relations, schools, and religion. In this discussion I trace the movement of Latinos into the area in the 1950s-1970s through several programs. At this time many migrants were brought to the area through efforts by Florida State Employment Service's farm employment services, today the H-2A program brings many contract workers. Migration along with historical economic, intergroup relation, education, and religious aspects are paramount in my research because they have constructed the realities in which people in Central today do their daily living. They have served as the main vehicles for passing down social inequalities, as class is socially reproduced via the structural exercise of power and domination through symbolic systems and cultural productions (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

The sources I draw on in this chapter, to contextualize the research site, are both primary and secondary. Primary sources include interviews and observations I conducted with participants as well as archival records, like the county's newspaper, and the census. Secondary sources include books written about Central, the Central school district's website, as well as scholarly publications. I use these primary sources in addition to the secondary ones because the latter are incomplete and do not provide adequate historical accounts of diverse peoples.

### **Historiographical and “Glocal” Approach in Understanding Central**

Before discussing the history of U.S. migration and education, I must first note the approach I take to understanding this history. In constructing a history of Central from various

sources, I acknowledge that the past is not a fixed reality, nor is the knowledge of it fixed (Carr 1962; Trouillot 1995). Rather, history is “a story about the past—one of many that could be told at any given moment. The skill of the history maker is determined by the evidence used to tell the story as judged by the stakeholders that sanction its production” (Jackson 2012:23).

There are many omissions in these secondary sources (books) about Central’s history, especially regarding what life was like for African Americans, Latinos, and other people of color. Table 3.1 lists these books I reviewed. Written to tell the story of “pioneers” or “settlers” from a white perspective, they demonstrate the reality that “history is a story about power, a story about those who won” (Trouillot 1995:5). In my historiography, I critique this history in order to both show how these representations connect to the larger goals of my research and, by also drawing on primary sources, provide a more balanced telling of the site’s past.

**Table 3.1: Table listing books used for historical analysis.<sup>13</sup>**

| Book Title   | Year of Publication |
|--|---------------------|
| <i>History of Central County</i>   | 1929                |
| <i>Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930</i>                        | 1979                |
| <i>The Best of Not Headlined</i>   | 1982                |
| <i>Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizens</i> | N.d.                |
| <i>Central County: Its Heritage and People</i>                                     | 2007                |

Interviews and archival analysis of the county’s newspaper provided history and background excluded in books. I conducted two audio-recorded life history interviews and focused on life milestones of the participants, such as when they moved to Central, why they moved there, what life was like when they moved there, their education, and employment (Bernard 2011). Both interviewees<sup>14</sup>, Maria and Ana, were women in their 60s who came from Texas and identified as Hispanic.

<sup>13</sup> This table has been anonymized by replacing the pseudonym “Central” when the county or city name appeared. These anonymized secondary sources are only referenced in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation and do not appear in the references section.

<sup>14</sup> For privacy and confidentiality, the names of all interviewees are pseudonyms.



Regarding newspapers reviewed, see Table 3.2 for a list of the newspaper years I examined. For each of the twelve years listed in the figure, I reviewed each page of every edition for the whole year, with the exception of 1955 for which only five months were available.

**Table 3.2: Table showing the newspaper editions analyzed.<sup>15</sup>**

| Decade | Years Reviewed           | Newspaper                    |
|--------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1940s  | 1946                     | <i>Central County Herald</i> |
|        | 1948                     | <i>The Florida Advocate</i>  |
| 1950s  | 1951                     | <i>The Florida Advocate</i>  |
|        | 1955 (only April-August) | <i>The Florida Advocate</i>  |
|        | 1956                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
| 1960s  | 1958                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
|        | 1961                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
|        | 1962                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
|        | 1966                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
| 1970s  | 1968                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
|        | 1972                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |
|        | 1975                     | <i>The Herald Advocate</i>   |

While I originally planned to examine the 1954 county newspaper to see how *Brown v. Board of Education* was reported on and reacted to, unfortunately the 1954 edition was missing. Note that the two newspapers used in 1946 (*Central County Herald*) as well as 1948, 1951, and 1955 (*The Florida Advocate*) combined around 1955 to form a new newspaper (*The Herald Advocate*), and this paper has remained the county’s only newspaper. Before I selected which years I would examine, I gave a cursory look at a good number of the more than 100 reels available dating back to the early 1900s. I went back to my dissertation and, with the help of my doctoral committee, realized that what was most lacking in my history was insight as to when and under what conditions Mexicans came to the region. Thus, I decided to use a sample of newspapers from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s. This informed my early considerations on whether Central was a New Destination (Massey and Capoferro 2008)—an area that is not a

<sup>15</sup> This table has been anonymized by replacing the pseudonym “Central” when the county or city name appeared. These anonymized primary sources are only referenced in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation and do not appear in the references section.

traditional location for many immigrants, especially Latinos, before the 1990s—which it is not. Within each decade, I picked newspaper years that were somewhat evenly distributed. To capture the data, I used digital microfilm scanners to scan each page of the newspaper. To copy one year’s edition took about four or five hours.

Regarding analysis, while I did view and take notes on the newspaper as I scanned it, I also chose to use OCR text recognition in the computer program Adobe Acrobat Pro. This feature allows the user to convert images into text. However, the quality of the scan can impact the precision and accuracy of the OCR text analysis. I still did OCR text recognition on each of the files, which took about an hour to run on my computer and used the text search feature in Adobe Acrobat Pro as a way to help find articles about key topics. However, I also read the title of each article and relevant articles completely. After closely examining these newspaper issues, I created a list of words found in these editions, as well as some that I did not see but that may be relevant to my study. The words I used in my manual and computerized searching to identify articles of possible interest include: “\*migra\*,” “farmworker,” “Mexic\*,” “Hispanic,” “Spanish,” “Latino,” “Latina,” “mulatto,” “black,” “negr\*,” “colored,” “Native American,” “Indian,” “white,” “race,” “racist,” “racial,” “ethnic,” “population,” “demograph\*,” “segregat\*,” and “integrat\*.” The words “Hispanic,” “Latino,” “Latina,” “mulatto,” “Native American,” “ethnic,” and “demograph\*” were virtually absent from these newspapers.

The background I provide in this chapter illuminates how the site is particular yet shares broader Southern and national processes as I adopt a “glocalized” (Robertson 1992) outlook where I consider the co-presence of the particular and universal. This approach facilitates the generalizability of my research to other sites and the future. Further, the background I provide is situated within my understanding of the unequal relationship of the United States, as a core

nation, to those on the semi-periphery (e.g., Mexico) or periphery (Wallerstein 1979). This is important as I discuss the impacts of various programs, from the Bracero Program to the Florida State Employment Service's farm employment services program to the more recent H-2A visas that have impacted Latinos in Central and other places. However, instead of a strictly World Systems approach (Wallerstein 1979), which would only see the importance of the domination of cultural and social institutions by the "developed" world over the "developing" world, my approach is political economic, as it looks at how means of production and ways of living impact social organization (Erickson and Murphy 2013). My approach is critical of a neoliberalist justification of global inequalities as such discourse is a hegemonic tool which justifies the accumulation of capital by the elite (Harvey 2007). This global capital accumulation is based on the marginalization and exploitation of immigrant labor (Mize and Swords 2010). Such an approach is seen in this chapter as I discuss the importance of agriculture on migration and inequality at the site, for example. Also, missing in a strictly World Systems approach would be the understanding that the local context is not caused just by core-periphery relations, but that those relations are colonial, stemming from European Expansionism (Wolf 1982) and shaped by modernity, such as technology (Appadurai 1996).

### **Farmwork, Migration, and Demographic Change in the United States**

While I offer an overview of some important historical events surrounding farmwork, migration, and demographic change in Central and the United States, I note that my explanation and framing here is somewhat narrow especially in the areas of historical research and the "Nuevo South" (Mohl 2005). This results from the broad scope of this dissertation, as well as my

lack of expertise on this topic. By continuing to educate myself critically, additional findings from this work in future publications can be appropriately situated in this discussion as applicable.

An important time to begin this history is in 1848, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed by Mexico and the United States, ending the war between the two countries. This sealed the fate of the relationship between the nations, binding them as unequal (Foley 2014). Years later, in the 1930s, more than a half million Mexicans were deported because of job scarcity (Foley 2014).

From 1942-1964, the Bracero Program solidified existing migrant routes and created new ones throughout the United States (Foley 2014). In the beginning, its purpose was to relieve worker shortages caused by WWII. At the same time, in the 1950s, the U.S. government created “Operation Wetback” to deport Mexican immigrants (Foley 2014). The Bracero Program was the biggest guest-worker program made by the United States and supplied around two million workers from Mexico during its run. It provided exploitable agribusiness and railroad labor using temporary workers. However, the workers were “herded more like cattle than people” and work contracts were rarely enforced on behalf of the rights of workers (Mize and Swords 2010:3). Today’s virtual total reliance on Mexican workers for U.S. agriculture is rooted in the Bracero Program (Mize and Swords 2010). Thirty states participated in the Bracero Program and most workers went to either California, Arizona, or Texas. While Mize and Swords (2010) do not list Florida as one of the 30 states participating in the Bracero Program, Weise (2015) states that Florida did recruit Braceros occasionally, though never more than 5,000 per year.

Beginning around the 1950s, the Florida State Employment Service's farm services program was responsible for bringing many migrants to Central. I write more about this program in the next section of this chapter, where I write more in detail about the county specifically.

In the South, including Florida, the H-2 program caused the "Mexican influx" (Mize and Swords 2010). Created in 1952, with this program, growers could negotiate contracts in their favor, pre-select their workforce, and use deportation as a control mechanism in the fields since work contracts tied visa holders to their employer (DeWind, Seidl, and Shenk 1977). In the 1970s, 20,000 people worked in sugarcane fields in Florida as H-2 workers, many coming from the Caribbean and replacing domestic white and black sharecroppers (Mize and Swords 2010).

From the 1970s-1990s, the numbers of domestic white and black farmworkers have decreased while the number of Latino, especially Mexican, workers has increased (Polopolus and Emerson 1995). By the late 1980s, Mexican and other Latinos were the main strawberry pickers although foreign and domestic black workers comprised 30% of those harvesting oranges (Polopolus and Emerson 1995). In 1991, Haitian and other foreign black farmworkers accounted for 8% of the total workforce (Polopolus and Emerson 1995). In that same year, 81% of people picking oranges were of Mexican origin, 17.5% were Haitian, African American, or Jamaican, and 1.5% were white (Polopolus and Emerson 1995).

By 1992, there were about 19,000 H-2A visa holders who were mostly Jamaican and Haitian and working in sugarcane (Mize and Swords 2010). When sugarcane harvesting became mechanized it ended the demand for such labor. During this time, numbers of farmworkers in Florida were often difficult to calculate, one of the reasons for this was that many were employed by independent farm labor contractors (Polopolus and Emerson 1995). By the early 1990s, there may have been 300,000 farmworkers in Florida in a given year (Polopolus 1991).

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) updated the H-2 program with bureaucratic requirements for growers and it was renamed the H-2A program. The requirements made it against the law for employers to hire people not legally entitled to work in the United States, legalized some seasonal agricultural immigrants who were undocumented, and legalized immigrants without documentation who came to the United States pre-1982 (Richter, Taylor, and Yúnez-Naude 2007). The IRCA has caused third-party and sub-contractors to serve as middlemen in coordinating labor, which has resulted in workers receiving a cut on their wages that is given to the contractor (Emerson and Polopolus 1995).

The North American Free Trade Agreement, enacted in 1994, resulted in many Mexican agricultural workers to being unable to support their families due to the low prices of their products (Pesca 2013). Many had to immigrate to the United States to do similar work to support their families (Bacon 2012; O'Boyle 2008). By the late 1990s, about 80% of all farmworkers were of Mexican-origin (Richter, Taylor, and Yúnez-Naude 2007).

The 2000s saw renewed use of the H-2A program by growers, with most of the visa holders being Mexican (Mize and Swords 2010). Today, the program entitles workers to free housing and transportation to work as well as from their country of origin. More recent figures show that in 2013, there were 10,051 certified H-2A workers in Florida<sup>16</sup>, and 717 of them were in Central (Shimberg Center for Housing Studies 2014).

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<sup>16</sup> In 2015, there were 108,144 H-2A Visas (U.S. Department of State 2016b), which is almost double those granted in 2010 (U.S. Department of State 2016a). Nationally, there were 124,484 H-4 Visas issued (U.S. Department of State 2016b). While the H-4 Visas are those that H-2A Visa holder's family can obtain, H-4 figures include all holders whose relatives have H-1A, H-1B, H-2A, H-2B and H-3 Visas, so there is no way to tell how many of the H-4 Visa holders received their visa because of an H-2A family member. The reason I mention the H-4 Visas is because some people with this visa could account for the children and relatives of those coming to the United States to perform agricultural work on H-2 Visas.

More generally, in the United States, since the 1970s, there has been a large increase in the number of immigrants, including their U.S.-born children (Villenas 2001a); this has accounted for 69% of U.S. population growth since that time (Camarota 2001). During the 2009-2013 years, 21% of people over the age of 5 spoke a language other than English at home (Census Bureau 2015). That is up from 2000, when that number was 18%; in 1990 it was 14%; and in 1980 11% (Hyon and Bruno 2003). Such changes have, according to Blommaert (2013), caused some to contend that we are supposedly moving toward “an unprecedented degree of linguistic super-diversity” (Wiley 2014:5). However, baseline data used in this argument are flawed, given that early measures of linguistic diversity were poor as they clustered African languages together and undercounted Asians’ and American Indians’ speech (Wiley 2014). Additionally, most linguists are aware that of the 5,000-6000 languages spoken now, many are endangered and the number of languages spoken in the world is likely to drop to the low thousands or even hundreds a century from now (Woodbury 2016). Additionally, the standard language ideology and domination of English both in the United States and globally raises questions about the validity of “super-diversity” claims. In any case, aside from its impact on language diversity, ethnoracial change is central to essentially all aspects of life in rural and nonmetropolitan U.S. areas for the conceivable future (Lichter 2012). These aspects include “agro-food systems, community life, labor force change, economic development, schools and schooling, demographic change, intergroup relations, and politics” (Lichter 2012:3).

The settlement of Latino immigrants and their children in the United States has been a subject of much research (including Dalla, Ellis, and Cramer 2005; Donato et al. 2007; Gimpel and Lay 2008; Kandel and Cromartie 2004; Jensen 2006; Lichter and Brown 2011; Lichter and Johnson 2006, 2007; Marrow 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Massey and Capoferro 2008; Winders 2005,

2013). For example, since 1990, there has been a significant change in immigration patterns (Massey and Capoferro 2008), with the U.S. South receiving increasingly large numbers of Latinos.<sup>17</sup> For instance, “the Hispanic population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, and most significantly in the South and Midwest. The South [including Florida] experienced a growth of 57% in its Hispanic population, which was four times the growth of the total population in the South (14%)” (Census Bureau 2015:4-5). Specifically, “the Hispanic population in eight states in the South (Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee) and South Dakota more than doubled in size between 2000 and 2010” (Census Bureau 2015:7). This dramatic demographic change in the U.S. South, resulting from an increase in Latino immigration over the past twenty to thirty years with large numbers of people coming from Mexico, has been called the “Latinization” of the South (Mohl 2005), the “Nuevo South” (Mohl 2005), and the New Latino Diaspora. The New Latino Diaspora has resulted in macro and micro changes in U.S. society, ranging from changes in residential patterns and social institutions to the performance of cultural identity (Marrow 2008; Popke 2011). What it means to live in and experience the U.S. South has been and is being redefined due to globalization and transnationalism.

However, much, but not all, research on the U.S. South and the New Latino Diaspora does not include Florida as part of the South. It is clear that there are characteristics of Central that link it to the South. Some of the research that does include Florida as part of the south has focused on the multi-ethnic past of large cities, such as Tampa (Hewitt 2001) and Miami (Connolly 2009). Regarding works that construct Florida as part of the South, for example, Matschat (1938) wrote that the Heartland is distinctly different from the areas on either side near

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<sup>17</sup> This trend may be reversing somewhat, given that more Mexicans are leaving than coming to the United States. However, the loss may be minimal, with a net loss of only 140,000 from 2009-2014 (Pew Research Center 2015b).



the coasts because the Heartland's culture is more similar to that of the Deep South than other areas in Florida and had traditionally been occupied by those with "English ancestry." What makes the Heartland, and some of the other interior central and northern Florida counties, similar to the U.S. South is the "cracker" roots of many inhabitants. Here, the term "cracker" comes from the crack of the bullwhip (Griffith 2005). Griffith (2005) writes that many Central locals celebrate their cracker heritage while there are commemorative displays of cracker culture in the county. Additionally, Gibson (1996) writes about another Florida county north of the Heartland that has many residents with "cracker identity." Griffith writes that "cracker" locals have been presented in novels and literature as "independent, mistrustful of authority (particularly natural resource management), heavily self-reliant, and directly dependent on wild and domesticated flora and fauna for survival" (2005:98). Gibson's work supports the notion that these characteristics are central in cracker identity, and this could play into how residents treat immigrants (Griffith 2005).

As Hamann (2003) argues that Gibson's (1996) work parallels the Latinization of areas in Georgia, this dissertation shows that there are similarities in findings of some New Destination (Massey and Capoferro 2008) areas and Central; for example, there is the same push and pull of people for work with the simultaneous disregard for their personhood. Yet, Central could not be defined as a New Destination given the longer presence of Latinos there since the 1950-1970s. Weise (2015) writes that in the 1950s, Tejanos, or Mexicans from Texas, became part of the predominantly black worker force in the citrus groves and vegetable fields in Florida. Mexicans working in Central at that time also came to harvest watermelon (Mize and Swords 2010). The influx of Mexicans from Texas continued, and in the 1970s, Florida became a home base for many migrant workers who traveled to Georgia (Weise 2015). These individuals, according to

Griffith, became “important agents in developing class relations between new and old Latino immigrants to Florida” (2005:97) through the basis they provided for “Latino leadership and business activity” (2005:97). Thus, even though central may not be a New Destination, it may be poised to inform the future of New Destinations, depending on their particular characteristics.

While some research shows that people who are both native-born and live in rural areas may be ambivalent about newcomers (Parra and Pfeffer 2006), other studies have reported much more welcoming climates (Marrow 2011), and yet others show a mix of these (Popke 2011). This is important because the sociocultural and economic integration of immigrants, and arguably their U.S.-born descendants (Prins and Toso 2012), is impacted by a context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). Marrow states that the context of immigrant reception/incorporation depends on “past efforts by racial/ethnic minority groups and their coalition patterns to achieve substantive electoral responsiveness” (2009a:773).

Additional reasons for the change in destination for many Mexican immigrants as part of the New Latino Diaspora has to do with the flooding of labor markets in traditionally receiving states, anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican legislation (such as California’s Proposition 187<sup>18</sup>), the surge in the demand of labor in the southern and western states, and the changes in U.S. border policy/selective hardening of border line areas in Texas also play a role (Massey and Capoferro 2008). People influenced by these factors have found their way to Central as the globalized market has created a need for labor that in many places is filled by Latinos, especially Mexicans. However, Central’s Latino diaspora began 20-30 years before the more widespread changes referred to as the New Latino Diaspora. As discussed later in this chapter, the agricultural history

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<sup>18</sup> This law would make “illegal aliens” ineligible for public benefits, although it was struck down days after being passed (Mize and Swords 2010).

of Central and the need for labor, especially the need for those picking fruits and vegetables, is a main draw for Latinos into the county.

In Central and the broader South, these demands for low-wage work are masked (Carpena-Mendez 2015; Stuesse 2012) and the idea of the American Dream leads people to risk encountering violence for a chance at a better life. The mobility of these workers is exploited while at the same time their moral character is questioned (Wortham and Nichols 2015; Wortham and Nichols 2016) and their culture rejected (Villenas 2001b). Popke writes, “the political and economic pro-Latino Migration and Neoliberalism in the U.S. South processes that help to account for increased migration are often occluded by a kind of ethical individualism focused solely on the sometimes-troubling presence of migrant difference” (2011:255-2256). Although Latinos are often constructed by the majority as “workers,” Latina mothers in similar contexts as Central construct themselves as “‘educated’ women responsible for the cultural preservation of a newly forming Latino community the South” (Villenas 2001b:4).

Resistance to the unequal relations between Mexican workers and the U.S. work environment has taken shape in several forms. For example, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers<sup>19</sup> was founded in 1993 and has fought for workers’ rights since then. Based in Immokalee, Florida, they frame much of their efforts as human rights issues and have launched several campaigns. For example, their Fair Food program involves farmworkers, growers, and buyers and it seeks to educate works on labor standards, ensure compliance through a third-party monitor, and increase wages through a Fair Food premium paid by buyers which is passed on to workers. Their Anti-Slavery Campaign uncovers, investigates, and assists in prosecuting slavery

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<sup>19</sup> More information can be found at their website: <http://www.ciw-online.org/about/>.

operations in the Southeast U.S. and they have helped more than 1,200 workers who were held against their will.

## Central's Past

The common thread in Central history sources I reviewed is the predominant recounting of history about and from the viewpoint of white families. Although, *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) does list the population, name, owner, and selling price for “slaves” in the area. In my full review of the county’s history, I saw many familiar names. Many were names given by participants as last names that would have warranted certain advantages in the county. These names also appeared on the green street name signs throughout the county. It should also be noted that according to my newspaper analysis and observations, just as the children of the Latino immigrants in the ‘50s are the owners of businesses in Central (Griffith 2005), the children of whites in office in the ‘50s were community leaders, serving and running for offices in the local government and comprising many of those working in the schools.

These histories also omit certain practices by whites in the area, such as the popular blackface minstrel shows that white community leaders, high school students, and public clubs put on during the 1940s-1960s. These events were covered in the local newspaper, see Figure 3.1<sup>20</sup> for an example. County newspaper accounts from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century represent American Indians as attackers on pioneer life. Articles in the newspaper also talk about pioneer neighbors banding together to defend against American Indians. There were also some stories in the newspaper talking about school children learning about American Indians, whites visiting

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<sup>20</sup> See Appendix E.1 for permission to use copyrighted images from the county’s newspaper.

“Indian reservations,” as well as a long children’s Thanksgiving story about a friendly encounter between a white child and American Indian child. However, in 1951, an article did attempt to question the notion of “Indian” inferiority by stating that “all men are equal” and that the country had been “loudest about racial equality,” though the author appears to have ignored segregation and other ethnic and racial inequality of the time, see Figure 3.2.

**Minstrel To Live Again**

The good old days of the black-face minstrel will live again March 13 when the [redacted] Lion's Club presents its annual show in the [redacted] City Hall.

When the curtain goes up at 8 p.m., [redacted] will be repeating the role he has played in so many minstrels, that of interlocutor and foil for the endmen.

Returning in their old roles as "America's premier endmen" will be "Dusty Rhodes" [redacted], "Dapper Dan" [redacted], Albert "Bones" [redacted], Marcus "Shack" [redacted], Mitchell "Andrew H. Brown" [redacted] and John "Poke Chops" [redacted]. Newcomers to the show this year will be two Kiwanians who will be forgetting their old rivalry with the Lions for a night, Curtis "Cueball" [redacted] and Leff "Rastus" [redacted].

This year's show will follow closely in the tracks of previous minstrels, with speciality acts sprinkled through the performance. Albert [redacted] minstrel chairman, said that local talent is being drawn upon heavily, with several acts from [redacted] High School featured.

The minstrel, which is all in fun, benefits a very serious project. It is the principle source of revenue for the Lions' sight conservation program. The club works in close alliance with the sight-testing program in the county's schools.

Tickets for the minstrel are on sale now and are 50 cents for all students of high school age and \$1.00 for adults.

Figure 3.1: Advertisement from 1958 newspaper for a blackface “all in fun” minstrel show.

**ARE ALL MEN EQUAL?**

The skeleton in our national closet is rattling its bones. On Friday of this week the Secretary of the Interior Chapman will hold a pow-wow with the tribal chiefs of more than 60,000 Navajo Indians at Window Rock, N. M., in an effort to find out why our largest and poorest reservation has become what is described as an “out-door slum”.

As the nation that has been loudest in its demand for racial equality and the brotherhood of man, this should be somewhat embarrassing. Just why we should consider the descendants of the only true Americans as inferior to us interlopers has never been quite clear to this writer. Why we teach, feed, house and medicate them out of tax money; set them apart so they can't be assimilated; deprive them of liberties the rest of us talk about so much must be quite mysterious to those people we criticize . . . . . such as Joe Stalin.

Figure 3.2: Article from 1951 newspaper attempting to question American Indian oppression.

In the newspaper, the 1960s offered a column titled either “News of Negro Residents” or “Negro News” that had been re-titled in the 1970s to “News of the Black Community” which was written by a local African American woman (Figure 3.3, Figure 3.4). Of the 1946, 1948, 1951, 1955 (only April-August), 1956, 1958, 1961, 1962, 1966, 1968, 1972, and 1975 newspaper year editions I reviewed for this study, this column was found in the years: 1966, 1968, 1972, and 1975 (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6 below). The column reflected the agency of black people in Central, and included short informational reporting of the comings and goings of African Americans. The importance of church as a community organization is illustrated through information on people’s attendance at religious services and events, such as Fifth Sunday Congress. There were also updates on people who were going through illnesses, celebrations of wedding anniversaries, housewarming parties, dinner parties, and local travels. Information on young people at Florida A & M University, Gibbs Junior College, Bethune Cookman, Florida Memorial, and other colleges as well as reports of young people as athletes playing in minor league baseball showed achievements. Other community organizations announced included meetings of the philanthropic Knights of Pythias. The black high school was also an important topic as PTA meeting information and reports on the outcomes of sporting games at the high school were found in the column. These updates shared a record for the public on the accomplishments of local African Americans and provided information on community organizations and civic and social life. What these columns also show is the daily living, surviving, strength, and celebrating of African Americans in Central in the broader context of oppression, segregation, and inequality.



**Figure 3.3: Excerpt from the 1972 “News of Negro Residents” column in the county newspaper.**



**Figure 3.4: Excerpt from 1975 “News of Black Community” column in the county newspaper.**

In 1968, 1972, and 1975 the newspaper offered “La Columna En Espanol.” The 1960s columns offered informational updates on local people and happenings (Figure 3.5), but that was largely replaced with a religiously inspired message in the 1970s editions (Figure 3.6). The column provided information on the times and locations of church services and shared values likely held by many Latinos in the area. In 1964, the newspaper published information about a conversational Spanish class open to all adults. During fieldwork, I was first told I might find a class such as this still in existence, but after I made several inquiries and followed various leads,

it appeared such classes were no longer offered. More recently, two local radio stations, one playing more traditional music and one playing newer, U.S- influenced Spanish as well as English language songs, provide information on current events.

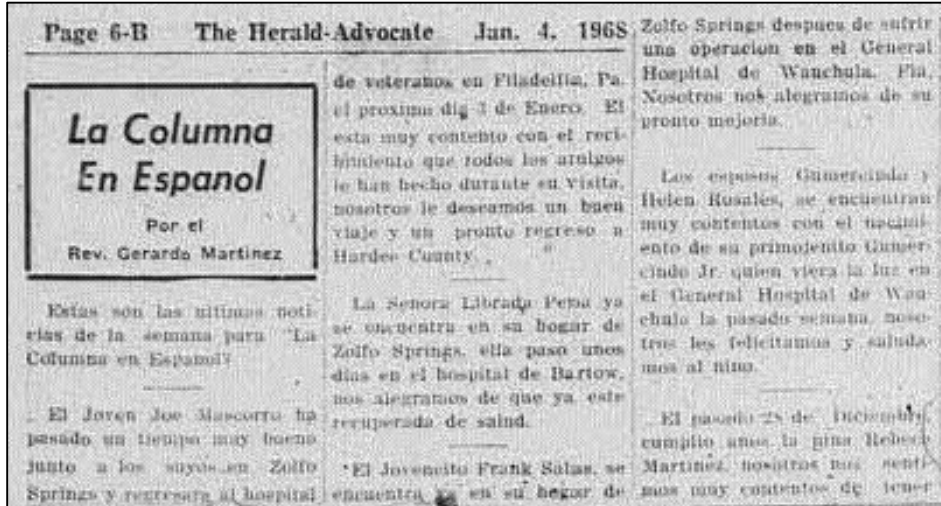


Figure 3.5: Excerpt of “La Columna En Espanol” from the 1968 edition of the county newspaper.



Figure 3.6: Excerpt of “La Columna En Espanol” from the 1975 edition of the county newspaper.



In these Central histories found in books, the agricultural roots of the county are long-standing and the economic mainstay. For example, in the late 1800s, a packing house shipping citrus was erected and a cattle ranch was started (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). The economy of Central at that time consisted of “cracker farmers” (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:27).

The information in the following paragraph comes from *Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* (1979): The first train arrived in 1886. Orange groves were quite numerous and developed by 1888. By 1904, 72,000 boxes of oranges and 75,000 vegetable crates were transported out and a Fruit and Vegetable Growers Union started a year earlier. In 1914, strawberries that had grown from December to April earned \$500 an acre. Later that year, watermelons were sent to El Paso, TX bringing in \$375 for a carload.<sup>21</sup> By 1916, there was concern about the level of pollution in the Peace River due to the phosphate companies. Before the 1920s, produce worth up to \$10,000 was leaving the county each day to be sold. In 1922, half a million quarts of strawberries were sent north. In the 1930s, a large annual strawberry festival was held.

The county seat was billed as the cucumber capital of the world, at one time (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). The 1940s experienced a decrease in the number of farmers, once at 1,700, because of the advent of the tractor. This led to larger farms as smaller farmers got squeezed out of the business (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982). According to the November 27, 1975 edition of the county’s newspaper, in 1975, the vegetable crop was valued at four million dollars.

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<sup>21</sup> To provide context, today, Watermelons can earn a profit per acre from \$0 to \$2,000 (Texas A& M Agrilife Extension 2015). To compare this figure of \$375 in today’s money, an item worth \$375 in 1914 would cost \$8,900 in 2015 dollars, calculated using Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015) information.

These Central history books note its “pioneer” past and start with the “Indians” who lived there when the white “settlers” came. *Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* (1979) begins at 1750 with the Seminoles’ creation from the Creek tribe. The Seminoles were pushed south into the area and relations between whites and American Indians were not always “peaceful” (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979). *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) starts in 1821 when Florida became part of the United States, having previously been a colony of Spain. The author also talks about the decline of indigenous groups, like the Apalachee, from various causes, “primarily war,” and the entering of the Upper Creeks and Seminoles. In 1839, the natives had been promised all land east of the Peace River in a treaty, but whites moved in 11 years after that (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979); *Central County: Its Heritage and People* called them “the first white settlers of the Peace River Valley” (2007:4). In 1976, in conflict with most other historical accounts, the author of a popular column in the local newspaper wrote “there apparently were no human inhabitants of this area of Florida 200 years ago during the period in which the nation was aborning. There is talk of prehistoric Calusa Indians prior to that time but not much is known of them, where they came from or what happened to them” (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982:132).

Although there is some disagreement, the general consensus is that the name of the county seat and largest city in the county comes from an American Indian word referring to a large bird that inhabited the area in the past and still today. Today the bird is used in the Main Street fountain and on flags that hang on light poles welcoming people to the town. The county is rich with archaeological sites which have been excavated for decades. Artifacts traced to 1500 B.C. have been found (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979).

According to *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007), indigenous people lived in an area

within the county lines during the time of about 4,600-500 B.C. An archaeologist excavated the remains of at least 37 people, including adults and children, as well as grave goods, such as burial stakes, knives, carved antlers, projectile points, beads, and more.

Fort Choconicla came about in 1849 near the intersection of Payne's Creek and Peace River in Central County, and it was not the only fort in the county (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979). According to *Central County: Its Heritage and People*, it is spelled "Chokonikla" and means "burnt house." The fort was a result of the killing of two whites by the American Indians who had lived there before white settlers. *Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* states that after the second Seminole War ended (1842), "hostilities" characterized the next 20 years. "Raids by gangs of young braves, operating without tribal sanction, forced the establishment of military forts, garrisoned by regular army soldiers, to protect the settlers" (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979:5). This particular fort was constructed across from a general store where two men were "massacred" (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979). *Central County: Its Heritage and People* writes that according to the Seminoles' leader, "the murders, without the sanction or knowledge or any chief...were committed by five young Seminoles...one of whom was an outlaw, and desired to make war for the purpose of saving himself from the Indian law" (2007:7). The general store and its contents were also burned. After the Seminole leader had them captured and turned over to the whites, a white General commended him and then "strongly urged emigration"; the leader "agreed to propose emigration to his people, but many of them declared on the spot they would rather die than go to Arkansas" (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:7). In 1850, a captain reportedly paid the American Indians almost \$16,000 "migration money" and they went to Arkansas. Later that year, the same Seminole leader from

before lost trust in the military and told the military he wanted peace and that he would surrender any criminals, but that he would not emigrate or suggest that to his people. He would, however, take a smaller reservation. President Taylor said he would allow them to remain in Florida but after Taylor died in 1850, the captain again took up forced removal. By 1854, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis moved the border of American Indian lands and banned trading between whites and American Indians. At the end of the next year, the American Indians in the area abandoned their residences and gardens and, in the form of a 25-30 person “war party,” attacked a small party of the military (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:17). In retaliation, a captain told his troops “Should you discover Indians, or the trail of them, you will pursue them to the farthest extremity, sparing neither man nor horses while on that duty” (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:17), beginning the Third Seminole War.

Sources differ about the 1849 happenings, as an interviewee tells *Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930*, “many versions of the massacre have been printed, and by word of mouth details are altered in the telling” (1979:6). None of the local history books position the acts as the retaliation of Seminoles to whites’ encroachment.

Today, a museum stands at Paynes Creek Historic State Park where visitors can learn more about the fort (Florida Division of Recreation and Parks 2015). The park manager narrates a reenactment (Figure 3.7; Figure 3.8) of the events leading up to the fort’s creation. The only memorials (Figure 3.9) visible in the fort are for the white men who died in the events during the Seminole Wars, although the park does contain artifacts and information about daily life for the Seminoles (Figure 3.10). There is also a historical museum about the Cracker Trail, although it contains no exhibits about African Americans from Central (McCarthy 2007). However, there are two historical cemeteries traditionally for African Americans in the county.

During the civil war, most citizens supported the confederacy, although *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) does identify several anti-secessionists. After the war, the county was impoverished. *Central County: Its Heritage and People* talks about the political struggles between the Loyalist Republicans and Conservative Democrats. The author includes the detested outcasts of the South: Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, aligned with the Union. As early as 1912 (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007) and up to at least 1956 (according to the county newspaper) a Confederate Memorial Day was recognized in Central.



**Figure 3.7: Reenactment of events leading up to Fort Chokonikla's beginning.<sup>22</sup>**



**Figure 3.8: Reenactment of events leading up to Fort Chokonikla's beginning.**



**Figure 3.9: Memorial tombstone for two whites killed at events precipitating Fort Chokonikla.**



**Figure 3.10: Display of Seminole clothing and artifacts at the museum today.**

<sup>22</sup> Courtesy of Florida Department of Environmental Protection. See Appendix E.2 for copyright permission from the National Park Service to use these four images.

In terms of population, in 1874, talking about an area including Central County, two other Heartland counties, and three near counties, a citizen wrote to the Commissioner of Lands in Immigration in Tallahassee: “It is impossible to state positively the population of the county, but 2,000 is a fair estimate. There are but few Negroes here, making labor scarce and wages very high” (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:46). Regarding the people that picked fruit, in a section titled “A Negro Settlement,” *Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* (1979:118-119) wrote:

The strawberry industry was growing but now the problem of getting pickers to harvest the crop became urgent. Migrant labor worked the vegetable and citrus crops, but the back-breaking job of picking strawberries was a different matter. No one wanted to work in the fields.

In 1923, the Board of Trade held mass meetings at the Seminole Theater and discussions with the grower began on whether to establish a Negro settlement to help in the fields. Homa B. Rainey already had about five families living on his property west of town, with the men employed at the crate mill.

It was eventually decided to develop a tract of land south of town, build a church, school house, lodge rooms, and those things necessary for a Negro’s happiness and contentment. The establishment of this settlement through the years has been a great help in the development of [Central’s biggest city] as an agricultural center. In a city directory published in 1925, twenty –five negro families are listed. Among the women who are listed with occupation were Annie Mae Brady, cook for Dr. Kayton; Corrine Cullins, cook for L.M. Carlton; Maggie Walker, cook for S.D. Williams; and Zebb Tate, servant of W.W. Whitehurst.

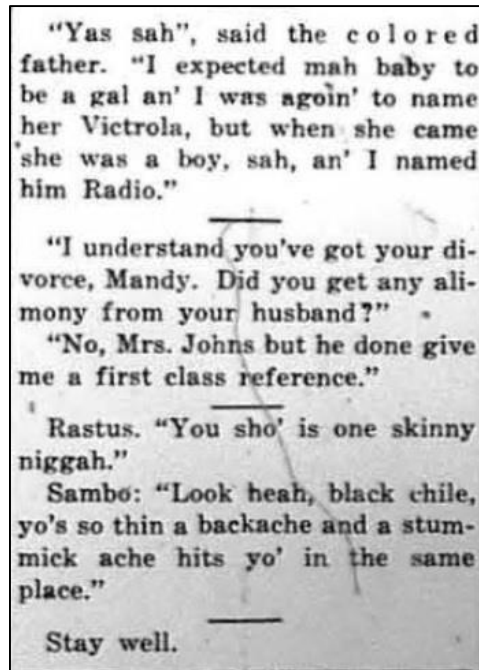
Unfortunately, and providing an incomplete history, there is only one African American person highlighted in *Central County: Its Heritage and People*: a restaurant owner in the Manor who was a church pillar and midwife. This same book includes a photo of only one African American man, Lewis Hicks, near an explanation of his family moving to the area. Further, an example of the construction of and positioning in historical documents is in *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007:92), when he talks about a recorded lynching as being a “regrettable” local case of a “bitter harvest.” Before including the original newspaper article from 1921, he

writes: “A bitter harvest on the South was lynching; regrettably, there was such a case locally. The Atlantic Constitution of February 12, 1921 reported of a lynching arising from a crime...”

By 1930, there were 9,419 whites, 928 African Americans and 1 Mexican out of the 10,348 inhabitants (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007), though it should be noted that this year was the first time the Census allowed Mexicans to choose that category (Foley 1997). Around that time there were little more than 1,000 farms.

According to the newspaper, in 1948 the first voting precincts for African Americans were set up. In *The Best of Not Headlined's* (1982) compilation of selected newspaper columns the author mentions “negroes,” though he, like the newspaper editions from the 1940s until the end of the 1960s does not talk about Latinos in Central. For example, he recounted in 1956, coming across a “negro” who was hunting gopher turtles and selling them in the “colored sections of the surrounding cities” (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982: 30-31). In 1960, the author wrote about being in an orange grove “where a crew of Negroes were picking oranges and jabbering happily to one another. I was told they were from Jamaica...I tried to understand their language...I drove up to one of the men and carefully asked him what language they were speaking. ‘English’ he replied promptly” (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982: 46). The newspaper at that time regularly referred to portions of town where many African Americans lived as “colored town” or “negro town” and usually only identified the race of a person depicted in the newspaper if they were “a negro,” “a negress,” or “a colored.” Newspapers from the 1950s-1960s regularly featured racial jokes, see Figure 3.11 for instance. Such writings in these sources are not only about African Americans and American Indians. Kelly’s writings from 1941-1981, frequently evaluate women’s bodies, clothing, and disposition as he observed these during his trips around the world, and also includes images depicting groups in a racialized manner. For

example, in talking about his visit to China, he writes that a shoe shiner price gouged him; accompanying this was a sketch of a Chinese man in a pointed bamboo hat, with sandals, black pants, and a white long sleeve shirt eclipsing his hands which were pressed together. A cow's head in the corner of the picture says "Ling Lang...shoe shine money and changed" (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982:111).



**Figure 3.11: Jokes from 1958 newspaper.**

As I discussed earlier, in the 1950s, Tejanos began comprising more and more of the Florida agricultural workforce beginning in the 1950s (Weise 2015), with some coming to Central to harvest fruits and vegetables, such as watermelon (Mize and Swords 2010). Of the two Latinas who shared their life histories with me, Maria, the first came in the late sixties with her siblings and parents and the second came in the seventies as a newlywed young woman. The second participant, Ana, stated that her husband's family came in the 1960s. They both cited harvesting as the draw to the area, had schooling up to about 7<sup>th</sup> grade, and later earned a GED. Maria worked in the fields while Ana had not. Below is an excerpt from my interview with Maria, and below that is an excerpt from the Ana. I bolded especially relevant passages and kept



all original speech (including mistakes and accents) with the exception of non-essential words and verbalizations. I do this for the interview excerpts throughout this dissertation.

Rebecca: **Now, what kind of work did your family do in Texas?**

Maria: **My father worked in ranches. They would do irrigation for the cotton. He was in charge of getting the people to pick the cotton. He did mostly field work.**

He would more like, when the people would come out of from. What it was, where we lived at, there weren't a lot of Hispanic people. There was very few. Most were white.

Rebecca: Did your parents ever talk about their grandparents or their parents?

Maria: They were born in San Antonio, Texas, too. My mother used to say they would work in fields too. In San Antonio; but, sometimes she said they would have to walk to other towns. She said sometimes it would take them three days to get where they were going. 'They didn't have no cars, no nothing,' she would say.

Rebecca: **Now why did you guys end up coming here in 1968?**

Maria: **Because my older brothers and their families were already here.**

Rebecca: **What brought them out here?**

Maria: **Picking oranges. My oldest brother came down here with another family like five or six years before we got here.** My older brother. Actually, he came to Deerfield Beach. And then, from Deerfield Beach he came over here to [Central]. Well then one of my other brothers came down here. And, he stayed with him for a year or so then he went back and got my father and my mother and us 'cause by that time were only three. My mother had ten children but the time when we came there was only three at home. Because all my other brothers and sisters were married. So, whenever we got here about two years later after we were here, when my father died, the rest of my brothers came from Texas down here.

[Maria, 61. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

Rebecca: Okay so, you said you came here in 1970?

Ana: **I think 1970, that's when I married my husband and came this way. His parents used to do the agriculture thing, his father used to be a crew leader.** They came here when he [my husband] was young 'cause he was in school in a [Central].

Rebecca: So what year did your husband's family come?

Ana: **Well, they claim they came on the '60s.**

Rebecca: **And, they were the first Mexicanos?**

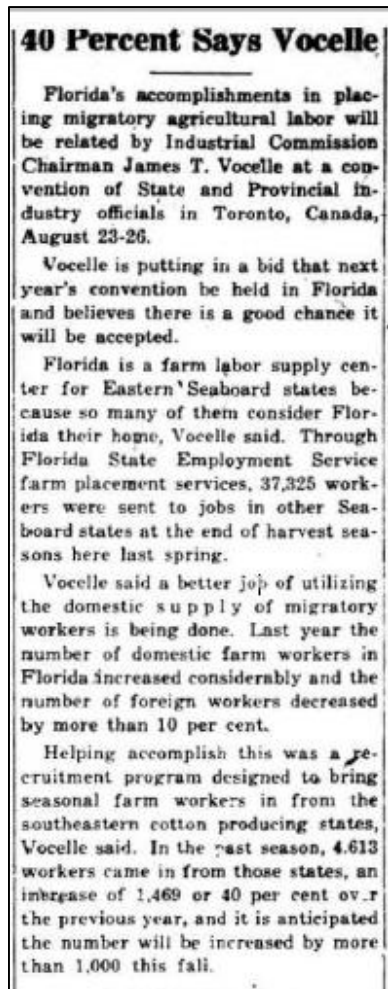
Ana: **Mm. And then his father brung, bring their uncle. There was another guy, he came. They, you know [woman's name], the one that was with the school board, that run? Yeah, her family came later.**

Rebecca: So, what reason did your husband's family have to come here? What kind of work were they doing?

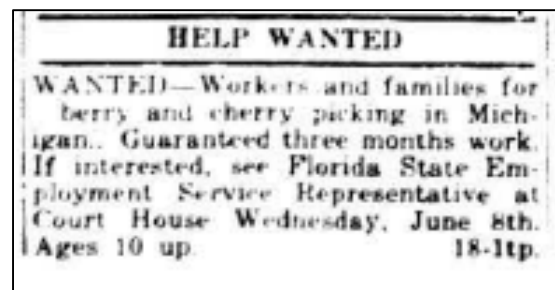
Ana: **They were doing agriculture work. They used to travel like the other ones, you know like the other immigrants. Well, his father had a contract. And he was the contract, for those people; he's the one that brought a lot of Hispanics and then these were from Texas. They were doing the cucumbers. And squash I think.**

[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

According to the county's newspaper, in 1951 the number of migratory farmworkers traveling south down the eastern seaboard of the United States was expected to be half, resulting in a labor shortage. In 1955, this number had rebounded and many migrant workers had made Florida their home, traveling to other states in other parts of the year (see Figure 3.12). The article states that the program responsible for the migrant farmworkers was Florida State Employment Service's farm employment services. Later research showed this program was viewed unfavorably by those who may have used it (Goyette et al. 1979). A 1955 help wanted ad sought farmworkers to would travel to Michigan to harvest berries (see Figure 3.13).



**Figure 3.12: Article in the 1955 county newspaper stating more migrant workers were calling Florida their home in a program bringing them from cotton producing states.**



**Figure 3.13: Help wanted advertisement in the 1955 county newspaper looking for workers and families to harvest in Michigan.**

There was not much coverage of migrant farmworkers in the 1960s newspapers, which focused on the “integration problem,” although the coverage picked up in the 1970s. By 1971 there were 300 migrant families who mostly came in September/October and left in April/June, heading north usually to Ohio, Indiana, Arkansas, or Colorado (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). In 1975, the newspaper stated that migrant workers were an essential component of agriculture in Central, that many come from the Rio Grande Valley before “scattering” in all directions, and that no workers expressed interest in joining a union (Figure 3.14).



Figure 3.14: Excerpt from 1975 Special Vegetable Edition of Central’s newspaper.

According to *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007), most migrant farmworkers were Spanish speakers from Mexico though there was also African Americans and some whites who came from Georgia and Alabama to do agricultural work. Over time, more Mexicans stayed and made a permanent home of Central. However, according to my interviews and informal conversations, many of the people coming in the '60s and '70s were from Texas. In the '70s and '80s is when more people started coming from Mexico. Below, the two interviewees discuss the changing origin of immigrants in Central from the 1960s-1980s.

Rebecca: Now I know you said that your brothers had come here for oranges. Was there not good cotton? Was the cotton business drying up or?

Maria: No. No, it was just. It was just that my other brother had come and they thought they were gonna make more money. Like everybody thinks. Yeah, everybody thinks, you know, you're gonna get rich picking oranges, and you didn't.

Rebecca: **So that was the 1960s. So, was there a lot of other Hispanics here?**

Maria: **No. There was very little and most of them were not from Mexico. Most of them were from other states.**

Rebecca: **The Hispanics, mostly Mexicans from other states had come to [Central]?**

Maria: **Yeah. There were a lot of Mexican Americans. Well, I couldn't say a lot of. There were a few of them. You know. Not like now that there's a lot of 'em.**

Rebecca: Did you get to make friends with those families when you were a young girl?

Maria: Not really because we were in the fields all the time.

[Maria, 61. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

Ana: **But then, people started coming in from Mexico.**

Rebecca: **When did they start coming?**

Ana: **I believe that since they're working with the migrant programs since 1986, '85 is when I start working with the Spanish people. Not with the school but I used to manage daycares. I used to run daycares. And that's how I meet a lot of Hispanics people, because they were coming from Mexico.**

Rebecca: **So, in the '80s is when they were coming from Mexico?**

Ana: **Eighty-five, when I started [noticing].** Yeah and now, for now, if you go to the Catholic Church, the Spanish Mass, you won't find no seat, it's packed. It's getting big, huge and especially in [Central] County. I don't know about here [in another county] 'cause I don't see that many, but they do have some. **Right now, you would not know nobody because now it's different kind of people that come in. Before you would knew who it was because they would come from Texas. You know they whole families would come here because of the oranges and all of the stuff. But everybody knew everybody and they knew who they were. But now these days, there's too many so you dunno who is who.**

[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

In 1971, at one elementary school, 54% of 555 students were migrant. By 1975, portables for migrant students were constructed (see Figure 3.15).



**Figure 3.15: Excerpt from 1975 edition of the county newspaper about migrant portables. Names have been blackened out by the researcher.**

Over the years, more Latinos have come to the area and “the Hispanic population, nearly all of whom are of Mexican descent, provide a vital economic and cultural effect. They have become indispensable to the agricultural economy, especially as orange harvesters, but have mainstreamed into the general economy” (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:197). In 1980, they made up 16.7% of the County population and in 1991 comprised 23.4% of the inhabitants. By 1993, 33.8% of school students were Latino. However, in 1994 only 6.8% of registered voters in the county were Hispanic (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007) even though the population at that time was around 28% Latino. Such inconsistencies raise

questions about how well Latinos are represented among local government and other elected officials (e.g., the Superintendent of Schools).

In terms of the evolution of education, by 1884 there was a white school with 120 students (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979). The high school opened in 1903 and the first brick school came about in 1909, both served only whites and black students had to be bused out of town. For many years until the 1950s, the county's schools were "Strawberry schools" because they opened in July and then closed from December through March to allow children to pick strawberries with their family<sup>23</sup> (*Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizens* N.d.). According to *The Best of Not Headlined*, the following explained why the strawberry schools were closed, and may mark the beginning of questioning that agricultural workers get special treatment:

[There] was a big flap over split school terms, one especially designed to permit children to work most of the winter picking strawberries and attend school during the summer. After some years of controversy it was settled by a special write-in campaign in the November elections when Irving Locklar and Albert Pace were elected over the two Democratic nominees. They were pledged to do away with strawberry schools and did so, thus saving the school system extra expenses of year-round operation and giving many children the advantage of attending regular school terms (1982:133).

Early schools were infused with curriculum based on the bible<sup>24</sup> (*Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizens* N.d.);). According to Florida state laws (Section 231.09 Florida Statutes), from at least the 1930s-1950s, bible reading was required at school each day. Some teachers believed that to teach well you had to be a "good Christian" (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982).

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<sup>23</sup> According to the county's school district's website.

<sup>24</sup> According to the county's school district's website.

One of the only two pictures of African Americans in *Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizen* (N.d.) features a school teacher who taught in Central for 50 years, beginning in the 1930s. She first began teaching in a church with only pews and no desks. She recounted a time before integration when a few "Mexican-American" children began attending her school but then their father moved away so the children would not have to attend school with African Americans. She also talked about a time when a Mexican girl told her "I don't like Texas because there were too many black niggars (sic)," and a little white boy named Chucky thought she was calling me a black nigger (sic), and he ran to me and just got around my waist. He said, 'You're not black, you're as white as any of us is'. I almost popped open" (*Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizens* N.d.:23).

In 1949, the school board employed African American teachers at two local elementary and intermediate "negro schools." A new Junior High school for African Americans was built in the early 1950s and served grades 1-8. *Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) shares an interview with a local black teacher (1898-1982) who came to Central in 1930. She talked about school segregation and how because the sole local high school was for whites only, few African Americans had the opportunity to go to high school:

'It's sad to say we had very few children at the time who went to high school. Some had relatives living in Polk County where they could catch the bus going into Bartow and Arcadia. That's all we had. I can just name about four children that went to high school. There was a high school in...[the city comprising Central's county seat]...but it was just for whites. That was before integration. Blacks had to go somewhere out of the county. The people couldn't afford it. Just some people live here may have a sister or cousin in Fort Meade, and this kid could stay in Fort Meade to the weekend and catch that bus and go into Bartow. But it just took a lot of extra effort to go...' (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:169)

In the 1958-1959 school year, two wings were added to the high school. Black students were no longer bused out of town and began attending this school through 12<sup>th</sup> grade. As mentioned in Chapter 2, these improvements in Southern black schools were often done to try to evade integration (Stuesse 2008). Regarding integration in Central, “Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 was not complied with until the 1960s” (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007:168). In a 1958 newspaper article (Figure 3.16), a self-proclaimed “Georgia Cracker” school board member opposes integration and points out how much money was spent on black schools. Local political candidates and organizations took out ads in the Central newspaper backing segregation during the second half of the 1950s and early part of 1960s. School board members and superintendents expressed intent to not integrate (Figure 3.17).

He is even more outspoken about integration in the county's schools. Although told he did not have to comment on this subject, Pace was perfectly willing to do so.

“I'm a Georgia cracker and 100 per cent against integration in the schools. I firmly believe that it is best for both races to keep them separated. Under no conditions would I go along with mixing the races in the county's schools.

“I firmly believe in equal facilities, though, I'd like to point out that the Hagedee county school board has spent more per child for buildings for colored students in the past 10 to 12 years than it has for white students. I think they should have equal facilities, but by all means keep them separated.”

He added the conviction that schools here will never integrate. The whole thing will work itself out in a few years, he believes.

**Figure 3.16: Excerpt from 1958 newspaper article in which school board member denounces integration and explains large investment in black schools.**

### Patrons and Friends:

I hereby announce my candidacy for re-election to the office of County Superintendent of Public Instruction. In asking that you re-elect me to this important office, I stand upon my record of service in this capacity for the past two terms. During these years I have tried my utmost to serve with unselfish devotion for the best interest of our children. I like my work and I want to be re-elected.

It is my intention to conduct an active and intensive campaign. I would like to discuss my re-election with each voter personally. However, I might be unable to do this for the lack of sufficient time, but I am going to try. If, for some reason, it is impossible to contact some of you during the campaign, please vote for me anyway. Your vote will be appreciated.

My only campaign promise is that I will continue to do my part to see that ██████ County children receive the best educational program we can afford; and as Superintendent I will do my utmost to forever retain separate school systems in ██████ County for white and colored children.

I thank you for the honor and privilege of serving you thus far and I sincerely hope that my past performance will earn me the opportunity to serve another term as your County Superintendent.

█████. ██████. (█████) ██████

(Paid Political Advertisement)

**Figure 3.17: Political advertisement from 1956 newspaper showing incumbent school superintendent's only promise is to maintain segregation.**



*Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) talks about athletic accomplishments of the “colored” students, whose schools had different mascots than white schools. For the three schools, attendance totaled about 344 in 1955.

In 1965, African American students could attend any school they wished and 12 attended white schools (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). In 1966, there was mandated integration and children were bused to the junior and high school. After this, *Central County: Its Heritage and People* states that for four years, the old black high school became a “migrant receiving center” in 1968 (2007:168). However, the Central school district’s website notes that that the school was sold to a new owner in 1969 to make it into a labor camp.

Some articles and advertisements for work from the 1940s-1950s Central newspaper informed the reader about jobs and events that were white only. However, there were also contests and scholarships open to both African Americans and whites in the 1960s and race was no longer mentioned in this context by the 1970s.

Although it is not explicitly referenced in any texts, based on descriptions, law, and implementation of law (i.e., *Plessy v Ferguson*), early area churches do not appear to have been integrated. Around 1860, there were no churches and circuit rider preachers held services in homes or arbors (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). The first white church was organized in 1866. By 1888, more churches of various Christian denominations had opened, with 100 people conducting Sunday School weekly (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979). In 1916, today’s well known Ministerial Association began, with a focus on social conditions (*Watch Central Win: Facts, Figures, and Fun 1886-1930* 1979).

The first black church was created in 1913 and was Baptist. It held services in a square church in Crate Mill Quarters. Later, a wooden school house in the same area was used and in

1926, in the Manor area construction on a new church began. Around 1914-1917, other Baptist churches for African Americans in the surrounding towns sprang up. *Central County: Its*

*Heritage and People* writes:

Colored Baptists and Methodists, about 1915, built a small house on a hill just north of Limestone...named it a union church as visiting preachers of both denominations used it. In 1917...there organized a Baptist church... Soon after its organization in 1917, the house of worship was built in the colored section of Limestone, east of the Seaboard Railway. The little union church building was moved to town later and used as a school house for colored children. (2007:92)

### **Central Now**

Central is located about an hour and a half from my university. In order to begin to understand this area outside of census and other state statistics, I visited the area several times in January and March of 2014. On these particular days it was usually sunny, causing anyone outdoors to have to squint, but the weather was not terribly hot nor oppressively humid. Each time, I entered the county at the north end, driving from Tampa through the main traffic artery HWY35/US17 which exposed me to a partial view of the area. I diverged from this main road, checking out neighborhoods and schools, only to return to the highway. From my first visits, the things which most characterized Central included numerous churches, murals, Hispanic markets and stores, the topography influenced by area forts over 100 years old<sup>25</sup>, many RV parks, open pastures and agricultural fields, and the county's love of the school district's official colors.

Many of these community features meet the needs of the 43% of the population which is Latino (Census Bureau 2015). For example, Hispanic markets offer Spanish speakers networking opportunities (Jackson et al. 2012). At these stores, I observed notices posted (Figure 3.18),

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<sup>25</sup> According to the county's Chamber of Commerce website.

mostly in Spanish, and mostly about migrant job opportunities. Many of these stores compare to gas stations or convenience stores in terms of size. They sell various products, many of which are imported from Mexico, including Spanish videos; \$0.99 Spanish mystery or romance books; English and Spanish dictionaries; calling cards and phones; work boots and clothing fit for labor and agricultural settings; religious items, like statues of La Virgen Guadalupe, bracelets, and rosary beads; groceries, such as fresh baked bread, *maíz* (round corn) flour, rice, beans, sodas (including imported Coca-Cola in glass bottles), pastries and sweet bread (*pan dulce*); *piñatas*; Mexican pottery; and ready-made hot foods. Some include a substantial *carnicería*, a meat market, in the back of the store, selling red meats as well as seafood and poultry. Check-cashing, money transfer, and lottery services are usually available as well.



**Figure 3.18: Icebox message center at a *supermercado*, advertising jobs, products, and music events.**

In another example, down the road one Saturday in January 2014, I came across a flea market where there was an assortment of fresh produce, clothing, electronics, accessories, and other merchandise for sale (Figure 3.19). There was also freshly prepared traditional Mexican food, including a variety of tacos made with the traditional *maíz* soft tortillas and *flautas*, meat

stew with vegetables, shaved ice, and both freshly made and prepacked wheel shaped snacks sometimes known as *chicharrones de harina*, *chicharrones* or *Fritangas*. Although customers appeared both Latino and white, all vendors appeared Latino. Aside from the sellers, there were children playing catch with a football and older men chatting and relaxing while eating food and enjoying the day. English and Spanish conversations peppered the air while Mariachi music played softly over speakers.



**Figure 3.19: Saturday morning flea market off HWY 17 in Central.**

There are large open fields in between the three major towns in Central. One-hundred and fifty-seven thousand of the 402,000-500,000 estimated acres of total land mass in Central are pasture lands (USF FIOG 2012). Herds of cattle are found on some, others remain peaceful and visually uninhabited, while still others hold crops and gardens of various sizes. Farm equipment, including tractors and bush hog disc mowers, are found in many of these areas along with larger scale agricultural stores selling farm equipment and supplies for ranchers. The local Wal-Mart sells huge bags of chicken and cow food alongside the dog food. Pickup trucks are common throughout the county. These observations illustrate the importance of farming to the county; in 1997, farms produced agricultural products worth about \$155 million (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). Aside from citrus, Central also grows watermelon, blueberries, strawberries, cucumbers, and other produce. In 2007, Central had almost 1,100 farms, ranking it 11th out of the 67 Florida counties in order of number of farms. More recently, citrus has

declined and the county's economy has diversified (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). From 2002-2012 the cropland acreage has decreased by 34% (Shimberg Center for Housing Studies 2014). In the last 15 years it has increased its focus on energy, manufacturing, mining, and technology, according to the county's Economic Development Council website. Additionally, the local government has pursued studies on the feasibility of various economic pursuits (USF FIOG 2012).

Latinos in Central are diverse (Jackson et al. 2012). For example, there are Latino residents who were born in the United States and who speak little or no Spanish as well as individuals who are recent immigrants who may not speak English. Today, the "Columna Espanol" of the 1970s editions of the county newspaper is gone. Latinos in Central vary in regards to work status (employed, underemployed, unemployed), class, education level, the number of generations their family has resided in the area, nationality, and language. As I discuss in Chapter 5 as it relates to Central, other factors that important in this area include un/documented or legal status of children or other family members because of the role of that predictor in social mobility.

As I wrote earlier, Griffith (2005) stated that the immigrants of the 1970s meet the business needs of new comers. I asked the two life history interview participants (Mara and Ana) about the nature of these business relationships. Maria stated that it was the now grown children who had come in the 1960s-1970s that were the business leaders but that there were also businesses being run by Hispanics who had come after the 1970s (see Appendix A.1). She also stated that H2-A visas (or contract workers) were in the area and that they and people without documentation were those likely to work in the field. Ana participant agreed that these established community residents had businesses that met the needs of newcomers, although she

stated that all of the established Hispanic community members did not come from Texas, some came from Mexico and other states. Below is an excerpt from Ana:

Rebecca: Somebody who did some research on [Central] said that Mexican-Americans came from Texas and other places in the '70s. He said that those people had made businesses and that they have a lot of the businesses that the new Mexicans buy products and buy land and rent land or rent houses and stuff from. Would you say that that sounds right? Can you see that?

Ana: **The ones that came, they migrated to here from Texas. Those are the ones.**

Rebecca: **They're the business owners?**

Ana: **Yeah, yeah. Like [woman's name]. She's one of them, you know.**

Rebecca: **Mm. What business?**

Ana: **You know [woman's name]? She came from Mexico. Her family, they are all from Mexico.**

Rebecca: **When did they come, the '70s?**

Ana: **No, they came almost the same time as my husband's family, '60s. No, probably they came in the '65, '68 because they used to work [for] my husband's dad. All those people that used to work [for] my husband's dad, you know, my father-in-law. They used to work, my husband told me. 'Cause I didn't know, you know, who they were.**

Rebecca: **What kind of business does she do?**

Ana: **They used to have the company selling [family name], when they sell houses and other stuff.**

Rebecca: **Oh, it was a reality?**

Ana: **Mm.**

Rebecca: Anybody else?

Ana: Mm. [man's name]. You know [man's name]?

Rebecca: What business does he have?

Ana: He had a beauty salon.

Rebecca: Oh, a beauty salon?

Ana: **Uh, he's got those houses too. You know he sells houses too.**

Rebecca: **So, do you think that that researcher was right when he said that the people who came here in the '70s created businesses and things like that?**

Ana: **Yeah.**

Rebecca: And then when the new people from Mexico started coming, they purchased, rented houses and things like that from those Latinos that were already here? You'd say that's probably accurate?

Ana: Yeah, yeah.

[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

When I asked about it, the Maria suspected that some established Latino business owners did take advantage of newcomers. She mentioned that those without documentation were

especially at risk for unfair renting practices. On the other hand, Ana did not agree that the relationship between established Latino community members and newer ones was unfair.

Maria: And, they do help the people. They do help the people buy their own homes.

Rebecca: Do they? Do they take advantage of them sometimes?

Maria: I think. I don't know if you could say. Let me tell you for example, [woman's name], she would. A lot of them like her a lot. Because she would help the people a lot. Now, she, they mostly help people there, the ones that do have. **They do help a lot of the illegals that can't get nothing and they don't know any better. So I think they overprice the stuff.** But they don't have no choice. That's the only way they can get it.

Rebecca: **So for the people without documentation, the "illegal people"? That maybe those people are getting taken advantage of.**

Maria: **Mm.**

Rebecca: **But for people who are not "illegal," they maybe don't get taken advantage of?**

Maria: **No, I don't think so. Because they can defend theirself better.**

[Maria, 61. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

Rebecca: **Do you think the ones that they came in earlier, do we think that they take advantage of the newer people sometimes?**

Ana: **Um, I don't see it that way but (unintelligible).**

Rebecca: **Right. So you don't really notice that too much?**

Ana: No, because see like, [man's name]. And will be [woman's name]'s brother. [Woman's name]. Their own business, all the apartments on Highway on Range Tree going east. They belong to them and he's got trailers over here on [Central] Hills.

He's owns those trailers.

Rebecca: **Now does he, he asks reasonable rent? So they ask reasonable rent or do you think it's too expensive?**

Ana: **I think it's reasonable because you know a lot of people likes it.**

Rebecca: **So it's pretty good?**

Ana: **But the people happy and I think because they good to them who are from Mexico.**

[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

According to my observations, home visits, secondary analysis of school data, and language survey, a significant portion of Hispanics, perhaps as much as 5% of the total population in Central, are American Indian. While some may be H2-A workers, the Hispanic American Indians I spoke with in Central were all parents of schoolchildren and had lived in Central for many years. There is not census data to back up my claim here because, as I explain in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, Hispanic American Indians have been under measured in school and

state statistics because people tend to be reported as only Latino, regardless of what their racial category is. As I discuss in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, Hispanic American Indians' linguistic diversity is quite rich, with people in Central speaking languages such as Bajo, Huasteco, Mixtec, Nahuatl, Otomi, Trique, Tarasco, and Zapotec. On reasons for this under measuring, Casanova, O'Connor, and Anthony-Stevens write, "in the United States, Mexican Indigenous im/migrants confront a host of barriers to adaptation, including pervasive surveillance of im/migrants, stigmatized language use and a lack of access to official tribal recognition" (2016:192). Additionally, on the use of the word "tribe" in the 2000 Census and other measures impacts Hispanic American Indians, Huizar Murillo, and Cerda write:

The option for identifying as American Indian also left a space to indicate a specific "tribe." According to the Bureau of the Census, American Indian or Alaska Native status is determined by tribal affiliation or community recognition. However, this reflects North American usage of the term "tribe," a concept that is not used by most Latin American native peoples. As a result of this cultural difference, it is not surprising the preliminary census data suggest that only a small fraction of those who identified as Hispanic American Indian also reported membership in a specific "tribe." (2004:281)

My own observations showed that African Americans in Central are diverse as well. There is also a significant Haitian population and, according to an interviewee some Gullah speakers. The 1970s' "The News of the Black Community" column no longer appears in the county's paper. Based on my observations, interviews, and informal conversations, some Haitians may have undocumented citizenship statuses and may be more likely to be recent immigrants. The majority of African American participants I spoke with had lived in Central for generations. In Chapter 6 I include interview data from several African American residents and two Haitian Central residents, and the majority of them cite examples of racism and discrimination in Central.



Based on my observations, the county appears highly residentially segregated. Although there are no nicknames for the white neighborhoods, areas with high proportions of minoritized groups are known by certain names. For example, the Crate Mill Quarters areas later became known known as the county seat's Quarters as evidenced in publications in 1948 (*The Best of Not Headlined* 1982) and 1964 (*Collins v. State of Florida* 1967). Although Crate Mill Quarters no longer exists, people I spoke to, mostly white, still refer to the area as "the Quarters." In fact, an African American school employee told me that the "Quarters" are used by Central inhabitants to describe any areas where black folks live. Younger people tend to call these areas "the Ghetto." "Hill folks" or "Hill people" live in the part of town called Central Hills,<sup>26</sup> which appears to have higher numbers of Mexican and Mexican immigrant inhabitants.

Throughout my time in Central, other ways that the racial climate of the county was apparent was the presence of confederate flags on the back of some peoples' trucks as well as flying in some yards. Additionally, there was also a "#BlueLivesMatter" protest on a street corner, which I interpret as a negation that police brutality against black lives exists.

Additionally, there are a number of Asian residents, including people who are Hmong. At the high school's multicultural fair, various groups, participated and Hmong students performed a dance and sold food. This entertaining ethnic culture presentation should not be conflated with the idea that minoritized students do not face racism in their everyday lives (Shankar 2008).

In Central County, people, especially whites, are proud to extend Southern hospitality, mostly, it appears, to other whites. In a language survey I administered, some even reported speaking "Southern English." The heritage dialect of many whites is definitely different than that which many whites learn in nearby metropolitan areas, such as in Hillsborough County. For

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<sup>26</sup> Pseudonym for an area in the county.

example, the honorific “Ma’am” and “Sir” are often used and children may be called “Darling” with a pronunciation of “dɑr-læn.”<sup>27</sup> Certain sounds are drawn out, and if you wanted to agree with someone and say “right,” pronounce it like “rēt.”<sup>28</sup> I heard this accent used less often by African Americans and even less so by Hispanics, especially those who were recent immigrants or who had strong ties to their cultural or racial group. The use of this dialect by some whites is interesting and appears to tie them with the mainstream whites having most control in Central, given the connection of language to identity that I discussed in Chapter 2.

Finally, a common style of dress was apparent for employees, especially teachers and administrators who are female. Here, the Chevron pattern is widely favored and women wear what I will call a “country chic” style of dress, which can include a knee length dress with cowboy boots. Several teachers and employees have side businesses, such as baking cakes or cookies or making crafts like wired charm bracelets, offering personalization services, or painting religious messages on upcycled pallets or other pieces of wood. Mostly, it appears that the items in this economy are purchased by other whites. However, cultural productions of Hispanics purchased across racial and ethnic lines include food, such as *tacos* or *tamales*. As far as I was aware, none of the less than ten African American women in school that I was around sold any arts, crafts, or food, although one baked often and donated her cakes to events.

When I first visited the area in early 2014, I noticed the presence of two colors on various businesses and signs, including signs welcoming people to Central. There was even a brightly colored carwash with the two dominant colors which had not one speck of white paint visible. These two colors seemed to tie the space of the county together and, I would later confirm, convey school spirit as they are the colors used in all of the schools in the district. The colors are

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<sup>27</sup> Written according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

<sup>28</sup> Written according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

the same colors as a large public university a couple of hours away that is very popular in Central. Such displays of school spirit coupled with my initial observations and my extensive review of literature on Central further raised my interest in what schooling might be like for the children in this area.

In Central schools, there are existing issues of standardized test performance, high school completion rates, and average income for the county. For example, the FCAT is the state's standardized test that is an end of course assessment (FLDOE 2015). For the 2010 FCAT, 46% of Central County students passed the reading portion, ranking the county 59<sup>th</sup> out of 67 in the state. The 72% that passed the math section ranks Central County 60<sup>th</sup>.

From 2007-2011, 63% of the Central population 25 and older had a high school degree or higher, compared to 86% for the state (Census Bureau 2015). In 2003, the county had the highest rate of teen pregnancy at 24.4 births per every 1,000 teen girls, compared to the state average of 8.8 (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). Per capita annual income was \$15,760 for Central and \$26,733 for Florida from 2007-2011 (Census Bureau 2015). The rate of persons below the poverty level from 2007-2011 was 28.5% in Central and 14.7% in Florida (Census Bureau 2015). Thus, Central is much poorer and its students perform less favorably than in many other counties in Florida.

About 28% of residents in Central are under 18 (Census Bureau 2015). About 42% of children in Central live in homes where a language other than English is spoken. This compares to an average of 27% of children in Florida (Census Bureau 2015). In Central, there are five public elementary schools, one public middle school, and one public high school. The school district is comprised of about 59% Latino, 32% non-Hispanic white, and 8% black students making this the third largest Latino school district in the state by proportion (FLDOE 2015). The

fall of 2003 was the first time that “minority membership” (50.25%) exceeded that of white students in Florida’s public schools (FLDOE 2015). Today, in Central, only 8% of the county’s teachers are Latino, 89% are white, and 2% are black (BEBR County Perspectives 2010). Similarly, in the United States, in 2000, only 4% of teachers were Latino although that percentage had doubled by the 2011-2012 school year (NCES 2013). Thus, there is a need to reorient teacher training and recruitment in Central, as well as nationally.

In Central, a transitional education program is used for students learning English as a second language. Students who are deemed to need English language services receive English language classes a few times a week with a paraprofessional. All students whose parents indicate during registration an affirmative to any of the following are automatically screened for English language proficiency: a language other than English is spoken in the home, the child’s first language is other than English, or the student speaks another language more frequently than English. The child receives services until they test out of the program by taking the CELLA (Comprehensive English Language Learning Assessment) test, administered by a certified teacher. For the two school in which I did research, students were tested at each grade level. However, in Emerald Elementary<sup>29</sup> one teacher from each grade level tested all students (usually a bilingual Latina if possible) while in Apple Elementary two bilingual Latina paraprofessionals tested all students, resulting in a suspension of language services for several weeks. CELLA tests students in listening, speaking, readings and writing (FLDOE 2015).

Regarding administration of the school district, according to the 20 photos of past superintendents in the superintendent’s office, all Central school superintendents have been white men, with the exception of one white woman. In Central, this position is an elected one.

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<sup>29</sup> Emerald and Apple Elementary are pseudonyms for the two schools in this study.

The current superintendent is listed as republican on the ballot. In 2014, the first African American was elected to the school board. In addition, the board is chaired by a Latino man, and the remaining three members are white.

In addition to Central's K-12 public schools, there are some private schools, as well as two education centers operated by Redlands Christian Migrant Association (2015) and one run by East Coast Migrant Head Start (2015). These two organizations both operate numerous schools in the United States which focus on the education of migrant children. Locally, their schools offer more Spanish speaking-teachers than the Central public schools. Also, there is a campus of a state college located in the county.

Together, the six school districts of the Heartland counties comprise the Heartland Educational Consortium (2015). It was founded in 1996 in response to legislature created to support rural and small districts. Looking at their website, all six board members, the superintendents of each district, appear white with one woman among them.

Like the rest of the state of Florida, the Florida Standards are new curriculum content requirements in Central and the Heartland. The Standards are like Common Core but do require cursive writing. They rolled out in their first year during my ethnography (2014-2015).

In 2004, three hurricanes hit the area with the first being the largest, Hurricane Charley. Central was heavily hit and extensive damage was sustained. Schools were closed for weeks and power, roads, landline, cell phones, satellite communications, and radio services were all unavailable during that time. An elementary school was badly damaged and the portables erected for replacement are still in use today. Half the orange crops were lost and trees and fences were down in cattle areas. FEMA, Red Cross, Salvation Army, and other emergency personnel and volunteers came (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007).

Some people told me that FEMA delayed entering and that the local phosphate mines supplied water to residents. Some did say that they realize the mines had self-interest in getting the community and people back to work. To this day, people still think and talk about the hurricane. Its 10-year anniversary happened when I was at the site and it was mentioned in the newspaper and the teacher greeting board at one of the elementary schools. In that same school, a mural bears the signatures of students in the school during the hurricane (Figure 3.20).



**Figure 3.20: Memorialization of Hurricane Charley in the main building of Apple. It contains signatures and messages from those at the elementary school at the time.**

Religion is omnipresent in Central. There are displays of crosses in yards, church signs and churches, scripture signs on street corners, and even large religious murals on businesses. Colorful murals wrap the outsides of some of these stores (Figure 3.21) as well as large wooden signs and other buildings. Hand-painted and other religious signage are common (Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.21: Mural on side of a *supermercado* with town name blackened out by researcher.



Figure 3.22: Religious sign on street corner in Central.

For example, the Super Market “La Tienda De Los Primos” is painted a soft yellow and on one side offers a huge, colorful rendition of Jesus feasting on bread with eleven apostles, similar to The Last Supper. This image sits aside a depiction of a church with a shirtless man smiling and holding a large fish and women wearing white and blue smocks while carrying bowls of fruit on their heads. The scene on the front of the store welcomes customers to the market reading “Bienvenidos A *Super Market*” and offers a list of services available alongside a

huge La Virgen Guadalupe clad in a red dress and blue veil. Murals like this underscore the importance of language and religion to everyday aspects of community life.

Many of the religious signs are made of plywood, several feet across, and square-shaped. For example, one sign (Figure 3.22) proclaimed the following message verbatim (I do not add the missing accents, correct the misspelled words, or change the biblical Spanish [e.g., “ID”] in order to retain the original wording of the sign): “Jesus Paid † Thank God TODOS HAN DE MORIR UNA SOLA VES Y DESPUES VENDRA EL JUCIO † † Y LES DIJO ID POR TODO EL MONDO Y PREDICAD EL EVANGELIO A TODA CRIATURA.” My translation of this is, “Everyone has to die once and then comes judgment † † He told everyone to go around the world and preach the gospel to all creatures.” This sign was white with neat black lettering, part of the lettering was hand-done and part was stickers. Signs, in English, Spanish, and both languages, advertised the meanings behind local churches and their locations.

Throughout the time I spent in the field, I saw that some schools have religious groups for students and the Junior Class chaplain leads the pre-game prayer for high school football games. Praying occurs before some school events and is led by people working for the school district. A couple parents I talked to were appreciative that Apple is “good about incorporating spirituality.”

According to the Association of Religion Data Archives, 50.9% of the 2010 population of Central attend church services (ARDA 2015). There are four main tradition groups: Black Protestants (Methodist/Pietist and Baptist), Catholics, Evangelical Protestants (Baptist, Pentecostal, Holiness, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Adventist), and Mainline Protestants (Episcopalian/Anglican and Methodist/Pietist) (ARDA 2015). There are a few smaller groups, including Jehovah’s Witnesses, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Bahá’í,



which was founded in 19th-century Persia (ARDA 2015). The biggest groups of adherents were Baptists and Catholics (ARDA 2015).

The Ministerial Association I mentioned earlier is still in existence. It is a 501(c)(3) with an income of about a quarter of a million dollars and assets worth about \$125k<sup>30</sup>. It coordinates or helps support events like the county's National Day of Prayer rally, a community Thanksgiving Day meal, and the annual community fall festival on Main Street.

There are more than 80 churches in Central (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). Based on my conversations with people and attendance at some church events, there are churches that are practically all white, all black, and now, all Latino. There are at least two that offer services in Haitian Creole, and several more that offer services in Spanish with at least one large one operating in English and Spanish. Churches may also be class based, with some being attended by area leaders while others are smaller, neighborhood churches.

A three hour "passion play" titled *The Story of Jesus* is performed annually in Central and has a cast of about 300 people and hundreds of animals, such as horses, donkeys, cows, and sheep. It has the production values of a Hollywood film with actors that come from the county and outside. Many of the actors wear brown paint/makeup over most of their body. It has been produced in the area since the late 1980s. The 2013 pre-show, which can also be viewed online, saluted veterans and "freedom players": firefighters, teachers, the confederate and union militaries, current military, pilgrims, American Indians, and African Americans. It shows the pilgrims erecting the first churches and learning how to plant crops from American Indians; the hard times of cold revolutionary era; a Civil War battle visited by a respectfully downcast Abe Lincoln; the U.S. flag raising at Iwo Jima; Martin Luther King's "I have a dream speech"; the

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<sup>30</sup> According to [www.http://501c3lookup.org/](http://501c3lookup.org/).

Vietnam War; September 11, 2001; a soldier returning from the Iraq or Afghanistan war; and it ends with a plainclothes Jesus encouraging a soldier who runs off with a large American flag and returns with children carrying smaller flags while paratroopers descend from the ceiling. Then the original cast of “freedom players” all wave flags as the founding fathers race across the stage on horses followed by confederate and union forces on foot, a current serviceperson on a SUV, young women in sailor suits holding flags, a camouflaged painted Jeep, followed by truck driving through with a sign honoring veterans with uniformed veterans waving to the crowd from atop the vehicle.

Regarding politics, there are twice as many democrats registered to vote as republicans (*Central County: Its Heritage and People* 2007). This disparity has significantly declined in the last decade since, according to the county’s Supervisor of Elections’ website. As of December 27, 2015, there were 4,869 democrats, 4,495 republicans, and 1,828 others.<sup>31</sup> On the date of the most recent primary, August 31, 2016, there are now more republicans than democrats, with 4,654 democrats, 4,957 republicans, and 1,912 others<sup>32</sup>. In 2008, Florida passed a ban on same-sex marriage by a vote of 62% to 38% in valid votes statewide (Florida Division of Elections 2015); in Central, 84% of the 7,169 valid votes were in favor of the ban. In the last four presidential elections, twice the number of people cast their votes for republicans, with 60-70% of votes for republican candidates and 30-38% of votes for democrat candidates.<sup>33</sup>

Aside from the visible evidence of agriculture, there are also signs and large equipment for phosphate mining. The mines are part of the fabric of the community, with the two main ones providing 452 jobs (USF FIOG 2012). One of them partners with schools and the community. It

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<sup>31</sup> According to the county’s Supervisor of Elections’ website.

<sup>32</sup> According to the county’s Supervisor of Elections’ website.

<sup>33</sup> According to the county’s Supervisor of Elections’ website.

provided a grant to Apple to build a playground, the meat that is made into hamburger patties and sold during the high school's football games, and support for el día de La Virgen Guadalupe event in the park. Other large employers in Central include: the county's correctional institution (334 employees), the two medical centers (660 jobs), Wal-Mart (288 employees), and Peace River Electric Co-op (137 employees) (USF FIOG 2012). Informal and migrant employment does not appear to be included in these private employment numbers.

Additional information relevant to the area includes that a county library opened in 1984. It only briefly closed from September 2006 to January 2007 for repairs sustained a few years earlier caused by Hurricane Charley in 2004<sup>34</sup>. It is not currently open on weekends, and when I inquired about why, I was told that patrons did not come that day although participants I talked to expressed a desire to use the library on weekends. Also, in Central, there is an ape sanctuary and center near the county seat. The Center educates the public and is home to the chimpanzee of a famous singer.

## Conclusions

These histories and today's realities result in the specific context that children find themselves in at schools in Central today. Agriculture in the area continues to draw workers, including H2A and migrant workers. While the deep religious foundation may offer a common ground for diverse racial groups, the history of racial dynamics in Central has set up the county's current state of racial inequality. The history of the schools as exemplifying Southern schools' rejection of integration sheds light on the values in the community at the time that many of

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<sup>34</sup> According to the county library's website.

today's teachers and county leaders were being raised. As a whole, today's teachers and administrators do not represent the majority of the student body linguistically, racially, ethnically, and culturally. The county has backed presidential candidates with less than empathetic positions on immigration and social programs. During the time I conducted my fieldwork, I realized that this county and especially the city I was in, which is the county seat, was the epitome of Tönnies' (1887) *gemeinschaft*, but mostly in "white public space" (Hill 1998). For the non-Hispanic whites in the schools, everybody knew everybody and most had known those people for decades, they went to high school together. As I show in Chapter 5, this may be a main reason as to the lower amount of time of interactions between the schools and families of color. This network of whites who moved through the school system themselves came to be the county's school employees. Additionally, many Latinos had long-lasting connections with other Latinos in the area, as shown in my oral history interviews in this chapter and other informal interactions. African Americans also had longstanding networks based on my informal conversations and networking. My observations showed that the networks of people of color were used to aid them in organizing to resist inequality. Thus, the county is tied together through shared values, especially politically and religiously, and personal social interactions, and these interactions can be linguistically, racially, and ethnically exclusive.

This research in Central is especially timely considering the decline of agriculture in the area, the need to build the economy, and the role education and language can play in economy building (Jackson et al. 2012). It is clear that Central's past has undoubtedly given birth to a context where educational equity for linguistic, ethnic, and racial groups are paramount concerns. In next chapter, I delineate the methods used in this research to show how I gathered data relevant to the theoretical concerns and setting of this research and its goals.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODS

To gather data to look for manifestations of racial, ethnic, and linguistic hierarchies in the elementary school classroom and the strategies of actors in relation to them, I employed ethnographic and mixed methods in a study of multiple grade levels across two elementary schools in Central. For clarity and to provide an overview at the outset of this chapter, I include Table 4.1 on the next page, which is a matrix of participants, data collection methods, data sources and recording methods used for this study. All identifiable photos in this dissertation are of people who provided consent for their image to be used in publication; for children, their parents' consent was also obtained. In this chapter, I write about my mixed methods approach, the rationale for my methods, and how I entered the site. I then discuss the types of research methods used, including informal conversations, daily classroom ethnographic observations, interviews, surveys (to measure the systematic nature of observations), attendance at school and community events, home visits, observations with migrant outreach teachers, and secondary data analysis, including the examination of textbooks, other media, and classroom artifacts. I provide details on the specific participants and settings and the types of observations made in the data collection section of this chapter. I then explain how each research question was addressed via these particular methods, which connects my research methods to the data I present in the next two chapters. Finally, I address positionality, reflexivity, and study limitations. In total, these methods permit my practice of applied anthropology as they allow the gathering of data

(explained in this chapter) and the analysis of data (in Chapters 5 and 6) to address problems and issues (Kedia and Van Willigen 2005) through my policy recommendations in Chapter 7. I write about applied anthropology as a discipline in Chapter 7.

**Table 4.1: Table of data collection methods, participants, data sources, and recording method. Table adapted from LeCompte and Schensul (2013).**

| Data Collection Method          | Number             | Type of Participants or Data Sources                       | Method of Recording                                 |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|--|---|
| Interviews                      | 46                 | Community Members, Parents, School Employees               | Audio (45), Notes Only (1)                          |
| Existing Sources                | 1,000+             | De-Identified Student Data, School/District Communications | Electronic Copies, Original Copies, or Photos (all) |
| Archival                        | 1,000+             | Newspapers pages, books                                    | Copies (all)  |
| Focus Group                     | 1 (7 Participants) | Migrant Advocates  | Audio   |
| Home Visits                     | 40+                | Parents, Students  | Notes (all), Photos (all)                           |
| Observations (Community Events) | 10+                | Community Members, Parents, School Employees, Students     | Notes (all), Photos (half)                          |
| Observations (Classrooms)       | 90+                | School Employees, Students                                 | Audio (all), Notes (all), Photos (all)              |
| Observations (School)           | 50+                | Parents, School Employees, Students                        | Notes (all), Photos (half)                          |
| Survey (Bilingual Books)        | 22                 | School Employees   | Original Copies                                     |
| Survey (Language)               | 1,330              | Parents, Students  | Original Copies                                     |
| Survey (Educator Attitudes)     | 91                 | School Employees   | Original Copies                                     |
| Survey (Student Attitudes)      | 104                | Students   | Original Copies                                     |

### **Methodology: Critical Mixed-Method Ethnographic Approach Suits this Research Context**

Because this research seeks to examine whether a school is producing patterned belief systems of hierarchies regulating access to resources, I use ethnographic mixed-methods as they allow me to examine the relationship between individual observations and larger patterns. For example, Wolcott (1999) writes that the goal of ethnographic research is to understand people's day to day lives in both ordinary and particular places and events, what these doings mean to

them, and how patterns in these doings can inform understandings of cultural processes.

Complementarily, Bernard (2011) explains that ethnography illuminates features of a culture while quantitative data that has been systematically collected allows the researcher to test ideas about how those features work. Spradley (1979) adds that ethnography is essential in learning the insider's view. Bernard and Spradley agree that asking questions in interviews allows the researcher to understand how people see the world and attribute meaning to it. Using quantitative and qualitative data garnered through mixed methods allows me to understand the behind-the-scenes of tacit knowledge; Spradley wrote, "We all know things that we cannot talk about or express in direct ways. The ethnographer must then make inferences about what people know by listening carefully to what they say, observing their behavior, and by studying artifacts and their use" (1979:9).

My data collection methods focused on interactions because I sought to reveal the architecture of collaboration among participants. In focusing on linguistic organization and responses to it in light of inequality, I draw on Critical Discourse Analysis, as it is interpretive and addresses social problems (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), and put language ideologies at the center of my data analysis methods. I used Critical Discourse Analysis in looking for language participants used to reify, resist, or negotiate racial, ethnic, and language constructions, as it enables the uncovering of ideology in discourse (Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012). I model my use of Critical Discourse Analysis on Van Dijk (2008:352) who notes that this analytical tool "primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." Some of Critical Discourse Analysis' main tenets are that discourse is: a form of social action, historical, what society and culture are made from, a way through which power relations are done, and a way to

do ideological work (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). In my use of Critical Discourse Analysis to identify how power is manifested through language, my approach is similar to Hadi-Tabassum (2006), who focused on the lenses of language, space, and power to examine power-based conflict over the border between Spanish and English languages and discursive space (the third place) where students can discuss these tensions. Hadi-Tabassum (2006) examined metalinguistic discourse, disruptions, and mediation which clearly speaks to the power struggles of language use and resistance as it pertains to language boundaries and focused on the students' discourse about language to understand "how students use language in a social context to talk about the ideology of language itself" (2006:15). I follow Hadi-Tabassum and analyze participants' metadiscourse to not only understand what is being said about language, but also what is being said about people in various racial and ethnic groups in this "third space." "Third space" (Bhabha 2012) is an understanding of how things operate based on contingent social arrangements. Grounded in Foucault, the idea that spaces are social and have different meanings and access to various people was developed by Lefebvre, originally published in 1974 (translated in 1991 by Nicholson-Smith). Lefebvre looked at the social processes by which such fluid, contradictory, and multiple spaces are constructed and recognized that those processes were political. Third space has also been called "critical spatial awareness" (Soja 1996:57) and its postcolonial orientation is evident in the work of bell hooks.

### **Entering the Site: Getting Out of "White Public Space"**

Before beginning my fieldwork, I needed to get a feel for the site outside of the things I had read about it. I began conducting informal observations and site visits from January to July 2014. These interactions helped me to build rapport at the site and locate classrooms, teachers,



staff, and administrators interested in participating in this research. I found these interactions let me “enter” the research site appropriately (LeCompte and Schensul 2013).

During this time, I emailed and called the school district’s superintendent and set up a meeting in the beginning of 2014. I provided a hard copy of my research proposal, which included my research questions and an overview of the literature, county demographics, and research methods used for my project. The superintendent and I talked about my research and I told him that the ultimate goal of the research was to look at how the movement of Latinos into the area over the last decades has impacted education and how the schools meet the needs of all students in light of this (this is research question one in laymen’s terms). I also told him I was interested in how this impacts the way people think about themselves in others and how that takes place in the classroom (research questions two and three). I shared that a benefit of this research may be its applications, not only for Central, but for other communities who may be now or will in the future experience similar demographic changes. We also talked at length about our ancestors, as at some of both of ours had from Italy at one time. After we discussed my proposed study, I asked if there was anything additional that the district would like me to investigate. The superintendent did not add anything specifically. After our hour-long meeting, he approved my study and had me walk around the corner to the Records Specialist so that she could write an approval letter for him to sign. She also sent out an email to the principals in the district introducing me and communicating that the superintendent gave me permission to contact them to see if they would be interested in this study. Shortly thereafter, I emailed three of the county’s principals and two replied to me, although I also followed up with phone calls to schedule appointments to meet them. We met individually to discuss my research. Again, I provided them with a copy of an extensive proposal and asked if there was anything additional

that they would like to me look in to. Neither principal asked anything specific of me at that time, although Apple's principal later told me that she was interested in improving parent involvement. In Chapter 7, I purposely share recommendations which speak to this. Apple's principal also was very interested in applying the project's findings to her own school. During our initial meeting, both principals were very interested in the feedback from my project. Emerald's principal was also interested in making his school available as a case study to enable a critical analysis of racial and ethnic inequality in education more broadly. He communicated to me that he thought the project was worthwhile as he was also interested in racial and ethnic equity. At our meeting he told me he rejected a "*pobrecito*" outlook some educators may have on schools with high numbers of Latinos which lowers expectations and assumes poor Hispanic children cannot achieve. As the superintendent also mentioned that I might be interested in speaking with the Director of Federal Programs, I contacted her and met with her, providing her a copy of my proposal. At our meeting she informed me of the programs she oversees and those in which I may be interested. In the meetings with the superintendent, principals, and Director of Federal Programs, I discussed the minimal risk of my research project and shared that the district may benefit from the recommendations I may be able to offer in a final report. The superintendent, both principals, and the Director of Federal Programs stated that they looked forward to receiving a report on my findings. The principals and Director of Federal Programs facilitated my access to others by sending emails on my behalf, introducing me to important people, or informing me about events that I may be interested in observing. In my meetings with the superintendent, principals, and Director of Federal programs I assured them I would not refer to the county by its name in my writing nor use the real names of participants although I would include maps of the Heartland and describe the county by its demographics and other

characteristics. After meeting with the principals, I began my observations at Apple during the summer and I started at Emerald a few days after school started.

In order to determine exactly what I would do in the school, I negotiated with teachers and administration. I felt very welcome, especially at the first elementary school. After I moved to the county in July 2014, right away I began attending summer teacher training sessions, curriculum council meetings, and pre-school festivities at that school. These enabled me to meet Ms. U<sup>35</sup> and Mrs. W, who gave me permission to observe their classes. I also met Ms. V here, though I began observing her during the second half of the school year. During the first month of the school year, I worked in the office of the first school every school day. Then, about a month later, I began working in the front office of the second school. At that school, Mrs. T responded to an email solicitation sent on my behalf by the guidance counselor. Around this time, I approached Mrs. Z early one morning to ask her to think about letting me observe her room.

At the outset of this research, I planned to observe one lower level (grades K-2) and one upper level (grade 3-5) class in two different schools, because I sought to be comparative in my approach. However, instead of four classrooms across two schools, I ended up in a total of five classrooms across the two schools (two in grade one, one in grade three, one in grade four, and one in grade five). This came about because I switched from the 4<sup>th</sup> grade classroom to the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade classroom at the first school midway through the year since a teacher decided to discontinue my observations, citing classroom issues that she needed to focus on. I write about these events in the positionality and reflexivity section in the latter part of this chapter.

While my observations initially focused on English/language arts instruction, I ended up spending the entire day in classrooms. At first, English/language arts instruction was my central

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<sup>35</sup> All teacher names are pseudonyms. The teachers in this study include Ms./Mrs. Zayas (Z), Wilson (W), Vincent (V), Underwood (U), and Thomas (T).

concern because that subject is centered on pronunciation, reading, and various other aspects related to this research. It was in these areas, as opposed to classes such as math and art, where I believed I would be more likely to find metadiscourse. In reality, those moments informing critical ethnography often appeared at random times, quickly disappearing soon after, and I therefore adjusted my focus to the total day of instruction.

As I stated, at the end of this chapter I write about positionality and reflexivity more broadly, but I mention positionality briefly here since it impacts my entrance into the research site. I often felt welcomed into most settings, although in the first two months it was difficult to escape “white public space” (Hill 1998). Because of the immense amount of time I spent in schools, and the fact that the vast majority of the teachers and administration in Central schools are white, in the first month, it was difficult to make contact with people in various racial and ethnic groups. With 88% of teachers being white, and in the two schools I worked at, three of the four administrators, both of the guidance counselors, both reading coaches, and one of two data clerks being non-Hispanic white (the other was Latina), I kept meeting whites. I myself appear white with light skin, brown eyes and medium-light brown hair. I speak quasi-standard English, with a little Southern English, although my accent is not close to the Central accent, which is quite Southern.

I had easy access to whites; in fact, I received a letter of support from the school district the same day I first officially met the [white] superintendent. The administrators at the first school, both white women, were very welcoming. Here, the principal told me I was officially adopted and I became close to the assistant principal. At many of the initial faculty meetings, the principal introduced me to the faculty, clearly explaining to them several times that I was conducting research, so everyone at the school knew my position as a researcher. The second

school was a little more difficult to gain access to since the principal oversees the middle school as well. The assistant principal of this school, almost the acting principal, is an African American woman who may have questioned my motives and the conclusions I might arrive at, given that I was white. She took longer to open up to me, but midway through the year realized that our outlooks on race and education were quite aligned. After I shared more with her about how I hoped my research would help minoritized people, she sent me an email expressing that she would help me in any way she could. She would later introduce me to her sister-in-law, who ran one of the community events I later attended, which helped serve the school-supply needs of many African Americans as well as some Latinos and lower-income students.

Because of my behavioral norms, language, and appearance, I moved in spaces that were not often comprised of many people of color; this movement was largely impacted by the predominance of whites employed by the schools. In the beginning of my fieldwork, I tended to dine at restaurants that had mostly white patrons and shop in stores with mostly white customers. I first received invitations to socialize from whites in the school, but over time received invitations to attend a church attended mostly by people who were African American and other events where most of the guests were Latino. Over time, I began visiting the *tiendas* more frequently, got to know the few school employees who were people of color, and I developed more relationships. I was able to connect with people by using my imperfect Spanish and networking. To meet more people, I began volunteering, using the skills I had. I helped with the high school band and offered to take photos at public events for various groups. Through the band director, I gained access to the high school's Multicultural Day, which I had heard about from several people at the elementary schools. The band director introduced me to the principal and asked on my behalf if I could attend the event. By offering to take photos, I was allowed a

seat at a local non-profit's Back to School Event (Figure 4.1) and the Black History Month Festival.



**Figure 4.1: Volunteers cooking hotdogs at the Community and School Awareness Back to School Event.**

Another way I met people was by riding around with the Migrant Advocates doing COE (Certificate of Eligibility) verifications, home visits, and passing out school information and books. In talking with the Advocates, I heard about el día de La Virgen Guadalupe<sup>36</sup> event and was invited to a tea at the large, predominantly Latino Catholic church by a Migrant Advocate, whom I met during these visits.

During one of the home visits with migrant families, two welcoming parents and a boy turning five years old talked with us about their plants. The father took me around the yard and told me all about the various plants, fruiting and flowering trees, and bushes they had. They gave us apples they picked in Michigan, the biggest apples I had ever seen. As we were about to leave, the boy asked me to bring him a birthday cake. After we made all of our stops, I went right home and baked a vanilla cake. It did not turn out to be the best I had ever made, plus it was not a fruit

<sup>36</sup> Celebrated on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December, this Catholic holiday is largely celebrated in Mexico.

*leche* cake, which I would later learn was a go-to cake variety for many Latinos in the area. Nonetheless, I decorated the cake with candy pumpkins and spelled out the boy's name and birthday wish in orange and green icing. I gathered a miniature pumpkin piñata that I was saving for such a special occasion and filled it with goodies. I went to the store and purchased just a couple of little toys for a birthday gift. One of the Migrant Advocates, the one who had invited me to the tea I mentioned earlier, met me at their house later in the day. The father had purchased pizza, soda, and *pan dulce* (sweet bread). We had a great party, and the kids took the piñata outside and sang the piñata song "Dale, dale, dale" as they, and two young neighbors, started hitting it. This was how I met the nicest family I have ever known.

The then 8<sup>th</sup> grade daughter, Adelina, became my assistant some days after school and we would work on translating school items or other tasks. She received community service hours by helping me with my research, but then quit having me sign the form as time went on. I would take her out to eat sometimes before or after interviewing participants and we talked about our lives. Once her mother told me what it was like when Adelina was three and her mother, while pregnant, crossed the U.S.-Mexico border with her and her two older siblings. I spent a lot of time at their house and her mom cooked for me often and I would bring treats for the children. Now, in 2016, when we talk on the phone, her mother always answers "*Hola comadre*," after I became *madre de las muñecas* (godmother of the dolls) at her *quinceañera* in November 2015 since I helped with the cost of dolls for the *recuerdas* or mementos for the occasion.

My relationship with Adelina's family impacted my research by helping me better understand aspects of daily life for some Latinos in Central. For example, when I would visit other Latino families, I recognized the frequent presence of an iron tortilla press, which I had first watched Adelina use as she made *maíz* tortillas before dinner. I gained insight into the

importance of networks as I became exposed to Adelina's family's vast network, the members of which helped with many things. For example, I got to know a family friend who served as Adelina and her older brother's guardian each fall. The family friend was their guardian for a few weeks because Adelina and her brother come back from up north (usually Michigan, where the family moves for seasonal agricultural work) early without the rest of their family. They and their family make this sacrifice to ensure that the older children do not miss any school. Additionally, I saw the type of clothing Adelina, her older brother, and her parents wear when they work in the fields. I saw how her mother would sometimes come home with blue hands from picking blueberries.

More importantly, Adelina's family helped me emotionally. While I made friends in Central, Adelina and her family gave me stability. When I moved away at the end of my fieldwork, the family threw me a surprise birthday party with a pineapple *leche* cake, topped with Ariel from the film *The Little Mermaid*, after I had told Adelina one day when I had taken her to Tampa look at *quinceañera* supplies that I liked that movie as a child. When my time in the field was over, her family came and helped me move.

An additional means of gaining access to communities happened during the holiday season. First, in a class I had been observing, a 4<sup>th</sup> grade child of an indigenous Latino couple asked me for a Christmas tree. This spurred a Christmas tree and clothing drive. I received donated money, trees, ornaments, clothing, and household goods, toys and even food from teachers, parents, and school employees and I also donated some. Sometimes alone and sometimes with Adelina, I went to homes to drop off Christmas trees that children asked for, that teachers asked me to bring by, or to parents who expressed wanting one when I spoke with them.



I met more people when I put on the multicultural event in the town square in May 2015. I secured free advertising with the two local Hispanic radio stations because a Latina paraprofessional at one of the elementary schools rode with me to speak to them. At one radio station, I met the woman who organized the el día de La Virgen Guadalupe celebration in the park, a local radio personality and the co-owner of a night club, which often had bachata and other traditional Mexican music playing on certain nights in a neighboring county.

Adelina and her family do not comprise the full extent of my relationships with people of color in Central, although they represent my most significant one. I also became closer with several of the Migrant Advocates, school teachers, school staff, administrators, and community members who were people of color. When I made home visits to conduct interviews, I formed relationships with some families, depending on a variety of factors. For example, if I knew the child previously from observing their classroom at school, that often served as a conversation bridge. I visited several families numerous times throughout my time in Central, and some even after, to check in on them or just visit.

### **Primary Research Sites: Apple and Emerald Elementaries**

There are five public elementary schools, one junior high, and one high school in the district. I focused on two elementary schools, which I refer to as Apple and Emerald. At the beginning of the school year, I worked in the office of each school for a few weeks, informally talking to employees and getting the lay of the land. When needed, I assisted the administration and faculty in various ways, such as by designing flyers, transporting things around campus, doing craft projects with classes, translating on the phone or in person, making copies, typing up

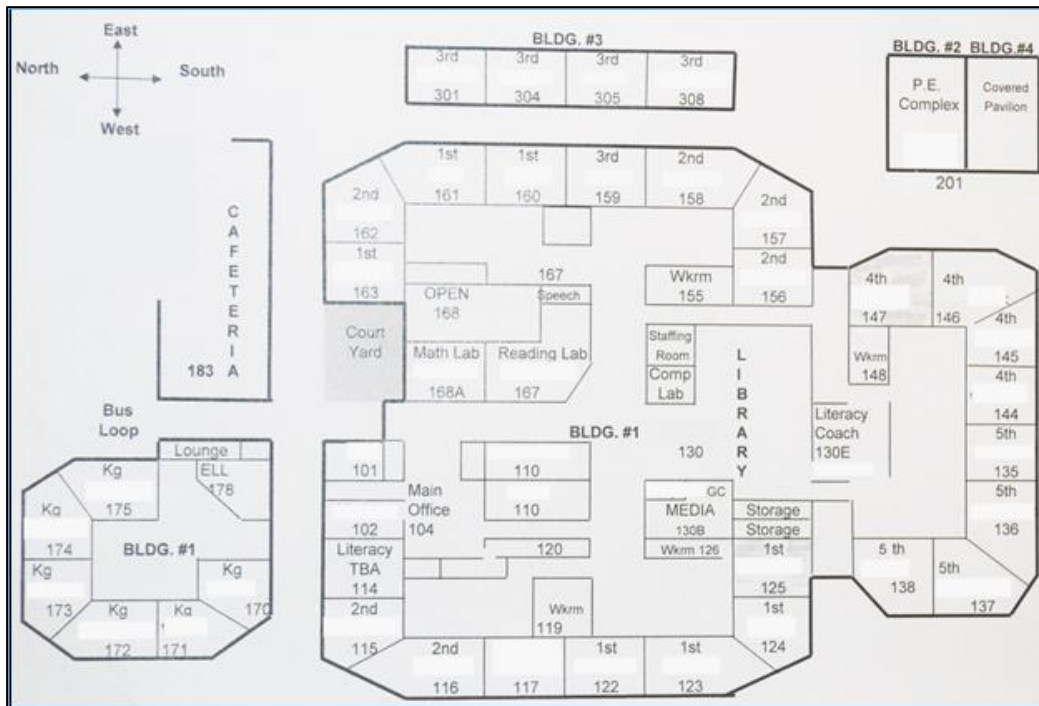
information, or helping with calculations. At each school, I learned about things such as the offices' power structure, how parent-office interactions often go, how the clinic nurses communicate with students, the languages used in school-home communication, and the relationships/dynamics among teachers, parents, and administrators. I also observed use of corporal punishment (the paddle), which has been used in these schools since at least the 1920s (*Ain't That Somethin': A Collection of Interviews of Central County Citizens* N.d.). While I explain how each school differs in detail in the next paragraphs, Table 4.2. summarizes some important demographic differences.

**Table 4.2: Table overviewing school demographic differences.**

|                | Hispanic<br>(of any race) | Non-Hispanic<br>White | Non-Hispanic<br>Black | Non-Hispanic<br>American<br>Indian | Migrant | English<br>Language<br>Learner | Economically<br>Dis-advantaged | Disabled | Total Number<br>of Students |
|----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Apple</b>   | 58%                       | 32%                   | 7%                    | 0%                                 | 9%      | 20%                            | 80%                            | 9%       | 538                         |
| <b>Emerald</b> | 78%                       | 17%                   | 3%                    | 0%                                 | 20%     | 45%                            | 90%                            | 11%      | 379                         |
| <b>Year</b>    | 2013-2014 School Year     |                       |                       |                                    |         |                                |                                |          |                             |

Apple opened in 1976, first for children from kindergarten to third grade and later for those in K-5. According to the school's Public Accountability Report (FLDOE 2015), for the 2013-2014 school year, there were 538 students. The student body was 58% Hispanic, 32% non-Hispanic white, and 7% African American, although I problematize the way the FLDOE calculates race and ethnicity in Chapter 6. Nine percent of students were migrant and 20% were classified as English Language Learners. Eighty percent were economically disadvantaged and 9% disabled. These prior figures are based on October membership, and while some migrant students usually return by then, many others return in November or later, so these figures likely underrepresent migrant students. According to the FLDOE (2015), in the last five years (the 2009-2010 to the 2013-2014 school year), the school has averaged a C grade.

The school's layout is centralized, with the library, cafeteria, and office surrounded by classrooms (Figure 4.2); there is no extra building space. There is an art room, but no art teacher; the room is sometimes used by teachers with their classes or for after school care. I was told by several individuals that art classes were taken away by the superintendent due to poor school performance. A physical education field is on a corner of the campus, led to by a row of newer classrooms housing third grade. The school is set up differently than some other schools because most classrooms at this school consist of "pods" or groups of door-less, connected classrooms. These characteristics expose individuals to other teachers, students, administration, and staff as they move throughout their day. This resulted in what appeared to be close relationships between many school employees.



**Figure 4.2: Map of Apple. Teacher names have been edited out by researcher.**

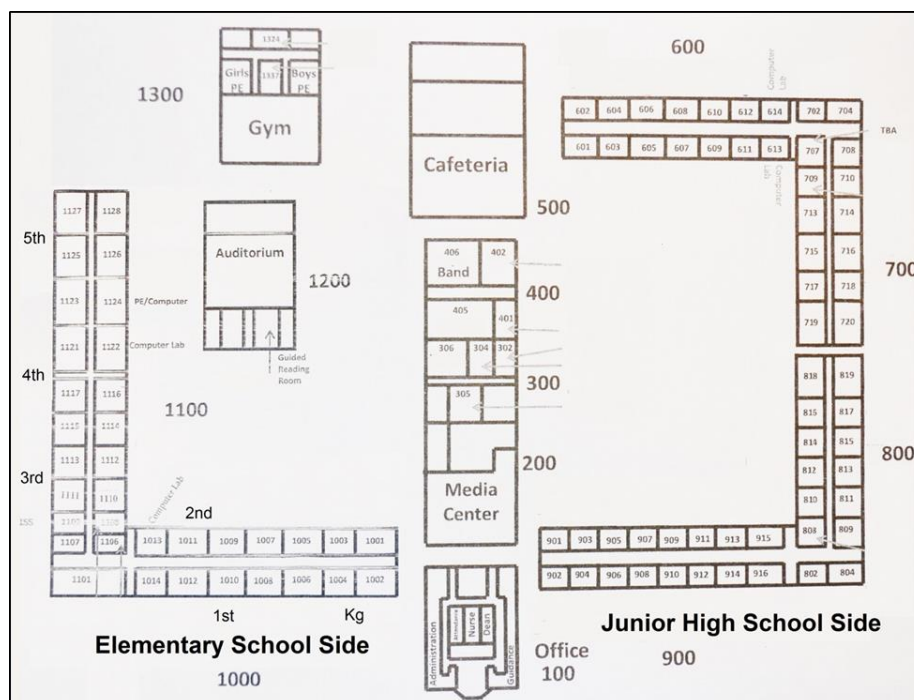
During the year I was there, there was a K-2 and 3-5 student choir which performed several concerts, such as a Veteran's Day concert and Christmas concert. There was an after school program serving different groups of children in grades 3-5 with several programs, each

meeting twice weekly. One of the afterschool programs included a migrant iPad group meeting. There were also other school programs and clubs, like a small PTO (Parent Teacher Organization) that increased in activity after I left, a safety patrol squad, a yearbook club, a “Christ-centered” student organization that met usually in the morning before school, and another religious club that performed small services for teachers and school employees.

Just a few miles away, Emerald is the newest K-5 elementary school in the district, having opened in 2006. According to the school’s Public Accountability Report (FLDOE 2015) for the 2013-2014 school year, there were 379 students, making this school much smaller than Apple. The students were 78% Hispanic, 17% non-Hispanic white, and 3% African American; these figures are calculated in the same way as Apple’s. Twenty percent were migrant and 45% were classified as English Language Learners. Ninety percent were economically disadvantaged and 11% disabled. Like Apple’s figures, these are based on October membership, excluding those migrant students arriving after this period. According to the FLDOE (2015), over the course of the last 5 years (2009-2010 to 2013-2014 school years), this school has averaged an A grade.

The elementary school is a huge L-shaped building where the higher and lower grades are separated by a long walk. The art room, staffed with a teacher, is located where the halls of the lower elementary and higher elementary school grades intersect. The cafeteria and office are located on the perimeter of the campus with the physical education court in the middle. The school’s layout (Figure 4.3) results in much less teacher, staff, and administration interaction at this school, as compared to Apple. This may be the reason for the increased standardization at Emerald compared to Apple. For example, Emerald is more patterned in both the way student work is displayed in halls as well as the uniformity in posted behavioral systems.

*Central County: Its Heritage and People* (2007) refers to Emerald, along with the junior high on its shared campus, as crown jewels. Administrators and community members have also called it a “community school.” This elementary school is known for its “high expectations,” high Latino rate, and consistently being the top rated elementary school in the district. People in the district stated that this school has “Hill people,” a term referring to people from the surrounding neighborhood named Central Hills, who are often poor Mexicans, many of whom I found to be indigenous.



**Figure 4.3: Map of Emerald.** Map has been made by researcher combining elementary and junior high school maps, removing teachers’ names, and adding elementary grade levels.

The after school program at this school is impressive, it is highly attended by 3rd through 5th graders, with over 90% of 5<sup>th</sup> graders attending. It runs three days a week for one hour and forty-five minutes. Here, if some children do not have rides home, some teachers take them while at the other school, lacking a ride is more likely to cause a student to miss out since teachers did not tend to take students home as often and because some students lived further

away. The afterschool programs at both schools come with a state-provided snack. At Emerald, there was neither a yearbook nor PTO, although the PTO got off to a start the year after I left.

### **Data Collection Methods**

Regarding the people involved in this study, research participants, key informants and cultural consultants consisted of students, parents, teachers, staff, and school administrators; other school district employees such as Migrant Advocates; and community members. I introduced myself and my research to parents at open house events, during home visits, or at parent-teacher conferences. I obtained informed consent at times such as these. For interviewees, I obtained informed consent right before the interview. See Appendices F.2-F.5 for forms used.

With the exception of most parents, usually when I would introduce myself to other adults outside of school I felt they were a little suspicious of me. Most parents were not suspicious because they had seen me several times before working in the office or at school. However, some Migrant Advocates later told me they were not sure about me when I first started coming around but after they get to know me and saw that “I really cared” they felt that they could trust me. I perceived that other people in the community may have been distrustful of me because I was not from the county and they were not sure of my motives.

Though this research is primarily interested in issues surrounding the movement of Latinos, participants came from diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds to make sure that I can examine these issues from multiple perspectives. Participants were also of various ages, language abilities, citizenship statuses, etc. I obtained data to speak to the reality that “almost no attention has been paid to how children of immigrants see themselves in terms of the

history of *receiving* communities, especially in those that lack recallable histories of immigrant settlement” (Winders 2013:134). I also needed to talk to diverse people to understand how whites and African Americans have responded to the influx of Latinos over the decades.

In terms of classroom observations, commencing in November 2014 and continuing throughout the remaining school year, I conducted more than 90 observations. Most were all-day observations. Table 4.3 depicts the grade levels and class makeup of the daily observations. Initially, I planned to pay special attention to language arts and reading instruction time, but I noticed the fractures or ruptures (Ortner 1994) of hegemony (Gramsci 1971) were not confined to those times; paying attention to these fleeting, short moments, as well as the other bigger struggles I noted were crucial to making my ethnography critical (Hadi-Tabassum 2006).

**Table 4.3: Table showing demographics of classroom observations.**

| School                | Teacher/Grade   | Class Details   | Student Racial/Ethnic Background*   |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| Apple                 | Mrs. W 1 <sup>st</sup>                                      | All day observation of one first grade class. (15 students)   | Hispanic White: 6<br>Non-Hispanic White: 4<br>African American: 1<br>Information Not Available: 4   |
|                       | Ms. U 4 <sup>th</sup>                                       | All day observation of fourth grade advanced class (1), except when they are in math, with an afternoon block of about an hour and half with the “regular” (2) reading class. (43 total students) | <u>Class 1 (“Advanced”):</u><br>Hispanic White: 9<br>Non-Hispanic White: 8<br>African American: 1<br>White American Indian: 1<br>Asian White: 1<br>Hispanic, African American, White: 1<br>Information Not Available: 1 |
|                       |   |   | <u>Class 2 (“Regular”):</u><br>Hispanic White: 11<br>Non-Hispanic White: 3<br>African American: 1<br>African American White: 1<br>Hispanic Asian: 1<br>Hispanic American Indian: 1<br>Information Not Available: 3      |
| Ms. V 3 <sup>rd</sup> | All day observation of one third grade class. (18 students) | Hispanic White: 10<br>Non-Hispanic white: 4<br>African American: 1<br>Information Not Available: 3  |   |

**Table 4.3 (Continued): Table showing demographics of classroom observations.**

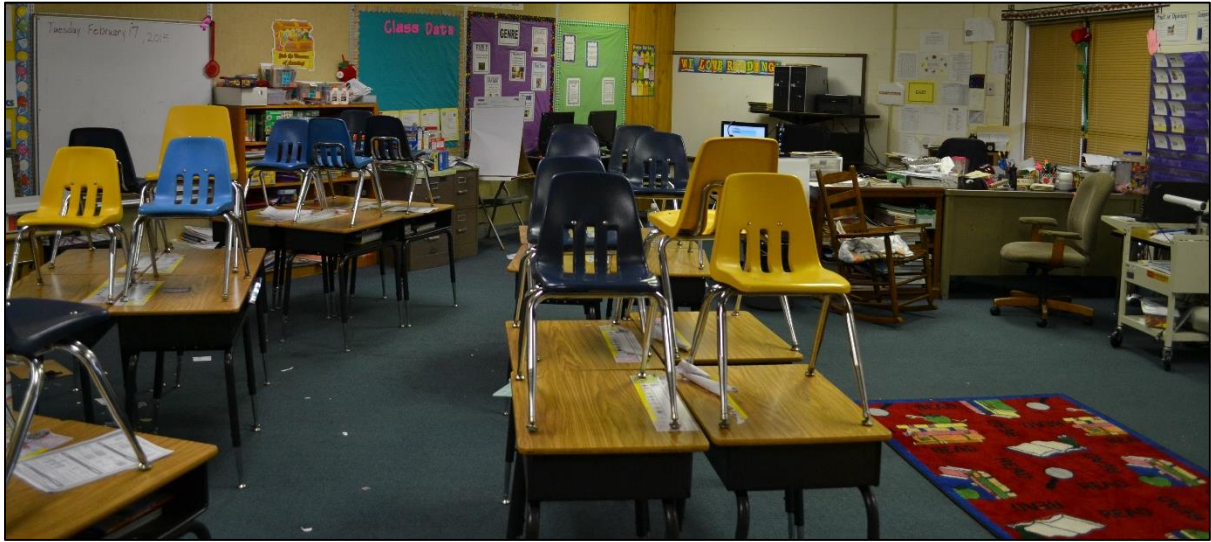
| School  | Teacher/Grade          | Class Details  | Student Racial/Ethnic Background*   |
|---|------------------------|--|---|
| Emerald   | Mrs. Z 1 <sup>st</sup> | All day observation of one first grade class. (18 students)  | Hispanic White: 15<br>Non-Hispanic White: 3   |
|   | Mrs. T 5 <sup>th</sup> | All day observation of three fifth grade reading classes with the first being Mrs. T's homeroom. (54 total students) | <u>Class 1 (Low Ranked in Reading):</u><br>Hispanic White: 10<br>Non-Hispanic White: 4<br>Hispanic American Indian: 3<br>Hispanic White American Indian: 1<br>Hispanic Asian: 1 |
|   |                        |  | <u>Class 2:</u><br>Hispanic White: 11<br>Non-Hispanic White: 7  |
|   |                        |  | <u>Class 3:</u><br>Hispanic White: 12<br>Non-Hispanic White: 2<br>Hispanic American Indian: 3   |
| *Race and Ethnicity taken from school information system. |                        |  |   |

During almost every classroom observation, I took photos of each classroom from different angles, so that the entire classroom was photographed. In these photos, I was sure to include the views of signage, desk layout, behavior charts, and posted student progress charts as well as hallway displays, which include selected student work, reading certificates and illustrations of holidays. This data was collected to allow for the analysis of such things as the integration of the placement of students in desk layout around the room, what groups of people are represented in posters, or whose work is posted on the bulletin boards.

All of the five teachers whose classrooms I observed were women, ranging in age from 30s-60s. They all are in leadership positions in their grade level, meaning that this research neither ethnographically samples the teaching of newer teachers nor examines teachers who are in non-authoritative positions. None of these teachers are new teachers, with Mrs. Z, Mrs. U, and Mrs. V having 5-10 years of experience and Mrs. T and Mrs. W having decades of experience. See Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 for photos of some of these classrooms.



At Apple, a white woman in her late 40s named Mrs. W teaches first grade. Born and raised in Central, she has been teaching since for decades. Like many of the teachers, at least three of the five I observed, W is a devout Christian. During Thanksgiving, she taught the importance of God in motivating the pilgrims' voyage to the New World and painted the usual story of the pilgrims coming to uninhabited land and dining with the "Indians."



**Figure 4.4: Empty first grade classroom at Apple during observation period.**

Also, at Apple, Ms. U teaches the only advanced 4<sup>th</sup> grade class. She also teaches reading and social studies to one of the three remaining 4<sup>th</sup> grade classrooms after lunch. She grew up in a neighboring area and is white and in her thirties, with four children in school. My observations occurred during the first three-quarters of the school year.

In the same school (Apple), Ms. V teaches third grade. She is 50, white, and grew up close by. She came to teaching later in life, having worked as a 911 dispatcher for several years. My observations with her occurred during the second half of the school year.

At the other school (Emerald), Mrs. Z, a first grade teacher, was the only Latina (Mexicana) in my study. She is married and in her mid-thirties, with a young daughter to whom she teaches Spanish. She grew up in an area similar to Central that is also in the Heartland. She is

the daughter of migrant workers and her husband and father now organize the harvesters; her family travels to Georgia during the summers for the watermelon crop.



**Figure 4.5: Empty fifth grade classroom at Emerald during observation period.**

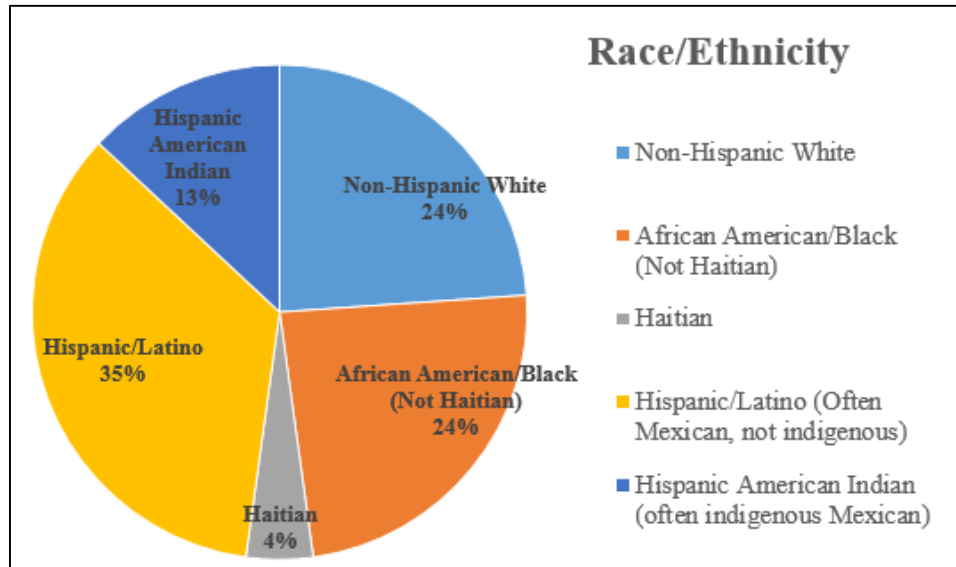
Mrs. T teaches 5<sup>th</sup> grade reading at Emerald. She's a white woman in her sixties with grandchildren who came from up north. She is widely respected by her peers and gathers reading data for the school. She teaches reading and social studies to the entire fifth grade at the school, with three classes rotating through her room throughout the day.

In terms of interviews, excluding an all-Latina focus group comprised of district employees, I conducted 46 interviews. Interviews help the researcher learn how people see and understand their world (Spradley 1979; Bernard 2011). During interviews, sometimes family members came in and out of the room or sat with us, listening to the conversation and occasionally chiming in. Participants ranged from the Director of Federal Programs at the School District, school administrators, teachers, parents, and community members. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Sometimes Adelina would attend and converse with us. Other times other adults or children would bridge gaps in understanding. Sometimes it was me alone

speaking in Spanish as a second language. Having my interview questions (see Appendices D.1-D.4) ahead of time helped the reliability of the interviews. In the interview excerpts included in this dissertation, I carefully cut out unnecessary words so that space would not be an issue while also retaining the overall meaning of interactions. I retained speaker accents and mistakes, both mine and participants', and added in bracketed information to aid in the reader's understanding.

Regarding the interviewees, most were female (41) and few were male (7); two of the interviews were comprised of intraethnic heterosexual couples. Table 4.4 is a pie chart representing the race and ethnic background of interviewees. I based people's race and ethnicity on their responses to the interview questions; this topic came up in virtually all interviews. I also used the languages people reported speaking to put them in groups. Participants often held multiple statuses such as teacher, parent, or community leader, which influenced some of the questions I asked. See Table 4.5 for a detailed look at these statuses, as well as other participant characteristics and demographics, including participant gender, participant age, area where participant grew up, and date/time/location of the interview. In sum, the interview participants were 15 Latina women, 10 African American women, 10 white women, 4 Hispanic American Indian men, 4 Hispanic American Indian women, 2 Haitian women, 1 Latino man, 1 African American man, and 1 white man.

**Table 4.4: Table of interviewee race and ethnicity, based on self-reports and language spoken.**



**Table 4.5: Table of interviewee list and demographics of those quoted or referenced in this document.**

| Interview # | Pseudonym (For those quoted) | Age | Occupation and Parental Status                    | Gender | Where Participant Grew Up | Interview Date | Interview Location |
|-------------|------------------------------|-----|---|--------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1           |                              | 47  | School Administrator, Mother                      | F      | Central                   | 9/8/2014       | Employee office    |
| 2           |                              | 67  | Nurse, Father                                     | M      | Mississippi               | 10/24/2014     | Employee office    |
| 3           |                              | 30  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                        | F      | Mexico                    | 11/13/2014     | Participant home   |
| 4           |                              | 36  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                        | F      | Mexico                    | 11/20/2014     | Participant home   |
| 5           | Yessica                      | 26  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                        | F      | Mexico/Central            | 12/3/2014      | Participant home   |
| 6           |                              | 34  | Migrant Farmworker, Father                        | M      | Mexico                    | 12/3/2014      | Participant home   |
| 7           |                              | 57  | School Administrator, Mother                      | F      | Kentucky                  | 1/14/2015      | Employee office    |
| 8           | Yvonne                       | 39  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother                          | F      | Central                   | 1/22/2015      | Participant home   |
| 9           | Michelle                     | 29  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother                          | F      | Central                   | 2/26/2015      | Participant home   |
| 10          | Vanessa                      | 42  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother                          | F      | Mexico                    | 2/26/2015      | Participant home   |
| 11          | Eleuia                       | 37  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                        | F      | Mexico                    | 3/5/2015       | Participant home   |
| 11          | Lucio                        | 38  | Migrant Farmworker, Father                        | M      | Mexico                    | 3/5/2015       | Participant home   |
| 12          | Allison                      | 32  | School Psychologist                               | F      | Central                   | 3/10/2015      | Local Restaurant   |
| 13          | Melanie                      | 33  | Stay at Home Mom/Nanny, Mother                    | F      | Central                   | 3/24/2015      | Public park        |
| 14          |                              | 51  | Retired County Worker/Community Organizer, Mother | F      | Central                   | 3/24/2015      | Participant home   |
| 15          | Carmen                       | 34  | Paraprofessional, Mother                          | F      | Central                   | 3/26/2015      | Empty classroom    |
| 16          | Melissa                      | 42  | Paraprofessional, Mother                          | F      | Central                   | 4/1/2015       | Participant home   |
| 17          | Sofia                        | 34  | Landscaper, Mother                                | F      | Mexico                    | 4/7/2015       | Participant home   |
| 18          | Alejandra                    | 40  | Stay at Home Mom/Babysitter, Mother               | F      | Mexico                    | 4/16/2015      | Participant home   |

**Table 4.5 (Continued): Table of interviewee list and demographics of those quoted or referenced in this document.**

| Inter-<br>view #      | Pseudonym<br>(For those<br>quoted) | Age | Occupation and Parental<br>Status                                | Gend-<br>er | Where<br>Participant<br>Grew Up | Interview<br>Date | Interview<br>Location             |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 19                    | Chicahua                           | 36  | Migrant Farmworker, Father                                       | M           | Mexico                          | 4/16/2015         | Outside<br>participant home       |
| 20                    | Yatzil                             | 36  | Farmworker, Mother   | F           | Mexico                          | 4/16/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 20                    | Anam                               | 39  | Farmworker, Father   | M           | Mexico                          | 4/16/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 21                    | Guadalupe                          | 32  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                                       | F           | Mexico                          | 4/21/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 22                    |                                    | 27  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother   | F           | Central                         | 4/23/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 23                    | Lisa                               | 53  | District Official/Local<br>Government Official, Mother           | F           | Virginia                        | 5/7/2015          | Employee office                   |
| 24                    | Darnell                            | 34  | Aspiring Politician  | M           | Central                         | 5/20/2015         | Teacher office                    |
| 25                    |                                    | 35  | Teacher, Mother  | F           | County near<br>Central          | 5/20/2015         | Empty<br>Classroom                |
| 26<br>(Infor-<br>mal) | Victoria                           | 35  | Paraprofessional, Mother   | F           | County near<br>Central          | 5/20/2015         | Empty classroom                   |
| 27                    | Ashley                             | 35  | High-Ranking School<br>Employee                                  | F           | County near<br>Central          | 5/22/2015         | Employee office                   |
| 28                    | Daniela                            | 32  | Migrant Farmworker, Mother                                       | F           | Mexico                          | 5/22/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 29                    |                                    | 32  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother   | F           | Mexico                          | 5/25/2015         | Outside<br>participant home       |
| 30                    | Juana                              | 53  | School Office Worker,<br>Mother                                  | F           | Texas                           | 5/29/2015         | Employee office                   |
| 31                    |                                    | 64  | Teacher, Mother  | F           | New York                        | 6/3/2015          | Empty classroom                   |
| 32                    |                                    | 47  | Teacher, Mother  | F           | Central                         | 6/10/2015         | Local restaurant                  |
| 33                    | Jimena                             | 33  | Stay at Home Mom, Mother   | F           | Mexico                          | 6/15/2015         | Participant home                  |
| 34                    | Grace                              | 51  | School Administrator,<br>Mother                                  | F           | Central                         | 6/30/2015         | Local Restaurant                  |
| 35                    | Katherine                          | 33  | Paraprofessional, Mother   | F           | Central                         | 7/7/2015          | Local Restaurant                  |
| 36                    | Kimberly                           | 44  | Higher Education Office<br>Worker/Community<br>Organizer, Mother | F           | Central                         | 8/5/2015          | Employee office                   |
| 37                    |                                    | 48  | High-Ranking School<br>Employee                                  | F           | Central                         | 8/5/2015          | Employee office                   |
| 38                    |                                    | 43  | Paraprofessional, Mother   | F           | Central                         | 8/5/2015          | School<br>conference room         |
| 39                    |                                    | 26  | Teacher, Mother  | F           | County near<br>Central          | 8/5/2015          | Empty classroom                   |
| 40                    | Amy                                | 30  | Title Company Employee,<br>Mother                                | F           | Central                         | 8/7/2015          | Phone interview                   |
| 41                    | Matthew                            | 52  | School Administrator, Father                                     | M           | Central                         | 8/7/2015          | Employee office                   |
| 42                    | Shauna                             | 42  | Farmworker, Mother   | F           | South<br>Florida                | 8/7/2015          | Public library<br>conference room |
| 43                    | Roseline                           | 51  | Retired Cafeteria Worker,<br>Mother                              | F           | Haiti                           | 10/24/2015        | Outside<br>participant home       |
| 44                    |                                    | 24  | Homemaker  | F           | Central                         | 10/24/2015        | Participant home                  |
| 45                    | Maria                              | 61  | Migrant Advocate, Mother   | F           | Texas                           | 7/6/2016          | Participant home                  |
| 46                    | Ana                                | 67  | Migrant Advocate, Mother   | F           | Texas                           | 7/6/2016          | Local Restaurant                  |

I used surveys to “triangulate” (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999) or cross-check data as well as to measure the systematic nature of my observations (Bernard 2011). For example, I administered an online educator survey, measuring school employees’ demographics as well as their attitudes about their job, school, county, racism, and language (participants n=91). Secondly, I distributed a survey measuring language and race attitudes to students (n=121) ranging from first grade to fifth grade. I also conducted a large (n=1,330) language inventory of the languages spoken by students in the two elementary schools as well as the junior high. Finally, as part of measures trying to ascertain if teachers would use more bilingual books if purchased, in conjunction with Apple’s library staff, I gave a survey to school employees on attitudes about bilingual books (n=22). I speak about each of these in more detail below.

First, in June 2015, an online open-ended survey was completed by 91 teachers, faculty and staff, mostly from the two elementary schools and also the middle school. Questions asked overlapped thematically with some questions in interviews. Aside from demographic questions, this survey asked the following questions, including some probing not listed here:

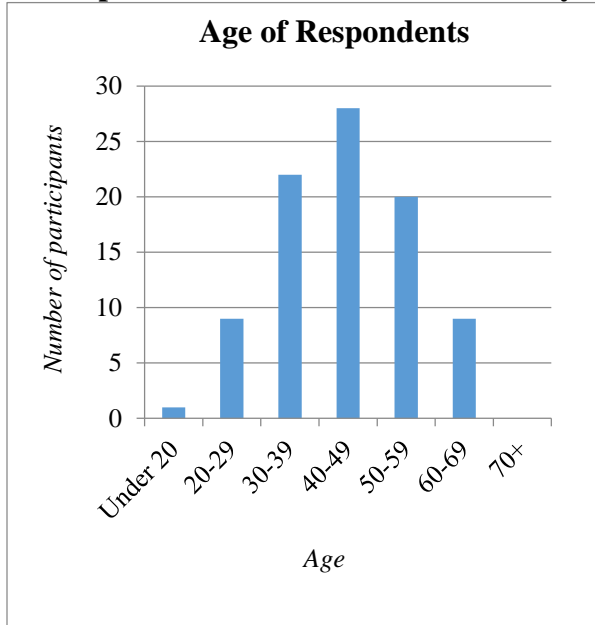
1. What do you like best about your job?
2. What do you dislike most about your job?
3. What is your school’s best feature?
4. What is your school known for in the district?
5. If you could change any one thing about your school that you think would increase student achievement, what would it be?
6. Has there ever been a language-related issue (fight, discussion, question, debate) in your classroom?
7. Has your class or students in your class ever had a discussion, fight, or celebration about race, ethnicity, culture, or heritage?
8. For students who speak both Spanish and English, do you think the school should help them improve or retain their Spanish speaking, reading, or writing skills?
9. Do you think racism is a problem in Central?
10. Do you think racism is a problem in your school?

The sample consisted of 91 total participants. I downloaded survey data into Excel files from surveymonkey.com, which is the platform I used to distribute the survey. The link to the

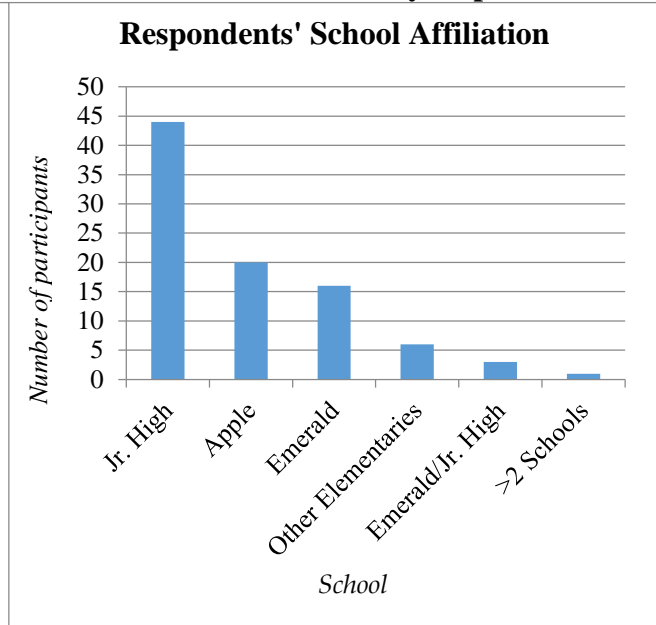
survey was sent out to participants with a brief note explaining the study via email by the principals of the two elementary schools I observed as well as the middle school. The link sent participants to a site informing them about the survey, with a button expressing that by clicking “proceed,” they consent to participate. Participants completed the survey in summer of 2015, at the end of my fieldwork.

Seventy-eight participants were women and 12 were men; one respondent is not counted because they answered ‘Yes’ to the question “Are you male or female?” The average age of participants was 44 years. Table 4.6 shows information in graph form on the age of respondents, although two are not included here since one wrote “very” and the other one “old enough.” Table 4.7 shows a graph on the school affiliation of participants. To measure race and ethnicity, I asked participants “Which best describes your racial and ethnic background? Choose all that apply.” All but two used the choices I presented them, which resulted in a sample of 89 respondents being 83% Non-Hispanic White, 13.5% Hispanic/Latino, 2% African American, 1% Asian, and 0% American Indian. All of the men in the sample were non-Hispanic white. There was an area for comments and three people wrote in “white,” one wrote in “Caucasian,” and two wrote in “Mexican-American.” The survey design was limited by my use of the FLDOE and school racial and ethnic categories. I must have used these categories after having been exposed to this line of thinking the whole school year, which speaks to the influence of discussions of race and ethnicity, and before I analyzed my project’s other data which supports the problematization of such categorizations.

**Table 4.6: Graph showing age distribution of respondents in online educator survey.**



**Table 4.7: Graph of school affiliation of online educator survey respondents.**



Ninety-nine percent of the sample speak English, 11% speak Spanish, 1% Czech, 1% Japanese, 1% Filipino, and 1% American Sign Language (ASL). In terms of some working knowledge, 60% know some Spanish, 4% know some French, 4% know some ASL, and 1% know some Haitian Creole. Regarding job titles, there were 77 teachers (including a few permanent substitutes) from a wide range of grades, almost all K-8; 3 paraprofessionals; and 11 staff (such as a school psychologist, a student personal assistant, media clerks, a migrant recruiter, a custodian, etc.). Participants have worked in the Central County School District for an average of 16 years.

To code the online educator survey responses, I first read through responses several times to create a typology. For example, the last two survey items were write-in questions which asked, “Do you think racism is a problem in Central? Why or why not?” and “Do you think racism is a problem in your school? Why or why not?” After combing through the responses, I drafted a few typologies which expressed how the data related. I finalized one below (Table 4.8) that has specific numerical categories ranging from 0-11. Additionally, I further simplified this scale into



a broader coding system with values from 0-2. Thus, all participants were given at least two separate values, one from the first scale and one from the second. With the first Specific Scale, a few of the responses were given more than one code since they had elements of more than one category. In the second Broad Scale, participants' responses were put in the category which best reflected the entirety of their response.

**Table 4.8: Key to use for understanding how survey responses were coded by researcher. Codes refer to participants' responses to questions about the presence of racism.**

| Specific |  | Broad   |                        |
|----------|--|---------|------------------------|
| 0        | Post Racial                                  | 0 (0-2) | No or Mostly No        |
| 1        | No, mostly no                                | 1 (3-5) | Yes, Somewhat, Hedging |
| 2        | Perception that there is                     | 2 (6-8) | Problematic Response   |
| 3        | Exists but not a problem                     |         |                        |
| 4        | Always exists/Exists everywhere              |         |                        |
| 5        | Yes, somewhat or hedging                     |         |                        |
| 6        | People drain the government                  |         |                        |
| 7        | Reverse Racism                               |         |                        |
| 8        | People play the race card                    |         |                        |
| 9        | Unclear (or doesn't fit into categories 0-8) |         |                        |
| 10       | No opinion/don't know                        |         |                        |
| 11       | No response                                  |         |                        |

For example, I evaluated participants' responses as indicating that they believed there was not racism (Broad Scale value of 0) if they said something indicating that our society is past racism (post-racial) or that racism does not exist anymore (Specific Scale value 0). If participants said things like "No," "not at all," or "I don't think it is" or "that some people perceive there to be racism," I also put them in the No or Mostly No category with a value of 0. If people said that "racism exists but is not a problem," "it exists everywhere," it "somewhat" exists, or that "yes" it exists, I assigned them a Broad value of 1. For these responses, they convey that the participant believes that racism exists in some form. Finally, I assigned a Broad value of 2 for participants who said things like "no. The culture of our school is more of a lack of understanding of how to develop a sense of pride for our Nation. Not how much \$\$\$ you can sucker out of it." Such

responses received a value of 6 on the Specific Scale. Also, mentions of reverse racism (Specific value 7) or that people “play the race card” (Specific value 8) resulted in a Broad value of 2. It should be noted that whites were the only group to have responses that ended up being coded with a specific score of 6-8/broad value 2 (colored in red) for either question. See Appendices C.1 and C.2 for all responses to the item asking if racism was a problem in Central as well as the item asking if racism was a problem in school.

For the second survey, I distributed an attitudes survey to some first graders, third graders, and fifth graders at both schools. I primarily chose classes where I had prior contact with the teacher. There was a total of 121 students who took it (Table 4.9). Seventeen surveys were excluded from analysis because informed consent was not obtained from the children’s parents. This non-compliance was reported to the University of South Florida Institutional Review Board, who approved this study (see Appendix F.1 for study approval letter). The survey asked whether someone at school had said something about how the student talked that hurt their feelings; if someone at school had said anything about groups, including whites, African Americans, Hispanics or Latinos, etc.; and if the student would participate in the Ms. or Mr. Central Pageant and why. The sample size was 21% first graders, 28% third graders, and 55% fifth graders.

**Table 4.9: Table showing number of student participants in survey.**

| <b>Grade</b>   | <b>Apple</b> | <b>Emerald</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Grade 1</b> | 10           | 11             | 21           |
| <b>Grade 3</b> | 14           | 14             | 28           |
| <b>Grade 5</b> | 11           | 44             | 55           |
| <b>Total</b>   | 35           | 69             | 104          |

Third, a three-question language inventory was taken of the two elementary schools and the junior high. The form was given to about 2,000 students to complete. In order to administer the survey, I obtained a copy of the number of students in each class and put the appropriate

number of surveys in the teacher's box, along with a note explaining the survey. The administrators of each school sent out emails ahead of time letting the teachers know about the document. As a result, 1,330 valid responses were received. The survey asked what language students and each of their parents could speak. Each question contained choices of common languages (Mexican American Indian languages, such as Trique, as well as Spanish, English, French, etc.) that people could check or they could list their own.

Fourth, 22 respondents at Apple took a survey (Figure 4.6) on bilingual books as part of the librarian's and media clerk's efforts to gauge the interest in bilingual books, to possibly support the purchase of more. Participants were 11 teachers and 11 paraprofessionals and staff. The survey had examples of bilingual books, four questions, and a space for comments.

Before conducting these observations, interviews, and surveys, I needed to begin to understand the Central context, so from June 2014-May 2015 I resided in Central County and rented a townhome located no more than three miles away from both elementary schools. Having lived in Central and taken care of my day to day life outside of my research there, I was further exposed to the community and people. This allowed me to get a feel for the area in such places as grocery stores; I made sure to rotate the businesses that I used in order to maximize my exposure to the area. For example, for my grocery and other needs I shopped at local stores such as Walmart, Winn Dixie, Dollar General, Dollar Tree, County Market, Walgreens, Cato, Radio Shack, etc. but I also visited supermarkets and food stores like Ranchitos, Los Primos Supermercado, La Placita, El Pueblo Market, and various *taquerías*.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> A taco shop, often a street vendor in a mobile establishment but could also be used for a restaurant.


**Library Survey**


Directions: Please circle your response for each of the four questions below. When complete, please put in [redacted]'s mailbox by Tuesday, March 3.

Example of a bilingual book:

El gatito sólo miraba y miraba. No decía nada.

The kitten just looked and looked. It did not say a thing.





Water from clouds can fall to the ground as precipitation. Rain and snow are two kinds of precipitation.

El agua de las nubes puede caer sobre la tierra como precipitación. La lluvia y la nieve son dos tipos de precipitación.

1. Did you know that our library has books for students to check out that are bilingual (in English AND Spanish)? See the above photo for an example.  
 Yes     No
2. Have you ever recommended bilingual books to Spanish students or their parents?  
 Often     Rarely     Never
3. For parents who do not know English but can read and speak Spanish, do you think bilingual books could help them help their children improve reading comprehension and related skills?  
 Yes     No
4. If more bilingual books were available, will you recommend them to your Spanish students and/or parents?  
 Yes     No

Comments: They need to learn English!

**Figure 4.6: Bilingual book survey.**

In these businesses, I had informational conversations with employees and customers. For example, once while purchasing a flowering tree from a nursery as a gift for my sister's birthday, the owner told me his daughter was homeschooled because of the students at the school. He elucidated, stating that once she had gone to a party and rap music was being played.

Another time, a business owner told me in Spanish how the police over patrolled Latinos, looking for people without citizenship.

I attended and observed community and school events and talked with people at these because it is important to understand the context of reception that Latinos moving into this area have encountered (Marrow 2009a, 2011; Parra and Pfeffer 2006; Popke 2011; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Prins and Toso 2012) as well as understand the context of the research site setting as it relates to African Americans and other groups of color more broadly. To name a few community events, I went to the Black History Month Festival on Main Street, el día de La Virgen Guadalupe (Figure 4.7, Figure 4.8), Pioneer Days, the Ms. Central Pageant, the Central County Fair, a tea at the largest Catholic Church, the Christmas parade, and the Homecoming parade. These events allowed me to observe how groups interact and what messages are being sent about various language, ethnic, and racial groups. For example, attendance, observation, and interaction at social gatherings or community places, showed ways that knowledge was being produced and distributed outside of school. Sometimes the knowledge was religious, other times (or at the same times) there were messages sent which valued racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups in the form of activities that created safe spaces to embrace, practice, and celebrate culture, traditions, garb, language, food, and religion. At the same time, the presence of these activities and messages outside of school highlighted their absence in school, which underscored the school as a “white public space,” as I wrote about in Chapter 2 (Hill 1998). Some events were comprised of hundreds of people from virtually the same racial or ethnic groups whereas other events were more diverse.



**Figure 4.7:** *Bailarinas folklóricas* (folk dancers) at el día de La Virgen Guadalupe celebration.



**Figure 4.8:** Indigenous dancers at el día de La Virgen Guadalupe celebration.

Some examples of the school events I attended include faculty meetings, trainings, movie days (where I helped sell snacks), PTO meetings, SAC (School Advisory Council) meetings, picture day, IEP (Individual Education Plan) meetings, grade-group meetings, Parent Nights, teacher conferences, English Language Learners and Migrant meetings at the Federal Offices building, and high school football games. Often I volunteered during these meetings, other times I observed with the crowd. When appropriate, I took photos of school and community events.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, home visits can help teachers incorporate students' home knowledge and culture into the classroom, promoting learning for all and making the school

climate a more welcoming one (see González, Moll, and Amanti's 2006 edited volume). To see if this had been done and to also get to know families outside of the schooling context, I conducted home visits with around 40 families. During some, I would also conduct an interview, but at others, they were just short chats or check-ins with the family. Sometimes, I dropped off Christmas items for the Christmas drive, or we talked about school matters. Outside of these visits, for one week in November, I accompanied pairs of Migrant Advocates when they made home visits to talk with people who migrate for work, most of whom work in agricultural fields. The purpose of these visits was to educate people on the services available in their children's school, give books, and verify eligibility for migrant services. However, Advocates told me that they also provide other information, some of which is regarding health services. For example, during an audio-recorded interview when I asked if she liked her job, a Migrant Advocate told me a story about how she took a mother to get help:

Ana: Yeah I do. I'm comfortable with it. Plus, the parents, sometimes they need you. Especially the ladies. Well, men too. Sometimes the ladies come to you and they have a problem and they talk to you about it...But yeah, there's some stories that you hear. There's the story too are bad. They were being abused by their husbands, you know. They want somebody to go to and there was this lady that she said she didn't wanna leave it with this one no more, even though she had already (unintelligible) because he was so mean and he didn't wanna change, you know. She said, 'I cannot take anymore. What do you think I should do?' So I had to give her like, some type of place so that she can room. And talked to her some kind of therapy or something. I even took her over there to the hospital you know, so she can talk to one of the guidance over there because she was having a mess up. So these are the stories that you hear, you know. From parents. It's more like, what is that? Psychological, you know. Helping them to, you have to give them like more positive attitude to them, so they can feel more updated. Yeah I like home visits, but. [A co-worker] said that I'm the therapist.  
[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

Each of the migrant families on record are visited by the advocates each year to establish their eligibility to receive services offered under the Education of Migratory Children Title 1, Part C formula grant paid for by the U.S. Department of Education. This program also covers the

cost of the tutors (discussed on the next page) and other services. Two of the eight Advocates/Clerks do not speak any Spanish; one is stationed at an elementary school and the other at the high school.

I also attended at-home afterschool tutoring provided for some migrant children, a total of at least 12 yearly. A certified teacher and bilingual paraprofessional go to the homes of four children weekly, each pair of children receive two days of tutoring. There are usually three or four teacher-paraprofessional teams per semester and the same children are served throughout the duration of the school year. Children chosen for these services are migrant students at-risk of failing. Neighbors or siblings are eligible for the help during these sessions.

Viewing maps of community areas and neighborhoods helped me better understand the context of the community as well as the impacts of historical events. Other items that I analyzed included the photos I took of students' work that was hung up on the walls, as well as bulletin board decorations. I also collected every paper each school sent home to the student body. Other documents analyzed include: Pink and Blue student identification cards filled out by teachers, the District School Handbook, Apple's yearbooks for the last five years, documents from Apple's Advisory Council and Parent Teacher Organization Meetings, Principal Newsletters, students' work, documents from Parent Nights and Title I Meetings, the student residency questionnaire, the school registration form, de-identified student information from the two schools' electronic management system, etc. These documents were examined to show such things as what documents were available in which languages. Other documents collected include information given out at community events, and I read the daily newspaper.



## **How Data Informs Research Questions**

Throughout my study, I gathered data to answer my research questions regarding how racial, ethnic, and linguistic identity impacted access to resources as well as how racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities are experienced and articulated in the classroom. I was always mindful about collecting data that would inform on how individuals operate within structures in the local setting (known as the “ecocritical” approach, defined by LeCompte and Schensul 2010).

Once I was able to gain insight into the culture of the school, I used this information to supplement the interview questions (Appendices D.1-D.4) I had drafted before entering the field. Informal conversations were useful in uncovering preliminary information and locating participants as well as making me more aware of places I should observe in the area. I used Spradley’s (1979) grand tour to specific mini-tour questions, which promote understanding, identification of a range of variation, learning new information, and providing clarification (LeCompte and Schensul 2013). Surveys allowed me to systematically test my ideas about the features of the school culture as well as to what extent this culture was patterned, and interviews enabled understanding nuances with the aid of informants. To increase reliability, with participant permission, all but one interview was audio-recorded. For the one interview which was not recorded, I took detailed notes, reading back what I had written to make sure the participant felt it reflected her answers.

To begin data collection to inform the first research question, which asks if hierarchies of groups regulate school resource access and to what extent the school is producing a patterned belief system about those hierarchies, I took photos of the classrooms, schools, and areas throughout the county. I considered how the classroom and school were physically set up, including the location of bodies, chairs, desks, and even wall art. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I used textual analysis to determine what the school set up says about the valuation of peoples,

languages and cultures. “Text” is a broad term that can refer to behaviors, events, artifacts, and more (Bernard 2011). Textual analysis allows the researcher to understand how communication impacts the sender and receiver (Fairclough 2003). Textual analysis is useful as it has been demonstrated to be applicable in globalized, hybrid settings (Appadurai 1996). I textually analyzed information on the school activities, programs, and classes available pertaining to language and culture as well as how people can become active in or registered for them.

Also informing my first research question, as well as my second, which asks how identities are established, experienced, and articulated in the classroom, I conducted daily ethnographic observations and participant observations with students and teachers. I worked in the offices of the two schools to familiarize myself with the research site. To get outside the people and spaces represented by the elementary schools, I volunteered. During these observations, I took notes, both jottings and thicker descriptions when possible, in my field notebook, typing up those notes soon after. I also audio-recorded the classroom observations.

To shed light on the third research question, which considers strategies used to deal with difference, I had to examine what kinds of teaching strategies were being used during my observations and what kind of strategies have been used in the past to teach English/Spanish/other languages as well as how these strategies were decided on. For example, regarding the curriculum now, The Florida Standards is the FLDOE’s document that details the content and skills children must be taught and tested on. During observations I learned that the district has pacing teams that create guidelines for the amount and type of material that should be covered, within the confines of the Standards.

Also, I considered the administration’s orientation to the diversity of their students and/or asked them about what informed their pedagogical perspectives. I spoke informally with teachers

and also interviewed four of the five teachers who allowed me to observe their classes. I made copies of assignments and procured copies of all the textbooks used in the classrooms I was in as well as made notes of any novels used in the classrooms. I visited the libraries and looked at what sorts of books were available in what languages.

Further, through secondary analysis of the schools' data information system, I looked at what language communities are present in the classrooms and school and used census data to look at this for the community. However, the schools' data information system was unreliable, because in talking to families, I found that many of the children's first languages and languages used by parents were different than what was recorded in the school's system. Incorrectly, the system often said Spanish speakers spoke English. Likewise, during school registration, I witnessed the data clerk writing in "Spanish" on registration forms when parents named a native language spoken in Mexico, such as Zapotec. In Chapter 6, I compare school information system data to my own survey data to examine how students are being measured racially, ethnically, and linguistically and how this impacts them in terms of their access to school resources.

Additionally, during conversations, I listened for information on how the public receives the movement of Latinos to the area, and I also asked questions about this in interviews. In interviews, I asked teachers how effective they could be at teaching children who spoke languages and came from a cultural background different from their own. During observations, I considered how strategies used by various participants to deal with differences influenced student school participation and educational achievement and attainment of students.

## **Ethical Concerns**

The main ethical concern of this research is that the students surveyed in this study can be defined as a vulnerable population. Because they are under 18, parental permission was obtained with a signature as well as assent gained from the child (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2015). I did not obtain signed informed consent for 17 of the 121 surveys that I administered to children in grades 1-5 at the two schools. Mostly, this was due to students who entered the school year later or whose parents I did not talk with for various reasons, such as they did not come to events such as open house or parent conferences and therefore I was unable to speak with them about the project. After these surveys were collected and I realized my error, I reported this breach of compliance to the University of South Florida's Institutional Review Board for review as a reportable event. In my report, I suggested that I could discard these surveys and the Board agreed; for this reason, data from those 17 surveys is not reported in this research. That I was aware, there were no negative results of this breach.

I ensured that the written consent document was provided in a language that is readable to the participant (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2015) by offering Spanish language informed consent forms. There was one interview participant whose native language was Haitian Creole and I was not prepared with an informed consent in her tongue. However, I explained everything in English and she indicated she understood. Her high school-aged daughter translated and I obtained verbal consent that way as well. Further, her husband and other children were present for the interview and occasionally chimed in, so I have confidence that she understood the risk and details of the interview since she had many linguistic resources.

Additionally, the ethical responsibilities of anthropologists outlined by the American Anthropological Association include: to avoid harm, to respect human well-being, to actively

consult with participants to create a mutually beneficial relationship, to ensure the privacy and anonymity with those studied, to gain informed consent, and to be transparent and open in relationships with participants (American Anthropological Association 2012). I attempted to meet these responsibilities by being honest and open about the goals and methods of my work as well as my plans for dissemination. Participants were free to discontinue participation in the research at any time, without negative consequences. Individuals, schools, and the county are anonymized in research publication and discussion. This research did not place participants at an increased level of risk, compared to their normal daily activities, yet it has significant potential benefits to society. The types of data produced in the course of this project include audio recordings of classroom interactions/observations and interviews and photographs of artifacts and people present at the research site. Physical data are stored in a locked university office in a locked file cabinet and electronic data is stored on a password protected computer in that office.

### **Positionality and Reflexivity**

Even though the research site is only one and a half hours from my university, moving to a new area is never easy. The two areas are very different. My university is in Tampa, a large city with millions of diverse residents, cultures, and values, while Central is small and conservative. In the end, what was the most difficult was not religion, in fact, this research helped me better appreciate Christianity, Catholicism, and religion in general. Language barriers were not discouraging, my Spanish improved greatly and when I later listened to interviews to transcribe, I was surprised at how at ease I was speaking Spanish. I could carry on conversations when topics did not diverge into subjects too far beyond school, family, church, and daily living.

Instead, the biggest obstacle I found was that there were few people to really open up to. Very few of the people in Central county were racially progressive, even though they would say otherwise. For example, aside from hearing the n-word in public places, which I discuss in Chapters 6 and 7, I also heard people speak about Middle Easterners wearing headscarves as being people you had to watch, since you never really knew what they were up to. I heard comments about people who were gay, such as that one seemed to be forcing their preferences onto their child. I found that people of color tended to be in greater alignment with my views, but those were not the people I often found myself around in school. Outside of school hours, I spent my time collecting data, which took up a bulk of my evenings and weekends. As I mentioned earlier, I spent a lot of time with Adelina's family and volunteering with the band.

Positionality is about how statuses, such as gender and race, impact data gathering processes (Salzman 2002). For example, as most teachers and administrators were women, most of the parents I talked to were mothers, and all but one of the federal programs officers were also women, my gender may have helped people relate to me. Conversely, it also may have caused men to decide not to talk to me or may have impacted what they did say to me. Sometimes interviewees were not as forthcoming as they might have been, for example, some may have avoided speaking of racism for various reasons, perhaps because they feared offending me or assumed I shared prejudicial views. It appeared that people opened up to me, including Spanish speakers. For example, several people I talked to shared their undocumented status with me. However, I do believe that their views on racism are underreported in my discussions with them, given that I asked my Latina assistant after some of the interviews if she thought people were sharing everything and she agreed that it felt that people believed racism was more of a problem than they let on, and this probably had to do with me being white.

My position as a white researcher impacted the way people in the county saw me. I believe it helped me get access in many ways. It also led several whites to assume I shared their negative views about African Americans and Latinos. This allowed me to observe the presence of behaviors reflecting certain ideologies, such as those justifying or explaining racial inequality as being caused by minorities. Yet other times, my whiteness was a canvas to which others could ascribe a new racial status to me, usually done in response to my language, behavior, or views on racial and ethnic equality. When I expressed empathy and understanding about discrimination, people of color changed my race and ethnicity in our interactions. For example, once an African American woman in leadership at a school shared with me how hard it was to live in Central and be black. She was chatting with the school psychologist (also an African American woman), who had talked with me before about the negative ways African Americans are treated in Central. When I came up and to give them some strawberry shortcake from the classroom I was in that day, in a low voice the leader said I was “black,” because I acknowledged and am interested in countering inequality. In another example, the first grade Latina teacher I observed also called me *Mexicana* a couple of times due to my Spanish abilities. My background was discussed or questioned other times. For example, once when helping out a teacher, a child asked her if I was white because white people do not do [nice] things like this.

These examples of how people projected racial and ethnic identities onto me sheds light on processes of racial construction. As I explained, race and ethnicity are socially constructed to connect to behavior. When people’s actions do not match the expected behaviors of their perceived race, according to dominant racial frameworks in the United States, they are considered to be “acting” a certain way or are “not really” their race. For instance, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) talked about the perception of black students doing well in school as “acting

white.” Similarly, actress and Fox News Contributor Stacey Dash<sup>38</sup> stated that it seemed “every other black person in American has disowned” her because of her views, which include that Black Entertainment Television (BET) and Black History Month should not exist. At the same time, using language ideologies theory and indexicality (Woolard 2005), I understand that my use of Spanish probably aided the teacher in calling me *Mexicana*. It appears that my orientation to studying inequality, race, and ethnicity and my use of language positioned me as being on the side of these people of color I spoke with in the fight against oppression, and therefore, reshaped my identity in their eyes. This is somewhat similar to Toni Morrison’s comment in 1998 for *The New Yorker*, when she wrote that Bill Clinton was the first U.S. black president, and was “blacker than any actual black person who could ever be elected in our children’s lifetime.” Morrison stated that she “was welcoming him into a club which should not exist” in that he was being treated like a black person on the street as being prejudged as guilty (Coates 2015). However, I do recognize that Morrison’s statement itself could be considered racist. In the end, I believe their ascriptions are more about racial and ethnic minority statuses generally, rather than me specifically.

Returning to reflexivity, it involves such practices as requiring the researcher to critique their own work and consider how they arrived at their final version of their written product. Ethnographic reflexivity deals with how the ethnographer impacts the research process (Foley 2002). I am aware that as a researcher, I bring my own biases and knowledge into the field. As one principal said, definitions of race are “muddy” and unclear. In beginning my analysis, I maintained awareness of how I was socially situated, and although I am a social scientist who

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<sup>38</sup> Dash, Stacey. “Why I Say What I Say, Even Though I Drive Whoopi, BET, and Most Other Black People Crazy.” *Patheos*. <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/stacydash/2016/01/why-i-say-what-i-say-even-though-i-drive-whoopi-bet-and-most-other-black-people-crazy> (Accessed July 5, 2016).



knows that race is socially constructed, I sometimes used some of the same narrow definitions of race that I critique. Throughout my ethnography, as well as my engagements in the field both before and after the formal, data-gathering phase, I practiced reflexivity by looking at my thoughts and actions. During classroom observations, I tried to position myself as a helper, aiding the teacher when needed. During home visits, interviews, and community events, I attempted to position myself as a learner.

During fieldwork as well as the writing process, I have asked myself Erickson's (1984:58-59) following test questions: "How did you arrive at your overall point of view? What did you leave out and what did you leave in? What was your rationale for selection? From the universe of behavior available to you, how much did you monitor? Why did you monitor behavior in some situations and not in others? What grounds do you have for determining meaning from the actors' point of view?" These questions helped me continually evaluate the validity of my data-gathering and conclusions.

Ethnography combines first-hand experience with knowledge and consciousness about different forms of social life, however, no ethnography can depict every aspect of the social life studied (Erickson 1984). Clifford (1986b:2) critiques the idea that ethnographic work portrays a "transparency of representation and immediacy of experience," saying that "ethnographic truths are inherently partial" (Clifford 1986b:7). Rosaldo (1993) shares this view, adding that neither ethnographers nor the people they study "hold a monopoly on the truth" (xix). While it is clear that this ethnography can only be partial, based on my experiences and perceptions of others' behaviors, I have attempted to balance this through my use of various methods to "triangulate" (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999) or cross-check and systematically test my data as well

as by using data that is in the participants' own words. Thus, this dissertation was grounded in an anthropologically-oriented scientific method.

In being reflexive, there was an instance where I struggled, especially with my position and ethics as a researcher. I believe that my actions may have influenced the 4<sup>th</sup> grade teacher to cut my observations short. While she did not ask me to quit observing using those words, she told me that her classroom was "not stable," and she needed to focus on getting them back on track and that would be easier to do without a guest in the classroom. Indeed, before ending my observations, in her efforts to stabilize the classroom I had observed her asking her students to reflect on their own behavior and write down how they could improve the classroom mentality. Later I would find out that one of the students had been attacked by a group of others on the playground at about this time. However, I believe that an earlier action of mine may have caused her to distance herself from me. This happened when I encountered a school employee who repeatedly said negative things about cultural and racial groups to adults and students. In response to the woman's behavior, I reported what she had said to the school's administration. I can only speculate that my "tattling" may have soured the teacher's view of me or she asked me to leave to maintain her relationship with the woman, who she would have to work with far after I left. Similar issues did not arise in the other classrooms. However, before granting me permission to observe her class, Mrs. Z did tell me that she had to see how her class was before allowing me entrance. Later, she shared that if she had a class this year that was like her 2013-2014 class, she probably would not have allowed me to observe because the children in the prior year were more rambunctious and harder to manage.

Further, especially when I first entered a classroom, my presence minimally disrupted the normal classroom setting; however, I became a fixture in my regular classrooms after the second

or third visit. It also helped that both of these schools have paraprofessionals who enter the classroom several times a week and tutor children in groups or one-on-one. The commonness of having extra adults in the room may have smoothed over students' reactions to my presence.

There has been much debate about who can research communities of color (such as Banks 1998; Scheurich and Young 1997; Tillman 2002). Tillman (2002) and Milner (2007) do not believe that researchers must come from the community which they wish to research. Milner (2007) argues that researchers need to be engaged and forthright about tensions that may appear when conducting research dealing with race and culture. Milner (2007) advocates that the researcher be connected to the research process and to their own positionality. The premises on which Milner (2007) based his work are that historically, people of color have been exploited and silenced in education research, some researchers have given privilege to white voices and ideologies, and that researchers' various positions are embedded in the process and outcome of research. Milner (2007) introduces a framework to help researchers become aware of culture, race, and position as they conduct research. Milner advises the researcher that dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen can arise. Milner's research is a useful tool in conjunction with Erickson and Clifford's.

### **Limitations of this Research**

Although there are five elementary schools in this district, this research examined only two. Although the elementary schools in the district are not identical, they do share commonalities, which suggest that the conclusions arrived at from the two schools may be generalizable to the district. This research may also be used to inform understandings of schools

in similar conditions in the U.S. South as well as across the United States. This limited sample size is one drawback of this research, although I sought to compare these two schools across grade levels in order to gather diverse data to arrive at a more complete picture of the site. My use of several methods to cross-check data provided a “triangulation,” which is an attempt to balance the drawbacks that some of my methodologies have and fill in gaps (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte 1999). Because language is critical to understanding culture (Spradley 1970), I spent several years in Spanish courses, however, as a non-native speaker with limited Spanish abilities, sometimes my understanding and ability to communicate was impacted. Nonetheless, there were several ways I sought to mitigate the effects of my lack of understanding due to being a non-native Spanish learner/speaker. For example, I prepared my interview questions ahead of time, frequently had a translator, usually Adelina, with me during interviews, had Adelina work with me to jointly do half of the transcriptions and translations. I also hired a native Spanish speaker to complete parts of the transcriptions and translations and another to do final checks to this document. A further limitation of this study is that I did not employ proper transcript conventions in this dissertation, especially in reporting classroom discourse. Time constraints and the large volume of transcriptions completed made this less feasible for me. However, in resulting publications of this work, proper transcription conventions (using Jefferson 2004) will be employed. These include the use of numbers in between parentheses to represent the length of silence, equal signs to denote latching or utterances that immediately follow another, the use of a bracket for speaker overlap, and so on (Jefferson 2004). Even with these concerns, this research still has immense value to language and education research from an anthropological perspective.

## Conclusions

An aim of this research is that it be able to speak about these issues as they relate to various groups, which is a key requirement of applied anthropological research (Kedia and Van Willigen 2005). Accordingly, these diverse methods have provided a plethora of data from various participants and from various segments of society.

My framework for gathering data and performing analysis is informed by Rampton's (2003) argument that deficit, difference, and domination are discourses people use to interpret language and cultural diversity. To analyze data, I concentrate on the local setting and examine how individuals operate within structures in an analysis of power and inequality (LeCompte and Schensul 2010's ecocritical approach), in which I couch my use of textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998), and critical ethnography (Hadi-Tabassum 2006) with a focus on language ideologies.

These methods and my sample also allow "triangulation" or cross-checking of data, which supports my analysis in the following chapters. Further, they allow for the potential generalizing of these conclusions to other areas in the Heartland as well as other areas of migration, and rural-like contexts.

## **CHAPTER 5: IDENTITY AND ACCESS TO SCHOOL RESOURCES**

In this chapter, I draw on observations conducted at two elementary schools, informal conversations and interviews with participants, surveys with educators, and school documents to answer my first research question, which asks if there are hierarchies of groups that regulate access to resources and whether the school produces a belief system about these hierarchies. I provide evidence from data to support my answer: hierarchies of linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities do regulate access to school resources in Central and each school produces a somewhat different outlook about these group hierarchies. This regulation of resources privileges some groups, reproducing inequality. Ideologies used to support the restricting of resources to some students were also found in the county. To understand my data, I use Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Van Dijk 2008) and textual analysis (Fairclough 2003) as well as theories of ideology (Woolard 1998) and intersectionality (Collins 2000).

The first part of this chapter provides evidence that schools, even in the same district, vary immensely on how well they meet the language needs of families, and failure to adequately meet these needs impacts group's access to school resources while privileging English speakers. After all, how will parents know about programs and activities if they are unable to read the papers sent home which describe those programs and activities? How does this play into reproducing inequality? I discuss parents and school employees' views on school communication, in the areas of multilingual documents, translators, and bilingual books. For

instance, parents and school employees explicitly stated that some Spanish-speaking parents do not come to parent meetings if there is no translator. I also examine quantitative data from the educator survey to show patterns in how teachers think about race and how those patterns vary by racial and ethnic group. I then address the district and state's role in language accessibility in this context.

The second part of this chapter examines the relationship between racial and ethnic identities and school resource access. Whites, more often than people of color, were the majority of those in power in these two Central schools and its district. I discuss parents and employee views on the hierarchies impacting educational equity. In my observations and interviews, whites were more likely to reproduce dominant language ideologies and also go against district policies about language accessibility, which impacted some people of color's access to school resources and privileged whites' access.<sup>39</sup> Even when people of color comprised leadership positions, they were less likely to block resources for minoritized groups. I also discuss the perceptions of the majority on services for minority students. Aside from the intersection of language with race and ethnicity in impacting access to resources, students of color were less likely to see themselves represented in advanced classes, guest speakers, and winners of competitions.

Toward the end of this chapter, I examine how linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities interact with each other and other statuses, such as citizenship and class statuses, to impact people's access to resources. I then explicate how people of color and those without English mastery are afforded less time by school personnel in school interactions, and why that matters.

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<sup>39</sup> Although there were non-Hispanic whites in Central for whom English was not the first language, I encountered this less often in the community. At the same time, those whites still received some of the privileges that come from whiteness.

## **Language and Access to School Resources**

In Chapter 2, I discussed ways that linguistic features can be used to treat people differently because of language ideologies. My analysis in this dissertation focuses on two categories of such linguistic discrimination at the research site. Described in this chapter, in the first category, language (e.g., English vs. Spanish or another language) can be used to exclude, resulting in restricted access to school resources. Parents with less English mastery definitely had obstacles in helping their children in school, but more so throughout Apple than Emerald. The district's and state's practices do not encourage Spanish and other language accommodations as much as they could, although some policies they do have are not followed by schools.

The second category of linguistic features used to construct categories and justify sanctions deals with the degree of accented or stigmatized English (e.g., African American Language or Spanish-accented English). While African American Language satisfies criteria commonly employed by linguistic anthropologists to identify a language, as I explained in Chapter 2, I include it in this second category of "accents" because that is how people in Central constructed it. I include examples of this second category in the next chapter since they relate more to how linguistic, ethnic, and racial identities are established, experienced, and resisted.

### **Apple and Emerald**

In this section, I make three related observations about how Apple and Emerald used language to restrict or privilege student and parent access to school resources. I focus on: 1. The degree to which actual items sent home were translated into Spanish. 2. The availability of Spanish-speaking school personnel at school meetings. 3. The availability of school infrastructure or systems, including people, resources, or protocol, for helping interested teachers



offer documents in Spanish or provide translators. I first explain Apple in light of these three criteria and then discuss Emerald along the same lines. In this discussion, I point out the justifications given by school personnel as to why or why not accommodations were made in these three areas, such as the extent to which parents' linguistic ability was taken into account when strategizing about communicating with parents via notes sent home.

In Apple, for the first point regarding sending documents home on both the school-wide and classroom levels, at the time of my observations the person responsible for sending documents out to the student body was a monolingual, English-speaking older white woman. I noticed that even when there were Spanish copies of documents available to be sent home school-wide, often only ten or so were made and they would be kept at the office for students to “come up and get,” though it was rarely made clear to teachers and students that this option existed (See Appendix B.1 for a field notes excerpt on this).

The woman who was responsible for sending home these documents to the school retired the year after my study. She was replaced with another monolingual non-Hispanic white woman.

In another example, at a School Advisory Council (SAC) meeting, members approved the purchase of Summer Bridge books for \$2,000. These are books that parents could use with their children over summer. The administration sent home a form on which parents specified whether they wanted the books. It was sent home only in English (Figure 5.1). Another form from the SAC meeting was the Contract for Learning, given Figure 5.2 out to students in English and Spanish. However, clearly the English side had been updated and extra bullets had not been translated into Spanish, as can be seen by comparing the number of bullets on each form.

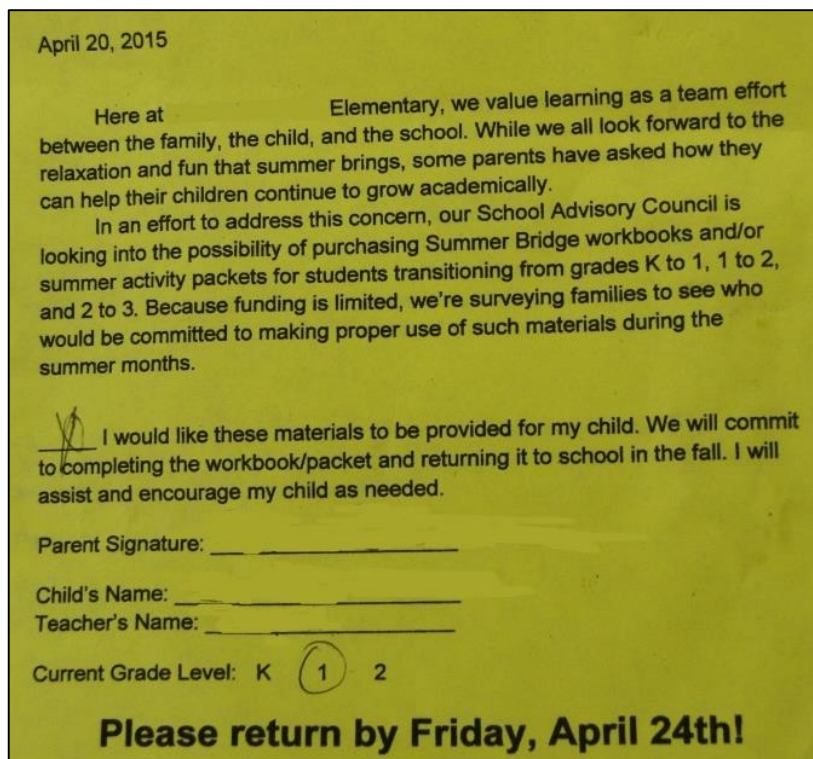


Figure 5.1: Flyer asking parents to indicate if they wanted a Summer Bridge Book at Apple. Form has been edited by researcher to anonymize school and district name.

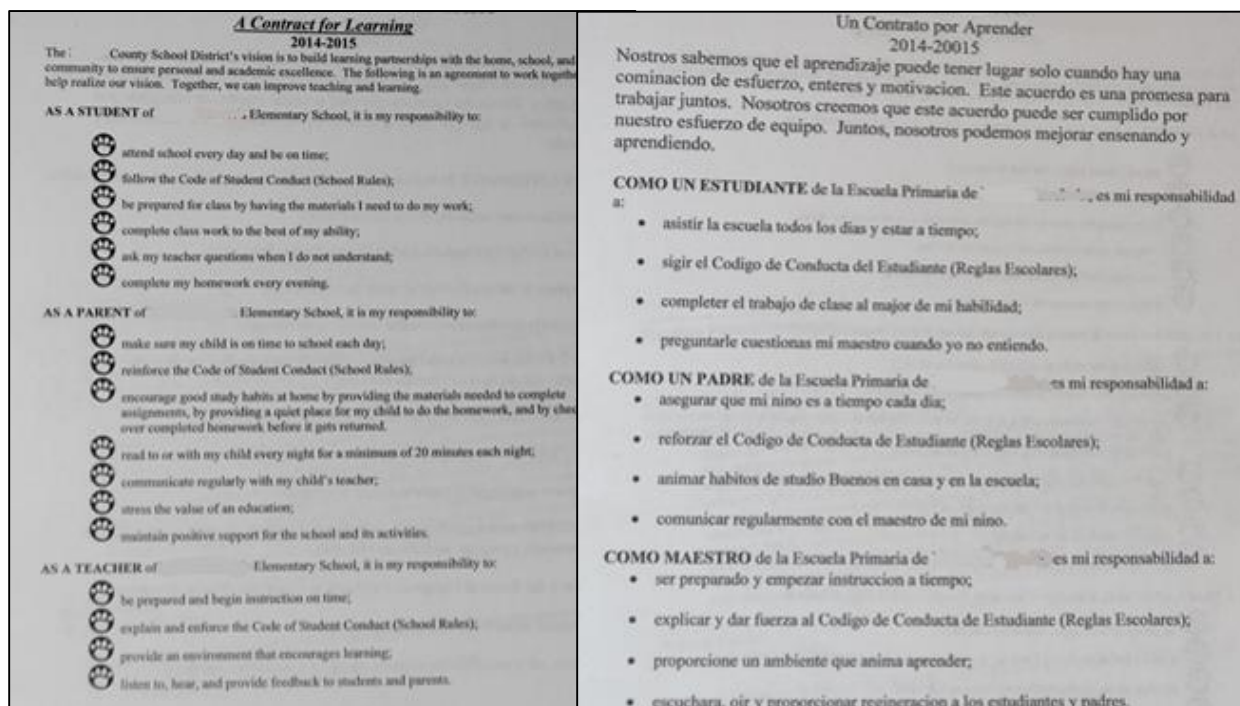


Figure 5.2: Photos of the school code of conduct distributed to parents at Apple. The English side has more information while the Spanish side only includes some of the bullets. Documents have been edited by the researcher for anonymity.

Regarding documents sent home at the grade or classroom level, some teachers cited the administration's and office staff's practices of non-translation to explain their choosing to send documents home in English only. This encouraged a school-wide culture of disregard for translation in various forms. Once, as I was going to make copies of a fieldtrip form for a teacher, I inquired as to why it was not in Spanish. The following discussion took place in a classroom I had been audio recording. A monolingual English-speaking teacher told me that she requested one of the bilingual teachers, who had done such work in the past, to perform the translation three times. It turned out that the bilingual teacher was going to be absent one day, but did not perform the translation before that day for another reason. According to the monolingual teacher, she was told by the bilingual teacher to "just tell the kids they can understand it." The monolingual teacher stated that there was a legal imperative to perform the translation. When she told me this I responded, "Legally? Like what do you mean?" She replied that she had been told that documents from the grade level needed to go home in English and Spanish. I said, "When did they tell you that? Did they send you an email?" The monolingual teacher told me that it had just always been a common understanding; however, this appeared to be an example of a culturally fair language policy lacking guidelines to ensure meaningful implementation (Sookrajh and Joshua 2009). Going back to their conversation, the bilingual teacher had reportedly said, "They can read it without it [the translation], they don't need it." The monolingual teacher told me it was only the second document she had asked the bilingual teacher to translate this school year. The monolingual teacher added that another teacher in their meeting remarked, "Well the Principal's Newsletter was sent home and that wasn't translated." Our conversation led me to conclude that, at least partly, the source of reasoning the bilingual teacher used stemmed from the principal's monthly/bi-monthly newsletter that goes out to the

whole school in English only. Additionally, the second teacher's assumption that perhaps families who predominantly speak Spanish yet have some English capabilities will be able to read in English falls in line with an assumption that people who have knowledge of a language must be literate in it.

For the second point, about the availability of bilingual personnel at school, there were frequent occasions when there were no Spanish-speaking employees to accommodate parents at Apple. School events, such as parent nights or the talent show, rarely offered translators. On one occasion, at Apple when I was in the office, a mother came in to ask about two documents that were sent home to her kindergartener. I looked at the documents and told the mother in Spanish what they were about. One document was a newsletter from her child's teacher explaining how parents can help their children study and included the Sight Words her child should master, while the other paper was a class t-shirt order form. Helping the mom was hard, but a father in the lobby told me I did a good job and that felt great. I translated the newsletter in Spanish and emailed it to the teacher who sent it home. Leaving a note in her school mailbox, I communicated to the teacher that I would be happy to translate anything else. She never took me up on that offer or spoke with me about the matter again. My field journal entries about this (see Appendix B.2) show how the reactions of other employees to this story form a patterned understanding about translation and language access. The understanding is reflective of the Standard Language Ideology in which English is related to nationalism (Fuller 2012; Ellis 2006; Urciuoli 1996). For example, in the entry, another employee states "Maybe she did this because English is our language" in response to the teacher who sent the newsletter home in English and did not appear to want to follow-up with having it translated.

Another time, in the Apple office, I observed two families enrolling their children. I helped one in Spanish the best I could. Since I was still developing my Spanish skills, I told one of the two bilingual paraprofessionals when I saw her enter the office that I tried to help the family. According to my notes that day, she responded, “the kids speak English so it is ok.” At this same time, the paraprofessional also agreed with an office worker who said that the school “bends over backwards [to accommodate Spanish-speaking parents].” However, in talking with the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade child in English, she did not understand that she was supposed to bring back her emergency card after it was filled out. If children’s ability to verbally relay messages and understanding to their parents is not perfect, why should they be solely relied upon as interpreters and translators? I also encountered students who were high school aged who could not translate school documents and happenings from English to Spanish for their parents and thus missed out on opportunities and were penalized academically. This case where an employee says “the kids speak English so it is ok,” approached through Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Van Dijk 2008), shows how the speaker wields the power of the Standard Language Ideology, and also shows the assumption that people are either fluent or not in a language (Fuller 2012).

Although non-instructional personnel may be called upon to translate, I did witness cases where no bilingual person was available, especially at Apple. This occurred a few days after the previous class newsletter example, when the same teacher asked me to make a phone call in Spanish because she had not received the permission form back for an upcoming fieldtrip. I called the mom and explained the class was going to a farm and that the trip cost \$10. The mom gave permission but said she did not understand the form because it was in English.

On another occasion, after school a mom at Apple called in Spanish about owing \$10. After doing some investigation, I told her it was for past breakfast and lunch charges, but that

now all meals are now free. She told me that she did not get a paper explaining that the school district was transitioning to free meals for all students. This document was sent home only in English at this school.

Although there was no Spanish-speaking employee in Apple's office, there was a bilingual nurse at the beginning of the year. An office worker told me that there was an earlier concern about the nurse possibly no longer working there and the office worker said that she "didn't know what [she] was gonna do" if that happened, according to my field notes. She told me that she had shared her concerns with the principal, adding that "all schools need someone [who is bilingual] everyday" for medical reasons. She said the next person they hire in the office should be/it would be nice "if they were Spanish[-speaking]." As I mentioned, the next person they hired was not Spanish-speaking.

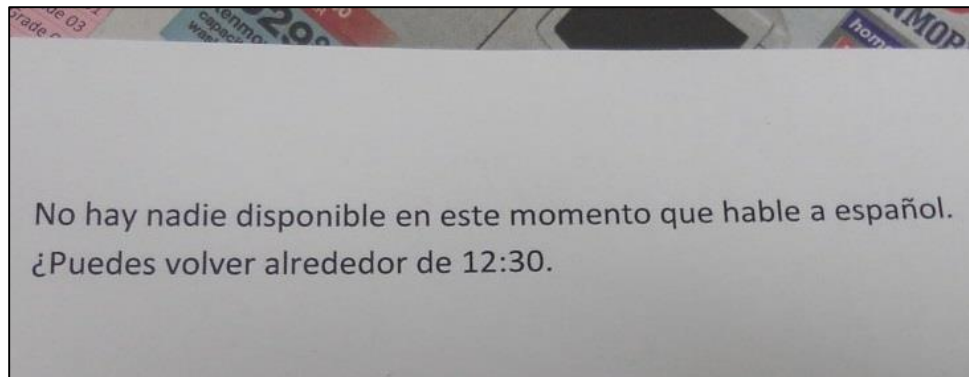
While the Spanish-speaking nurse told me in our recorded interview that he did not mind translating, a bilingual parent told me that the nurse had told her that he does not get paid to translate. She said him saying that "hurt her heart." Likely, this saddened her because of the connection of language to identity (hooks 1994; González 2006) as the nurse's attitude towards translation may have been interpreted by the mother as an attitude toward monolingual Spanish speakers. However, as I show when discussing Emerald, and as discussed by Colomer and Harklau (2009), the reality is that employees who translate can be overburdened. Some do translation work in addition to the duties for their position while others who receive approval may do translating during Flex time. Flex hours are when a person works and then can take a later day off without incurring a loss in pay, however, there are restrictions on when those Flex hours can be used and if they not used within a certain timeframe they are lost.

The bilingual nurse officially retired midway through the school year. There was a cake for him and the monolingual English-speaking nurse who left a similar time. While eating the cake, I stood by two teachers. They went on to discuss how the Spanish-speaking nurse's departure would affect them. As my field notes show, one said, "I don't know what to do about translating since [the nurse] is leaving." The other agreed, "He does all my translating."

For a few months, the bilingual nurse was replaced temporarily with a monolingual English-speaking nurse who told me that language impacts her ability to speak with students who need help because they sometimes cannot explain their needs in English. She said that she also must always have one of the few Spanish speakers at school come to make parent phone calls to Spanish-speaking parents. After that temporary nurse left, she was replaced permanently with a monolingual English-speaking nurse who was previously known to school employees.

On one occasion, I arrived at the school office around 12:15pm and a worker told me that a person had come in this morning and needed someone to speak Spanish. The bilingual nurse, who was still employed at the time, was not there and the two Spanish-speaking paraprofessionals were busy. According to my field notes, an office worker reported that an administrator told the other office worker to learn Spanish and did so "non-politely." She added that saying that was not going to help them at that moment. The office worker talked about how another person had called that morning who also needed Spanish and that she told the woman on the phone, "No hablo Español." The woman calling used Spanish words the employee did not understand and seemed to get mad. Later, around 1pm, the woman called back and was able to say in English that she had dialysis and someone else would be picking up her child today. After a while, I asked that other office worker what happened with the person who had come in earlier. She repeated the story, but added that she went and got one of the bilingual teachers since the

teacher had a paraprofessional in her class to watch the kids. After that, using Google translate, the principal typed a note in non-native Spanish containing several errors but that was understandable to those who could read (Figure 5.3).



**Figure 5.3: Note left for monolingual Spanish speakers. The note indicates there is not anyone at the school that speaks Spanish and asks the reader to return around 12:30pm.**

In terms of making the school-wide meetings linguistically accessible, at a meeting with teacher leaders and administration, an administrator inquired about increasing PTO attendance. According to my field notes, she asked, “Can you get a classroom parent, dads too, possibly [to participate]?” A teacher replied that that they could send a letter out, and other teachers agreed. The first teacher expressed her assumption that only English is a legitimate language when she added, “Some people of Hispanic culture may want to come but speak little or no language and need a translator.” Her remark was not problematized by the group, and the administrator replied that the school has a “translator machine” (simultaneous interpretation equipment) so that the two bilingual paraprofessionals can speak through the microphone and parents can wear headphones. She noted that there were at least 12 headphones, which could be checked out through another administrator. When I attended the next parent meeting, I saw the “translator machine” was pulled out but it appeared to be nonworking. For the several remaining school meetings that I attended I did not see the machine used more than once. There were several of these meetings where there was neither machine nor translators available. For example, usually



at PTO meetings the documents were available in English only and there was no translator provided by the school. In one instance, a woman who was bilingual sat with a couple of Spanish-speaking women and translated. Another time at a leadership meeting, an administrator asked, “How can we get consistent participation out of Hispanic parents? It’s not a language issue. We also need men.” Thus, in another example of Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Van Dijk 2008) and an expression of the Standard Language Ideology, there is a dismissal of Spanish as a legitimate language by some and, perhaps more pragmatically problematic, the denial by administrators that language accessibility impacts parents’ ability to participate.

Similarly, another time the bilingual custodian, who had been called on to do translating for the school, mentioned in an informal conversation with me that it would be nice if the school had more people available who spoke Spanish so they could explain to the Latino parents what honors and advanced classes mean and why they are important. According to my field notes, she said that she does talk to some of the parents about this although she only knows about this because her son went through it so she is able to explain what it means to the parents. At the same time, the petition to have your child considered for the advanced class in each grade level was available only in English.

For my third point, the lack of infrastructure appears rooted in ideological stances by administrators of the school and district. As these examples show, in Apple, there is a pattern in how various school employees constructed language ability and deployed or did not deploy resources to meet peoples’ needs. I argue these patterns, expressed across actors in various levels of power, form a pattern among administrators, staff, and teachers at the school. These translation issues result from the school operating in a way that does not reflect the languages used by students and families and is therefore not culturally responsive to its student body. For

example, my field notes show that once a member of leadership advised teachers, “Developing strong relationships with parents is important. Bank seven positives before delivering one negative, then bank seven more positives.” She then told a story about calling parents on the first day of class and how one parent had asked, “What could he have done already?” The leadership member continued, “Contacting parents positively, also keep a parent log, is important.” She stated, “[You] need to have positive communication with parents, comment in a planner, note, call. If you can win over a parent, you can do anything. Document every time you make contact. Be proactive with communication, email, text. The goal is to forge partnership with the parent.” There was no discussion of how this would be done with parents who did not speak English, thus, as Critical Discourse Analysis looks at silences as well as spoken words to convey meaning (Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012), this omission indicates the place of Spanish-speaking parents in the eyes of these actors.

The lack of resources and infrastructure for translating in this school stems from the administration’s hiring practices, which are impacted by their own biases and networking, and the district’s oversight, since they could hire a full-time translator for this school. I learned through informal conversations with various school employees that some jobs had “no applicants,” employees were sometimes hired without the posting of jobs and were sometimes previously known to those doing the hiring. In terms of the existing resources needed to accommodate Spanish, excluding a custodian, who sometimes translated school events to parents, and some cafeteria staff, there are only a handful of people (two teachers, two paraprofessionals, and the Migrant Advocate who is there about two days a week) who speak Spanish at Apple. There was a bilingual nurse there for about half the year. Through my observations, I heard that the Migrant Advocates were only supposed to translate for migrants

and could get “written up” for translating for others. The nurse was also not supposed to translate for anything outside of medical duties. However, in the beginning of the year, I asked an office worker if they ever had people come to register their kids who do not speak English. According to my field notes, she replied, “Yes, we have a Spanish nurse and custodian and they help, when they aren’t here we help them as best we can.”

The willingness and time-availability of the bilingual individuals at the school who could complete translations, written or oral, varies. For example, although there were two bilingual teachers in a grade at Apple, documents still went home from that grade which were not translated. Translation imposes an extra burden on bilingual workers, who are not usually compensated for this extra work (Colomer and Harklau 2009).

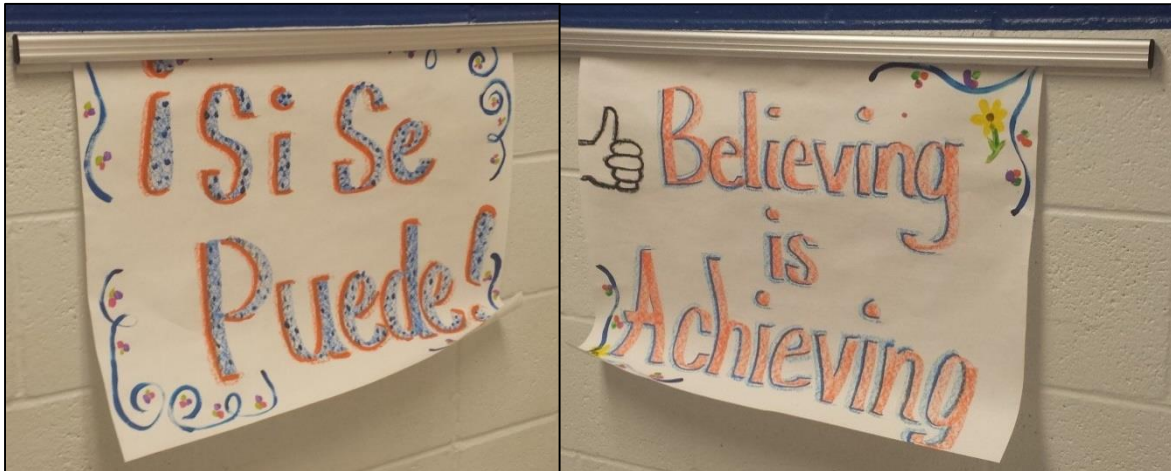
Even when teachers are bilingual, the lack of formal training was often cited as to why they may avoid translating documents or serving as oral translators or interpreters. As well, just because someone can speak a language does not mean they can read and write in that language. Additionally, dialects of Spanish vary, and although most of the school employees who speak Spanish that I spoke with are Mexican, their Mexican Spanish accents vary, and at least one bilingual teacher who is Latina is not Mexican or Mexican-American. Most of the parents I interviewed spoke less complex, Mexican-accented Spanish and used such Mexican phrases like *órale* (this has several meanings and is normally positive; it’s used to express joy, good health, agreement), *así nomás* (this often means “that’s the way it is”), *échele ganas* (this can mean “do/try your best, follow your dreams”), to name a few. One bilingual teacher told me that she does not translate forms, only personal communication, because she was afraid of making errors as she speaks the Spanish that she was taught “in the home.” She gave an example of such an error: a word used in one culture can mean a curse word in another.

As discussed in Chapter 2, of significance here is Coryell et al.'s (2010) connection of identity to ideologies of "proper Spanish" as well as the authors' documentation of how use of Spanish vernacular forms by professionals was met with disapproval by other Spanish speakers. The above transcript and previous observations highlight ideologies of Spanish language use or the language use of Latinos. Additionally, these examples suggest that a "pocho Spanish" (González 2005) ideology exists in Central. "Pocho Spanish" can refer to the language use of second generation and beyond Mexican-Americans who cannot speak Spanish, are unable to speak Spanish at a certain level of fluency, or do not speak Standard Spanish. Additionally, I did notice frequent instances of first language rules carryover to second language, or interlanguage (Selinker 1972), among some Hispanic employees at the school. Some school employees and many of the indigenous Mexican parents I spoke with often used subjunctive moods incorrectly. Similarly, my own Spanish reflected these characteristics, which I found reviewing interview transcripts. Even some of the bilingual books in the library contained several errors.

Regarding the fieldtrip form I discussed earlier, the monolingual teacher added that in the past, one of the paraprofessionals could do the translation, but now the new rule is an employee has to ask the assistant principal before the document is sent to the paraprofessional for translating. It is easy to see that requiring translating requests to filter through another party likely serves to dissuade such requests in some fashion.

Now I consider Emerald's performance the same three areas, which were how often notes sent home were in Spanish, availability of Spanish-speaking school personnel, and availability of school infrastructure for translation. Figure 5.4 shows bilingual signs posted in the hall. According to textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), the presence of the bilingual signs is the manifestation of ideologies reflecting that readers of both signs have value. The choice of "¡Sí,

se puede!” is quite meaningful and impactful for the students given the importance of the phrase and its historical use by Cesar Chavez, the founder of United Farmworkers, and other important leaders to engage people in revolutionary changes. It is not a translation of the English sign “Believing is achieving.” Although I share observations to support that the orientation of individuals in Emerald was more inclusive, I also share observations that are exclusionary.



**Figure 5.4: Signs posted in Emerald during testing week encouraging students to do well.**

Regarding the first point about the frequency of bilingual documents being sent home, the person responsible this in Emerald was a bilingual Latina Data Clerk who grew up in a family of migrant agricultural workers. Long forms and fieldtrips forms always appeared translated correctly at this school (Figure 5.5). Once I was speaking to this woman about her orientation to sending documents home in both languages and she showed me a district letter that said that all children would now receive free lunch and breakfast. According to my field notes, she remarked that she and the assistant principal were “unwilling” to send the letter home only in English, especially because it contained a lot of complex vocabulary. This letter was not translated when it was sent home in Apple. However, this oversight by the district, who sent it out to all schools in English only, shows the again the unimportance of translation as a pattern.

As in Apple, the woman at Emerald responsible for sending home documents to the school left her job, although she did so in the summer. Her position was filled by another bilingual Latina who was already a paraprofessional at the school, and this movement did not go unnoticed by white staff, which I speak about next chapter.

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| <p><b>Additional information for Outdoor Classroom field trip</b></p> <p><b>Clothing:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tennis shoes or other closed shoes or boots should be worn to protect feet from cuts and scratches.</li> <li>2. Shorts of reasonable length and appearance are permitted. Check with your teacher to find out what activities are planned, and the appropriate dress code for your school.</li> </ol> <p><b>Food:</b></p> <p>Bagged lunches and drinks may be brought from home or purchased from the school lunchroom. Tell your teacher ahead of time which you will do.</p> <p><b>Charlotte Harbor Boat Trip:</b></p> <p>This experience will include a trip in Charlotte Harbor aboard a commercial cruise boat. The boat is run by Kingfisher Cruises operating out of Fisherman's Village Marina in Punta Gorda. It can carry approximately 80 people but we will have about half that many on board at any one time. This boat is fully equipped with life preservers, life rafts, and other safety gear. It is inspected by the United States Coast Guard every year. We will use the boat to study the water in the Peace River and Charlotte Harbor. The Southwest Florida Water Management District is helping to fund this field trip. Unfortunately, the boat trip is expensive so each student is required to contribute \$5.00 toward its cost.</p> <p><b>Helpful Hints:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wear shoes and clothing that can get wet from boat spray.</li> <li>2. Bring a hat, cap, and sunscreen to prevent sunburn. (We will have some sun screen available.)</li> <li>3. Never run on the boat.</li> <li>4. Do not bring radios or electronics. The salt air is bad for them. Cameras are ok.</li> <li>5. You can bring snacks or money to buy them on board the boat.</li> </ol> <p><b>Special Permission :</b></p> <p>Since this activity takes place on open water, there is a possibility of seasickness. If you would like for us to be able to give sea sickness medicine to your child please sign below.</p> <p>I give my permission to give my child sea sickness medicine if they need it. _____ Date _____</p> | <p><b>Información adicional para el viaje de campo de Aula Al aire libre</b></p> <p><b>Vestuario</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Los tenis, o otros zapatos cerrados o botas deben llevarse para proteger pies de cortaduras y rasguños</li> <li>2. Se permiten pantalones cortos de longitud razonable y apariencia. Verifique con su maestro para saber qué actividades se planean, y el código de vestuario apropiado para su escuela.</li> </ol> <p><b>Comida:</b></p> <p>Pueden traerse almuerzos empaquetados y bebidas de casa o pueden comprarse de la cafetería escolar. Dígale adelantado a su maestro qué usted hará.</p> <p><b>Puerto Charlotte Viaje del Barco:</b></p> <p>Esta experiencia incluirá un viaje a bordo un barco del crucero comercial en Charlotte Harbor. Este barco es corrido por Kingfisher Cruises, operando fuera de Fisherman's Village Marina en Punta Gorda. Puede llevar a aproximadamente 80 personas, pero nosotros sólo tendremos sobre la mitad de eso a bordo en cualquier momento. Nosotros usaremos este barco para estudiar el agua en Peace River y el Puerto de Charlotte. El Distrito de Dirección de Agua de Sudoeste Florida está ayudando con fondos para este viaje del campo. Desgraciadamente, el viaje del barco es caro y cada estudiante se exige contribuir \$5.00 hacia el costo. El SWFWMD está pagando el resto.</p> <p><b>Indirectas útiles:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Use zapatos y vestuario que se puede mojarse de rocío del barco.</li> <li>2. Traiga un sombrero, gorra, y sunscreen para prevenir quemadura del sol. (nosotros tendremos algún sunscreen disponible)</li> <li>3. Nunca corra en un barco.</li> <li>4. No traiga radios o electrónicos. El aire de sal es una pena para ellos. Las cámaras son ok, nosotros recomendamos los tipos disponibles impermeables.</li> <li>5. Siga todas las direcciones dadas.</li> <li>6. Usted puede traer bocados, o dinero para comprarlos en el barco.</li> </ol> <p><b>Permiso especial:</b></p> <p>Así como esta actividad tiene lugar en agua abierta, hay una posibilidad de mareo. Si le gustara para nosotros poder a favor darle medicina de mareo a su niño firme debajo.</p> <p>Yo doy mi permiso para darle a mi niño medicina de mareo si ellos Lo necesitan. _____</p> |
|--|--|

Figure 5.5: Example of translated fieldtrip form from Emerald.

On another occasion at this school, I talked with an employee who told me about how two years ago the state came in to look into what documents were offered in Spanish and, consequently, that year she did a lot of translating for the district website. According to my field notes, she commented, “Personally, many documents are not available in Spanish and should be,” especially communications about school lunch applications being approved. She said that oversights like this one make parents come in, in one particular case by taxi, just to ask to have

the forms translated. She stated, “Schools here should have at least one bilingual person at the front desk since other bilingual employees have a lot on their plate.”

For the second point, regarding the availability of translators at school, at all school parent nights I attended at Emerald there were translators present. For example, one day I talked with the assistant principal and noticed the Title 1 meeting agenda on her desk, which was in English and Spanish. According to my field notes, she replied, “All the documents that leave this school are in English and Spanish.” She told me that translators would be at the meeting and she would present with an English PowerPoint and have Spanish PowerPoints available in handout form on the tables. Her efforts to equalize this access do not privilege English speakers over Spanish speakers. Mrs. Z ended up being the Spanish translator and confided to me that she did not love it since she was not confident about her Spanish, something others have shared with me, as I wrote about earlier.

Similarly, during an interview,<sup>40</sup> Carmen, a Latina school employee shared with me about how a parent treated her because of her Spanish. Below is an excerpt.

**Carmen: We were having our data night, and you know my Spanish is different from others, you know especially if their Spanish is more fluent than mine. But I had another parent correct me in front of the whole class. And it was kind of embarrassing but I kinda brushed it off, and just didn't care, you know? Because, I mean, at least I'm trying, you know, to relate to the parents, you know.**

Rebecca: Do you think she corrected you like in a mean way or just to be kinda helpful?

**Carmen: At the time it was I think just to be mean. I think, you know, but there's ways you can go about it to where it doesn't seem rude... I'm learning, you know, I still question things, or I'll ask people or what's the correct way. Because the way I may say it or what I say is different from how you're gonna understand it or say it, you know. But that's been the only one time that I can think of.**

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

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<sup>40</sup> Note: All of the interview transcripts in this dissertation are from transcriptions based on audio-recorded interviews, unless otherwise specified. All but one of the interviews conducted were audio-recorded.

For the third criteria, regarding school translation infrastructure, while school employees' orientation and infrastructure was more attuned to accommodating Spanish at Emerald, it was not uniform. There were more Spanish-speaking employees available for translating documents and meetings, and employees were able to make requests for translations to employees directly. However, there were sometimes similar problems in getting translations done to those experienced in Apple, as a Latina paraprofessional named Victoria shared with me in the following interview excerpt.

Rebecca: Do any of the teachers who speak [only] English send notes home in Spanish?

Victoria: Mm. **I write all the notes, like 'so and so needs help with spelling, Sight Words, reading,' I translate all the notes. They'll give me the letter in English and I write it in Spanish. I do phone calls to parents, parent conferences, letters, for a while I was doing the translating on the monthly newsletter that was going home—but then I stopped because the kids weren't being serviced. And of course the teachers don't want to take the blame for it, because they're giving me all this translating work. So that made me look bad. And so [the assistant principal] wants to see the planner and see what we're doing.** I tell her I'm not going to stay hours after school, I have my own kids. I believe I should be able to do it during the school time. Not that I'm not going, it's not like I'm just translating a little note, it's a big newsletter. [Victoria, 35. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]

Afterwards, we talked about the usage of Google translate for translating newsletters.

Victoria told me it gives “lawyer words” and many of the parents “speak a dialect” and their Spanish may not be at that level.

Additionally, an issue came up during an IEP (Individual Education Plan) meeting. There was an interpreter at the meeting but the issue arose when a white, monolingual English-speaking teacher frustratedly explained that she was writing notes to the parent daily. It was apparent that it had not occurred to her that the mother could not read the notes because they were not in a language that she could understand. During the meeting, I mentioned bilingual math flash cards and an ESE (Exceptional Student Education) representative responded, “Resources are a problem here.”



While both Apple and Emerald could improve the accessibility of school materials to Spanish speakers, in Apple there was a stark lack of accommodation for Spanish speakers and an orientation to serving minoritized students that was not often rooted in reality nor an understanding of language differences. For instance, it would be unlikely to find such things as Emerald's "¡Sí, se puede!" sign at Apple. Emerald's administration took pride in making sure that items were regularly sent home translated, the school's employees generally shared an orientation that, for the most part, values translation more and is better-orientated to serving Spanish-speaking families, which disrupts the reproduction of inequality in some ways.

### **Parent and Employee Views on School Communication: Multilingual Documents, Translators, and Bilingual Books**

Interviews with Spanish-speaking parents, who were all Latino and Mexican and/or indigenous, illuminate the impacts of the lack of translators and translated materials. On one hand, bilingual and English speaking Latinos (parents and employees) noticed the lack of Spanish documents and translators. Haitian parents also reported that they would benefit from better translation services and documents. On the other hand, white parents as well as white school employees were more likely to state that translation services were adequate. Such beliefs of whites as compared to people of color illustrate whites' place at the top of the hierarchy, given that because of their privilege, they are blind to the inequality in access to educational resources experienced by many people of color and speakers of languages other than English in Central.

In terms of being able to read communications sent from the school, a few parents reported that all documents were sent home in both English and Spanish. However, when I asked to see things in the children's book bags, I mostly only found school and teacher communication that had not been translated, especially from Apple. One parent reported liking the electronic

communications received from the school (via email), but questioned how others who do not have computer access would be able to take advantage of these. Some parents noted that it seemed like the more important documents were actually the ones not translated. Parents did not appear to link these shortcomings in written translations to a differential educational opportunity.

Below is an example of Latino parents' opinions on this matter from Apple. Eleuia and Lucio are a married Hispanic American Indian couple who speak Spanish as a second language.

Rebecca: Can you ask her if the school sends forms in English that need to be filled out, and there is not a Spanish copy?

Ana: ¿Que si a ustedes les mandan formas de la escuela, por ejemplo, puro en inglés o no en español, para que usted las lea? *Do you receive forms from school, for example, everything is in English and not in Spanish, for you to read?*

Rebecca: (inaudible) But, for... ¿para las otras cartas solo en inglés? *But, for... other letters it's only in English?*

Eleuia: La información, no. *The information, no.*

Rebecca: ¿Sólo en inglés? *Only in English?*

Ana: No, otra información que tenga [que] saber usted no se la mandan en español. ***No, they don't send other information [that] you need to know in Spanish.***

Eleuia: Casi no, un ejemplo que vienen, que una hoja para un permiso que va a salir uno de ellos, por ejemplo, ah. Entonces cuando viene una de esas hojas con el permiso, no lo viene en español. Viene en inglés. ***Almost not, for example, a permission form for a fieldtrip, for example, ah. Then whenever they send one of those fieldtrip permission forms, those ones are not in Spanish. They are sent in English.***

Rebecca: So, ¿Sus hijas traducen para ti? *So, your daughters translate for you?*

Eleuia and Lucio: Sí. *Yes.*

[Eleuia, 37; Lucio, 38. Interview with author on March 5, 2015]

Roseline, a Haitian mother, also shared that it would be better for her if the schools had a Creole translator available (see Appendix A.2). Two Latina mothers, one migrant, shared that the predominantly English-only notes especially impact their husbands' abilities to know what was going on in school (see Appendix A.3 for an example from one of the mothers named Yessica).

White parents were more likely to state that translation issues were less problematic at school, as I have mentioned. Ashley, a white high-ranking employee at Apple, was aware of the lack of translators, and shared how she and the school coped by relying on the bilingual nurse,

custodian, or students (see Appendix A.4). Below is an example the thoughts of a white mother (Amy) on this matter.

Rebecca: Mmhm. And speaking of interpreters, since you bring it up, do you think that [Apple], since your children go there, does a sufficient job in supplying interpreters for Spanish?

Amy: **Yes.**

Rebecca: What about people who speak other languages? I don't know if you even know anything about it, but there's some Creole speakers?

Amy: Right. I mean I don't know that there's any interpreters for that. I mean I personally don't know. I know that sign language was popular here, we do have interpreters for that. I mean I don't know about Creole and stuff like that.

[Amy, 30. Interview with author on August 7, 2015]

Another white mother, Melanie, expressed the notion that translating services are adequate for Spanish speakers. However, she told me that Apple has pulled students from the classroom to translate, and she did not find this problematic. In the next pages, I share another excerpt where an indigenous Mexican mother talks about this as well.

Rebecca: Has there ever been an issue you've observed or discussed with other parents about things like language? For example, maybe someone only spoke Spanish? Did you ever witness any problems?

Melanie: Okay one of my daughter's best friends, she's in a wheelchair. **Well, her mom speaks very, very, very little English and I mean very little. But they have, they have, they'll go to fifth grade or they'll go to fourth grade and get a kid that is bilingual [when her mom comes into school]...**It's only happened one time and I mean it was more of me asking, 'can I go get such and such?'

Rebecca: Right, because there was just nobody to translate or?

Melanie: No, they have someone, they have another teacher or actually I think it's an aide that translates.

Rebecca: But that person was unavailable?

Melanie: Yeah, I was volunteering that day and I just knew that kid knew, was bilingual, and I was like 'hold on, let me grab such and such.' So it, none of the teachers were opposed though. 'Yeah, yeah, that's fine,' you know. So I mean, I think that in our county, they have to have someone, one staff that is bilingual, even trilingual 'cause there's a lot of like Creole or Haitian. And if they don't, I don't feel that they're being fair to the--[interruption]

Rebecca: So tell me more about you were saying that it might not be fair if they don't have the language interpreter?

Melanie: **Yeah, right, I just don't feel that, and I mean the one thing about [Apple] is they are always, they're very fair I mean like in [my daughter's] class, um, even**

**though her mom doesn't speak very fluent, you know [my daughter's teacher] always makes sure there's someone there that can interpret [interruption].**

Melanie: You know it's, I don't know. I'm very happy with [Apple], very happy...and I'm not the only you know **it's not all white people going and volunteering, it's very mixed** and they're very welcoming. **They're not prejudiced about any of it.**

Rebecca: **So you think that they're able to pretty much accommodate Spanish speakers?**

Melanie: **I do, I do. I feel that I mean it might take a, they might have to say hold on a moment please and get someone to interpret but yes. You have to have Spanish speakers in this county just because we have a lot of Spanish, you know, residents.**  
[Melanie, 33. Interview with author on March 24, 2015]

White parents were more likely to state that translation issues were less problematic at school. Melissa is a white mother who also works at Apple, although she was sympathetic to the needs of other language minority students.

Rebecca: **Do you think that the school-end does a good job of sending and communicating to the parents in a language they can understand?**

Melissa: **It's better than it used to be. We didn't used to give a lot of notes in Spanish, I think that's improved.** But I still think we have, you know, we have Haitian kids, we have Hmong kids. You know I have some of those that I don't know if, I mean I know you can't do every language but, I mean, if you wanted to involve that parent you would have to start thinking 'I need more than just Spanish' as far as that. I think they, like I said, I guess they could find somebody that could text in Spanish, you know what I mean, I think that all the phone calls that go home are in English, so I don't know if you could have somebody translate, you know, you do it in English and then you translate it into Spanish when they do the phone calls about upcoming things...

[Melissa, 42. Interview with author on April 1, 2015]

Juana, a Latina employee at Emerald pointedly observed the juxtaposition that certain businesses are able to provide translated documents and people who can interpret, but the schools have more of a problem doing so. This was something I observed as well given that in Central, there was almost always bilingual people and some bilingual signs at various banks, the Department of Motor Vehicles, the office which collects the city's utilities payments, and at mainstream stores such as Walmart.

Juana: Well, just even in the thing of, let's say when we do data chat nights and we can speak English. You know, we're in America and I know it is the language, I know it is, I know it is. But it's incredible [Unintelligible] bilingual, I know that even at church

somebody told me, *hermana*, isn't it incredible how you can even, and this, how can I put it? She made an example of beer, and she said there is no, **they don't have any trouble putting that in English and Spanish because that's a money maker but yet we have trouble doing English/Spanish for our students which is our future**, and I knew exactly where she was coming from. We don't have any trouble bilingualing that because that's a money maker, but to invest in our children, oh my gosh, you know you're talking about time, this and that, 'I don't have time to put all that in English.' I've done data chats and we talk about AR Accelerated Reader and I'll stop and say, 'do we know, have you seen these two letters,' because sometimes we assume they know letters, *letras* and they don't. **They're illiterate even in their own language and then if it's a dialect, is it even written on any paper in the world somewhere?** And I see that through bibles or they say you know we tell the story of Jesus and it's a dialect that you know we go into so it's all pictures. So I think to myself, it's incredible what we pour monies into but when it comes to trying to better student, every now and then you see it, **if that parent knew English would that teacher have made that comment?** You know and I tell 'em, be careful because **a lot of them know English they just have difficulty speaking it because sometimes they're ashamed that their accent is so heavy.** Or [they think] 'I'm gonna mispronounce and use the wrong word.'

[Juana, 53. Interview with author on May 29, 2015]

Ultimately, what the majority of Spanish-speaking participants found most problematic was the lack of Spanish translators, not only in the school office, but especially at parent meetings. However, one participant said he never experienced not having a translator when he visited his son's school. The lack of translators was something I witnessed firsthand, especially at Apple. What is important is that the parents were reticent to call this a problem, only speaking more about the issue when I probed (as shown by Alejandra in the first example below). Further, various participants noted that the lack of translators is likely to impact parent attendance at school meetings and functions, as Eleuia illustrates in the second example below (See Appendix A.5 for another example from Daniela). In this example, Eleuia comments on how important it is for those who are bilingual to help monolingual Spanish-speakers, as she talks about her own children being pulled out of instruction to translate for adults. Each of these participants speak an indigenous first language and they learned Spanish as children.

Rebecca: *¿Siempre que hay una persona en la escuela que hable español? Is there always someone in the school who can speak Spanish?*

Alejandra: ¿Aquí? No hay una que habla en español. Antes sí había [a]hora ya, no. Yo a veces voy a la oficina a preguntar algo, pero no hay alguien que habla español so no lo puedo preguntar porque no hay. Y me gustaría sí que si alguien que hablan en español puede ayudar. **Here? No there is not one who speaks Spanish. Before there was but now, no. Sometimes I go to the office to ask something but there is not someone who can speak Spanish, so I can't ask the question because there is no one. And I would like it if there was someone there who speaks Spanish so they could help.**

Rebecca: Can you ask if it causes trouble or burden that they don't really have anybody that speaks Spanish?

Adelina: ¿Cuando no tiene alguien para traducir a español, este, causa problemas? *When you don't have someone who speaks Spanish, um, does that cause problems?*

Alejandra: No, cuando no hay alguien que me ayuda me, vengo a la casa y le digo a mi hija que hable, porque como ella habla en inglés, y entonces, habla y pregunta esto y esto porque a veces no hay. **No, when there is no one there to help me, I come back home and I ask my daughter to speak [with the school], because of she speaks in English, and then, speak and ask this because sometimes there's no one there [at school].**

[Alejandra, 40. Interview with author on April 16, 2015]

Eleuia: Sí, porque hace falta mucho quien traduzca. Me ha tocado cuando voy a la Junior. A la escuela de la Junior y no hay quien hable español y tengo que estar parada para que llegue alguien y me ayude. **Yes, because translation is much needed. It has happened to me when I go to the Junior [school]. The Junior school doesn't have anybody who speaks Spanish and I have to stand until somebody arrives and help me.**

Ana: She says is very important that people speak Spanish in the community because when she goes to the junior high, she is going to has to wait there for a long time so they can bring somebody in so they can have to translate Spanish to them because there is no one there.

Rebecca: Because there is no one to help her? In the junior high?

Eleuia: Sí, hay quien habla español. Sí hay, hay una que ayuda. Pero a veces está ocupada, como no más ella habla español, pues entonces allá anda ocupada. **Yes, there is somebody who speaks Spanish. Yes, there is someone that helps. But sometimes she's busy, because she's the only one who speaks Spanish, so she's always busy.**

Rebecca: ¿Pero tú quieres una translator? *But would you like a translator?*

Lucio: Sí. (inaudible) *Yes. (inaudible)*

Ana: ¿Pero usted, sería mejor para usted que hubiera persona que ya... **But would it be better for you to have a person...?**

Eleuia: Oh, sí. **Oh, yes.**

Lucio: Sí, que hubiera en las reuniones. **Yes, a translator in the meetings.**

Eleuia: Sí, sí es mejor. Y yo pienso que si hubiera quien traduzca ya, la gente va a ir más a la junta. Porque no muchos padres [no] nos dicen. **Yes, yes, it's much better. And I think that if there's someone to translate, people would go more to the meetings. Because not many parents are told to go [by the school].**

Ana: ¿Usted quiere que haiga todo el tiempo? *Would you like them to be available all the time?*

Eleuia: No, o sea, sí está bien y yo lo que le digo a mis muchachos, que ellos aprendan a traducir. Porque también me dicen: "Mamá yo voy a la oficina," a veces va por mandado

de la maestra porque les ayuda. Entonces dice que hay personas que ahí están porque ella necesita ayuda. Y ella les ha ayuda. Entonces les digo, sí, es necesario que aprendan para que traduzcan ustedes, sea para mí o sea para otra persona que lo necesite. Pero es bonito. *No, I mean, yes it is good and what I say to my kids, they should learn how to translate. Because they also tell me: "I go to the office Mom," and sometimes it's because their teacher asks them to. And they say that there are people who are there because they need help. And she helps them. So I tell them, yes, it is necessary that they learn how to translate, for myself and for other people that need it. But it's pretty.*

Lucio: Sí, es necesario. *Yes, it is necessary.*

Eleuia: Es bonito ayudarse. *It's pretty to help out.*

Lucio: Sí, es necesario. *Yes, it is necessary.*

[Eleuia, 37; Lucio, 38. Interview with author on March 5, 2015]

Likewise, a white school employee mentioned that parents not speaking English and not coming to meetings is a challenge that the school faces. This is important given that so many Spanish-speaking parents I talked to said that the reason they did not go to the meetings was because there was no translator available.

Rebecca: What are some challenges the school faces?

Melissa: Parent Involvement, **the fact that a lot of our parents don't speak English.**

The fact that a lot of our parents don't show up, you know, aren't involved. Kids go to bed whenever they want, you know, I mean, I've seen a shift in how important school is. You know, and if it's not important to the parents, of course it's not important to the child. And I've seen a huge shift in that, and that's just in the last few years. Where you know 'We just went out of town today' or you know 'Dad didn't feel like driving me to school' you know? Just that 'Why didn't you do your homework?' 'Eh, 'cause I just, I didn't do it'. Or you know whatever when it just wasn't important to the parent so it's not important to the kid, and I think that's a huge challenge.

Rebecca: How do you think the school could address parent involvement issues?

Melissa: I think they do, I really do. I think schools do the best they can. I mean I think, you know, there's home visits, there's notes sent home, there's parent nights that we have. **I mean, you can hold all those things, but if the parents won't come, you can only do so much. I feel like the schools really try.** I wish our school did more phone calls to the parents. I know that my child's at the middle school and I get a text any time something is coming up. They have that text thing to where you sign up for it and then you know like tomorrow is the last volley ball game so I got a text today 'Last junior high volley ball game' 'No school on Friday.' Something like that where they just get a text as opposed to a phone call to would might help. I don't know. I think everybody tries to best they can as far as that's concerned.

[Melissa, 42. Interview with author on April 1, 2015]

Additionally, a white administrator at Apple seemed to understand that language can be a barrier to parental involvement, but stopped short of critiquing the school's practices. Below is an excerpt of our non-recorded conversation based on my notes.

Rebecca: Have you noticed any language problems at your school?

Grace: Anytime you have visitors who come to the front desk and we don't have a native speaker, it's frustrating for the parent and office personnel. **Spanish-only parents may not come to parent events because they may feel uncomfortable because they are ESL and English is taught at school. We have a translating para[professional] who keeps situations confidential.**

[Grace, 51. Interview with author on June 30, 2015]

A Migrant Advocate, Ana, mentioned that language is an issue sometimes when they do their home visits. In this case, none of the Migrant Advocates speak an indigenous language and that can impact their ability to serve families. Note the Advocate uses "Spanish" or "dialect" to refer to indigenous languages. According to a pervasive language ideology in Mexico, indigenous languages are *dialectos* (Meek and Messing 2007), which I revisit in the next chapter.

Ana: Anyways so [woman's name] was working there too, working at the same thing as [another woman's name]. So finally you know, I got the job and at first it was kind of hard for me, you know, because I used to go people's homes and I feel like, feel sorry for them you know. The way they were. **Some of them speak Spanish and didn't understand what you were talking to them.**

Rebecca: They didn't speak Spanish or they didn't speak English?

Ana: **No, they didn't speak Spanish because their dialectic, dialect? They don't understand you when you talk Spanish.** So, some, some of them they don't wanna come out because they were kinda shy, you know, hiding through doors and I feel kind of uh, you know. So I said 'oh my gosh.' So, I started getting acquainted to them more and more and more 'til I feel more comfortable with myself with that kind of job.

[Ana, 67. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

Although both Apple and Emerald had bilingual books, the majority of Spanish-speaking parents did not know about the bilingual books offered in the school's library, yet were positive when I explained what they were. See Appendix A.6 for a conversation with a mother named Vanessa that includes her positive reaction to learning about these books. However, according to



the bilingual book survey I administered to Apple, many teachers had never recommended bilingual books before. Only two school instructional staff of the 22 who completed the survey recommended bilingual books often, seven did so rarely, eleven never did, and two other participants had other responses (“n/a” and “?”). Many, eight out of 22, reported not knowing that Apple even had bilingual books for students to check out. Nineteen of the 22 surveyed agreed that bilingual books could parents help their children improve reading comprehension and related skills. Eighteen of the 22 said they would recommend bilingual books if more were available in the library. These results were presented to the administration and library staff. When I visited the research site at the end of the 2015-2016 school year, it did not appear that more bilingual books had been purchased. It should be noted that there were about 15 or so bilingual books that varied in difficulty, so the first graders I was working with during fieldwork had only three or four books on their level they could engage with.

### **Addressing the District and State**

As I mentioned, often Emerald sent home items translated that Apple did not. While that is problematic in the context of the district, it would be worthwhile considering having district-wide documents pre-translated before distribution to the schools. It does not make sense for the district to send a document to several schools and have them each translate it instead of first having it translated and then sending out both versions to each school. Or if a document was translated in one school, perhaps it could be sent to others.

The schools and district are not the only entities that send home communications on a school-wide basis. For example, a notice that was to be sent home to all students was sent to schools from Governor Rick Scott’s office about the flu. It was available only in English. When I

inquired with a couple of Apple nurses about it not being in English, I was told that they had indeed had it translated by a bilingual paraprofessional, but their boss would not allow them to send it out since it had not come directly from Scott's office and thus did not bear the seal and letterhead from him. A nurse at Apple expressed fear of causing trouble in the security of her job in speaking to me about this.

### **Race and Ethnicity and Access to School Resources**

In the first part of this chapter, I wrote about the relationship of language accommodation to resource access. I note here that language accommodation is also related to racial and ethnic equity. In this second part of the chapter, I explain the more and less noticeable ways that race and ethnicity were used to restrict access or were correlated with restricted access to school resources in each school.

#### **Apple and Emerald**

To evaluate racial and ethnic inequalities in access to school resources in the two schools, I considered the following criteria: 1. The representation of people from various racial and ethnic groups in advanced classes, competitions, and extracurricular activities. 2. The extent to which the cultural expression of non-dominant racial groups was embraced and the degree to which people of color saw their lives and histories reflected in curricula. To consider how race and ethnic identities privilege or restrict school resource access, I first examine Apple and then discuss Emerald, using these same criteria in both analyses.

Regarding the first criteria, a clear example of how racial and ethnic identities impact inequalities in school resource access can be seen in Apple's advanced classes. For example, for the kindergarten advanced class, there were 2 African Americans, 6 non-Hispanic whites, 9 Hispanics, and 1 Asian Indian. Here, there is an overrepresentation of non-Hispanic whites as compared to other kindergarten classes. For example, while assigning classrooms, the principal had remarked that she struggled to put 1-2 whites in each class due to numbers. However, children are placed into kindergarten using different placement criteria than the higher grades' advanced classes, although a similar overrepresentation of non-Hispanic whites in advanced classes is seen.<sup>41</sup> In another case, I visually observed that the 4<sup>th</sup> grade advanced class is comprised of students who are lighter in skin color than their peers in the "regular" or "lower ability" class. It would be hard to argue that teachers and students do not notice this too. In Chapter 4, I mentioned the demographics of this classroom and there were 8 non-Hispanic whites in the "advanced" class compared to 3 in the "regular" class.

For the second criteria, most of the time European or white identities were privileged while the cultural expression of non-dominant racial and ethnic identities was stifled in Apple. There were fewer examples of racial and ethnic minority identities being celebrated or discussed in the class. Lastly, through organizing Hispanic Heritage Month Activities, in conjunction with the teachers whose classrooms I was observing, I was able to test the notion that through culturally responsive practices, the schools might be able to begin to be reshaped into spaces that are less "white public space" (Hill 1998) and more "multicultural spaces," which would positively impact inequalities in school resource access.

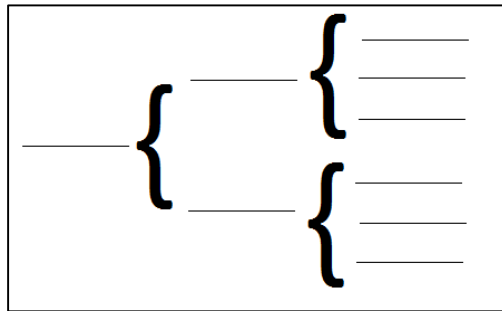
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<sup>41</sup> While the advanced classes for the higher grades are made through a combination of teacher recommendation, standardized test scores, and parent recommendation, the kindergarten advanced class is based on how the students perform in diagnostic activity that they complete one-on-one with a paraprofessional at the beginning of the school year. The activity asks students to do things such as identify shapes and name colors.

The cultural expression of ethnic minorities was often omitted in an effort not to offend the majority, while the privileged, in this case whites, saw their culture represented at school daily. The following example is based on my field notes. On one occasion, as a thank you to Apple, I brought a tub of Halloween decorations and set to serving a luncheon, in the style of a “haunted tea table,” in the library for faculty and staff. A library staff member liked the idea and the principal gave me permission. I talked with the library representative about it and we discussed ideas, one idea was to make it a *Día de Los Muertos* celebration. When I ran our idea by an administrator, she rejected it. I explained that it is somewhat like All Saints Day, a Christian holiday during which people remember loved ones and marigolds are often used. I mentioned it could be a way to meet the School Improvement Plan item that asks how schools learn about students’ cultures. I offered that we could get parents involved to help plan and possibly make it into a student tea. She said that the ‘dead’ part might be too much. I offered to dial it down and just focus on some parts. Then she said she was “not sure, that it might offend our white and black families.” She commented that in the school, they have 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> generation Latinos who probably do not celebrate the holiday. She stated that a *Cinco de Mayo* event would be better, although I did not have confidence that would be followed through. When I relayed this to the employee I was working with, she said that basically the administrator was “not open to things, expressions of the Hispanic community,” and seemed disappointed.

In another instance a teacher told me that she was doing many activities about Hispanic Heritage month after seeing an email the principal sent out on my behalf asking if anyone wanted me to help them organize an activity for it. For example, the teacher did a “brace map” on “how to make a piñata.” Briefly, a brace map is an organization technique that helps determine the relationship between parts of a whole by using brackets. It is just one of several mapping

techniques the district espouses for use on standardized tests and which are pictured on posters in most of the classrooms. It often is depicted like this (Figure 5.6):



**Figure 5.6: Rendering of a brace map.**

The class also read the book *Look what came from Mexico*. Based on my field notes, the teacher told me that kids had asked if they could bring in things for the event, such as coins and a sombrero. Although it seemed that the teacher sometimes conflated Hispanic and Mexican in the way she spoke, the event went smoothly. I chatted with a mom who was there and helped her make the drinks she brought, which were tamarind and hibiscus flavored. She and I poured and encouraged the kids to try both and almost all did. The mother told me that her son talked about this all week and was very proud that his culture was being celebrated. Later, we busted the piñata I had made for the class. Earlier in the day the students had painted their piñatas they had made together as a class. During the party all of the children seemed positive and many expressed that they enjoyed it.

Later that day, as I worked in the front office, another teacher came by and when I asked if she was doing anything for Hispanic Heritage Month, according to my field notes she replied, “No...we don’t have European Heritage Month.” However, when I replied, “Every day is European History day since that’s the history we teach in schools,” she agreed.

Overall, racial and ethnic inequalities in access were less apparent in Emerald. This is for several reasons. First, they do not have “advanced classes” although they do use “inclusion”

classes where the lower ranked children are placed. I did not see a significant and patterned ethnic and racial trend in the “inclusion” or “regular” classes. Secondly, there is not a large population of racial and ethnic groups outside of Latinos. Third, Spanish-speaking parents were much better accommodated. Fourth, extracurricular activities, where a lot of inequality becomes visible through the often over-representation of whites, were non-existent at this school. The year I was there, they did not have a PTO (although there were plans to start one next year), a Battle of the Books team (although in the past they have), a yearbook, or a chorus.

While I did not walk around all Apple classrooms in February, because of Emerald’s layout, I did see the bulletin boards that each class used and at least two had been decorated for Black History Month. I also saw portraits of Frida Kahlo the art classes made (Figure 5.7). Again, such signage was not usually found at Apple, in part because they lacked art classes.



**Figure 5.7: Students’ portraits of Frida Kahlo lined the walls near the art room in Emerald.**

On a larger scale, there were no school-wide Black History month events at either school and neither school did any school-wide activities for Hispanic Heritage month. For Cinco de Mayo and Black History Month many teachers do their own activities or do nothing, according to my observations and interviews. In looking at all the district elementary schools at one time,

with the exception of Emerald which did not participate, white students were overrepresented at the Battle of the Books though there were some Black and Hispanic participants. The Battle of the Books is like the game show Jeopardy! where teams demonstrate their mastery of several predetermined books to win. All teams received something for participating, which could include books and gift cards, though the winners' prizes were larger.

### **Parent and Employee Perspectives on Hierarchies affecting Educational (In)equality**

Interestingly, predominantly Spanish-speaking parents believed that their children received an equal education as compared to other children in Central, although they shared details about their children's education which led me to question just how equal their access to educational resources may be. These parents I interviewed were often recent immigrants, migrant, as well as indigenous; such groups have been referred to as "im/migrant" in related literature (Arzubiaga et al.'s 2009). Other Latino parents who were bilingual or monolingual English speakers or who may have not been immigrants were more likely to find fault with the schools. Most African American parents I talked to also expressed doubts that children received equal educational opportunities, linking this to broader racial inequality and a lack of respect for African American parents by the school, in part because of the language used by some African American parents. Haitian parents were more likely to state that the schools treated their children well. Likewise, the majority of white parents reported that children received equal educational opportunities. School employees varied in their responses similarly, depending on their own racial, ethnic, and linguistic background. Ultimately, this again showed that whites were unaware of their privilege while many participants of color questioned educational inequality and positioned whites as receiving the best access to education.

The following excerpt typified the majority of predominantly Spanish-speaking parents' views on their children's education. Most believed their children received equal education.

Rebecca: ¿Piensas que todos los niños reciben un educación que es igual? *Do you think that all of the children are receiving an equal education?*

Guadalupe: Sí. *Yes.*

Rebecca: ¿So, los blancos, y los hispanos, y los Negros reciben igual? *So, the whites, the Hispanics, and the African Americans receive equal?*

Guadalupe: Sí, sí. *Yes, yes.*

[Guadalupe, 32. Interview with author on April 21, 2015]

Even though the state of education for predominantly Spanish-speaking families can be questioned, parents overwhelmingly found little fault with the schools. The attitudes of many families I spoke with focused on working hard to achieve goals. Here is such as example, by an indigenous Mexican who speaks Trique as his first language as well as Spanish. His speech is often colloquial and uses the phrases “Se puede” and “échele ganas,” which are important cultural phrases of encouragement:

Adelina: ¿Qué piensa de ser Hispano y estar aquí en [Central]? *What do you think about and being Hispanic here in [Central]?*

Chichahua: Bueno, este, mi meta yo, mi meta le dije a todos mi niños, ¿verdad? que ello' estudie' y bueno para ello' ya tienen más oportunidad ¿no? de que nacieron aquí. Porque le dije yo 'Nunca, usted nunca va a andar al campo a trabajar como yo. Yo sí yo no tengo nada, no tengo estudio no fui a la escuela, fue. 'toy trabajando en el campo.' Le dije yo a ello', 'Si ustedes nacieron aquí, tiene chances de estudiar aquí en Estados Unidos.

Estudia, pero haga más algo diferente.' Le dije, 'Siempre un doctor, un abogado, lo que usted quiere, pero ya cambie,' le dije. Esa mi meta yo con ello'. Si un alguien dice que quiere ser maestra o doctor o lo que sea, ok, “échele ganas. Se puede, pero nomás lo que tienes que--[Adelina: Sí.] exacto,' le dije. *Well, um, this is my goal, this is my goal with them, I tell all my children, right? Studying is good for them and they have more opportunities, right? Because they were born here. Because I told them, 'Never, you will never be in the field working like me. I don't have anything, I have no education because I didn't go to school, done. I'm working in the fields.' I told them, 'If you were born here, you have more chances to study here in the United States. Study, but do something different.' I said, 'Always a doctor, a lawyer, or whatever you want to be, but make a change now [compared to last generation], I told them. That's my goal with them. If one of them wants to be a teacher, doctor, or whatever, ok, 'Give it your best. It can be done, you only have to--[do whatever] [Adelina: Yes.], exactly,' I told them.*

[Chichahua, 36. Interview with author on April 16, 2015]



However, the Latinas I talked to who were not immigrants and were born in the United States or whose families had been here for several generations were more likely to report displeasure with the schools. A Latina employee and parent at Emerald had this to share:

Rebecca: Do you think that some kids have a harder trouble, harder time getting help like certain kids. Like boys or girls or white or blacks or Hispanics? **Do you think that like some kids aren't getting the same education that others are?**

Carmen: **Oh yeah, yeah.**

Rebecca: Who would you say?

Carmen: **I'd say the whites.**

Rebecca: The whites are getting less or better?

Carmen: **They're getting better; you know they get. If you're not athletic or if you're not white, then they just, you know, and of course we're neither or, you know. My kids aren't athletic, you know, and of course we're not white, so.**

Rebecca: So tell me about the difference in education. How does that look?

Carmen: **To me, some kids get preference as far as like getting to make up their work, you know. Versus, I only speak because of my daughter, she can ask for make-up work or extended time, whatever or just, you know, to make up a project and it's 'no.' But then you got other kids who are never there, and they get accommodated for that...**

Rebecca: ...So do you think it's equal here, like equal access for all students or no?

Carmen: I don't know, I don't know. From what I've seen, yes. But I'm new, I'm still new.

Rebecca: Okay. So do you think children overall in [Central] are receiving a good education?

Carmen: Overall no, I don't think so.

Rebecca: So what, how could they improve it? Or what is bad about it?

Carmen: **I just think they need to see every child the same, it don't matter their culture, it don't matter what they look like, it don't matter how they're dressed. A kid can be taught, you know, and I think a lot of people, a lot of teachers see them like, oh you know, they don't have to put their effort into that child, that's how I see it.** And I see it from my experience too, because I know I had a teacher who was, you can just tell she just didn't like Mexicans. And she was rude to me. To this day I remember how she treated me. But I had some teachers too who were, who taught me things and those are things that I still carry with me. **But I just think that every kid should be treated the same, given that same opportunity as every other kid.**

Rebecca: **But they're not?**

Carmen: **Uh-huh, they're not.**

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

Juana, a bilingual Latina school employee was very clear in that she believed that people used race to make judgements about students' abilities to learn.

Rebecca: ...So one of the things you said that I think was interesting was, I don't know how to describe it, was you said that **'why does everybody look at this to think if you can or can't be educated?'** and you pointed to your skin. You think people in [Central] do that a lot?

Juana: **Yes, mm-hm, the school I think is a prime example.**

[Juana, 53. Interview with author on May 29, 2015]

She also shared what she has heard parents state that students in Emerald receive an easier FCAT, the state's standardized test.

Rebecca: **Who said they got the easy FCAT?**

Juana: **Some of the parents say it.**

Rebecca: Like from other schools? And you just heard it through the grapevine?

Juana: Well we do so much with the community, **there's even a parent here who said, 'you know my child's here because we're zoned here, which is fine but I know that you got to give the easier test because of your population.'** I said, 'what's wrong with the population, what are you talking about?' **'Well yeah you know these kids, somebody's gotta give them a chance.'** I said, **'But you're almost making it sound like somebody gave them a chance by cheating.'** I said, 'The school would close down, teachers would lose certificates and administrators would be fired.'

[Juana, 53. Interview with author on May 29, 2015]

Most African American parents I spoke with did have concerns that their children were not receiving the same opportunities in school as others, especially whites. Michelle, an African American mother shared how she feels African American children receive a lower quality of education. She linked this to broader racial inequality in Central.

Michelle: **Okay, well this is a racist little town and I feel like only a select few do get the opportunity to get the best education. And I feel like in order for your child to get a piece of that good part, you have to go to this School Board, that School Board. You gotta bounce around like a maniac just to get them some help because they will easily give a white child or another child who know this person or know that person...But anyways, they give you like, when you meet them like that first day. They act like they're gonna be so like their second mommies or whatever but it ain't like that cause, I wouldn't do that or I, Imma handle this a whole 'nother way so I just feel like it's, they don't. Only a select few.**

Rebecca: So you wouldn't say that your child receives an equal quality of education.

Michelle: Oh no, uh-uh. I don't even feel like they takin' the time out with her.

Rebecca: What about for [your son]. Do you think, like 'cause you said that the town is racist. So, tell me more about that.

Michelle: **This town is a prejudice town. Like um, basically like okay. Like at [City] Elementary, like: they oh my God. Like, I just feel like you could just tell like, they**

**do not want to see. Like, they don't wanna see a black child, right. Well, in my opinion with supportive family members. They don't wanna see. They don't wanna see you going to the meetings. They don't wanna see you popping up there, checking in on your daughter. None of that. So I know that they're not. They're not used to that, but it's some good people out there that's for their children and I'm one of 'em. And nobody's gonna keep me from up there, but I didn't feel the need to go to [my daughter] 'cause I was just proud of her. And I thought that was my way of letting her grow up, and maybe she'll do good. But then I seen a little slackin' but we were goin' back and forth to the hospital [to visit my dying grandmother] but I would love to still address Ms. (Unintelligible) if I ever had the opportunity. [Michelle, 29. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]**

Darnell, a local African American politician shared his thoughts on education and inequality (Appendix A.7). He reflected that the U.S. and Central curriculum is not designed for people other than white, and that the Central school board has traditionally been predominantly white. Allison, an African American school psychologist, agreed that the schools could be more culturally responsive. Here she questioned the curriculum for the predominantly Latino school.

Allison: [Emerald], I feel the same way about [Emerald]. Even though they have a larger Hispanic population, a majority of your students, I think there needs to be like more, um, language and more, the curriculum should be focused around that group of children. **Your whole population is a Hispanic population, why your whole curriculum is not?** [Allison, 32. Interview with author on March 10, 2015]

Many Latinos I talked to also agreed that having the curriculum better reflect the students would be beneficial. Below is an example from Carmen, a Latina school employee.

Rebecca: Do you think that your children learn about important people in United States history that were Spanish or Spanish artists or you know inventors or whatever do you think that they or even African American, do you think that the kids are getting like a diverse curriculum or do you think that that's not so much?

Carmen: **I don't think it's so much for Mexicanos, I know for the Black History Month they do, maybe not as much but I really don't see nothing for Mexicanos. I've never, like you know the important people, I don't really see that.**

Rebecca: Would that be important to you that they did that more?

Carmen: **It would be nice because that way the kids would learn their culture,** you know what I mean, something, something that historical you know, it's important just like it's important when they teach them about the presidents, George Washington you know all that, Abraham Lincoln, it would be nice also for them to teach, you know, it would be nice.

Rebecca: **So do you think it's the school's job to teach to kind of inform or um share or teach um the histories of the groups that are in the communities?**

Carmen: **I think so.**

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

Michelle, an African American mother, expressed that she felt that parent conferences were often only done so that teachers could have documentation that the meeting took place. She hoped that the meetings could be more productive and she questioned the type of language teachers used to speak about her child.

Michelle: All I want uh, them to be aware of is to reach out. **Be more considerate and be more (Unintelligible). Like, you need to be mild with what you say because your words do hurt and affect me and my child. And I just want them to be more considerate and instead of like, writing me notes and stuff. If you are truly, really concerned about her, her, her, her, her, like her grades or whatever, call me. Let's sit and discuss it. Let's make a meeting, and then don't just try to rush me (Unintelligible) to meeting with you so you can have it documented just so you can. 'Cause, I feel like that's what [her daughter's other teacher] whole thing was about. Having that (Unintelligible) well, I'm not coming here to prove nothin' so you have your documents with no [principal]. I thought we was coming to discuss.**

[Michelle, 29. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]

Allison, an African American school psychologist, had a similar concern. She spoke of the completion of assigned tasks because they are required, but questioned how well the tasks were followed through.

Allison: I feel like sometimes, and I think it a district thing, **they give them strategies just to give them strategies because it's the law.** And they don't see the effectiveness of those strategies that they put in place. Is it really working?

Rebecca: So there's no follow-up?

Allison: No. Um, I feel like, um, **the ESoL teachers at [Apple], I think they doing the best they can. But I feel like they need to teach the teachers how to use the strategies they are using...** Like, ok, yeah you see them twice a week for 30 minutes, what about the other three days?

[Allison, 32. Interview with author on March 10, 2015]

Kimberly, an African American mother, also spoke about this issue in our interview. She talked about how the school treats African American families. She focused on administrators'

and staffs' treatment of African American parents and how that hinges on the parents' language and dress as well as the administration's negative assumptions about their parenting.

Kimberly: Sometimes. **I don't think that people, administration-wise, can understand a situation, so I don't think that they address it correctly. I really don't. I don't think that they talk to them correctly. I think when the parents do or don't go and talk to 'em they feel as though the parent is, or they'll label them as a not a good parent, when it's not, that's not always true. Yes, there is parents out there that just won't do, but majority of the parents out there wanna do, but are just so intimidated. Then when they come to the schools or go to the administration staff, the way they address 'em, the way they talk to 'em.**

Rebecca: So the way that the administration addresses the parents?

Kimberly: Right. **The way the administration addresses the parent. It brings the parent even further down. The parent is already at a low because they're struggling to help their children or their student, which they don't know how to help 'em. And then to go to administration staff and they talk to 'em down. It brings the parent even lower and some parents don't know how to address that or how to overlook that. So then they really just shy away and they shut down and when the parent shut down, a child shuts down and when the child shuts down and a parent shuts down, then the whole community is at a loss. Just because some of us or some people know how to address things or know how to go to the school and talk to them, that helps, but it doesn't help enough.**

Rebecca: So like, **if maybe an African American parent maybe speaks a certain way?**

Kimberly: Mm.

Rebecca: Like, **maybe like standard English?**

Kimberly: Right, right.

Rebecca: **Then the school might be more receptive to helping them?**

Kimberly: **Exactly.**

Rebecca: **If they were to speak Black English the school would talk down to them?**

Kimberly: **Exactly. And the way they dress.**

Rebecca: Okay. **So there's judging maybe?**

Kimberly: **Oh yeah.**

[Kimberly, 44. Interview with author on August 5, 2015]

About a third of African American mothers did not agree that children from different racial groups receive different education. One mother, Yvonne, expressed uncertainty about the state of education in the county more broadly (Appendix A.8).

Both of the Haitian participants also expressed that they were pleased with the schools, though they both indicated that translators would be an advantage. However, the high-school aged daughter of Roseline shared with me some of the realities she experienced in the high

school that suggested bias extends to that level as well and she also discussed a situation where a teacher told her brother that his step-mother was not his mother, which greatly upset him (Appendix A.9).

As I mentioned, the vast majority of white participants stated that children all receive the same opportunities. They were also less likely to state that racism was a problem. Below is an example from Melissa, white school employee who is also a parent.

Rebecca: So would you say for children in [Central], in total, all children, do you think that they are receiving a good education?

Melissa: I do.

Rebecca: Would you say that your child receives the same quality of education compared to any other child?

Melissa: Yes.

Rebecca: So do you think children from various racial groups, like African Americans, Hispanics, white. Do you think that all those kids have the same opportunities when it comes to being successful in school?

Melissa: **I think they have the same opportunities in school. I think where you find the difference is at home. I think they're all taught the same curriculum. They're all taught by the same folk. They're all, they all have the same access to computers and library. But I think the difference comes when they leave school, where the opportunities are very varied, they're very different. Of course your more affluent people are going to give their children more opportunities, but I think in the school system the opportunities are pretty equal for education and learning.**

[Melissa, 42. Interview with author on April 1, 2015]

Following suit, white employees were less likely to think this and racial matters in general in school were a problem. Lisa, a white high-ranking district employee, shared the following, note that she states that people in the school system are not prejudiced but that there is likely some bias in the county, although it is not "abnormal."

Lisa: **...but I don't see the prejudice in people in the system.**

Rebecca: Like in the school system?

Lisa: Yeah, yeah. **I don't see that. And I know that leadership, I know everybody tries to make sure that all kids are achieving. You know and a lot of it could be too, not just because they're not prejudiced but I think just because too with No Child Left Behind and looking at subgroups you know we are all very interested in making sure subgroups can achieve. So, you know I guess my final answer is that**

**there is probably prejudice here in this community but I don't think it's anything abnormal** [Rebecca: Compared to other places?], it's in every community.  
[Lisa, 53. Interview with author on May 7, 2015]

Ashley, a white, high-ranking school employee stated that she had not seen any racial discrimination. However, she did state that parents may perceive it as a reality.

Rebecca: Have you ever noticed anything come up about issues of race or racism? Like a parent or student thought something happened that happened maybe because of race? Or have you maybe talked to your class or helped teachers teach about the subject? Or has that ever come up?

Ashley: **I think it's been pretty low-key and innocuous in our school for the most part. I think if anything, sometimes the parents particularly maybe of our black children that wanna jump to the conclusion that their child's in trouble because they're black or 'that teacher doesn't like my child because she's black'. I don't necessarily think that that's true. I mean, the observations that I've done in classrooms and all, I haven't observed any racial discrimination by really anybody, not even the kids. But I know I've heard some parents put forth that as a defense for whatever is going on with their kid.** But I think it's been pretty...

[Ashley, 35. Interview with author on May 22, 2015]

Matthew, a white, high-ranking school employee, married to a Latina held a somewhat different opinion than most other white employees. While he did say that black or Hispanic parents may feel like their children are targeted, he also said that it may be true that they are targeted. Then he added that white parents are also likely to state that they are being targeted because of their race, although he disagrees that this is a reality.

Rebecca: Tell me, have you ever had, in discipline or dealing with students, have you ever come across issues of race being a problem in terms of students getting along? Or ethnicity or even language differences? Could you speak about that?

Matthew: You know not as much, with kids. Not so much as I have, sometimes with parents. When I'm dealing after the fact, sometimes there'll be a perception on their part that decisions were made based upon race or.

Rebecca: Like in the favor of who?

Matthew: If it's a Hispanic parent or an African American parent, when they think the majority of your staff is Caucasian, **'I bet your Caucasian kids won't get in trouble'** or those types of thing. That really honestly doesn't happen a whole lot. Sometimes it may be underlying, they think it, they just don't express it, some do feel free to express that to you. Not as much with kids, it seems that honestly, we have a large Hispanic population, so I don't know if that's made it easier, or less frequent, those types of incidents. It is funny on a couple of occasions, my wife is Hispanic, and there's pictures [of her on my

desk] and I've had parents come in here kind of talking that way. Things would start and they would see, it would change the whole tone of the conversation.

Rebecca: A Hispanic parent would come and see the picture and, 'Oh you must not be?'

Matthew: Yeah, yeah, so I don't know if it would be subconsciously 'I can't pull that card.' I'm not an anthropologist or I consider myself sometimes an amateur psych. Some people are gonna come in, some people genuinely have those feelings, that they're an underdog, or whatever terminology you want to use, and life's not fair because of. And I'm not saying they're not wrong, in some cases they are, they're right. Others will come in, the kid's in trouble, 'so what tool can I use to get them out of trouble?' **So they're, if race will work 'It's only because my son is Hispanic or my son's African American,'** but you know sometimes if they see those pictures, that negates that argument, I need to think of another pitch. So it just depends, sometimes they really do genuinely feel like, and you have to deal with it, that's their perception, whether it's right or wrong, **it's right in too many cases, that's why they have the perception.**

Rebecca: In your dealings with white parents, has that come up in any way? Have you noticed white parents maybe saying anything like the makeup of the school or?

Matthew: Oh yeah, yeah, that happens. That's why I paused, I didn't know exactly what you meant by that. **Sure, I've had more conversations with white parents when you get the feeling, sometimes its overt, sometimes it's underhanded a little bit, they don't want their kids with a person of color, whether it's Hispanic or. Sometimes when they start their conversations 'I'm not a racist but,' I want to say, 'Yeah you are or you wouldn't [say that].' I really want to say 'Leave' but I can't, you know I have to see them too. Probably I've experienced that more than the Hispanic, we don't really have a large African American population, so I wouldn't say that I interact with a lot of African American parents, most of those that I have its been a positive experience. But a lot of Hispanic parents obviously, and occasionally. And the flip side of it is, some of the Caucasian, some of the white parents will say, they'll say things like we coddle Hispanics, or if their kid gets in trouble 'My kid's not a bad kid.' You know, 'my kid,' they want that break, more than the other ones would because they see that, it's a forgivable mistake if their kids.**

Rebecca: So white parents think that sometimes?

Matthew: Yeah, sometimes and I don't want to make, I don't want you to think, I don't think it's a widespread problem.

[Matthew, 52. Interview with author on August 7, 2015]

## **Perceptions of Unfairness of School Services for Minorities**

In line with my argument that whites and monolingual English speakers comprise the highest position in the hierarchy regulating access of school resources, whites in varying positions of power were cognizant of programs for those who were disadvantaged and they often questioned whether those programs were just, especially when the programs were for migrants or



people of color. However, a few African American participants also mentioned this. A Latina school employee even recounted that people complained that the newest school in the district was built in a Mexican neighborhood.

For example, according to my field notes, an employee of Apple, during the School Advisory Council and other meetings, twice pointed out how the migrant program has 40 iPads “gathering dust” which “can’t be used by other students;” however, I observed that the iPads were being used in the afterschool program by this group. Another high-ranking official at the school told me during a non-recorded interview that a lot of money goes into ELL (English Language Learner) and migrant programs to assist. According to my notes, she said she hears people say ‘it didn’t seem quite fair,’ adding “I think that if there are resources bought for those programs that aren’t being used, others should be able to use them.” So some high-ranking employees believe that the resources bought with federal dollars provided for migrant students should be open to use by others.

On another occasion, according to my field notes, a Migrant Advocate told me, “If you tell people they are giving away something for free to migrants they will be up in arms.” I heard this from others as well, who reported that school employees shared these views, at least to an extent. On the next page is an excerpt from my interview with Juana, an Emerald Latina employee:

Rebecca: **Do you think that people think that migrant kids have an advantage or they get services or advantages that other kids don’t get?**

Juana: **You’re talking about free lunch, a backpack?**

Rebecca: **Yes, it could be something like that; do you think that other parents are kinda like, ‘Well why do they get that’? Or you don’t really see that that much?**

Juana: **You see it.**

Rebecca: Often?

Juana: Mm. **And you see it in an office setting,** ‘Oh I can pay for my kid’s lunch.’

Rebecca: So people who work here may say, ‘Well that doesn’t seem right’?

Juana: Mm, but then I think to myself, 'you don't know anything about them and if at the end of the day it's a backpack and it's lunch'.

Rebecca: And so you hold your tongue?

Juana: Mm.

Rebecca: So even here at the school, people, whenever there are services or some type of benefit marked for migrant kids, there's often negative reaction to that?

Juana: Yeah, 'I had to go buy my kid a binder.' Remember when they sell the \$5 binders, the \$3 binders next door at the junior high? It wasn't this year; it was last year. **They had to start working with a binder, everything in the binder, some of the kids would get it free. 'Oh he's migrant,' or whatever, 'Oh my gosh.'** But at the end of the day, what is it? Or who paid? Don't you want them to have it? Or do you want them to get called up because they don't have the binder? You know, pick your battle and when we stay quiet it's not because out of fear, that's not a battle worth fighting, it's a binder. It'll be forgotten. There are times I want to say, 'Well at least it's not a Jansport or a Vera Bradley one, then you'd be real upset if they got a Vera Bradley or a Jansport one.' It's a binder, I mean a backpack from Wal-Mart and when we go looking for them we look. Are there any clearance ones? Because we want our monies to go a long ways.

[Juana, 53. Interview with author on May 29, 2015]

Katherine, an African American mother who also works in a school stated that she had heard that people do perceive that Latinos and black individuals receive more help than others.

She also provided an example in her own life stating that Latinos receive more help.

Katherine: **I think more now here they're pushing it towards the Spanish, you know the Spanish and black. 'Oh they're trying to Spanish people' you know, devious. And they do this here and they get all the, you know, help, you know, all the time. And they don't want to help anybody else but them.** You know I've heard that a lot too. I don't know if you're familiar or not with the [Central] Help Center? **Well that's one place right there that specifically she's supposed to help black, white and Spanish but she specifically helps a lot of only Spanish people, you know only Spanish people,** she's known for that and I'm not the only person that's went down there, you know I've took my mom down there several times you know for her to get help and then she makes up excuses but then when we were there, there was like a Spanish lady walked in and she's like immediately, 'oh what do you need help with?' You know, immediately took to her, so I see that, I do see a lot of now.

[Katherine, 33. Interview with author on July 7, 2015]

Additionally, some participants shared that when Emerald was built, people questioned why it was built in an area with a lot of Mexicans. I draw on an interview with Carmen, a Latina school employee, to illustrate this.

Rebecca: ...so you said that people said that they questioned why the school was built here because it's by as you call 'Little Mexico' and that the roads might be bad and people's houses might have junk in front of it but that your husband has heard people in the community, is that what you said? Kind of question like why would they put it there, that did they didn't want it here, they wanted it somewhere else?  
Carmen: Yeah they didn't want to build it here, that somewhere, a nicer place.  
Rebecca: A white place? By nicer you mean white?  
Carmen: Yeah like yeah or just somewhere where you don't see a whole bunch of Mexicans you know.  
[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

### **Ideologies about Racism and Inequality Extend from the Classroom to County Level**

These excerpts and those too numerous to include here demonstrate that people of color and whites differ in their access to school resources through things as language inaccessibility and tracking. There were no official policies which would ban anyone of any racial or ethnic group from participating in any activities. However, it was easy to see that advanced classes, school competitions, and extracurricular activities at the elementary, middle, and high schools that were open to the public privileged whites and children from families with more English mastery, as the events were not racially and ethnically representative of the student body. At the same time, schools' interaction with the public through fieldtrips to local parks and museums, where the contributions and lives of people of color are regularly silenced or omitted, points to a broader system of access restriction based on race and ethnicity. My classroom and school observations suggest the presence of the reproduction of dominant ideologies about race, ethnicity, and language, which are matched, if not more pronounced, in the community. Thus, what appeared to be an educational trend privileging English, whites, non-migrants, middle and upper classes, and U.S. citizens is recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000), or appears in the broader community as well.

For example, at the Black History Month festival, there was a cake walk where three cakes were given away. A ticket had to be purchased to participate. Participants included myself, two small Hispanic children, a Hispanic woman, and ten African Americans of varying ages. We walked around chairs set in a circle and when the DJ stopped the music, participants had to find a seat and because there was one fewer chair than there were people, at the end of each turn, one person was eliminated. The first winner was the DJ's daughter (one of the Hispanic children I mentioned), then the Latina woman, and finally me. When I gave my cake to the second place African American young male because I felt the DJ controlled the winner, his mother shook my hand and said she also thought he had cheated.

On another occasion, at the Homecoming parade I ended up sitting next to a parent I recognized from one of the elementary classes. We talked about the representation of the Homecoming court. I noticed that there were six female Homecoming candidates in the parade, and only one "appeared" Latina. According to my field notes, the mom told me that it was always like that. The parade was starkly white with the exception of three groups, the Alpha Zeta Pi high school science club, a GENT club (which empowers young men to live positive, successful lives), and the group for the African American candidate for the county commission. I noticed that even the young large squad of cheerleaders was mostly white.

Participants also reported varying opinions of the police, differential access to police services, and even discriminatory behavior. People of color tended to have these perceptions whereas most whites reported more positive stances. Latinos who had been living in Central for longer were more likely to have a more neutral stance, though it still leaned negative. By far, and repeatedly, black individuals, including almost all African American participants and one of the two Haitian participants, shared stories of events that replicated my observations that in Central,

they are treated in a way which reflects the lowest ranking position on the racial hierarchy. The other Haitian participant recounted how whites had been very helpful to her family.

For example, Roseline, a Haitian mother cried as she told me that her race, ethnicity, and language resulted in the investigation of the death of her son being carried out inadequately. Her daughter Precious participated in the conversation as well.

Roseline: ...[in] 2009, I have [a] boys [who] are 14 and they go on July 4<sup>th</sup>. He go to the park with the pastor to the activity and so forth. And a white people pushed him in the lake. And he die, but they don't say nothing to me.

Precious: Yeah, in 2009, one of my older brothers...and he passed away in 2009.

Rebecca: Because they pushed him in the lake at that activity?

Precious: Well, no, yeah but like. **No one gave us any information and didn't like sit here and investigate or anything...**

Rebecca: Did the police get called?

Precious: Yeah, like there were search outs and everything and they like, they finally. It was at um, [Local Park]. 4th of July.

Roseline: ...some kids, the Spanish kids and some white kids said the name of people [who] did that. But [the police], they said they don't have 21 so they can't talk, but they don't have a 21 or 18 [and are therefore minors]. They can't say nothing.

Rebecca: So they couldn't do anything about it?

Roseline: No. But, but they know that. They know who did [it] but um, the same people, they said. And after two or three months and I try to walk out 'cause I'm so sick and they done too much...And then and stay at home and I try to work. And when I pass by him house and the him family, he by the family. And maybe I don't know or see what they say, what they are for them say that to me like that. And I come to them and they said I, that they have a dog. They, that dog is gonna, try to bark me...and they put me in the jail [for 20 days] for that...

Rebecca: So this was the house of the boys that she thought was responsible? **Do you think that you would have been treated like that if your family was not Haitian? If your family was white, do you think you would have got treated better about that whole thing?**

Roseline: **Exactly because. I said that I think that because I'm Haitian, I don't have enough English, or I'm Black. That's why, because this is the only [thing police think about]... 'is he's Black, is he's Haitian?' No Haitian, no Black have been there that long.**

Rebecca: **That wouldn't have happened to him?**

Roseline: **Yeah.**

[Roseline, 51. Interview with author on October 24, 2015]

Kimberly, an African American mother, shared her concerns that her family was at risk of brutality from the police because of their race. Several other African American participants

shared this concern while white participants, except a few, had a favorable view of the police. One Latino agreed that the police are necessary for safety but the vast majority expressed concerns that they were racially profiled and/or at risk of being pulled over because of their citizenship status, as I write about in the next section.

Rebecca: Do you, how do you think the police are here? Do you think they're...tell me about the police and how they treat people.

Kimberly: Oh lord. You know, the police is a big issue all over the world. All over the world and so it's, it's, it's sad. But even with my kids. This is what I tell 'em. **If they ever stop you, if they ever get behind you, just turn your phone on and sit it on your seat so we'll know what's going on.** Cause it just, it makes you. It's so sad. It is. I don't watch the news. I don't watch. I don't listen to any news that come on the radio. I turn the station. Because no matter how much you wanna not be involved in it, it bothers you. It really bothers you. It upsets you. It upsets me.

Rebecca: So are you referring to like the um, the.

Kimberly: To white, Black.

Rebecca: People, African Americans being killed by the police and?

Kimberly: Yeah, you know, **even though it's not here, it's here.**

Rebecca: Mm, just hasn't happened yet?

Kimberly: Exactly. You know, and it, **it could as well be me or one of my kids.**

[Kimberly, 44. Interview with author on August 5, 2015]

Darnell, an African American male participant, questioned systemic issues of street lighting, access to clean drinking water, home repairs, and hiring for minorities during our conversation (Appendix A.10). Katherine, an African American mother who works in the schools, spoke about racism toward Latinos and linked treatment of people of color in the county to broader inequality.

Rebecca: Okay so do you think that racism is a problem in [Central]?

Katherine: **Yes, ma'am, it's a big problem here. It is a big problem here and the reason why I say so that it's a big problem here is because there, to my knowledge, there are still some people here that are associated with the, you know, the KKK, you know. There are still some people here that have, they say they still have those groups here. And when I say that racism is alive and well around here it is because you will find, like if you go somewhere, groups of people that kind of like look at you strange or say, mumble stuff. You know what, Rebecca? It's not just racist against African Americans, it's also Spanish too, they racist against Spanish too in this county. And it's sad, it's really sad, it's really sad that we're not as diverse as we should be.**

Rebecca: **Now does that racism prevent people from getting better jobs and advancing?**

Katherine: **Yes, ma'am, at our clerk of court here, there's only two blacks that work here, it's all it's ever been. At the tag office here, there's no African Americans that work there at all, at our local post office there's no African Americans that work there at all.**

Rebecca: I think the post master, isn't she a black woman?

Katherine: But she's in [another town in Central].

Rebecca: So just the one here.

Katherine: Here in [City] you don't see that at all, you don't see that and let me tell you something, I applied about three years ago for a job over at the tax office and I did the application and everything. No one called me for an interview or nothing and I think I was highly qualified, because I do have college background. You know I was highly qualified, you know for what they was asking for that position, and nobody ever called.

Rebecca: **So it's low equal opportunity or the jobs for people of color are low?**

Katherine: **I think it's both low equal opportunity and then the jobs for people of color is low, it's very low. 'Cause I don't know if you've ever been in some of the buildings like courthouse, the police department, you know you don't see too many African Americans in a lot of places around here.** Now I'll tell you, when I go to Polk County, which is Bartow, Lakeland, that's all I see in the courthouse. They have several black people that work in the courthouse in Polk County, even [Unintelligible] County. **It's just like that here, and I'm not the only one that notices that. There's other people that notice that also, you know that's from out of town like oh there's hardly no African Americans here at all, you know? And it's kinda you know not, they are not here but in a lot of these jobs and I'm gonna even the bank, even at the bank they don't have hardly any African Americans and a lot of African Americans are, they do have the qualifications as it you know that applies for whatever job you know they have the education. I guess it's just since this town is so stuck on that racism, who you know, also it's all about who you know to get your foot in the door anywhere, it's all about who you know, you know, you know somebody with a good standing and a good name they'll get you a job like that and it's so true.**

Rebecca: Now we're about done, you had said like there's racism towards like blacks and 'Spanish' people. Do you think there's extra racism towards migrants, migrant people?

Katherine: You know what, I think so because over the years, Rebecca, it's not as bad as it is on a black person, the racism.

[Darnell, 34. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]

And there were common terms used in the county to denote minority areas. Here's another example from Katherine. These names were similar names to what the areas were called in the county's newspapers in the 1950s.

Rebecca: Do you know if there's names in [Central] for the different neighborhoods? Have you heard any of those names that people, like nicknames, to call the areas?

Katherine: **Well I know they call like Martin Luther King, they call that the black section, um [another street name] is called like the higher up section, like where all the rich, white people stay at and stuff like that. [City] Hills is known as where the Spanish people you know stay at and stuff.** Um, I think that's all but I know that, that that's what [City] Hills is a big one, that's where they say a lot of Spanish people stay.

Rebecca: What's the place called, the Manor? You know the one where they have the Manor pageant? Is there a name for that area?

Katherine: The black section.

Rebecca: I've heard people call it The Quarters, have you ever heard that?

Katherine: Yes, I've heard it, yeah. I think it's the same thing as the black, the black neighborhood, The Quarters, yeah I forgot about that, yeah I forgot.

[Katherine, 33. Interview with author on July 7, 2015]

While most African American participants talked about racism, one mother shared prejudicial views toward black people, which fits into the broader hierarchy. Yvonne talked about keeping her children away from them and preferring neighborhoods with more white people, and refers to her current neighborhood as “the black section.” She has a long-term relationship with a Latino and has two children with him. She stated that she “never had any problem with race or anything.” Below illustrates her bias:

Yvonne: And don't listen and disrespect. **So, I try keep 'em away from; even their dad don't like them to be around kids like that. 'Cause they, 'cause he had asked me who they hang around with in school. What kinda friends, and I said well, they're Spanish and White and he's like, well that's good. Keep it like that. With no Blacks.**

Rebecca: Meanwhile you, you [a black woman] are his wife?

Yvonne: **I still don't want them hanging around with 'em. They used to be girls when we first moved over here. One of the neighbors, she lived upstairs. He was hanging out with her and then there was some more black girls started coming around. They were too fast. I didn't like the attitude. She started running off at the mouth and started going, act like them, talk about boys and stuff. Uh-uh. Stop hanging around with them and then her attitude started changing and got better. Mm-mm. I don't even hang around with 'em, mm-mm. I'm sorry, I don't.**

Rebecca: So you said [your new house], it's [in] a good neighborhood?

Yvonne: Well, he says a good neighbor is quiet. I notice it's quiet (Unintelligible) people out there but it looks quiet out there. **Of course it have to be up in there because it's well maintained. Their houses are well. You know, the yards are kept up. It's not like the section. It's not like the section.**

Rebecca: **'The section?'**

Yvonne: **The section! The Black section. I'm sorry, I can't have. I'm Black I know but I don't like that. Mm.**



Rebecca: Oh, you say whatever you want. I just didn't know what you're talking about, 'the section.'

Yvonne: **I call it the section. I called it 'section.'**

Rebecca: **So the part of Martin Luther King?**

Yvonne: **Yeah, all out there so, it's not [kept up] like that.**

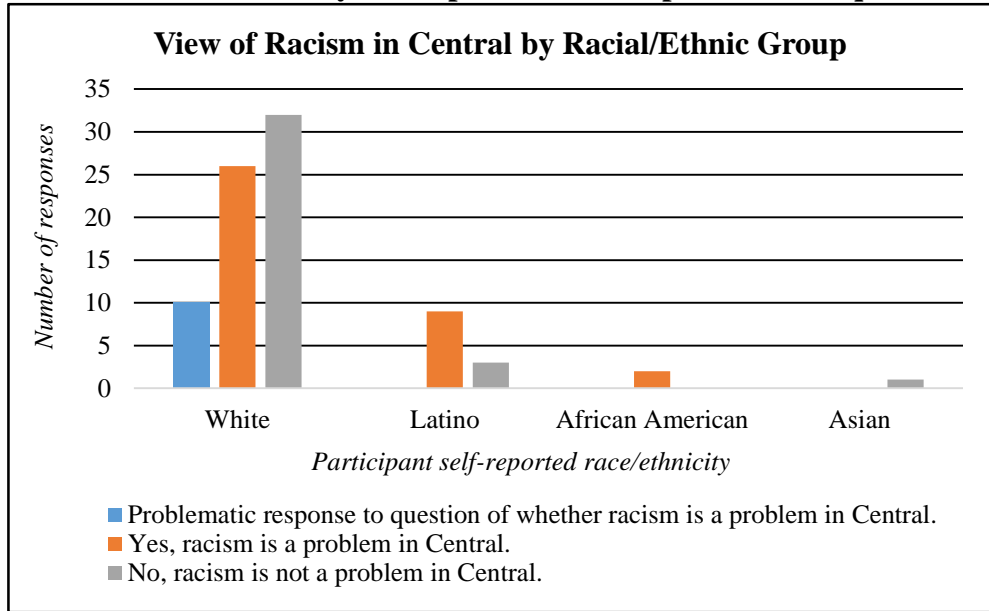
[Yvonne, 39. Interview with author on January 22, 2015]

Survey data showed that Central educators' beliefs fit these ideologies about linguistic, racial, and ethnic hierarchies. As I discussed in the fourth chapter on methods, I surveyed 91 educators on items related to this research project. While this survey data cannot inform on exactly what participants mean by racism being a problem or how they define the problem, the qualitative data in this dissertation does. However, this survey can aid in understanding the prevalence of beliefs that racism is not a problem in Central or Central schools.

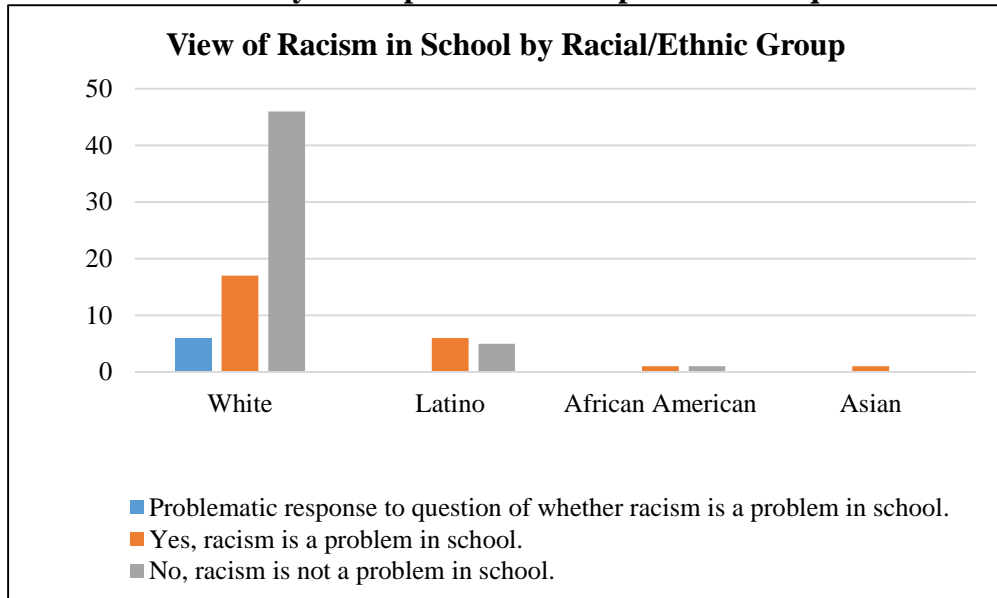
Sixty-eight whites, twelve Latinos, two African Americans, and one Asian participant answered the question about whether racism was a problem in Central (Table 5.1). Responses that were blank or "I don't know" were not included in the analysis below. Regarding whether people thought racism was a problem in their county, about 38% of Latinos said yes, 47% said no, and nearly 15% used a response that could be classified as problematic itself (the Broad value of 2 mentioned above). For Latinos, three quarters of the 12 that responded indicated yes while the remaining 4 (25% of Latinos) indicated no. Both African Americans said that racism was a problem in the county while the one Asian respondent indicated it was not.

In terms of whether racism is a problem in the school (Table 5.2), almost 25% of whites wrote yes, nearly 67% wrote no, and almost 9% used a response classified as problematic (the Broad value of 2 mentioned above). For Latinos, 54.5% of the 11 that responded to this item wrote yes while the remaining 45.5% wrote no. The two African Americans who responded were split on this item. The one Asian respondent indicated yes.

**Table 5.1: Graph showing that whites were less likely to state racism is a problem in Central and more likely to use problematic responses to the question.**



**Table 5.2: Graph showing that whites were less likely to state racism is a problem in school and more likely to use problematic responses to the question**



As whites were less likely than people of color to indicate that racism as a problem in their school or in Central, these results show whites and people of color differ on whether they perceive racism to be a problem. This sheds light on how teachers may construct race and racism, which impacts their instruction. If the majority of non-Hispanic whites do not believe

that racism is a problem and also comprise the majority of those in power in the school and county, this raises the question of how to encourage them to be critical of themselves, the curriculum, and school and district policies. This also supports my argument that in denying historical and current racism is an issue, linguistic, racial, and ethnic hierarchies exist in a patterned manner in Central which regularly privilege whites and English speakers while restricting resource access to minority identities, reproducing inequality.

### **Adding it all Up: Linguistic, Racial, and Ethnic Identities Intersect with Other Statuses**

Individuals or groups who occupied many minoritized positions often faced more obstacles to school resources. My approach here considers how people's lives, including those in the United States, including Central, are impacted by the interconnectedness of positions such as race and class in a larger singular system, or matrix or politic of domination (Collins 2000). As I explained in Chapter 2, we live in a world where whites often receive unearned benefits and people of color often face discrimination. Globally, nationally, regionally, and locally, equity is impacted by the ramifications of European expansionism and globalization (Wolf 1982).

This raises the question this chapter is ultimately addressing, in what ways might the way a person is served by a Central school be impacted by that person's language, race, and ethnicity, given its historical context? While being in a teacher's network made individuals more likely to hear about school functions, people outside of these networks could read about them via the notes sent home from the school. However, while Latinos, African Americans, and other racial and ethnic minoritized groups tended to be excluded from teacher networks, as I discuss later in this chapter, those who had an advanced command of English were less likely to be excluded

from school and district communications. Hmong and Haitian students' families may be more likely to have language barriers than non-Hispanic white families, based on my interviews, observations, and informal conversations. Though these trends were found in Central schools, they are part of the larger county and national system which privileges whiteness. I wrote about this national system in Chapter 2 and I made the case for such a county system in this chapter, and also do so in Chapter 6. In one example, at the Federal Office, the English Language Learner and Migrant Parent Night on September 11, 2014, conflicted with Apple's parent night. This oversight would definitely impact the representation of these folks at both, but especially Apple's event, and better planning could prevent this. There are more ways that individuals can be subverted than these three categories (language, race, and ethnicity). For example, citizenship and class statuses play a role in groups' access to resources.

### **Citizenship Status**

Not only did the three minoritized statuses (language, race, and ethnicity) often intersect to form an axis of multiple oppressions for some people, but they interlocked with other axes in the matrix of domination, including citizenship status and class (Collins 2000). Further, particular statuses, such as citizenship status, were often assumed to always intersect with others in the minds of individuals even when they did not. For example, according to my field notes, in the Apple office, I and people in the office discussed accommodating legal status. This came up since I noticed that schools did not require a copy of social security cards. When I remarked on accommodating legal status, one of the bilingual paraprofessionals, who happened to be in the office, responded, "Everything is available in Spanish." She asked an office worker, "Am I right?" That is when, as I mentioned earlier, the office worker rolled her eyes and said, "We bend

over backwards for them.” In this way, a conversation about legal status became a conversation about language, showing that although these were two different topics, they are related in the minds of some school employees.

I spoke to interviewees who were both undocumented and documented and asked them how not having citizenship can impact people’s lives in Central. I asked people’s opinions on undocumented people, and while many were positive or neutral, some were not. One African American woman questioned the services undocumented migrants receive from the government; this woman also shared with me her many racial biases against her own racial group. Some participants connected negative attitudes to people without documentation to negative attitudes toward African Americans as well.

Below are some examples of interviews I conducted with undocumented parents. They share the impact that being undocumented has. For example, how they are treated by the police in terms of racial profiling, how driving without documentation can be risky, it can affect a person’s ability to get a well-paying job, their ability to visit relatives in their home country, or how much they pay for medical services. In the third example, I underlined where a participant invokes the ideology of “salir adelante, ‘forging ahead’ and improving one’s socioeconomic position” (Messing 2007:555) in talking about taking risks by driving in order to get ahead.

Rebecca: ¿Qué piensa usted acerca de las personas indocumentados? *What do you think about people who are undocumented?*

Jimena: ¿Pues, qué pienso yo? Nada, que todos son iguales, con documentos sin documentos. Necesitan la gente de gobierno que ayuda para que tengan mejores cosas, muchas veces son discriminados por eso[s] motivos. *Well, what do I think? Nothing, that we are all equal, with documents or without documents. The government people need to help so they can have better things, many times they’re discriminated for those motives.*

Rebecca: ¿Cómo podría esto impactar la vida de un individuo en [Central]? *How would this impact someone’s life in [Central]? Does that make sense? Would it be harder to get a job or license if you didn’t have citizenship?*

Jimena: Es muy difícil, yo pienso que, mucha gente anda manejando sin sus licencias, y por eso motivo se aprovechan los policías y los paran y les dan ticketes. Tienen que pagar

mucho dinero en todo eso. Yo pienso que, si ellos tuvieran, no tendrían que gastar tanto dinero en pagarle por los tickets que dan. *It's very difficult, I think that, a lot of people are driving without their license, and for that reason the police take advantage of that and pull them over and give them tickets. They have to pay a lot of money for that. I think that, if they had licenses, they wouldn't have to spend a lot of money to pay for the tickets that they're given.*

Rebecca: ¿Los policías esta una problema para las personas indocumentadas? *Are the police a problem for undocumented people?*

Jimena: Yo digo que sí. Porque hay muchos policía que nomás abusan de eso de su autoridad, y a veces con cualquier cosa, y ya mira que va una persona hispana manejando dice 'Ay, de seguro no tiene,' y los para. *I say yes. Because many police abuse their authority, and sometimes with anything, they see a Hispanic person driving and say 'Oh, for sure they don't have [a license], and pull them over.*

[Jimena, 33. Interview with author on June 15, 2015]

Adelina: ¿Usted piensa que las personas que no tienen documentos, la vida es más dura de las que sí tienen? *Do you think that for the undocumented people, life is tougher than the for people that do have papers?*

Guadalupe: ¿De los que no tienen papeles? *Than the one that don't have papers?*

Adelina: Mm.

Guadalupe: Pues yo digo que sí, porque es como nosotros, digamos para cuando voy a trabajar, pues, no me siento como irme totalmente a gusto, pues corre uno el riesgo de que te pare la policía. O, digamos que si voy manejando y si me agarra. ¿Y qué tal si me lleva a la cárcel? Y luego mis niños o así. No es tan así, no es tan a gusto pues. *I say that yes, because like us, say when we go to work, well, I don't feel completely comfortable, as there's the risk that the police stop you. Or say, if I drive and get caught. What if the police take me to jail? And then I think about my kids and so. It's not like that, it's not so comfortable.*

Rebecca: Has she known anybody that got in trouble or?

Adelina: ¿Usted ha conocido a alguien que algo le pasó así? *Do you know anyone who that has happened to?*

Guadalupe: Pues a nosotros ya van varias veces que nos para la policía. Bueno, una vez a mí ya me paró la policía y todo y me llevó para la cárcel y todo eso y por eso es que... como que uno cuando ya pasa una vez así, como que ya uno siempre anda con el temor de eso, de que, si sales así, que tal que vas pensando, "¿Qué tal si te para la policía?" y algo y los niños y así pues. *There have been various times where the police pulled us over. Well, one time I was pulled over by the police who they took me to jail and that's why... because that happened once, like you keep the fear of it happening again. If you go out you think, "What if the police pull you over?" and then again think about the kids.*

[Guadalupe, 32. Interview with author on April 21, 2015]

Rebecca: Bueno, hm. Ok. ¿Piensas que es muy difícil para personas que están indocumentados? *Well, hm. Ok. Do you think it is difficult for undocumented people?*

Sofia: ¿Vivir aquí? *To live here?*

Rebecca: Vivir aquí. *To live here.*

Sofia: Yeah, es difícil a veces. *Yeah, it's difficult sometimes.*

Rebecca: Dígame. *Tell me.*

Sofia: Tienes que, por ejemplo, no puedes andar de aquí para allá. O sea, para llevar los niños a ciertos lugares necesitas un ID, una identificación que sea de aquí. Ya no importa de tu país, yo digo que es necesario eso. Y sí, es difícil porque a veces manejas y entonces manejar estás violando una ley. Porque, o sea, tienes que traer licencia para eso, no importa que sepas manejar o no sepas. Bueno, sí, para manejar tienes que saber ¿verdad? Pero no importa, si no tienes papeles, tienes que manejar por lo mismo de que tienes que sacar tu familia adelante. So, eso es difícil porque muchas veces no puedes hacer muchas cosas como que tus hijos tengan un mejor futuro. Aquí siempre tienes que trabajar donde acepten personas que no tienen papeles. Quizás indocumentados, siempre, o que no te pagan lo mismo que a una persona que tiene papeles. ***You have to, for example, you can't go around places. I mean, to take the kids to certain places you need an ID, an identification from here. It doesn't matter where are you coming from, I say that it [an ID] is necessary. And yes, it is difficult because sometimes you drive, and while driving you are breaking the law. Because, I mean, you always need to have an ID for that, it doesn't matter if you know or not how to drive. Well, yeah, to drive you need to know how to drive, right? But it doesn't matter, if you don't have papers you still have to drive so that your family can progress. So, it is difficult because often you can't do things so that your kids can have a better future. Here you always have to look for workplaces where they hire people without papers. Maybe--always undocumented people, or workplaces where they don't pay you the same as people with papers.***

[Sofia, 34. Interview with author on April 7, 2015]

Adelina: ¿Cómo en qué cosas le va a ayudar? ¿Cómo en qué cosas se le va a hacer más fácil? *Like in what things does it helps? **What things will be easier to do?***

Yatzil: Pues, este... *Well, hm...*

Anam: Se hace más fácil llevar las niñas a México, traerlas para acá. ***It would be much easier to take the girls to Mexico, and bring them back.***

(everybody agrees)

Yatzil: Tener papel, para tener permiso con ellas, llevarla' a Mexico y regrese otra vez. O visitar las familias más, de lo que queremos. ***Having papers, to have permission [to go with the] girls, take them to Mexico and bring them back. Or to visit family more, as we would like.***

Anam: Así sin papel, pues no se pueden. Si quisiera ir una a México, pues no se puede. ***Without papers, we can't do that. If we would like to go to Mexico, well we can't.***

Yatzil: Como allí tengo otras hijas y hijos, pues, a veces me pongo a pensar de irme a mirarlo y volver a regresar, pero no tengo papel, pues no puedo. Más bien, que, como que quisiera tener los papeles para que podemos ir y venir para atrás. ***Since I have other daughters and sons in Mexico, sometimes I think about going and seeing them and coming back, but because I don't have papers I can't. It's more like I wish I could have the papers so we could go and come back.***

[Anam, 39; Yatzil 36. Interview with author on April 16, 2015]

Ana: Dice que, si por ejemplo fueran indocumentados, si no son documentados, si cuando van a ir a un doctor, ¿verdad? ¿Cómo les responden a ustedes para atrás esos servicios a

ustedes? ¿Se les ayuda, no se les ayuda?... *She says, for example if you were undocumented, if you are not documented, whenever you go to a doctor, right? How do those services respond to you? Do they help you or not?...*

Ana: ...**Oh, por ejemplo, somebody say \$300 or \$200 for the medicine. And they need to have the money so they can pay for it.**

Lucio: Mm.

Rebecca: Ok, that's for all people or...

Ana: **The ones that no have no documentation.**

Rebecca: **So, they have to pay more money?**

Lucio: Sí. **Yes.**

[Eleuia, 37; Lucio, 38. Interview with author on March 5, 2015]

Shauna, an African American mother, stated that she does not judge people without citizenship and that they were likely to face obstacles because of their lack of documentation.

Rebecca: What do you think about people in [Central] who are undocumented, like they don't have citizenship?

Shauna: **I don't judge.**

Rebecca: Do you think it might make someone's life harder in [Central] if they didn't have citizenship?

Shauna: Oh yeah.

Rebecca: Do you know in like what ways it would make their life harder?

Shauna: **As far as getting a job, making money the legal way and all of that. So yeah, I think it'll be much harder for them.**

[Shauna, 42. Interview with author on August 7 5, 2015]

Another African American mother I talked, Michelle, expressed frustration at labeling people and explained that the negative attitudes toward those without citizenship was because Central is a "racist" town against African Americans as well.

Rebecca: Okay, so what do you think about people who are undocumented? Like people often call these people like, "illegal aliens" or whatever.

Michelle: What I think about 'em? **They here (Unintelligible) just like us and uh, uh reach out to them and find out who they are before you just you know, give them that name. Quit, quit, quit, quit, quit, quit giving people a label. Who are you? Last I checked, you (Unintelligible). Like, I, I try not to label nobody and I, I try not to look down cause you up today, down tomorrow.**

Rebecca: How might being, like not having your citizenship, how might that like, impact somebody's life in [Central]?

Michelle: They gonna have a hard time without citizenship.

Rebecca: Why would you say that?

Michelle: **'Cause these are some (Unintelligible) racist redneck town. You can have worked for these people for forty, fifty years. At the end of the year, you still a**



**nigger. At the end of the day, you can have, you can have, you can have a Ph.D., you still. Them people, it doesn't matter and I feel like uh black people. They, they, they're, they're overdoing it nowadays just to prove something to the white culture and you'll never in their eyes be on they level...**

[Michelle, 29. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]

Yvonne, an African American mother, expressed that she did not understand the process of becoming a citizen. She also importantly pointed out that people without documentation are unable to vote. Yet another African American mother questioned how people without citizenship obtained more help with food stamps. Yvonne's views are interesting, given that people must either be a citizen or lawfully-present non-citizen to obtain food stamps.<sup>42</sup> She expressed prejudicial attitudes towards African Americans in general.

Rebecca: So what do you think about people or children or students who are undocumented? Like, they don't have citizenship papers.

Yvonne: I dunno, cause it's like, they should at least have that. But they if, it's best for them to come into the United States legal. Instead of crossing the border, **but I just don't understand how they get more help than we don't with the food stamps.**

Rebecca: Oh really?

Yvonne: **Yeah, they get more help with food stamps and everything like that and...**

Rebecca: ... You seen that?

Yvonne: I had problem one year ago, it was a couple years back with the food stamps, 'cause they were trying to cut my food stamp down, and I got onto 'em. We had a meeting about it and I told 'em, **I said 'you help them more than you help us and everything and without papers and being legalized.'** And they're like 'no, no, that's not true' because I had a friend told me that she saw. 'Cause she was workin' in the store. **This lady comes in there, with a bunch of kids, driving a nice vehicle.** And she had almost a thousand dollars in food stamps. And they, I mean, I don't know how they say our income is like too much to get even, even food stamps. Shoot, my sister gets almost a thousand dollars... But they help, and they're tryin' to help more over there than here. 'Cause I don't get, I don't get no disability for them. It's just for me only and not for them. Some people do get it but I don't get it. I dunno how that works with the credit and all that stuff like that with your disability.

Rebecca: So, if someone didn't have citizenship papers in [Central], how might that impact their lives?

Yvonne: It'll be harder for them to get a job and everything. But it would be a lot easier if they just go ahead and just do it. 'Cause I did have a boyfriend, he didn't have the citizenship papers, but he was workin' on them doing it legally to get it, when I was in

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<sup>42</sup> According to the rules of the United States Department of Agriculture 2015, located on their website: <http://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/snap-policy-non-citizen-eligibility>.

North Carolina. So, it be definitely to do it instead of getting fake papers. In somebody else's name.

[Yvonne, 39. Interview with author on January 22, 2015]

Thus, participants identified several difficulties, including lacking voting rights, that ensure that undocumented people have fewer rights than other residents. Many of these impacts also influence their family's access to school resources. For example, if it is a risk for a parent to drive, that can make parents less likely to attend school meetings. Additionally, during observations, I heard a white Emerald office worker joke about reporting those without licenses to the sheriff. This appears to reflect her position as a person born in identities of privilege in Central who occupies the top of linguistic, racial, ethnic and other hierarchies.

### **Class**

Aside from perhaps the more obvious obstacles that lower-class people can face in their children's education, such as being unable to purchase school supplies or afford gas to make it to school meetings, the cost of activities in school was cited by a participant. Another participant spoke about how people in the school may treat parents they perceive to be lower class. As I just showed, those without documentation are kept out of higher paying jobs, which may make them more at-risk for class issues, such as these.

For example, Michelle, an African American mother, talked about the cost of things in school and how children who come from families with less money can get left out.

Michelle: Yes. And then I feel like, I dunno, like they have the little days when they do the little movies and stuff and it's like my children. **It's like they be dying to have money** and I'm like, I'm gonna send you the money but it's like, dang, **I wondered about the kids who don't got money. My God, do they still let them get something?** I don't like stuff based on that cause, I just don't like it...Cause [my daughter] and them be like, 'Mom, I need cause like, the other day they had some (Unintelligible).' I said, '(Unintelligible) they cost me more than they worth.'...I dunno, [my daughter], they, **they need money every day.** She has a million stories to tell. But, I just feel like, **quit**

**basing everything on that.** Y'all don't have to like give them popcorn and all this cause I'm sure y'all get a lot of stuff donated. Y'all can make arts and crafts to show gratitude to all the kids but I just feel like a lot of stuff is based on minor stuff and a lot of the little things they do do for the kids, it's just so they can have a little fame for it. It ain't from the bottom of they heart.

[Michelle, 29. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]

Carmen, a Latina paraprofessional, shared that lower-class parents are sometimes treated prejudicially at school.

Rebecca: Tell me again who the kids are who are receiving the worse or the unfair treatment in terms of not getting the same?

Carmen: **Well for one, it's Mexicanos, the Mexicanos you know I mean the parents you know you see parents, they pick up their kids or they're coming to meetings or stuff you know or in work clothes and stuff, you know they can't help that working on the field. And I mean some of them do make that effort, and okay the teacher wants a conference, 'I'm gonna come.' And they come as they are, those are the ones you say, 'oh you know, they get looked at like, they get downed on.'**

Rebecca: Who downs on them?

Carmen: Oh you know just people around them, you know.

Rebecca: **Like at school?**

Carmen: **Yeah**, that's why I'm like, you know, everybody, it doesn't matter 'cause, I mean, a child can be taught, a child can be a difference, you know. That's what's sad, because you can have a child who is dirt poor, but you don't know that child might be the next big thing. You know what I mean? That can change something, but who would've known if you didn't take time to teach 'em or to, you know, help them?

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

### **Relationships between Parents and Schools: Families of Color and those Speaking Languages other than English often Receive Less Time**

Most (88%) employees in the Central school system are non-Hispanic white (FLDOE 2015) and predominantly monolingual English speaking (according to my survey data, presented in Chapter 6). At the same time, most parents are not white or are Hispanic white, and at least a quarter do not have English mastery (again, according to my survey data). Because of these two realities, most interactions between schools and parents are cross-racial or cross-ethnic and many are cross-linguistic. Overrepresentation of non-Hispanic white teachers is not only a lack of

adequate representation for Latinos (as 10% of teachers are Hispanic) but also for African Americans. How does having only 2% African American teachers impact the school's ability to form parent relationships with African American families? If the majority of teachers do not speak Spanish, which my survey indicated, then how could they network with the 25% of parents who are predominantly Spanish-speaking? The answers to these questions speak to how the Central context reproduces inequality through hierarchies that privilege white and English-speaking groups.

In Central, there are two main realities about relationships between parents and schools, which relate to the information presented in this chapter. First, based on my observations of school interactions, most students of color and those who come from non-English dominant families are outside the teacher's or school employee's network. This may indicate that many school employees have a lack of knowledge (and empathy) about the linguistic, racial, and ethnic identity of students. Second, during my observations, I noticed that in both offices, conversations with Spanish language dominant speakers tended to be shorter than those in English, although I did not measure each interaction with a timer. Additionally, a participant shared that African Americans in Central county are less likely to receive such extended conversations as those afforded to whites.

For this first point, in my observations, whites appeared to lack racial and ethnic diversity in their networks. This creates a situation where white students are more likely to be a part of the school employee's network, and thus reap benefits from this which include school information sharing or rides home. There is not usually the same level of interest, apparent commonalities, or networking to warrant broader conversations. I do not believe that this is solely a result of language, rather, I argue that these individuals are less likely to be familiar with or incorporated

into the network of the almost exclusively white folks who operate the office. Like at Apple, with their two office employees, at Emerald, all three office people working there were white and spoke no Spanish, although occasionally bilingual paraprofessionals would cover the desk.

For example, one day a white 5<sup>th</sup> grade teacher from Apple showed me the books and artifacts she brought in from Mayan culture to show her students. Later, I told her that people who live a mile from the school speak Mayan languages and, according to my field notes, she replied, “I had no idea.” Another time, I showed a white 5<sup>th</sup> grade teacher from Emerald a photo of one of her Latino students wearing Mexican folkloric dancing clothes and posing with a girl in a folkloric dress, she remarked the same, “I had no idea,” and appeared shocked.

Regarding the second point, in another example, in Emerald’s office one day, a white man came in with his son who was late because of a court date. He brought in documentation which staff did not look at since the attendance clerk “knew the family.” While I witnessed similar things happen at both schools, they most often happened to white parents and less frequently to parents of color. Likewise, conversations with parents of color were more often shorter than conversations with white parents.

Similarly, Kimberly, an African American mother, spoke about this issue in our interview. She gave details about how people of color are interacted with less by whites.

Rebecca: Do you think racism is a problem in [Central]?

Kimberly: I think racism is a problem everywhere. Yes, I do think it is a problem here.

Rebecca: Why do you think that about specifically [Central]?

Kimberly: **Because it is a good-ole-boy town. It is a down south town. I mean, racism will always be a problem. Always. No matter what we say, no matter what we do. We can say it’s not here in [Central] County, you’d be lying. I mean I know it and I’m. It’s like [her friend] say, ‘I’m very much involved.’ But yes, I know.**

Rebecca: **Do you think white people think racism is a problem in [Central]?**

Kimberly: **I don’t think so. When you haven’t lived it, you don’t understand it. You don’t. So they can say (Unintelligible) white/Caucasian people can say, ‘Oh it’s not an issue’ or ‘nope,’ but you haven’t lived it. You haven’t seen it. You, you viewing the world from a whole different view on what I see.**

Rebecca: What does racism look like in [Central]?

Kimberly: Racism, they try to cover it. For example, **you may hear someone say, ‘Oh I saw that colored girl,’ or ‘That color girl.’** Or I mean just little stuff.

Rebecca: So like, the words used to refer to people?

Kimberly: The words or the way they treat people. **Whereas, if you come up and you ask a question, it’s answered at um. When you’re [white] they ask you questions, you understand what I’m saying? [They say], ‘Is there anything else I can do for you?’ Or if I come up it’s, ‘Here you go.’** Well, I’ll have a question, [and they say] ‘I don’t have time for that’ or ‘you go over there and ask that person.’ Where we, I don’t know if they do it so much. I don’t know if they realize what they doing. **Where they do it so much ‘til it’s just a norm. And they don’t see it as an issue but where people of other race can see it as an issue.**

Rebecca: **So is that like something that Hispanics in [Central] may also have? Like do you think that a Hispanic parent would get that same kind of; they have a question and it’s like ‘Okay, here’s the answer,’ or do you think they get more courtesy or anything?**

Kimberly: **I think they have more courtesy.**

Rebecca: **So is it the same as whites or is it kind of like whites get the most courtesy?**

Kimberly: **And Hispanics are next. Then blacks and the Haitians.**

Rebecca: Okay so Haitians are below African Americans?

Kimberly: I think so. But a lot of people consider Haitians as Black. Where African Americans, we’re not the same. And so we say that. That’s just like African Americans saying Caucasian and Hispanics are the same. And we know that, **they go by the skin color. And that has nothing to do with it.**

Rebecca: **Who’s they?**

Kimberly: **A lot of. A lot of the residents in [Central] County. They go by the skin color and that tells them.**

Rebecca: **Like white residents?**

Kimberly: **Mm.**

[Kimberly, 44. Interview with author on August 5, 2015]

## Conclusions

As I have systematically observed the use of linguistic, racial, and ethnic ideologies in school settings from actors at varying power levels, I argue that two differing patterned belief systems exist in the two schools. Apple is more traditional in their exclusion of Spanish speakers and reproducing racial and ethnic inequality through tracking while the leadership in Emerald all talked to me about the importance of equity and being aware of linguistic, racial, and ethnic

identities in education. Emerald was much better at meeting the needs of their Spanish-speaking families and did not have advanced classes. The context of each of the two schools is different and has produced different cultures which are nuanced, but both exist and operate within the broader confines of the laws and regulations at the federal, state, and district level as well as local discourses.

Based on my interviews, while most Hispanics did not seem to believe their children receive unequal education, when I mentioned specific things, like whether the school provided communications in a language they understood or that parents were not informed about bilingual books available in the library, their responses suggested that much more could be done to equalize educational opportunity. African Americans varied as to whether they agreed with the idea that their children received an equal education, though most disagreed with this idea. Whites usually reported satisfaction with translation services and equity in the schools.

Ideologies about these linguistic, racial, and ethnic statuses also provided a lens for interpreting students' and others' behaviors and a framework for understanding "natural" causes of inequality. That is to say that together, these ideologies provided a justification for those in power to deny further resources, such as not sending home the Bridge Books flyer in Spanish, which perpetuated inequality. Such ideologies are used for justifications for inequality and explanations for the poor performance of entire schools. Further, they also resulted in my observation of people often being treated differently not based on their own self-identification, but on the ways that others identified them or on the ways they diverged from others' expectations of their identity. According to survey results, the idea that racism was not a problem was found disproportionately amongst white educators. These ideologies, for the most part, inhibited the formation of culturally responsive or critical pedagogy or structural orientations to

meeting the needs of diverse students, which could have been used to improve equity and student outcomes.

In this small county, lack of diverse teacher networks and lack of cultural understanding by the school are important in the reproduction of power structures and educational inequality. Policies and oversights that restrict access to school resources for linguistic, racial, and ethnic groups created ripple effects, impacting the positions people come to occupy later in life. For example, one evening, I attended the College Reach Out Program awards ceremony at the middle school since one of my interview assistants participated in this. A Mexicano who works at the college led the program along with a white woman from the middle school. During the program, he spoke in English but did use some Spanish to speak to the parents. As we spoke after the program, he shared with me that Latinos are being left behind in K-12 in part due to poor district policies, lack of translators/translations, and other related matters. He stated that this contributed to Latinos being underrepresented on the local college campus.

Similarly, a white paraprofessional from Apple told me about the old money/white millionaires who owned local businesses or acres of cattle passed down from their “great times 10 granddaddy.” This person told me that the millionaires sustain themselves off the population. They used to sustain themselves on the backs of African Americans laborers and it is now Latinos. This person noted, “There are no FCAT jobs here.” What this means is that the local economy is not set up to sustain these children when they grow up or to offer well-paying jobs requiring the skills (FCAT skills) they learned in school. These two examples illustrate how inequities are grafted onto the past in Central.

The connection of networks to inequality reproduction is also seen at the county level. Consider the example I provided when a Haitian mother sobbed at the neglect she experienced



from the local police who she said did not appropriately update or follow-up with her on the investigation of her son's death. At the same time, the daughter of a white school employee got an internship with the police department. The county sheriff's office is 17% Hispanic, 2% black, and 81% non-Hispanic white (United States Department of Justice 2013). Thus the issues of networking and understanding of linguistic, racial, and ethnic groups by the white majority in schools are also an important concern in the county level in various areas.

Through efforts, linguistic, racial, and ethnic minoritized groups can be better incorporated into school participation and school structure. Through communication and networking, I was able to get local businesses to donate items for many activities on the Apple campus that I organized for Hispanic Heritage Month. I obtained parent participation and the Migrant Advocates came to help and even called parents. I sensed a lack of interest from the school's office workers and administration. Later, an administrator told me to make sure the event was short. After the 4<sup>th</sup> grade event, two teachers made a point to find me and told me how much their students enjoyed the event and there was a lot of positive feedback about it from parents and students as well. I obtained extensive community and parent support by attempting to be culturally responsive in my approach, using Spanish, and showing that I cared about students and their culture.

In sum, the evidence I have provided in this chapter clearly shows the existence of hierarchies which regulate unequal access to school resources. Whites and English-speakers receive privileged access to school resources whereas people of color and those speaking other languages receive restricted access. These hierarchies are both, in many ways, culturally patterned in the school while also existing in the county.

Finally, now that I have shown that the entrenched practices and identities in Central restrict access to educational resources, in the next chapter, I discuss not only how these identities are constructed and experienced, but the strategies used to resist them. Understanding how they are experienced and resisted is important for speaking to theories of language, identity, power, race, and ethnicity that my work informs, as well as providing nuance to the applications of this project. It also enables a holistic understanding of how people are socialized into hierarchical positions through micro-processes, in conjunction with larger structural pushes and socio-historical set ups.

## **CHAPTER 6: DEALING WITH DIFFERENCE: ESTABLISHING, EXPERIENCING, AND CONTESTING IDENTITY IN THE CLASSROOM**

In this chapter, I draw from classroom observations, surveys, informal conversations, interviews, school demographic data, and other observations to address my second research question, which is focused on the micro-level processes in classrooms and schools through which linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities came to be established, how varying identities articulated, as well as how they were experienced. I then discuss how these identities are dealt with by various actors to negotiate order to address my third research question, which considers the strategies used by various actors in their resistance or countering of particular notions of identity, stereotypes, or inequality. Addressing both of these research questions as well as how these identities come to find place in larger systems of privilege is important in order to inform theory and application, but also to show how people are socialized toward groups of varying power. My analyses are done through a perspective based on Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Van Dijk 2008), textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), and language socialization theory (Ochs 2000; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984).

In the first part of this chapter, I discuss the articulation of language and linguistic identity in schooling. Using examples from fieldwork, I provide statements of metapragmatic commentary used by participants that are manifestations of ideologies, which in turn construct identities. I then draw on this data to illustrate the strategies participants used to deal with difference. Specifically, I examine how interactions and statements of language use denote race,

ethnicity, and respectability (Woolard 2005), how the school is constructed as a “white public space” (Hill 1998), in what ways Spanish is used in the classroom, the relationship between language use and the background knowledge it requires, and how indigeneity is erased through poor measures of linguistic diversity.

In the second part of this chapter, I explore the articulation of racial and ethnic identity in schooling. Drawing on my data, I examine how these identities are established as well as the strategies used to resist them. Specifically, I explain how *Latinidad* and blackness are constructed through interaction as well as show that these discussions are important given that identity change happens through the curriculum (Wortham 2006). I support this argument by drawing on a process by which a student began to refer to herself as “mulatto.” Next I write about how racial and ethnic difference are dealt with by various actors in school contexts and how these dealings are recursive, or repeated, outside of the classroom at the school level, later grade levels, and throughout the county. Ideologies underpinning these findings also result in Latina educators being discouraged from gaining higher positions in the schools as well as the erasure of race due to poor measures of race and ethnicity.

### **A Precursory Note on Classroom Observations**

Before I go into detail about the classroom observations I draw from, I first provide a better picture of what the classrooms were like. A table with the number of students and their racial and ethnic background can be found in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.3). Like all but one of the interviews, classroom observations were audio-recorded and I also took daily notes.

When I began my classroom observations, I was surprised by the high frequency, often daily, of discussions about race and ethnicity, while explicit discussions of language occurred less regularly. Racial and ethnic divisions appeared to be already naturalized from students' families, but divisions seemed to be further set through classroom interactions, which have the untapped potential to serve as disruptions in the socialization of children who grow up in households that reproduce ideologies promoting negative ideas about minoritized groups (Ortner 1994). Even the younger (first grade) children I observed talked about race and racism. For example, a young Latina first-grader at Emerald exclaimed "that's racist" when a boy who was Hispanic white said that Mexicans could not eat the vanilla part of a marble cake.

In the Emerald first grade class, a 35-year-old Mexicana teacher named Mrs. Z, a child of migrants who grew up in near Central, regularly used short phrases of Spanish, especially when Hispanic children were not feeling well or did not understand what they are supposed to be doing. In this class, children had more freedom to talk and socialize, compared to the other first grade class. Discussions of Mexican culture were seen more frequently here.

In the other first grade class, at Apple, more often the traditional ideologies were reproduced. The bulk of the day was instruction, called bell-to-bell teaching, except for the reading block in the morning where the students did a lot of individual reading. This teacher, called Mrs. W, was a non-Hispanic white woman in her late 40s. She had been interested in bilingual books in the past, and even had a few in her large classroom library, although she had not been using them or encouraging her students to check them out from the library. She did allow me to take about four of her students to the library to pick out bilingual books from the small collection. All of the children reported to me later that they read the books with their parents and wanted more.

Similarly, in higher grades (third, fourth, and fifth grade), race and ethnicity were frequently discussed, with language mentioned a little less often and language outside of English being handled somewhat more negatively by teachers. In Ms. V's 3<sup>rd</sup> grade class at Apple, for example, a valuable lesson was taught when students were reprimanded for talking about speaking Spanish at the same time they made Mother's Day cards in Spanish and learned about explorers from Spain. This class was run by a middle-aged non-Hispanic white woman.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> grade class, taught by a white non-Hispanic woman in her thirties, Ms. U, discussions about race and ethnicity mostly came up in response to texts. Whereas the number of African American students at Emerald is low, there were more at Apple, many of whom also identified as Latino and were Spanish-speakers. Others were Haitian and yet still others identified as African American. Many have been in Central for several generations.

The 5<sup>th</sup> grade reading classes at Emerald were taught by a seasoned, non-Hispanic white teacher in her sixties named Mrs. T. She used several novels that featured African Americans as the main characters. For example, *Bud, Not Buddy*, narrated by James Avery, and *The Cay*, narrated by Levar Burton, although none of the novels had Hispanic or female main characters.

### **The Articulation of Languages and Linguistic Identity in Schooling**

In systematically analyzing observations from these classrooms, I have organized some "rules" or common ways of thinking (or constructions) about language, race, and ethnicity that arose through patterns in linguistic interactions. I support this discussion by providing examples from school observations. Additionally, to link these trends to the broader school and community, I consider happenings at those levels to show how these class patterns are part of a

larger way of reproducing identity, as well as inequality. I bring together classroom, school, and community understandings about language, to illuminate how language is constructed across various levels.

### **Constructing Language as Marking Race, Ethnicity, and Respectability**

Based on class and school observations, the way people talked about language indicated that they used language to index people (Woolard 2005). Analyzing their speech showed that people had assumptions about those who were indexed by language, based on ideologies about language, race, ethnicity, and other variables. In this section, I provide examples from data to illustrate the following assumptions held by participants. First, English was associated with whiteness and education. Spanish-accented or African American Language or even “ethnic sounding names” were stigmatized through the use of repetition, which can make speakers less likely to participate in learning activities. Additionally, speakers of languages other than English, especially Spanish, were thought of as lazy. Spanish speakers were also constructed as loud or speaking quick gibberish. Also, indigenous languages were erased and constructed as Spanish. Similarly, Spanish was constructed as a non-language, the speakers of which were treated on occasion as non-people. These previous constructions are underpinned by the equation of English and nationalism (Coryell et al. 2010; Fuller 2012; Urciuoli 1996).

While linguistic anthropologists and other social scientists have written on the connection of language to identity and language to ethnicity (Anzaldúa 2012; Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Coryell et al. 2010; hooks 1994; Falconi 2013; González 2006; Ives 2004; Lanehart 1999; Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza 2012; Lippi-Green 1997; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Messing 2007; Phillips 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Wortham 2006), as I discussed in Chapter 2,

they are also aware that just because a person speaks or has learned a language does not mean that they identify as a new ethnicity. Regardless, in Central, language was used to make assumptions about people's background. As I note in my explanation of the language inventory later in this chapter, white students were less likely to have their language capabilities recorded in school records. In an example from observations, in U's class, while she read aloud from *The Treasure of Amelia Island*, I noticed that the book read, of Anna Kingsley, "She was different from the rest, she wasn't African, she spoke Spanish," this is in line with Bailey's (2000, 2001, and 2002) argument that blackness cancels out Spanish proficiency. In another case, when I was in the Apple office, a substitute office worker asked me if I "was Spanish" on account of how good my Spanish was. She was not the only one, others asked on various occasions, see Appendix A.11 for another example.

Just as my background was questioned because of my use of Spanish, English was associated with whiteness and education in the schools. For example, at Emerald's Kindergarten Round Up, according to my field notes, a person in leadership talked to a Latina kindergartener and her mother in the front office. The person asked for clarification on the girl's Spanish accented words, "My little white voice can't understand that, if you were going to say that Anglo, how would that be?" Another construction about English, and in this case, specifically Standard English, is that it marks "being educated." For example, in U's class a student responded to a question with "yeah." U responded, "[say] 'yes,' 'cause we're educated people."

One of the ways I noticed that words were stigmatized was when I heard people repeating them. These words could be grammatical errors, pronunciations accented with minoritized language influences, or "ethnic" or "racial sounding" names. This happened in the classes often. For example, according to my field notes, in W's class, a Latino boy talked about scissors and



pronounced it with a subtle accent (like “seize-ers”). A paraprofessional repeated his pronunciation a couple of times. Another time in V’s class a non-Hispanic white boy repeated a Latina’s double negatives.

In stigmatizing accented English, people are differentiated primarily by their speech being repeated or corrected by others while errors in “unaccented” (read: accented but not by Spanish or another minoritized language) go unnoticed. This is nothing new to the literature (e.g., Collins 1996), but I did observe that people whose language was corrected, including the rare occasions that Southern English was corrected, were reticent to participate after the event. The reality is that we all make mistakes speaking, and we all have accents, but who is corrected and how that correction is responded to reflects language, racial, and ethnic ideologies as well as the negotiation of place. An instance where the speech of an adult was corrected and her behavior afterward is as follows. According to my field notes, during a teacher leaders meeting, one of the teachers said “done did” and a person in leadership remarked, “Don’t teach your kindergarteners that.” The teacher responded, “I won’t,” but then had her partner present since she “couldn’t talk now.” Her partner started by joking “I’m fixin’ ta talk” and then resumed Standard English in talking about the matter at hand. If these examples make it easy to see how such language correction impacts participation, it raises the question of how the linguistic treatments I mentioned earlier impact the contributions of students who are corrected, especially given that the speech of children of color is more likely to be corrected even when white children also make mistakes (Collins 1996). In Central, children of color may be corrected for speaking dialectal or accented varieties of English that are “standard” in their homes or neighborhoods. However, Standard and Southern English-speaking children are usually only corrected when they make an “error” in what is already their standard dialect. This results in stigmatization not just of

a child's "errors" but of the whole speaking style/accents of children not speaking standard English.

An additional construction about language was that non-English speakers were often constructed as lazy or deficient. In both schools, employees, exclusive of custodial and lunch staff, with whom I did not interact much, often made comments about people's language abilities that were usually negative or unrealistic. According to my field notes, an office worker at Apple complained about a parent being unfriendly and who "won't even try to speak English, she just points to" the nurse. In another example, at the Emerald office, a paraprofessional told me that she does not speak Spanish but "understands what they say and can tell them to sit down, shut up, eat, and so on." She continued, "Forty years ago the Spanish [speakers] that came here were speaking fluent English in three weeks." I would later see her doing inclusion remediation in classes or other duties around campus. Such ideas are not uncommon in the literature, as Fuller writes: "Although most of us know, on some level, that it takes time to learn a second language, this commonsense understanding of the process of language learning undergoes erasure to support ideologies of hostility toward languages other than English" (2012:9).

In terms of rules about Spanish, it and its speakers are constructed as loud and unclear. For example, once I asked two teachers at Apple if they could hear others since their rooms were connected via a shared hall and no door. According to my field notes, the non-Hispanic white teacher responded that they do not really hear each other. The Latina said, "I thought they would hear me 'cause I'm Spanish." This indicates that she has linked together "being Spanish" with being loud. In another example, in Apple, my field notes show that while in a teacher meeting and working on professional development, a non-Hispanic white member of the leadership team spoke a little quickly/mumblingly and U said, "I think she's part Spanish."

People in earshot laughed. Similarly, in W's class, a Latino boy talked to me a little in Spanish. My field notes indicate that he then spoke Spanish to a small group of students near him. A non-Hispanic white boy made gibberish sounds and said, "That's what he sounds like." Another non-Hispanic white boy added that he would "destroy a Mexican school."

Indigenous languages are constructed as Spanish, which coincides with the erasure of the racial and ethnic identities of their speakers, a point I make in the next section of this chapter. As I show, just as indigenous Mexicans who are Latino are reported as only Latino, some parents who report that they speak American Indian languages have their language recorded as Spanish in official documents by staff. For example, in Apple, several times when I helped in the office, I heard the two white office workers registering students. The registration form asked what languages the student spoke. As I mentioned earlier, when parents would state their home language, and it was an indigenous language spoken in Mexico, the office worker told me to just write "Spanish." As the example I offered last chapter suggested, this erasing may also stem from an ideology in Mexico casting indigenous languages as *dialectos* and written languages as *idiomas* (Meek and Messing 2007) or the long history of oppression of indigenous groups in Mexico (Stavenghagen 2002; Castañeda 2004). In this way, the school shaped the way peoples' language statuses were reflected in school records, and thus, shaped pedagogical approaches to serving them. As I show in my language inventory survey results in this chapter, the under measuring of indigenous languages is a systematic problem in Central.

The following observations show how language construction and identity construction intertwine as, in Central, language is defined as English whereas non-English languages are constructed as non-languages. These examples also illustrate the presence of language ideologies privileging English and its indexing of whiteness (Woolard 2005). Recall an earlier example in

Chapter 5, where a teacher used the word “language” instead of English (“Some people of Hispanic culture may want to come but speak little or no language and need a translator”). As I stated, this reduced non-English languages to not even being a language. I noticed similar comments in other situations. For example, according to my field notes, in one instance, an office worker gave copies to a paraprofessional to be sent home. The copies were School Advisory Committee announcements that called for nominations/participation from parents. The Spanish side was visible on both the top and bottom of the stack and a paraprofessional said, “Nobody can read them.” She and an office worker laughed. In this example, “Nobody” was used not to really mean “no person” but instead mean “no white person” or “English-speaking person.” Thus, Spanish is again carved out as a non-language or language of non(white)-people.

The last example in how language is used to construct identity helps bring together all of the previous ones. In this case, a parent came into Apple and she and her daughter did not speak English. According to my field notes, one of the office workers said, “She’ll learn” and “they’ll teach her.” The non-Hispanic white substitute office worker laughed. The third worker added, “Guess mom will have to learn some English.” After they left that same worker added, “You know what I want to say to them is ‘You are in America, English is our language.’” She commented further that she believed that the mother had another child here and the mother did not try to speak any English because she knows the school can get someone to help her in Spanish, but that the parent should at least just try.

### **Strategies to Deal with Linguistic Differences in the Classroom: Constructing the School as an English only “White Public Space” or Using Spanish in the Classroom**

In this section, I discuss the strategies used by various actors to make and enforce language rules as well as the pushback from those resisting such rules. In the first part of this

section I discuss how, through interaction, the schools are largely constructed as English only “white public spaces” (Hill 1998). In the second part of this section, I write about the extent to which Spanish use is permitted across schools and classrooms. As can be seen in these examples, with the demographic changes Central experienced over the last 50 years, the value of Spanish in schools has not become elevated. A few people remarked that learning Spanish “could help people have an easier time getting a job,” though messages communicating this in day-to-day school interactions were not sent.

In constructing the school as a “white public space” where language outside of Standard American English (and the locally influenced southern dialect) was not welcomed, the main reason that was cited by participants in observations was that to use Spanish in front of non-Spanish speakers excludes. Most often it was non-Hispanic white participants who believed that the use of Spanish was exclusionary. Spanish-speaking paraprofessionals were sometimes told to not use Spanish in helping children, which correlated with the views of some teachers who felt that bilingual books do not have a place in U.S. curricula.

In one example, at Apple a Migrant Advocate came up to use the phone and spoke in English and Spanish. According to my field notes, the white office substitute jokingly said, “I hope you’re not saying anything bad about me ‘cause she knows what you’re saying” [referring to me]. The Advocate laughed.

Another time at Emerald, Z, her sub who was Latina, myself, and the non-Hispanic white 1<sup>st</sup> grade teacher from next door ate lunch in the classroom while the kids ate in the cafeteria. According to my field notes, when the sub used a word in Spanish, she caught herself and apologized. I told her she had nothing to apologize for. Z agreed and then called me *Mexicana* and said that the sub’s language did not bother the other teacher. Here is a situation of a person

of less power, the sub, apologizing for what she assumes those more powerful than her will consider exclusionary. However, both the teachers (and me) let her know that it was okay to use Spanish, resulting in a challenge of the Standard Language Ideology.

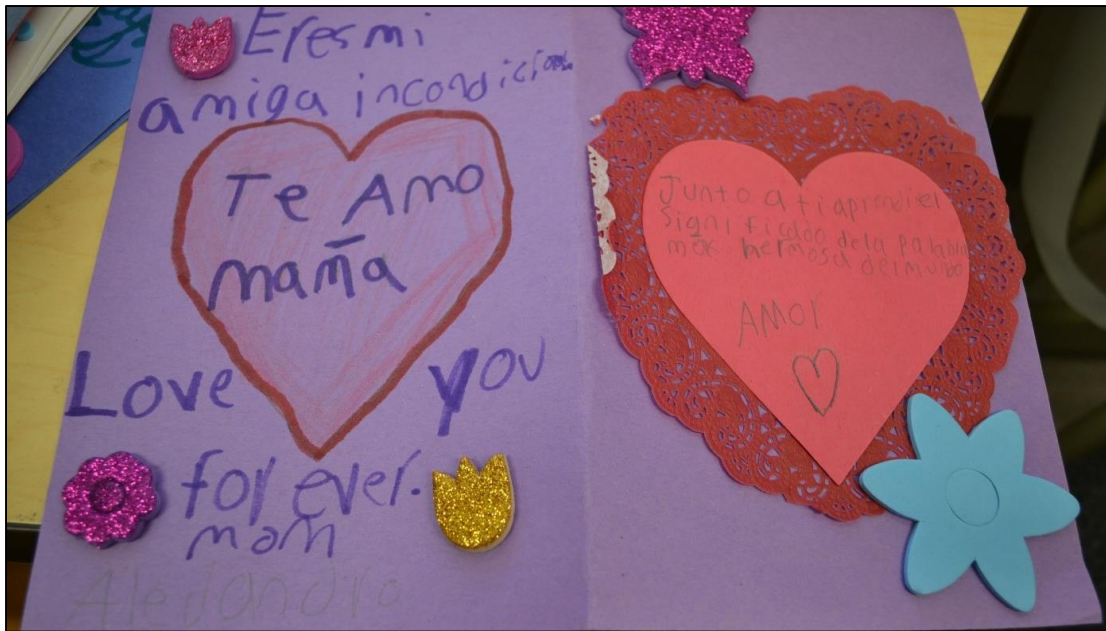
On another occasion, during a Thanksgiving celebration in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade class at Apple, when the teacher had all of the children go around the table and say what they are thankful for, a son of indigenous Mexicans said his thanks in English and then repeated it in Spanish. He had done so for the benefit of his mother, who speaks Spanish and Nahuatl,<sup>43</sup> as she was in the room. According to my field notes, a Latino boy told him to speak “English only” and the teacher forcefully said “No, sir.” After that, nobody else commented on his use of Spanish. Here again, is an example of a teacher attempting to cancel the effect of the Standard Language Ideology. Although there is some tension and the occurrence was hurtful, the teacher’s challenging appears likely to be a productive challenge of the Standard Language Ideology. When I later interviewed the boy’s mother, Alejandra, she reported feeling badly because of the event (Appendix A.12).

On another occasion V had me help the kids make Mother’s Day cards (Figure 6.1). According to my field notes, she said it was fine for me to show them some Spanish words that I had looked up for the kids to put on their cards. What spurred me to do this was that during Christmas I had gone to a house where a mother had a Mother’s Day poem from her child tacked to the wall and she asked me to translate it since it was in English. As we were making the cards, several kids chose words I had printed out. As they were reading them aloud, they talked about speaking Spanish. My heart began to beat a little quicker, I knew the teacher did not allow Spanish in the classroom but it did not feel right to ask them to stop, especially given that they were writing these words down. We began to talk about speaking Spanish and as the children

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<sup>43</sup> Sometimes known as “Aztec,” this language was spoken by several of the Indigenous Mexicans in Central, many coming from Oaxaca.

were telling me about it, the teacher appeared. Her voice was raised, not yelling, but still intimidating. She said something, loudly and firmly, especially for a woman who I never heard raise her voice, like, “Now you know why we don’t speak Spanish, because it excludes.” I realized that I was actually scared. I was sitting at a grouping of desks at student level and she was standing up looking down at us. This was ironic, given that we were working on Mother’s Day cards in Spanish and V was talking with students in her center about Spanish explorers.



**Figure 6.1: Mother’s Day card made by a student in V’s class.**

Ms. V’s other actions seem to be at odds with her language policy. For example, once she had me help her organize a small Cinco de Mayo party and when I offered to bring in my *Lotería* (bingo) cards, she seemed glad to allow the students to engage. We decorated with some balloons and streamers and ate a few foods as well as broke a piñata a mother had brought in. On the teacher’s behalf, I sent a note home and called a few parents ahead of time. She had told me that in the past she stayed away from these events sometimes because it is hard to get parents to participate. Having the ability to send the note home in Spanish and communicate with the parents, I was able to get a high degree of participation. I also had the cultural knowledge about

what types of food and items to request. On another occasion, V demonstrated mindfulness of students' ethnicity when we discussed how we would decorate the classroom for the fairytale themed field day. There would be a competition, and the best decorated classrooms would win extra recess. As we talked over ideas, she mentioned Jack and the Beanstalk, noting there was a Spanish version (*Paco and the Giant Chile Plant*).

Interviews with school employees confirmed that the school was often constructed as an English only space. In the first example, Melissa, a white paraprofessional from Apple, talked about how speaking languages other than English can make monolingual English speakers uncomfortable. In the second example, Carmen, a Latina paraprofessional from Emerald, talked about the messages that kids receive about the place of Spanish in school. In the third example, the same employee tells me about the climate for employees, where even their coworkers make them feel uncomfortable for speaking Spanish.

Rebecca: So you've never noticed any discussion or fights about language or like someone using Spanish or another language or using improper language?

Melissa: Oh not so much at the elementary school. I think at the elementary school, **I've told kids a couple time, 'Speak English'. You know 'cause you catch them talking to each other, they'll speak Spanish. And while I know a lot of that, you don't want the other kids to feel uncomfortable either.** I'm like 'alright, I know what you're saying'. There's a couple times when I've responded to them in English and they're like 'Ok, how'd she know what we just said?' I'm just like 'Alright, speak English or teach us what you just said.' And I'll tell them, 'Ok, if you want to speak Spanish then you've got to teach the rest of us.' But not anything, no big fights about it.

[Melissa, 42. Interview with author on April 1, 2015]

Rebecca: Do kids receive the message at school that they shouldn't speak Spanish?

Carmen: I think so.

Rebecca: From some teachers?

Carmen: **Yeah, 'don't speak Spanish, you need to speak English,' yeah.**

Rebecca: Who says that? White teachers? Any teacher? Like non-Latina teachers?

Carmen: Yeah.

Rebecca: Mostly? So like, black and white teachers might say that whereas a Latina teacher probably wouldn't say that?

Carmen: Yeah.

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]



Rebecca: Have you ever noticed any fights about like someone using Spanish and somebody else getting mad like whether it was a teacher or student or anything like that? Like anybody ever said, like ‘speak English, this is America, speak English.’ Have you heard that before?

Carmen: Here in the school? No, but I haven’t seen anything. But, I mean, I know that me and some other co-workers, like, we’ll speak Spanish, you know, I mean...

Rebecca: And have you ever gotten any looks or anything from other teachers?

Carmen: **Yeah, just that look like ‘oh, there they go speaking Spanish again,’ you know.**

Rebecca: Do you think that they’re judging you or thinking something?

Carmen: Probably, probably.

Rebecca: But nobody said anything?

Carmen: **No one said nothing. But you can just tell by the looks.**

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

Spanish-speaking personnel are sometimes told not to use Spanish during instruction because “the children need to learn English.” For example, Victoria, a Latina paraprofessional told me how teachers asked her to limit or not use Spanish when helping children. However, she also mentioned teachers who use Spanish to better communicate with children and parents.

Victoria: ...was going over Sight Words in Kindergarten, I would ask the word, and to say what the word means in Spanish. One of the smart kids, he was picking it up quick. **The teacher stopped me, she’s like, ‘No, don’t do that, please ‘cause they need to learn English, to make sure they’re saying it in English.’ [I replied] ‘Oh, they’re saying it in English too but I’m asking them—.’ She goes, ‘no, I really want them to learn English.’**

Rebecca: Well Spanish helps the meaning. They can say the word [in English] but do they know what it means? What teacher was that?

Victoria: [Teacher’s name].

Rebecca: Anybody else, any other teachers say anything?

Victoria: [Another teacher’s name].

Rebecca: That’s a shock, what did she say? How’d it come up?

Victoria: I can’t remember; **I just remember what she said. She’s like ‘These kids need to be speaking English. They can speak Spanish at home. Well, actually, English should be encouraged at home, making them watch the English television. Think about it, how did you learn English?’**...[long pause where she looks at me intensely]...but you know, that’s just when you don’t wanna argue with them.

Rebecca: So you didn’t say anything back?

Victoria: Nn-nn, I didn’t say anything.

Rebecca: What languages do your parents speak?

Victoria: Spanish. But in my era-

Rebecca: Did she know that or did she assume that?

Victoria: She assumed that.

Rebecca: How'd that come up though? In a chat, a conversation about something else?

Victoria: I think it was with the kids, she was struggling, she says that it's mainly the language barrier. **She said that kids need to be speaking English that she doesn't allow them to speak in Spanish. But I see that kind of bad, in their free time, they should be able to talk whatever they want. They are communicating, they're asking their friend, their classmates something. They should be able to say it in Spanish if they want.**

Rebecca: Any other teachers like that?

Victoria: Those are the only ones I've encountered. **The other ones are like, 'How do you say this in Spanish?'**

Rebecca: **'Cause they want your help to communicate with the parents? Or the kids?**

Victoria: **Both, parents and the kids.**

[Victoria, 35. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]

The idea that schools should prioritize English in learning was also seen on the bilingual book survey I administered, which I wrote about in Chapter 5. For example, a teacher commented that she would not be recommending bilingual books to help parents help their children because “by 4th grade [those] children should be able to read in English.” While the majority of teachers surveyed said they would recommend bilingual books to students, they also reported that they had not done so in practice.

Teachers varied both on their policies for language use in the classroom as well as their own degree of Spanish used, but not to an extent that it reshaped the school as a place where Spanish or other languages were welcome on a large scale. Several non-Latina and non-fluent Spanish-speaking teachers used some Spanish in the classroom. W used it a bit more and as a teaching aid. T asked a few times for students to think of cognates. U liked to say “Sí, señor” or “gracias” to students. As I mentioned, V forbade the use of Spanish in class. As I discussed before, the only Latina teacher in the study frequently used it. Some of these policies on the use of Spanish in the classroom do conflict with student desires, as I found evidence that some children do want to interact with the curriculum in their home language. Another issue I found

was that when Spanish was utilized in the curriculum, for example through books that have some Spanish words in them, the Spanish that is used is “Mock Spanish” (Hill 1995).

For the lower grade, in Apple, when W’s students were working on math, she counted in Spanish “uno, dos, tres” for a Latino boy. In the other first grade class at Emerald, a Latina accidentally banged her head on the table and her ear was red. Z rubbed her and asked “¿Qué te ha pasado?” *What happened to you?* Then they conversed in Spanish. The microphone, which was often on to accommodate a hearing impaired student, was on broadcasting and nobody said anything about Spanish being used. In that same class, in groups, I overheard Z draw on knowledge of Spanish. She asked a Latino boy if his parents watched the Spanish Channel and then if he knew what the *casa blanca* was or if he had heard his parents talk about it.

For the upper grades, at Emerald in T’s 5<sup>th</sup> grade class, a homework assignment required the kids to look at the definition of five words: “merchant,” “navigation,” “enslaved,” “missionary,” and “ally.” The instructions asked students to draw pictures of some words, write the root word of “navigate” and “enslave,” identify key words in “missionary,” and write the plural of “ally.” In defining these with the class, T asked students to share their work. After they did, T said they would talk about colonization but did not go into more detail at that moment. She stated, “‘Enslaved’ is written in the past tense, played a major part in our U.S. history.” The next activity was another vocabulary worksheet. That time, one vocab word was “lavatory” and she asked what they thought the word meant. Two students said, “Bathroom.” T tried to figure out how they knew this. The ESE helper was present and added that there was a similar Spanish word for “bathroom.” T also mentioned the Latin prefix of the word. In the past, T had asked them to compare cognates.

In the second class that rotated into T's classroom that day, they discussed unknown words on the worksheet and "lavatory" came up. This time T asked for the Spanish cognate. When they went over the other worksheet, she asked students for their definition of "merchant," and mentioned "colonial" times and then gave "Walmart" as an example of a merchant today. She went on to explain the root words of "navigate" and "enslaved" and defined the latter as "to be forced to work without the freedom to leave." As they discussed "ally," she said "Canada, English, Great Britain, and U.S. are group-fighting against ISIS in the Middle East."

When T's third class came in and the same worksheet was discussed she asked them to define "merchant" and again gave the Walmart example. T also talked about merchants in the colonies and mentioned Paul Revere. She added that the root word of "navigate" was "navy." Then she asked for the root word of "enslaved." She defined, "Slave is someone who works for no money. If you enslave you put someone in slavery for free." T then asked about the vocab word "missionary" and then asked "What is religion?" Someone answered, "Culture." T offered, "Missionary is someone who persuades people about God. [Name of another teacher] is a missionary who goes to Ecuador with her church." A student commented that she was in their VBS (Vacation Bible School) and T responded, "That is missionary work." She explained, "You aren't persuading people to buy things, it has to do with ideas." Next they went on to *Bud, Not Buddy*. In offering the setting or backdrop of *Bud, Not Buddy*, T offered, "Depression is both a mental state but also the Great Depression." She added, "The stock market crash of 1929, the country was mostly unemployed, no one had any money, no such thing as welfare, stood in line in soup kitchen. People were in really bad shape." They also went over the corresponding vocabulary for the book. T said, "You people who speak Spanish, your vocab should be better than mine. What is the Spanish word for wash?" Children said, "Lava" and "Oh." T stated, "It

has come to mean a place to wash--a lavatory.” T asked, “We know ‘simmered,’ so let’s do ‘ilk.’ What do you think it means?” The students offered, “Black person different race from us...skin color” and “different race.” T answered, “Actually it means ‘type,’ ‘your kind,’ ‘sort.’”

What these examples in T’s class show is that she did attempt to draw on students’ knowledge of their first language. However, sometimes it was done with less than finesse. Perhaps teacher training on how to better integrate the home language into the curriculum would be fruitful. Additionally, the way that T talked about slavery matches with her earlier explanations about racial matters which did not problematize oppression, identify oppressors, nor recognize who profited historically (and now) because of it.

Going back to language, although the use of Spanish in the classroom is very limited, especially in classrooms of non-Hispanic white teachers, where it may be forbidden, my observations show that students do want to interact with the curriculum and school in Spanish. For example, in W’s class, a Latino boy started to translate something in Spanish and admitted, “I don’t know what it means.” This boy has often talked about Spanish in class and linked things to his life as well as ethnic and linguistic identity. For example, at the end of the day, W explained a Fairy Tale day flyer and when she told the class the back was in Spanish several kids said “yay.” The same boy raised his hand to tell W he spoke Spanish and she replied, “That’s good.” This example offers another instance of resistance to the Standard Language Ideology.

Further, when Spanish does appear in the curriculum, sometimes it is through books which utilize Mock Spanish (Hill 1995). In this case, Mock Spanish works in Central because people essentialize Latinos and Spanish, and Spanish serves as an icon to index people (Dick and Wirtz 2011; Hill 2005; Irvine and Gal 2000; Ochs 1990). For example, in U’s regular class she read *Skippyjon Jones in Mummy Trouble*, by Judy Schachner, aloud to the class. The main

character is Skippyjon, who is a Siamese cat that thinks he is a Chihuahua. The book has some Spanish words and many Spanish-like/sounding words which can be classified as Mock Spanish. For instance, consider the following examples from the book which are included exactly as written in the text except where I have used italics for emphasis. First, Skippyjon uses his, as the book writes, “best Spanish accent” to address himself in the mirror and says, “You are *steel* the *beeg* Chihuahua.” Later, when encountering Chihuahuas in his journey to Egypt in his imagination, they say to him, “We are going to the *Under Mundo...*” He replies, “Not to the underwear!” They say, “You *seely leetle* beast! To the Under World where *mummitos* rest in *peas*.” In these examples, the use of misspellings (*steel*, *beeg*, *seely*, *leetle*, *peas*) tell the reader how they should be pronouncing the words to convey a “Spanish accent.” Simplified words or false conjugations (*Under Mundo*, *mummito*) also essentialize Spanish. Martínez-Roldán has also critiqued Skippyjon books for their use of Mock Spanish. Additionally, I observed employees using Mock Spanish. For instance, when a person in the Apple office said, “De nada,” another worker and I talked about its meaning. She joked about what she will say after someone says ‘thanks’ in Spanish: “Me speaka no Spanish.”

### **The Relationship between Using the Linguistic Features of the Privileged and (Perceived) Language Competence**

In Central, many people believe that speaking a language does not require special cultural knowledge. Many of these residents also believe that English is “neutral,” a perspective Kroskrity (2000) explained as a misconception rooted in language ideologies privileging English. However, social scientists understand that language speakers require background knowledge or cultural competency to be perceived as being a competent speaker of another language (Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012). Yet, opportunities for students to learn how to pronounce certain

words or understand their meaning, which come from local and cultural understandings that children obtain from home or outside of the school, may not be open to minority students. This relates to my point that the curriculum does not incorporate diverse perspectives, and also matches with the opinions of several participants I featured in the last chapter who remarked on how curricula that are not culturally responsive can impact educational equity.

For example, I spoke with Apple's leadership about the CELLA (Comprehensive English Language Learning Assessment) testing. I said that kids may get caught up with English names and I asked why the test did not use some Spanish names, such as Javier. According to my field notes, she replied, "That's not what the test is measuring, it measures English language." At the same time, I listened to a Latino boy read in U's "regular" 4<sup>th</sup> grade class and he stumbled over "Annie." He remarked that he had never heard that name. However, Allison, the school psychologist, was mindful of the importance of background knowledge in being perceived as being a good speaker of a particular language (Appendix A.13).

On another occasion, a Latino boy in W's class picked up all the math counters (chips) in response to W's request that the students "put up their counters." According to my field notes, W responded by sternly and somewhat unkindly telling him that she did not want them "picked up." She was using "up" to mean "forward." What is important to realize is that this occurred even though a similar issue was discussed in a teacher leadership meeting earlier in the year. In that meeting, a bilingual teacher told a story as to why a teacher should not say "put up your book." She had been told to do so when she was young and in response she lifted her book in the air and was embarrassed afterward. It was discussed that it is important to be mindful that words and phrases do not have intrinsic meaning and more culturally responsive language should be used.

## **Erasing Indigeneity: Comparing Language Inventory Results and School Records**

In this chapter, I previously shared an observation from Apple where office employees instructed that for parents who state that they speak indigenous Mexican languages, “Spanish” should be written on the school registration form. In this way, the school erases indigeneity and re-forms people’s linguistic identities, which is a strategy knowingly or unknowingly deployed by those in power to reproduce inequality. By comparing official school records to a large language inventory of Apple, Emerald, and the county’s middle school that I conducted, I found evidence that the erasure I first noticed during school registration was a systemic problem.

The language inventory survey that I distributed asked about the languages students and their parents spoke. The survey was distributed to about 2,000 students across the two elementary schools and the middle school, and a response rate of about 66.5% was achieved. There were a total of 1,330 valid language surveys for analysis.<sup>44</sup> This survey was distributed toward the end of the year, so some individuals who are migrant may not have been counted. The survey did not measure whether the child lived their parents or if their parents were still alive. It also did not consider any other adults who may take care of the child or live in their home. However, it is a starting point for gaining an idea of the linguistic resources of families. Based on my observations, I believe my language survey underrepresents indigenous Mexican languages. I think this because there were people who I talked to personally who I know speak a Mexican American Indian language but who did not report doing so. Additionally, during interviews, I had to probe more than once for people to list the Mexican American Indian languages they

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<sup>44</sup> About 10 survey responses were from teachers and have not been disaggregated in the data, but since the vast majority were from students, it is appropriate to describe the data as being informative about students’ language. Between 5-10 language surveys were discarded due to being illegible or not having names on them. Six were excluded from all analysis for circling 4 or more languages.



knew. Even though my language survey may undercount indigenous Mexican languages, it does a much better job than official school and state measuring and reporting practices, as I show.

Table 6.1 shows student and parent language capabilities and percentages of English and Spanish speakers as reported on the survey.<sup>45</sup> Based on the survey analysis, 692 (52%) students were monolingual, 591 (45%) were bilingual, and 37 (3%) were trilingual. English was the most common language spoken by students, circled by 1,291 (98%) of participants. Spanish was next, circled by 604 (46%). After that, 22 circled or wrote in ASL, 15 Mixtec,<sup>46</sup> 13 Haitian Creole, 10 Hmong, 5 Zapotec, 4 French, 3 Arabic, 3 Romanian, 3 German, 3 “Spanglish,” 2 Mamascal, 2 Gujarati, 1 Czech, 1 Bengali, 1 Alto, 1 Mexican Sign Language (MSL), and 1 Huasteco.

**Table 6.1: Table showing reported student and parent language capabilities.**

| Ability             | Student | Mother | Father |
|---------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| <b>Monolingual</b>  | 52%     | 56%    | 56%    |
| <b>Bilingual</b>    | 45%     | 41%    | 42%    |
| <b>Trilingual</b>   | 3%      | 2%     | 2%     |
| <b>Quadlingual</b>  | <1%     | <1%    | <1%    |
| <b>Total Number</b> | 1320    | 1318   | 1306   |

Twenty-nine (2%) mothers<sup>47</sup> were trilingual, 543 (41%) were bilingual, and 744 (56%) were monolingual. A total of 321 (24%) of the 1,318 mothers reported not speaking English. Mothers’ languages included: English 997, Spanish 782, Mixtec 47, ASL 17, Haitian Creole 14, Hmong 14, French 11, Zapotec 8, Arabic 5, German 4, “Spanglish” 3, Mamascal 3, Bajo 3, MSL 3, Nahuatl 3, Gujarati 2, Trique 2, Bengali 1, Czech 1, Cerean 1, Huasteco 1, Malay 1, Vietnamese 1, Otomi 1, and Romanian 1. Of the 98 multilingual mothers who did not speak English, their linguistic capabilities are as follows: 84 reported speaking Spanish and Mixtec (2

<sup>45</sup> Of the 1,330 surveys, 4 were excluded because they were blank for student’s language.

<sup>46</sup> Mixteca was offered as a choice on the survey, and some participants wrote in a language in that family, including Meztico, Misteco, Mixtica, etc. I included all those responses in the Mixtec category for ease here, although the original data has been maintained incase further analysis is performed.

<sup>47</sup> Six respondents left mother’s language blank. This left a total of 1,318 valid responses.

of those also use Bajo), 4 Spanish and Zapotec, 3 Spanish and Nahuatl (one of those also uses MSL), 2 Spanish and Trique, 2 Spanish and MSL, 1 Spanish and Huasteco, 1 Mixtec and Bajo, and 1 Spanish and ASL. Of the monolingual mothers, 475 spoke English, 265 Spanish, 3 Haitian Creole, and 1 “Spanglish.”

Regarding fathers’ linguistic backgrounds,<sup>48</sup> twenty-five (2%) fathers were trilingual, 547 (42%) were bilingual, and 731 (56%) were monolingual. In total, 325 or 25% of fathers did not speak English. Fathers’ languages were: English 981, Spanish 797, Mixtec 43, Haitian Creole 14, Hmong 10, Zapotec 10, ASL 6, French 5, Nahuatl 5, German 4, Romanian 4, Bajo 3, MSL 3, Arabic 2, Gujarati 2, Italian 2, Lao 2, Mamascol 2, “Spanglish” 2, Trique 2, Czech 2, Greek 1, Honduran 1, Latin 1, Malay 1, Swedish 1, and 1 Tarasco. For monolingual fathers, 458 spoke English, 267 Spanish, 2 Hmong, 2 Haitian Creole, 1 Zapotec, and 1 “Spanglish.” Of the 86 multilingual fathers who did not speak English, their linguistic capabilities are as follows: 68 used Spanish and Mixtec (2 of those also spoke Bajo), 7 Spanish and Zapotec, 4 Spanish and Nahuatl, 2 Spanish and MSL, 2 Spanish and Trique, 1 Spanish and Romanian, 1 Spanish and Tarasco, and 1 Mixtec and Bajo.

School records (Table 6.2) paint a much different, incomplete, and narrower picture about the linguistic diversity and abilities of students and their parents. Table 6.2 data is from the 2014-2015 school year. Note that about a third of children in each school have no language recorded. Additionally, compared to school records, my inventory reflected a higher proportion of parents that used indigenous Mexican languages, such as Mixtec. I also found particular languages in my inventory that did not appear on school records, such as Zapotec, Bajo, and Nahuatl. The 2010 Census faced comparable issues in counting Indigenous Mexicans, resulting

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<sup>48</sup> For fathers, there were more blanks (n=17). There were 1,306 valid responses.

in a significant under measuring of this group. While the census was offered in 60 languages, no indigenous Mexican languages, such as Mixtec or Zapotec, were among them (Correal 2010). A representative from a census partner, the Mexican Consulate in New York, stated that “many indigenous Mexicans speak Spanish and so they’re integrated into the wider Mexican population” (Correal 2010:1).

**Table 6.2: Table of language diversity according to school records.**

| Language  | Apple      | Emerald    | Middle School** *** |
|---|------------|------------|---------------------|
| English   | 25%        | 24%        | 7%                  |
| Spanish   | 41%        | 51%        | 48%                 |
| Haitian Creole  | 2%         | 0%         | <1%                 |
| Hmong   | 1%         | 1%         | <1%                 |
| Chinese   | 0%         | <1%        | 0%                  |
| Lao   | 0%         | <1%        | 0%                  |
| Mixtec  | 0%         | 1%         | <1%                 |
| Romanian  | <1%        | 0%         | 0%                  |
| Vietnamese  | <1%        | 0%         | <1%                 |
| Gujarati  | <1%        | 0%         | <1%                 |
| Arabic  | <1%        | 0%         | <1%                 |
| Bengali   | 0%         | 0%         | <1%                 |
| Not Specified   | 30%        | 23%        | 44%                 |
| <b>Total Number of Students</b>   | <b>567</b> | <b>389</b> | <b>1000</b>         |
| **Data available for first 1,000 students only. Data ended at students whose last names began with R. <sup>49</sup>   |            |            |                     |
| ***Includes one survey response with Mixtec and Spanish both listed, so the total number of languages is one more than the total sample.                                  |            |            |                     |
| These numbers come from the school information system from the columns labeled home language, [student], language, parent’s native language, and ELL program participant. |            |            |                     |
| If a parent was said to have a native language of English, but the home language was not English, the home language was reported instead.                                 |            |            |                     |

According to my observations in Central, registrars tended to ask assumptive language questions or not ask all language questions to all people. This appears to be reflected in the school’s data, as white students were most likely to not have their language recorded on their information entries in the school’s data system. For instance, Table 6.3 shows that on average, non-Hispanic white students were more likely to not have their language recorded than students of various racial and ethnic background. This quantitate data supports my observations that

<sup>49</sup> I do not have reason to believe that A-R data is not representative of the entire student body. When saving the data, it automatically cut off after 1,000 entries and when I realized this, the data were no longer available.

whiteness is often equated with a notion of linguistic competency, specifically in English. Table 6.3 data is from the 2014-2015 school year. Note also that in Table 6.3, race and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive categories, with the exception of non-Hispanic white.

**Table 6.3: Table of demographics of students without recorded language.**

| Race/Ethnicity  | Apple Students, Unspecified Language | Emerald Students, Unspecified Language | Middle School** Students, Unspecified Language | Average |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|---------|
| <b>Non-Hispanic White</b>   | 63%                                  | 40%*                                   | 66%  | 56%     |
| <b>Latino</b>   | 36%                                  | 59%                                    | 34%  | 43%     |
| <b>Black</b>  | 14%                                  | 5%                                     | 13%  | 11%     |
| <b>Asian</b>  | 2%                                   | 1%                                     | 1%   | 1%      |
| <b>American Indian</b>  | 1%                                   | 5%                                     | 4%   | 3%      |
| *Non-Hispanic whites comprise a much smaller population at this school than others.                   |                                      |  |  |         |
| **Data available for first 1,000 students only. Data ended at students whose last names began with R. |                                      |  |  |         |

### The Articulation of Racial and Ethnic Identity in Schooling

In this section, I explain how *Latinidad*<sup>50</sup> and Blackness are constructed in the classroom. I then provide an in-depth example supporting my argument that children learn about their identity in the classroom, when I discuss how a girl came to identify herself as “mulatto.” I also describe how “mulatto” came to be constructed in that classroom. Next, I show how teachers and students deal with racial and ethnic difference in the classroom, including teacher strategies that work and those that could be improved, as well as students’ own agency in talking back to texts and developing discussions to resist and negotiate images of groups. Then, I connect these classroom observations to wider, school-level happenings. Because of this, I show not only how students are being socialized into positions, but also how educators are similarly socialized. Then, I argue that these realities are part of larger trends in the community and beyond. To bring

<sup>50</sup> *Latinidad* translates to Latinoness and refers to aspects that comprise Latino identity.

this all together, I discuss how the ideologies supporting these trends impact the movement of Latinas into higher positions in school and the erasure of whole groups of people due to the reporting practices of the school and state.

### **Constructing *Latinidad***

Based on my data, I observed some rules about identity, although these were sometimes critiqued. For example, some of the rules that I observed in classrooms were that whiteness is normal, American and white are the same thing, Hispanic is the same as Mexican, and Spanish is not European. Latinos reported experiences which showed that others, often whites, made negative remarks about them. The use of Spanish and incorporation of aspects of Mexican culture that I mentioned before, specifically by Z, but also by other teachers, offer additional insight into teacher approaches to constructing race and ethnicity in the classroom.

In schools, whiteness is often constructed the norm (Fuller 2012) and I found this in my classroom observations. Sometimes the source of this message was from a text itself. For instance, in T's 5<sup>th</sup> grade class, she played a narration of the story "Ten Mile Day and the Building of the Transcontinental Railroad" by Mary Ann Fraser from the book *Reading Street 5.1*. The story told about the joining of the railroads between the Eastern and Western parts of the United States. It explained how Chinese men, Irish men, and men of other backgrounds worked on the railroad. It read, "*Chinese workers* wove in and out of the *men*, delivering water and tea to quench their thirst" (my emphasis). According to textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), whites were constructed as normal, unmarked men, whereas men who are not white had their racial and ethnic status mentioned, and were portrayed as "workers" instead of "men." Such language serves to "other" and dehumanize non-whites.

In the same way that whiteness is considered normal, whiteness (European) marks American. For example, in the advanced 4<sup>th</sup> grade class, U asked, “How did the French and Indian War and American Revolution impact Florida?” U told the kids to look over their social studies book for key words and be prepared to answer that essay question. A white boy mentioned, “Americans” and an Afro-Latina replied, “There were no Americans at that time.” The boy clarified, “The people in England.” Thus, by looking at his words, he uses “the people in England” to explain that was who he was thinking about when he said “Americans.”

In terms of the rules or “knowledge” about Latinos, they were often constructed as being undocumented, Hispanic was equated with Mexican, and there was not a common understanding that Spanish is a European language. For example, in U’s “regular” 4<sup>th</sup> grade class, a Latino boy and Afro-Latina talked in Spanish on the floor while they worked together as a pair. I overheard the boy say, “Most Mexicans don’t have their papers and can’t see their family.” In another instance, in the advanced 4<sup>th</sup> grade class, the noun of “origin” prompted U to write: “Where you’re from/culture” on the board. A student offered “Hispanic” as an origin, but U wrote “Mexican.” Thus, she transposed the group “Hispanic” to “Mexican,” “correcting” the student or equating the two. During that same class, they looked at the book again in an effort to “understand the cultural effect of the Spanish on Florida” which the teacher reworded as “Spanish cultural effects on Florida.” She explained that Great Britain and then later Spain again controlled Florida. A Latina remarked that she “thought Spanish was not European.” Therefore, she showed that she does not see Spanish as a European language.

In terms of further teacher approaches to *Latinidad*, data explained throughout this dissertation are also informative on teacher orientations to language in the classroom. For instance, orientations to Spanish construct identities related to that language as unwelcome in the

school. For example, V's banning of Spanish from the classroom at the same time that the curriculum was focused on Spanish explorers and Z's integration of culture and classroom discourse send different messages about how Latino identity can be expressed in the classroom. Further, as I noted with T, her choice of novels that do not reflect the student body at her school also sends a message about representation and place of Latino identities.

### **Constructing Blackness**

Regarding constructing African Americanness, there were several cases where students asked questions or discussed the proper term for African Americans, their qualities, and their history in the United States. For example, some of the rules constructed by various actors in class for African American identity were that "African American" is a better term than "black" and black people are emotionally hardened. These instances of construction often occurred in the context of discussions of slavery.

First, in U's class, while a Latino student shared his ideas about el día de La Virgen Guadalupe celebration, he mentioned that he sat by a boy who was black. According to my field notes, a white girl said, "We don't say that, use 'African American.'" Someone added, "She's black, well only half," pointing to an Afro-Latina. Another time, U read aloud the historical fiction book, *The Treasure of Amelia Island* (Finotti 2012), about the life of Anna Kingsley, a previously enslaved Senegalese woman who married Zephaniah Kingsley and became a wealthy plantation owner. In the book, Anna said she did not like the word "negro" and preferred "African." A couple of students asked what "negro" was and U said it was "a mean word." A student answered, "black." On another occasion in the book, Anna "treats her slaves as people" and has others call them "African," "even if they had never stepped foot in Africa." These

examples construct the rules about how to refer to African Americans, such as that “African American” was a favored term and “negro” had a “mean” connotation.

In another instance, according to my field notes, during *The Treasure of Amelia Island* read-aloud, a student asked why Anna’s children did not refer to her as “mom” and U answered that she is a “fierce, dark-skinned woman,” quoting from the book. Later, there was an excerpt from the book stating that a particular place was “too dangerous of a place for a mulatto like George.” These examples serve to construct black people and blackness as hardened by describing their characteristics as “fierce” and capable of going to “dangerous” places.

Another time, in the book Anna stated that Thomas Jefferson “said slavery was bad but he had slaves.” A white girl slowly and doubtingly says, “That doesn’t sound like Thomas Jefferson.” Countering the positive narrative of Jefferson as a founding father, a white male paraprofessional in the room said, “You don’t know about Jefferson.”

Once in W’s class, W and I came back from another part of the school to pick up the children from a neighboring teacher’s class where they were being watched by a paraprofessional. As we walked into W’s classroom where both classes were present, the paraprofessional said, according to my field notes, “Listen to what was said in the library.” She shared, “Another boy said that [the only black boy in the class] ‘looked like the gorilla on TV’ and he said he ‘knew that he does.’” W replied that the African American boy had recently told her that he, ““Wanted to cut all his skin off and make it white because people always bother him about it and he feels bad. Or he could have Hispanic skin and at least look like the other kids.”” When we were alone later I asked W what she did after the boy told her, but she shared she was not sure what to do. When I talked to his mother about a month or so later and told her about it,



she claimed her son “would not be offended” by what the other student said because they “go to a mixed church.”

In another instance, around Christmastime, in U’s 4<sup>th</sup> grade class, I helped the students make some ornaments. They could pick from various holidays, such as Christmas, Hanukkah, Kwanzaa, el día de La Virgen Guadalupe, or non-denominational. When I got ready for the craft and put a picture of La Virgen Guadalupe up, several Latino kids commented that they knew who it was. A few minutes later, according to my field notes, a 50-year old white paraprofessional remarked to me, “Kwanzaa is made up.” We were in the middle of the classroom and students were in earshot. This illustrates how non-majority holidays can come to be constructed as illegitimate by school agents or under-incorporated into the curriculum.

### **Identity Change in Response to Curriculum: A Black Girl is now “Mulatto”**

To show the importance of classroom interactions on identity construction, I describe a complete process of identity change in response to a curricular implementation by returning to *The Treasure of Amelia Island*. According to language socialization theory, identities do not always solely find root in an individual, but are also formed or shaped through language by outside entities that have the power to do so (Ochs 2000). In this case, a student began to refer to herself as “mulatto” after the word was used several times in the book and was engaged with by the class. Several constructions of “mulattos” came about as a result of class activities.

In the book, the term “mulatto” is used to describe Anna’s children. The students asked what it meant and the teacher had them do an activity about the topic. U explained the prompt and asked for the definition of the term from a student who looked it up. An Afro-Latina student offered, according to my audio-recording, “A person like me who is mixed with black or some

other race like...” A school administrator happened to be observing in the room at that time and finished “...someone of the Hispanic culture.” U asked the students to group-talk about “What a mulatto is.” Some of the things the children said that “a mulatto” was included: “The word is Spanish;” “It means young or weak adult;” “Slave that’s been freed;” “Young boy;” “African Indian;” and “When they think you’re a slave and you walk into the city and they capture you.” U offered, “At least we know it’s a person, a way to describe a person.” The student who originally offered the definition looked it up again and read aloud, “A Spanish word for someone of mixed ethnicity, one black and one white parent.” U continued, “Zephaniah and Anna’s kids are considered mulattos because of Zephaniah’s fair skin and Anna is from Senegal.” In this example, the teacher refers only to Zephaniah’s skin and uses Anna’s country of origin as a proxy for race. U then talked about Anna being loyal to the Spanish Crown, which called for enslaved people to be freed after serving for a period. A white girl who was close friends with the student who had been offering the definitions pointed to her and said, “She’s mulatto.” At first the Afro-Latina student seemed to take offense with, “Heeeyyy....” but then said, “It’s true, my mom is black and my Dad is Spanish.” Another student said, “It’s a good thing.” U continued, “There’s nothing wrong with that.” Another female student said, “I’m kinda mulatto.” Later, the students lined up to leave the room and the teacher asked for their responses about what “mulatto” meant. While she read them aloud, the Afro-Latina said, “Hello, I’m right here, I’m a mulatto,” and waved at herself as she brought her hands all around her body to draw attention. Later, when a small group of students were talking about blackness, the girl referred to herself again, saying, “I’m mulatto.” I asked the girl if she had heard “mulatto” before the book and she said no. She had learned the word in this context and then deployed it for her own identity. This is clear evidence that education impacts the social construction of racial identity.

During these activities, “mulattos” came to be constructed in several ways. I share some of these constructions in the following paragraphs. First, “mulattoes” were constructed as heterogeneous with a unique perspective, although it took some time for the activity to move toward an understanding that this term referred to a diverse group. For example, during this same activity, the teacher had asked, “What was going on in history to affect ‘mulatto’ population numbers?” U explained that the class could not pinpoint “mulatto” population numbers. Someone said that finding that number “would be hard since you’d have to count them.” One group asked about what languages were spoken by “mulattoes.” They also provided the answer, which was a long list of languages found on a Wikipedia page. U asked, “Do mulattoes speak all those languages [that the kids mentioned]?” The students seemed to say ‘no’ and U explained, “Children know what their parents know.” U continued, “So might one mulatto know a different language than another?” “Yes,” the children chimed in. U continued, “The same variation happens regarding celebrations and religion and parents would have to negotiate what is best for kids.” She added, “Being mulatto gives a unique perspective.”

Another way “mulattos” were constructed was that being in this category is bad. For example, while the students were working on this activity I walked out to the hall, where there were additional computers, to check on the progress of students there. According to my field notes, a white girl, the same one who pointed out the “mulatto” girl, was looking at a webpage that named famous “mulattos” and Barack Obama was depicted there. The paraprofessional who stated that Kwanzaa was “made up” was there and asked the girl what she was doing. When the girl explained the assignment and the webpage, the paraprofessional said “that would explain a lot” in reference to the president, which I interpreted as a negative comment. The student

scrunched her face up a little bit in a way that I saw as appearing to convey surprise and disapproval, stared at the paraprofessional for a moment, and then went back to work.

However, “mulatto” skin was also constructed as pretty. In the book, Anna’s children were described as a “tribe of mulattos” whose skin is pleasing to the eye. A student with light-colored skin asked, “Like this skin?” as she rubbed her arm. “Yes,” U replied, “that pretty color.”

### **Strategies to Deal with Racial and Ethnic Differences in the Classroom**

While I have identified some of the rules and realities that were shaped through discourse in the classroom and school, there are also some understandings about the strategies students and teachers use to deal with these identities. In this discussion, I point out things that are positive and critique those that could be improved. I explain four ways teachers and students negotiate identity. One, to deal with identity, teachers can position themselves as either cultural learners or cultural insiders; both positions are potentially productive because they can encourage a student not to see a division between their home culture and education or to feel that bringing their background into the class is welcome. However, teachers, and even the media used in a classroom, can also introduce ideas that remind a student of the differences between themselves and the teacher. As a result, there can be a tension in classrooms between appropriateness at one moment versus another. Two, sometimes teachers fail to criticize standard ideologies or interpretations of racial and ethnic hierarchies that may appear in texts or supplementary books students are reading. The lack of critique as an element in assessing literary works or classroom discussions focused on oppression is not an appropriate way to deal with differences since not problematizing prejudicial and discriminatory actions may allow students to infer that they are acceptable. Three, I show that students deal with implicit messages through their own use of

agency or identity work, also known as identity politics (Harris-Perry 2011; Mirón and Lauria 1998). Four, teachers may correct students' racial gaffes, but questions remain as to how well one-time corrections or incorporations of minoritized culture and people lasts.

First, teachers can effectively position themselves as cultural insiders or cultural learners in a way that validates a child's home culture and incorporates their identity, and thus themselves, as belonging in the classroom. For example, W often positions herself as a cultural learner. The majority of her students are Latino. In W's 1<sup>st</sup> grade class, they read *Mama's Birthday Present*, by Carmen Tafolla. It was a realistic fiction story about a boy named Francisco who wanted to surprise his mother with a birthday party. He and his grandmother made a piñata to break and talked about what kind of gift he could get for his mother. His father, Papa, promised to play his guitar at the party. Francisco and his older brother visited *Señora* Molina, the owner of a tortilla shop, to invite her to the party. The *Señora* promised to bring hot tortillas off the stove. Francisco and his friend Gina made confetti eggs to crack over people's heads. According to my field notes, when the treat *buñuelos* were discussed in the book, W let the children explain to her what they were. She then told them, "See I learn things from you, too." In another case, Z positioned herself as a cultural insider. She drew on commonalities that she had with many of the Latino students, who also comprised the majority of her students. For example, in Z's 1<sup>st</sup> grade class, they also read *Mama's Birthday Present*. According to my field notes, she and the students happily reminisced about piñatas as well as *buñuelos*, a sweet treat made out of tortillas that are cut into shapes, deep fried, and then sprinkled with cinnamon and sugar. At that time, she had been working with the students in small groups at the reading table and each time a group would rotate through, they would talk about how yummy those treats were. Most of the children knew about these things, but she shared positive explanations with those who did not.

However, although teachers may position themselves in a particular way at a given time, they may position themselves differently another time and this can create confusion. Language can be used to reiterate sameness and difference between teachers and students. For example, a Latino in Z's class mentioned that he signed up for football. A Latina added that she had signed up to cheer. The conversation moved to soccer and another Latino and Z talked about teams to cheer for. The boy said he was cheering for Mexico. Z told him to pronounce it "Me-hee-co" or me-hi-cø.<sup>51</sup> In this way, Z's discussion of shared understandings about soccer created a feeling of being a cultural insider. However, according to my field notes, another time a white boy told me that he once accidentally called Z "mom" and that she had replied, "What am I, your Mexican momma?" Here, Z reiterated to the student that they are different. In another instance, for W, when she explained that she had several bathrooms in her home or how she would be upset if she did not have a clothes dryer, her orientation to taking her socioeconomic background for granted taught something to her students about how their home life differed from hers.

In the same way, film and television media used in school may offer language that is inclusive of many racial and ethnic groups. However, this is not often taken advantage of. Z's class was the only class where a film was watched that was not a "white" film. The movie was called *The Book of Life* and it had just come out in October of 2014. It was an animated story about *el Día de Los Muertos*. In addition, W frequently showed a short interactive exercise clip called "Go Noodle" that the children dance along with. One of the characters has Spanish accented English and often said Spanish words. Kids repeated some words and seemed to really like it. By contrast, in V's 3<sup>rd</sup> grade class, they watched the movie *Space Buddies*, a movie about puppies going on an adventure in space. There was a part where a newscast in Spanish is shown

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<sup>51</sup> Written according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

to illustrate how the news story in the film made it all the way around the world. In this way, Spanish was used as an “othering” device as it delineated distance from the “English-speaking” United States.

Second, I observed that discrimination was discussed or racialized language was found in texts, but not problematized. For example, in the railroad story<sup>52</sup> from the 5<sup>th</sup> grade class mentioned earlier, the text read, “The Chinese workers had once again proven themselves to their biased rivals.” The following is based on my audio-recording that day. A student asked about the meaning of “biased.” T responded, “What’s a rival?” The student answered, “An enemy.” T said, “Not a fighting, bang, bang enemy, but like someone you are against on the football field, your rival. But biased, and they keep mentioning Chinese, they were biased or prejudiced against Chinese. Do you know what prejudiced means?” A girl answered, “Racist.” Someone asked what another term meant, T defined it and they were quickly dismissed. The discussion ended quickly without the teacher putting a value statement on the terms “prejudiced” or “racist.” It would have been appropriate to problematize the characters’ prejudice to explain how historically and today such behavior does not promote equity. It would have also helped lay a foundation for why historical prejudice and discrimination affects people today. Based on my 20 observations of her class, I did not see such a critique at any time although similar situations arose several times. Not having such critical discussions about textbooks and comments made by students or teachers in class can “restrict the opportunities for the students to exercise and develop their academic language and literacy skills in having extended dialogues on culture, race, community, and identities” (Chun 2016:126).

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<sup>52</sup> “Ten Mile Day And the Building of the Transcontinental Railroad” by Mary Ann Fraser from the book *Reading Street 5.1*.

Another day in this class, T read aloud from Chapter 2 of *Bud, Not Buddy*. She read the dialogue from of an African American character, “I been stung by my own people before.” Later, she read from that same character, “Tired of putting up with you and your ilk.” Someone asked what “ilk” meant and T defined it as “‘type’ or ‘kind.’” A white girl in the front offered a definition of “colored.” T clarified, referring to the character who made the comment, “Well she is black too.” T continued reading and came upon a character saying she was “Sick of her kind who don’t want to lift themselves up.” But there was no discussion that would have given children a critical understanding of the situation.

In another case, T played a cassette tape recording of *The Cay*, narrated by Levar Burton. The students were in pairs and shared one book. In the book, a character named Timothy, who was a 70-year-old West Indian man, and a white boy named Phillip become marooned on an island. At one time in the book, Phillip told Timothy, “You ugly black man, you’re stupid and you can’t even spell.” Later, Phillip told Timothy that his mother did not like black people. Timothy replied, “I don’t like some white people but it’d be outrageous to not like all of them.” While I was there for several classes while the book was being read, I never observed any comment from T critiquing Phillip’s behavior or how the book constructed Timothy or expanding the discussion to offer critical context for the children. Unfortunately, Timothy’s character also falls along the lines of the “magical negro” trope (Glenn and Cunningham 2009) seen in many movies and books where black characters exist to help the white character develop but are not complexly developed inside.

Also in this classroom, during a playing of the audio recording of *The Cay*, students had asked why in Burton’s narration he omitted the words “young bahss” (boss) although they appear in the text. T told me that she had replied to the students, “‘he must not have liked the word.’”



When I asked her about this, she said she “thought the book should have been narrated as written.” In a missed opportunity for critical dialogue, she did not explain to the class why he may not have liked the word or why that word may be offensive.

Another time I observed a similar missed opportunity to bring racial injustice matters to light. The following is a transcription from my audio recording of class on this day, and I find it most problematic of these examples. Outside of the quotes, I describe what happened using my field notes. First, T explained to the class what anecdotes were and how they could be used in writing. To illustrate, she gave an example of a paper on dogs and her own anecdote. She began, “I once had a dog who slept next to my bed. And one night, he stood up, looked at the front door and growled. It was someone trying to break into our house. We called the police and they caught the man hiding behind a tree.” The students reacted by saying things like “Oh no” and another asked, “What did you do?” T went back to the explanation of anecdotes, “Oh, ok, you have an anecdote and you make a story about it.” A child asked, “How big was your dog?” Another child made soft barking sounds. T said, “No, he wasn’t one of those yapper dogs. He just had this real glow and all the hair on the back of his neck stood up. So I got up, and sure enough the doorknob was turning. It was locked, the deadbolt was on, but the knob was turning. So, I called the police.” A white male student asked, “Was it a black or white guy?” At the same time, T answered “yes” to another student who questioned, “Was your husband there?” The boy repeated, “Was it a black or white guy?” A brief pause occurred which indicated T might have been ignoring the question. Then the boy said for the third time, “Was it a black guy?” The kids laughed at that. T replied, “I don’t know ‘cause I didn’t go outside when the police came. But what I did see were his white sneakers, where the moon was out that night and I could see his white sneakers, he was behind the tree outside my kids’ bedroom window.” Although her silence

or pausing at the early utterances of the question may have offered some implicit indication that the question was not appropriate, in not correcting/problematising his question, she implicitly affirmed to the class that such an assumption was not abnormal.

The third point supported by my observations is that children connect to a text based on their identity, and can put forth work to impact how others see them. This is because literacy is embedded in social structure and power relations (Gee 2008; Street 1984), as New Literacy Studies scholars state, and as my broader critical ethnographic and critical discourse analysis perspective notes. My examples from my research that follow come from literacy events, or situations where people are engaging with reading or writing (Heath 1982). For example, in W's 1<sup>st</sup> grade class, she assembled kids on the floor to watch a Brain Pop clip on President Lincoln. It mentioned that the South supported slavery and somewhat linked that to the Civil War. After the clip, the class discussed Presidents Day and then answered Brain Pop multiple choice questions. Afterward, according to my field notes, W prompted, "What kind of people, what color people did they have as slaves?" Some students answered, "Black," and the only black boy in the class said, "Like me." He continued that he would have broken the law during slavery and said people during that time should have as well. During this conversation, which occurred after a clip was shown that depicted enslaved Africans in shackles with white man standing by, I noted that the way children talked about the picture was linked to their race. Specifically, whites seemed to speak less directly and did not connect themselves to the photo.

Not only do children connect to a text based on their identity, but some resist it and its reproduction by other students through interaction. After the clips on Lincoln in W's class, according to my field notes, a white boy asked, "What are slaves?" and the black boy answered, "Didn't you see the clip? Black people getting smacked by whites, control, do anything you want

to us, do you understand?” The white boy told him “sit down” and the black boy replied, “Not anymore.” In this way, the black student both resisted the white student’s lack of attention to this important matter as well as rejected being told what to do by a white student. The teacher did not overhear this interaction between the children.

Fourth, one-time discussion of groups, such as during Hispanic Heritage Month or Black History Month, may be ineffective if they are not ingrained into daily conversations. Such critical pedagogy is also difficult as it is important to avoid framing cultural identity “in essentializing, static ways [because it] has the overall effect of actually limiting the class discussion” (Chun 2016:126). Likewise, corrections of students by teachers when students make racial comments may not be effective if they are not couched in a broader racially progressive atmosphere in the classroom and beyond.

For example, when I interviewed Katherine, a black paraprofessional, she shared with me the unfortunate reality that in many classes, discussions of contributions by African Americans are often confined to Black History Month. In her job, she observes classrooms daily.

**Rebecca: Do you think that those messages, like about Black History Month--do they kinda reiterate that throughout the year? Or is that more of like a onetime thing?**  
**Katherine: It’s like a onetime thing. I don’t see any more throughout the year,** but February and yeah, it’s just a onetime thing that I can recall. **And I think it’s like that in all the schools,** just February because that’s set aside for Black History Month.  
[Katherine, 33. Interview with author on July 7, 2015]

In another example, Katherine told me a first-grade Latina called her the n-word. She said she asked the student about it and the student revealed that her dad used that word at their house. Katherine told leadership who confronted the parents. She also said that the student had rubbed her forearm skin and said, “You’re so black.” Below is a transcript from the interview:

**Katherine: ... I wear a lot of pink. I had pink on, and she’s just looking at me. And I was like, ‘[Student], you know, look at Miss [Resource teacher], pay attention to Miss [Resource teacher].’ And so she’s still looking at me, and then she says, ‘now do all**

**you niggers like pink?’** So I was shocked, I was like, well you know I’m thinking it’s me, because I hadn’t had no coffee or anything the first part of the morning, I say ‘oh it’s probably me, it’s me.’ **I said, ‘what did you say [Student]?’ And she said, ‘why do all niggers like pink?’ And she said it loud and clear as she did the first time and I was like, ‘whoa.’ I was so shocked...** So later on in the afternoon, Mrs. [Guidance counselor], she told Mrs. [Principal] and Mrs. [Assistant principal] and they told [Student]’s parents. And the dad was like, ‘oh I don’t know where she get that from ‘cause we don’t say that at home,’ but come to find out **the parents are prejudice, you know they are prejudice. They always complain about me, and it was nothing I was doing, they didn’t like me because I was black and that’s it.** They don’t say that, you don’t hear that on the TV, you can’t turn the TV on and they’re saying like, you know, ‘nigger.’ They don’t say that, they’re not saying that, so I know it had to come from home from her house. And then one day I was in the classroom, she would say, ‘you’re so dark.’ **That is racism you know.** It’s no way to put it, you know, she, they had a problem with me being black. And I think she did too, because I was the first black person to work with her, she had a problem with that too, yeah she really did... Well I know when it became the end of the school day and I walked out with [Student name] and Mrs. [Guidance counselor] was right there, and she was explaining to [Student’s] dad what happened. And he was like, ‘Well tell her you’re sorry, because she she didn’t get that from home.’ Where else did she get it from? **She got it from home.**  
 [Katherine, 33. Interview with author on July 7, 2015]

In another instance, questioning the extent to which racial statements were corrected in class, a 1<sup>st</sup> grade girl in W’s class was moved to W’s room from another teacher’s. In that room, another student had told her she could not be her friend because she was black. I later interviewed the black student’s mother who expressed displeasure at how it was handled. The student told me that the first teacher had lectured the class that “we are all friends.” Below is an excerpt of my interview with the student’s mother, Michelle, as she shares this story.

Rebecca: So you said that most of the black kids don’t have that [a supportive mother]. You think that’s what the teachers think or that’s what you think?

Michelle: **I feel like that’s their opinion.** Yeah, like you know, **behind their backs.** Cause, you really don’t know what go on at them (Unintelligible). **A lot of black families are really there for their children.** I, we can’t help how they behave at school. Not only black kids. Other races too. But, [my daughter] told me that **a girl was in her class and she was like, ‘I can’t play with you because you’re a black girl.’ [My daughter] told me she told [her teacher] but [her teacher] didn’t really address it...**  
 Michelle: **Yeah. And listen. This is what makes me so sad, [my daughter] tells me that she... ‘I help her with the wheelchair, why I didn’t get a, why I don’t get to wear a ribbon or somethin’??**

[Michelle, 29. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]

In the example below, Carmen, a Latina paraprofessional, talks about lifting the spirits of a student who had been made to feel badly about being Mexican by another student. These examples show the importance of having individuals to coach students receiving such negative comments and highlight the importance of having a more responsive classroom atmosphere.

**Carmen: Yeah there was a child who was upset, somebody had said something to them and I just told ‘em, you know, ‘don’t be upset.’**

Rebecca: They had said something about being Mexican or?

**Carmen: ... Yeah, and so and I just told ‘em, ‘don’t you know you are who you are.’ I says, ‘and never be embarrassed of it. You know they have an issue obviously, but it’s not your issue.’ You know, but I know as a kid it’s hard to, you know, make them understand that you’re not the problem. They are, they have a problem, you know, because that kind of stuff is just taught at home. You know, where you gonna pick that up from? A kid is not just gonna just wake up one day and say, ‘oh da, da, da you know, he’s black or he’s’...**

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

Similarly, Carmen also told me about a situation in which her daughter’s skin was the subject of teasing by white students in the middle school.

**Rebecca: So your kids never told you that ‘oh somebody said something mean to me about being a Mexican or about Spanish’ or anything like that?**

**Carmen: Yeah my daughter told me once, my older one told me that.**

Rebecca: The fourteen-year-old?

**Carmen: Yeah, that someone had said that she was just too dark. They weren’t her color.**

Rebecca: **A white student said that? Like what was the context of that or?**

**Carmen: What did she say? Um, they were going to P.E., I believe, and you know they have to dress out, and ‘oh you’re dark, you don’t need to be in the sun.’**

Rebecca: And what did your daughter say back?

Carmen: My daughter didn’t say nothing, she just gave her a dirty look.

Rebecca: Did she feel bad?

Carmen: She did.

Rebecca: And she told you.

**Carmen: And what she did, she started wearing jackets.**

Rebecca: **And covering it up?**

Carmen: **Covering up.**

Rebecca: **To prevent the sun from darkening her or to prevent people from seeing?**

**Carmen: From both I believe, from both. I called her out on it and I said, ‘this is who you are.’ I said ‘you’re never afraid, never be embarrassed of who you are.’ I said, ‘because you’re beautiful the way you are.’ And so and it took her awhile, but she’s**

**doing better now. But stuff like that you know it bothers me because you would prefer that to happen to you, versus your child.**

Rebecca: Oh yeah.

Carmen: You know, and so but I can't, I can only teach her so that she can become better to deal with that, you know, cause I don't want her to hold that in.

[Carmen, 34. Interview with author on March 26, 2015]

An important point from these four examples is that there may be correction of racial gaffes, but when the broader curriculum neglects people of color, and the wider county espouses many ideologies supporting racial inequality, these instances comprise ideological struggles. These gaffes come from the values shared by many in the county and country, as I show in the next two subsections.

### **Racial and Ethnic Identity Articulation in the Classroom is Reproduced in School, Later Grades, and Among Teachers**

The above examples have shown some of the rules and understandings about how racial and ethnic identity were formed, experienced, and contested in the classroom. I continue this discussion here. As I showed in the previous chapter in addressing school culture attitudes toward translation, ideologies found in classroom observations are also found at the school level. For example, school employees sometimes made jokes about racial or ethnic groups or told me about parents' racial preferences for their children's classmates. As few school workers openly problematized parents having these racial preferences, specifically in Apple, most did not turn such a critical eye on themselves to evaluate how their own language and behaviors might be problematic. For example, no one questioned complaints about resources for migrant students which inquired as to why the resources could not be redirected for use with the whole school. In this school, there was also often a systematic lack of cultural responsiveness and understanding of students. While white employees were making jokes and questioning special programs,

employees of color shared stories of racial slurs by students. In the student attitudes survey I conducted, I found that racial slurs were common as shown below where I further develop these ideas. I also discuss in this section the Ms. Central pageant and how it can be used as an example of children being socialized into unequal futures. I then conclude the section by discussing some new information about racial and ethnic constructions that I did not have enough evidence to argue were recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) more broadly, but were nonetheless found at the school level. For example, this included the commenting on and repeating of “ethnic sounding” names as well as the re-categorization of racial and ethnic identity by administration, and how names and parentage can impact that.

An example of the use of jokes to construct understandings about racial groups occurred at Apple after a white office worker delivered a message to a black student. According to my field notes, she joked, “My daughter’s a [same last name as student]. I told her, ‘I didn’t know y’all were related.’” Then she added, “Though my daughter’s husband acts like he’s black.” This was meant to be a joke and a slur given that she had earlier described to me her daughter’s husband’s negative characteristics.

In other examples, the word “but” was used to indicate either a person who is an exception to a larger maligned group or to distinguish between something good and bad. In these cases, it was usually to denote how minorities were an exception to the overall negative view of that group. For example, according to my field notes, a person in leadership from Apple told me about a new hire who was “As black as this desk *but* he’s a good man. Articulate. He’s from the islands” (my emphasis). In this case, blackness is in opposition to being a good man.

Additionally, the administrator uses racialized discourse (Dick and Wirtz 2011) in referring to the man as ‘articulate,’ as argued in Alim and Smitherman (2012). In another case, according to

my field notes, at Apple, two white office workers talked about picking up prescriptions and one told the other how happy she was with the local pharmacy and then added “*but* of course they’re foreigners.” In this way, the good quality of the pharmacy was contrasted with the foreigners, who I interpreted as being considered negative in the minds of the speaker, based on how and what was said.

Administration at both schools reported that white parents had requested their child moved to a different class so they would not be the only white child in a class, or for another racial reason. One principal remarked while doing classroom assignments, “This daddy is prejudiced and if she were the only white he would blow a gasket.”

While there is some acknowledging of prejudice of some parents by school employees, there is not always that same critical eye turned inward. For example, according to my field notes, a person in leadership at Apple said, “We are their advocates,” referring to Hispanics, “because white and black families will come in and be advocates for their children but not Hispanic parents, although more are coming in now.” Similarly, during a SAC meeting conversation between attendees, eight non-Hispanic white people, including one man, discussed cultural differences of Hispanics and whites as an explanation for lack of parent involvement. Their generalizing statements, for example, about parents not knowing their children’s teacher’s names, are at odds with the interest I have seen expressed by the majority of Latinos I have encountered.

While I mis-spoke at the SAC meeting by saying the school was 70% Hispanic and I was corrected by a member of leadership, who stated it was about 62%, no correction was offered when a SAC member stated that the school was “mostly migrant,” although figures from last year state the school has only about 9% migrant students. Further, no translator was at this



meeting nor at a prior meeting where a monolingual Spanish-speaking father attended. While his daughter was able to translate some things, schools should consider messages sent to parents about their place in school events when a translator is not present. How could such a parent as this father learn more about how to be more involved in their child's education? He tried to advocate for his child, but was not permitted to do so because the school did not accommodate his language. Further, the only advertisements for the most recent meeting were in the principal's newsletter, which was only available in English.

There is evidence that the things I have described here are magnified in various ways as students progress through grades. A key example to make this point is the county sanctioned Ms. Central pageant. When I attended the 2014 Ms. Central pageant, there were 11 white high school juniors and one African American girl competing. The Ms. Central pageant is part of a bigger competition that spans ages and grades. For example, there are kindergarten prince and princesses as well as other competitions in between that grade level and the Ms. Central level. Children in various racial and ethnic groups participated in these younger competitions.

In the younger grades there is typically a diverse pool of hopefuls but not in the higher grades. This raises the question of why there would be such a diverse pool of candidates in the competitions for younger students but not in those for older ones. I hypothesize that the younger children had not yet been socialized into the dominant racial hierarchy through which whites' privilege affords them more accolades. Much of this socialization must come from seeing over and over again who the winners of such competitions are, and they are disproportionately white, based on my analysis of secondary data (such as Apple's yearbooks for the last five years) and observations. For example, in Apple, there was a competition where the goal was to raise the most money by using change to vote for a King and Queen of Hearts. I went to the "coronation"

to find the winners poorly reflected the original pool of candidates. The six members of the court, drawn from the initial pool of 30 students, were comprised of one Latina and five whites. Given the original numbers of contestants, five of the eight white students in the pool earned a place in the court and only one of the 22 children of color who entered was similarly rewarded. There was no verbalization from any employees at Apple of the racial and ethnic imbalance between the winners and competitors of the King and Queen of Hearts.

This lack of verbalization contrasts with other times where student racial and ethnic characteristics are mentioned. For example, at the volunteer banquet at Apple, I sat with just a few other adults, and there was a slide show of photos from the year. In response to a photo with children in various racial and ethnic backgrounds, a person in leadership remarked, “Our school has just about every skin shade there is.” The sole Latina replied, “That is really good.”

I talked with various people about the Ms. Central pageant. One day I spoke with one of my assistants, an 8<sup>th</sup> grader at the time, and her 5<sup>th</sup> grade sister. We discussed the lack of representation of non-whites, specifically Latinas, in the Ms. Central pageant. According to my field notes, my assistant told me that once at the middle school she had been walking and overheard a white girl say to her white friends, “Mexicans can’t enter the junior Ms. Central pageant because they can’t find any dresses to match their skin” and the girl’s friends agreed. Similarly, on the attitudes survey I gave out to students, a 5<sup>th</sup> grade Latina wrote that being in Ms. Central would be waste of time since they do not pick Mexicans, a thought I heard echoed from Z’s niece. Whites I spoke with did not appear to see a negative racial or ethnic component to the pageant.

Likewise, as I was interviewing a Haitian mother, Roseline, her daughter Precious told me about what the racial climate of the county high school was like. However, she did note that

it was being directly discussed in some classes, but that the issues were also pervasive in the county, as evidenced by the flying of Confederate flags, and little discussion occurred outside the school. Below is a transcript of our conversation.

Precious: **Like people are still racist in school.** I feel like it's there. But they just don't, they might say it like, 'cause going to school there's always a clique. And like, you see it, **you'll see like maybe some of the whites over there and then some of blacks over here and a couple Mexican there. To see the whole thing, I feel like sometimes, black and Mexicans are always together. They're okay with each other most of the time. But it's always like, you could see the separation.**

Rebecca: **But then it's whites by themselves?**

Precious: **Yeah. But you can always see the separation in the school...**

Rebecca: Mm. So have you ever heard anybody say anything racist at school?

Precious: Like, it's hard to even say. There's times people will be like, **'Oh, look at that cracker.'** Or like, **they might even say like, 'Oh look at' like, even though they try not to be mean. But it comes out, you know harsh. Or they'll be like, 'Oh look at that girl's hair. It's not even her real hair.'** Or like, **'Oh, she dark,' this and that.** Or they might be like, 'Oh, I'm just playing around' but sometimes, even though they be like 'oh it's okay.' I'm pretty sure it's still racist. **But we talk about it a lot in class though... 'cause I have U.S. History. So that's what we're mostly talking about, is racism. My teacher always says, 'Racism is still here. It's never went away. People act like oh, it's went away but there's still people out here that are racist.'**

Rebecca: Mm and they talk about in [Central]?

Precious: **Yeah, 'cause I remember this one time this boy was like, 'Oh, do you wanna be in the KKK? Oh it's fun, we hang black people.'** Like that was supposed to be funny.

Rebecca: So he said that not in class? He said that in the hall or something?

Precious: **Yeah, we're during lunch, he was like, 'Oh, do you wanna be in the KKK group? Do you know what the KKK group is?'**

Rebecca: So a white boy said that?

Precious: Yeah. So I just act like, 'okay no, I don't wanna do that.' **'Cause I remember this one time, they have the trucks with the, 'cause I guess they were gonna take the Confederate Flag away, and in [Central] all you would see is the trucks with the Confederate Flag, so. I feel like it's still an issue.**

[Precious, high school student. Comments during interview with author and her mother Roseline on October 24, 2015]

Aside from these examples, there were observations of school employees' behavior that introduced some new information about how race and ethnicity are constructed by employees and schools. For example, students' names were used to indicate race and ethnicity, "non-

traditional names” were treated negatively, and names were used to “other” by various school employees.

When I observed and audio-recorded leadership in Apple sort students into classes, I paid attention to how it was done. This process showed that people used names to construct identity. For example, a leadership member said, “They [other parents] won’t see him as white because of his last name.” Another example at that school happened when I was working at the front desk. According to my field notes, one of the office worker substitutes, who frequently works at the school, commented on students’ last names, specifically on the Arabic and Hispanic names. She said, “Years ago we didn’t have these names,” and then again, “I promise we didn’t use to have these names.” Similarly, when a “black sounding” first name came up when discussing a student matter, the same substitute office worker repeated her name, bobbing her head dramatically with the syllables. Likewise, another office worker said another “black name” with emphasis, and then repeated it. Names are so important in constructing individuals that an employee I interviewed at Emerald said, “[White] names get scholarships. When you see a migrant or Hispanic get one you are happy.”

In addition to names constructing race and ethnicity, descent can also be determined patrilineally or by going with the race or ethnicity of the father, as shown in the following examples. These instances also illustrate the mutually exclusive nature of racial and ethnic categories in Central. For example, when Apple’s leadership was creating classes, during which I audio-recorded, they were mindful of having a balance of students in each of the (non-advanced) classes. There was an instance a leader disagreed with the content of the pink and blue student information cards. Holding up the card, she said, “This one is really Hispanic, don’t know what they’re saying by indicating white.” For another, “He’s as Hispanic as they come but they’ve got

him marked as white.” Another was, “Truly mixed.” When I probed about this, she told me this student was both black and white except they have a white/Hispanic mom. I asked how these classifications are made and was told she goes by the family. Of a child later on, the leader said, “Daddy is Hispanic, momma is black, guess they are going with Hispanic.” For this case, I asked if she ever met the dad and she said no. Later, there was another instance where race was unclear on the form and the leader said, “Dad is black, mom is Hispanic so I’d go with black.”

As I have mentioned, elementary students in Central are not strangers to racial slurs. For example, one day Z and I sold snacks during recess as part of 1<sup>st</sup> grade’s fundraiser. According to my notes, a boy who appeared to be biracial told me that some “fatty” called him “blackie” and “black trash.” My findings from a survey (see Appendix C.3) I gave to students coincided with this observation that students were no stranger to negative remarks and slurs about people associated with their race or ethnicity. On the survey, students reporting hearing such things as the n-word, “cracker,” that Spanish speakers are “stupid, no one can understand them,” Latinos are “nasty,” and that “black people are stuped [stupid].”

In looking at how children’s ideologies changed over time, Table 6.4 below shows survey results in which young children were more likely to say that children did not receive equal educational opportunities, however, by the time the children were in the older grades they were less likely to believe this. I measured this via survey where I asked “Do you think all children in Central have the same opportunities to do well in school?” I read each question aloud, and for this item I defined opportunities as “chances.” While roughly half of first graders circled ‘yes’ and half circled ‘no,’ fifth graders wrote ‘yes’ five times more often than ‘no’. My claim that younger vs. older elementary school children espoused different ideologies regarding linguistic, racial, and ethnic inequality because they had differing amounts of socialization into Central

school competence is supported throughout my project. For instance, very young children were more likely to use Spanish in the classroom, resist racial hierarchies, and participate in school contests while such behaviors were less common in the older grades.

**Table 6.4: Table of survey results showing that the older children get, the more they internalize mainstream sociocultural knowledge.**

| Grade | Believes There Is Equal Opportunity | Believes There Is Not Equal Opportunity |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1st   | 11                                  | 12                                      |
| 3rd   | 17                                  | 11                                      |
| 5th   | 54                                  | 10                                      |

### Community Patterns

These constructions of racial and ethnic identity in the classroom and school level fit with the broader community’s representations. For example, I heard assumptions about Latinos from my landlord. Also, throughout the schools and county, I heard the n-word several times. Although I come from a traditionally Southern Florida county, where I definitely heard the n-word used, I had never heard it so often as when I went to Central. As I showed in Chapter 5, many, not all, African Americans I talked to clearly stated they had experienced directly or witnessed discrimination and racism.

One of the first lessons I learned about how the moral characteristics and desirability of Latinos and African Americans are constructed in Central came when I met my landlord. When I moved in to my home in Central, my white landlord told me that my neighbors spoke “Spanish *but* keep to themselves” (my emphasis), according to my field notes. This is similar to the use of “but” at the school to show the relationship between a group and its characteristics. Here, Spanish speaking is related to loudness or being disturbing, however, the use of “but” shows that they go against that expectation for the larger group.

I mentioned earlier the presence of the n-word in school, it was also present in the county. For example, Central made national news in November 2014 when, during the county commission election period, a Central County Commissioner referred to Darnell, who was a commission candidate, as an n-word when talking to a constituent in a public place. Darnell confronted him during a commission meeting where he remained silent and other committee members said ‘this was not county business.’ Some community members called for his resignation. Below is a transcript from the interview I conducted with the candidate. It is lengthy, but also shows how this individual resisted the actions of the commissioner and did so publicly.

**Darnell: Well, one of the County Commissioners was in public at a place of business and using his position of influence. Trying to get or persuade or dissuade voters from voting for me because I’m African American. So one of the things that he asked one of the people in the store was, ‘Are you gonna vote for that nigger?’** And so, there was a young lady in there, in the store, who challenged him, to say, ‘I know [Darnell]. He’s a good guy, you know.’ And he said, ‘It doesn’t matter. You know, he doesn’t have any money. He doesn’t have a job’ and then he said ‘well, what do you know about him?’ And then she said, ‘well, I just know he’s a good guy, you know.’ And so he apologized to her and said ‘well, are you gonna vote for that young gentleman?’ ...She took this, the incident to Facebook, word kind of got around the [Central] County Community on Facebook that somebody had made a statement...So when they came down, of course the media doesn’t just do a one-sided interview. They wanted both sides, so they interviewed me and he declined to do all three interviews. And so it kind of forced me to actually have to go and confront the situation at the County Commission. And you know, in Florida, you have what is known as Sunshine Laws, one of the things in the Sunshine Laws is that County Commissioners are not supposed to communicate with each other outside of the county commission meeting. Because if they do, it creates an environment as if they’re co-conspiring to do something behind the public’s back. So any communication the county commissioners have, it has to be in front of the public. **And so when I went to confront one of the Commissioners about you know, his comments, and I confronted him at the section of the county department commission meeting where it was meant for public comments. And I tried to confront him about it and then the Chairman of the Commission, he stopped me and told me that ‘this isn’t county business.’** That if I have any county business, then I could speak on that, but basically, he wasn’t gonna allow me to speak on that particular issue. And so I told him, I said, ‘you know, I’m a County Commissioner Candidate and he is a County Commissioner making a comment that was basically offensive towards me in a public arena’ and then you have the public and they packed the place out. There was no sitting room. I say, ‘and you have the public here that wanna hear it, wanna hear a discussion on this issue’ so I said ‘based on all of those things, it’s county business.’ And

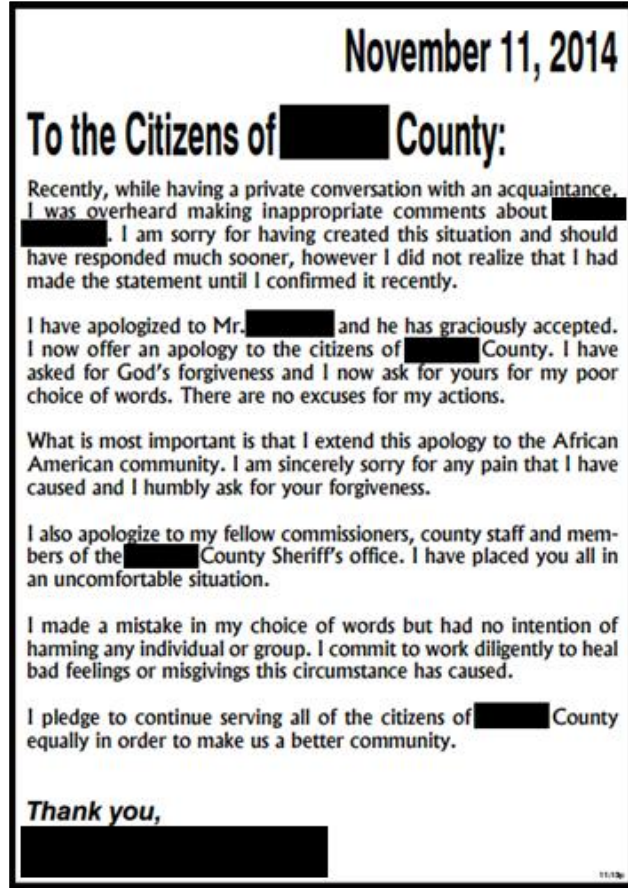
so he basically said that if I was, were to proceed, he was going to ask the sheriff to remove me out of there. I tried to be respectful. I try to be respectful in everything that I do so I had already said my peace. So, I went and sat down. **But the very next County Commission I came back, but I came back with the law on what my rights were in terms of public comment and bringing propositions before the County Commission. But I also brought back the television media, and that was enough basically to allow them to hear what I had to say. And to, not only that, to finally make them understand that they can't shut members of the public down when they're bringing something before them, because not only is it a constitutional right that citizens have, it's also a state right to be able to proposition anything under the radar to your County Commissioners. And so in [Central] County, the County Commissioners have this flawed mind state that they are above the community, when in reality, they're actually supposed to be servants of the community... So, I took the race issue and I changed it into something that was gonna be beneficial for the community by taking all of the negative energy on the race issue and shining light with that same energy on all of the problems, which is one of the reasons why I held the rally. So people can actually come out there, in front of the media, [talk about] the things that were pressing to them and for the first time, they got a chance to just talk about it in an open mic situation.**

[Darnell, 34. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]

After the commission meeting where he was confronted, the commissioner said he did not recall referring to the candidate as the n-word. However, once the election was over, when the candidate lost, the commission member admitted to saying it and apologized. He even took out an ad in the newspaper “apologizing” (Figure 6.2). He was not removed from office.

In another example, one day I was picking up a to-go order for dinner from a restaurant. There were two older white couples seated at tables and the men were talking loudly while their wives did not say much. One man said loudly, “Folks can't go anywhere anymore without niggers being there.” The man's loudness and his friend's lack of negative response show that using this word in this context is not considered problematic in restaurants.





**Figure 6.2: Newspaper ad taken out by commissioner. The names of the people and county have been blackened out by the researcher for confidentiality.**

In another instance, a sign at a local antique and pioneer festival joked about a man wanting a “day-voorce” (divorce) not because his wife was a “nagger” but because the child she bore was. In this case, “nagger” is a play on words and the joke plays on the idea that the man’s wife had a child from an African American man. Such signage conveys the type of language and ideas that are considered appropriate for public areas in Central.

### **Keeping Latina Educators in Their Place**

As the survey showed, Latino educators were much more likely than their non-Hispanic white counterparts to believe racism is a problem. This was also found in my observations and undercut Latinas’ ideas about their place in the school and their potential for advancement. For

example, during a meeting at Emerald, I sat in with the four first grade teachers. They were all non-Hispanic white except Z, who is Latina. According to my field notes, the oldest teacher hinted to another about her getting a Ph.D. and doing a longitudinal follow-up on the school's students. Z later told me that she wondered why the teacher had not made the hint to her.

Another day at that school, according to my field notes, on the walk to the lunchroom Z told me that a Latina paraprofessional said that at the Teacher of the Year banquet, a white teacher who won last year gave a speech and had several former students come up on stage. She noted that all of the students were white. The paraprofessional had commented, "Can't they get some Mexicans?" I interviewed this white teacher and while she did speak about her former students coming up on stage, she did not remark upon their race or ethnicity. Later, according to my field notes, I heard that another Latina teacher at the school remarked that there would never be a Mexican Teacher of the Year and that they were unlikely to get promoted.

After the Emerald Data Clerk left, she was replaced by a Latina paraprofessional at the school. Later, a person in leadership at Emerald told me that the paraprofessional got the job and, according to my field notes, this person also stated that white staff members had "attitudes and demeanors" and said things suggesting the paraprofessional did not apply or was not qualified for the job. This person added that whites want whites in such job positions.

### **Racelessness: The Vanishing American Indians in Central**

I showed in the first half of this chapter when discussing the way students' languages are measured during registration that school personnel have the ability to re-form racial and ethnic identities (Omi and Winant 2012). Those examples are actually a larger, systematic problem. This problem stems from Latino ethnic identity coming to be a stand-in for racial identity.

This even happens during some parents' self-identification, for instance, I helped parents fill out their children's school lunch applications. I helped a Latina mother and asked her to choose the race she identified with, per the form. I read, "Blanco? Asiatico? Negro? Americano?" Her daughter laughed and said, "You're not black." We left race unmarked.

Simultaneously, many Latinos do identify with a racial group, yet that is overlooked by the school, and even the state. For instance, I was surprised to find a significant number of American Indians living in Central since the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE) reports that only 0-1% of students in Central are American Indian. In de-identified records from the middle school, out of 1000 students, about 100 were classified as American Indian (Table 6.5). This inconsistency stemmed from those students also being designated as Latino. The FLDOE told me via e-mail that ethnicity supersedes race in reporting. This policy is also stated on their website (FLDOE 2016). For Latino students, their racial category goes unreported.

**Table 6.5: De-identified student data showing that parents have reported an American Indian race which schools and state have erased.**

| Grade    | Gender    | Ethnicity: Hispanic or Latino | Race: American Indian or Alaska Native | Race: Asian | Race: Black or African American | Race: Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander | Race: White | English Language Learner | Location of Birth (Areas in Florida changed to 'Florida') | Language | Native Parent Language | Primary Home Language |
|----------|-----------|-------------------------------|--|-------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|---|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Grade 08 | Female[F] | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 07 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Chareleston   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 07 | Female[F] | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Reynosa,Tamaulipas  | Spanish  | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 08 | Female[F] | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 07 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 06 | Female[F] | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 06 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Bay City,Michigan   | Spanish  | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 07 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Juxtahuaca,Oaxaca   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 08 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Exited after two year    | Tiffin  | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 08 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | Spanish               |
| Grade 06 | Female[F] | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Florida   | -        | Spanish                | English               |
| Grade 08 | Male[M]   | Yes                           | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | No          | Not applicable [ZZ]      |   |          |                        |                       |
| Grade 06 | Male[M]   | No                            | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | Yes         | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Florida   | -        | -                      | -                     |
| Grade 07 | Female[F] | No                            | Yes                                    | No          | No                              | No  | Yes         | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Florida   | English  | -                      | -                     |
| Grade 08 | Male[M]   | No                            | No                                     | No          | Yes                             | No  | No          | LEP in LEP classes       | Florida   | -        | Haitian-Cre            | Haitian-Cre           |
| Grade 06 | Female[F] | No                            | No                                     | No          | Yes                             | Yes   | Yes         | Not applicable [ZZ]      | Chansolme   | -        | Haitian-Cre            | Haitian-Cre           |

The specific erasure processes I have identified here have not been published in existing literature that I am aware of. They raise questions about how our society constructs race; why are only American Indians living in the United States considered American Indian? Why are

American Indians living in or coming from Mexico not considered American Indian? How would using non-mutually exclusive categories of race impact reports of race and ethnicity?

For instance, Table 6.6 shows demographics for both Apple, Emerald, as well as the county's middle school. In the bolded row 6 of the first of the below tables, note that according to my calculations, 10% of middle schoolers are American Indian when racial categories are not mutually exclusive. According to the FLDOE, in the second table, only 1% of middle schoolers who American Indian using their calculation rules where race and ethnicity are mutually exclusive. Aside from this large increase in American Indians, note also the increased proportions of African Americans when race and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive.

**Table 6.6: Table of student race and ethnicity calculated by researcher vs. FLDOE (2015)**

| <b>2014-2015 School Demographics (Researcher calculated from school data)</b>                         |                                      |  |   |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Racial/Ethnic Group*  | Apple Student Population Composition | Emerald Student Population Composition | Middle School Student Population Composition ** |
| 1. Latino   | 61%                                  | 81%                                    | 64%   |
| 2. Asian  | 2%                                   | 3%                                     | 1%  |
| 3. Black  | 11%                                  | 2%                                     | 7%  |
| 4. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander   | <1%                                  | 0%                                     | 1%  |
| 5. White  | 89%                                  | 92%                                    | 84%   |
| 6. American Indian  | <b>3%</b>                            | <b>5%</b>                              | <b>10%</b>                                      |
| 7. Multiracial  | 5%                                   | 1%                                     | 3%  |
| <i>Total number of students</i>   | <i>567</i>                           | <i>389</i>                             | <i>1,000</i>                                    |
| *Race and ethnicity categories are not mutually exclusive.  |                                      |  |   |
| **Data available for first 1,000 students only. Data ended at students whose last names began with R. |                                      |  |   |

| <b>2014-2015 School Demographics (Obtained from FLDOE)</b>   |                                      |  |  |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Racial/Ethnic Group**  | Apple Student Population Composition | Emerald Student Population Composition | Middle School Student Population Composition |
| 1. Latino  | 58%                                  | 78%                                    | 60%  |
| 2. Asian   | 1%*                                  | 1%*                                    | 1%   |
| 3. Black   | 7%                                   | 3%                                     | 6%   |
| 4. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander  | 0%                                   | 0%                                     | 0%   |
| 5. White   | 32%                                  | 17%                                    | 31%  |
| 6. American Indian   | <b>1%*</b>                           | <b>0%</b>                              | <b>1%</b>                                    |
| 7. Multiracial   | 2%                                   | 1%*                                    | 1%   |
| <i>Total number of students</i>  | <i>538</i>                           | <i>379</i>                             | <i>388</i>                                   |
| *The original data was disaggregated by gender so only estimates are available for some groups that number under 20. For numbers only available using estimates, the mean value of the range was used in analysis. |                                      |  |  |
| **Race and ethnicity are mutually exclusive. Latinos of any race are included in only the Latino group.  |                                      |  |  |

These tables include numbers that I calculated from the records I obtained directly from the schools (for the 2014-2015 school year) as well as the numbers from the FLDOE website (for year 2013-2014 school year). In my calculations, I do not have race and ethnicity as mutually exclusive. Although Table 6.6 data are from two different school years, based on reviewing the last decade of school demographics, they do not tend to change significantly within a two-year time frame. However, what does change significantly is how race and ethnicity appear when clumping is used.

This is important because it illustrates processes that erase American Indian identities, as well as demonstrates how intersecting identities matter. Educating indigenous Mexicans may benefit by some different strategies or practices than those most beneficial for non-indigenous Mexicans or those from the broader Latino category, especially given the cultural and language diversity that may be present in indigenous households. For example, on my language survey, I found that 5% of mothers reported speaking an indigenous language, including, from most common to least common: Mixtec, Zapotec, Bajo, Nahuatl, Trique, Huasteco, and Otomi. Similarly, 5% of fathers used a native tongue: Mixtec, Zapotec, Nahuatl, Bajo, Trique, and Tarasco. Regarding the school, parents may have actually quit reporting indigeneity, both in the form of race as well as language, because they see it is as unproductive and unrecorded.

## **Conclusions**

The topics of language, race, and ethnicity came up often in classrooms. The strategies used by various actors to deal with difference varied. In class, children learned about themselves

and deployed new descriptors of themselves, as in the case of the girl who called herself “mulatto,” and to some extent learned about others. Yet, they also sometimes rejected messages being sent. For example, some children as young as first grade interrogated the wrongness of slavery in classroom discussions or pointed out comments made by other students that they considered “racist.” Those children were often children of color. White children tended to reify existing power relations, perhaps because the curriculum traditionally does not present whites as the oppressors or because critical dialogue is so restricted, which enables their early socialization into the position of privilege atop the hierarchy in which dealing with difference is often done through the problematizing of anything outside of “white” or “English.”

Likewise, white school agents remarked on racial matters when the students were of color, like the case of the volunteer banquet, but if there was an instance where all the winners of a competition were white, that was not interpreted (by white school agents) as being influenced by race. However, teachers and employees of color saw such things differently. As I showed in Chapter 5, in comparison with teachers of color, white teachers surveyed were much more likely to say racism was not a problem, and a portion of them used problematic responses in answering that question.

Children surveyed reported knowledge of slurs and ideologies about groups showing that the school is a microcosm of the broader community. Over and over again, in looking at the various structures such as the local government, the county beauty pageant, and the sheriff’s office, it appears that people are socialized into these positions based on their particular racial, ethnic, and language statuses, as well as networks. For example, when the local county commissioner referred to a candidate using the n-word, it tells something about, to use words of at least two people of color who I interviewed, the “good ole boy network” there. Sure, some

folks were mad, but the fact that he stayed in office reveals a lot. There is a connection to broader Southern U.S. and U.S. society in terms of racial, ethnic, and language constructions and (mis)treatments, as well as some particularities characteristic of Central, which were evidenced in this chapter.

In sum, through my use of Critical Discourse Analysis and focus on ideologies, I have bridged the gap between the micro and macro level as I have showed that the state, district, and school agents shape definitions of racial, ethnic, and linguistic identity through various strategies. These reproduce national notions of these identities, which I discussed in Chapter 2 and referenced in these two data chapters. Actors also deployed various strategies to deal with difference, whether those strategies accepted or challenged these definitions and classroom constructions. This is important given that subverted communities can resocialize people to think in new ways and/or reject messages of the elite, causing social change (Ortner 1994). In the next chapter, I recommend my own strategies for dealing with linguistic, racial, and ethnic difference and improving educational equity. As I explain, using more nuanced definitions of race and ethnicity to allow better understanding of the local populace as well as increasing the representations of minoritized groups in positions throughout the school district are first steps. In taking such steps, school interventions can begin to ensure a movement toward a more equitable future.

## **CHAPTER 7: MOVING TOWARD EQUITY BY IMPROVING SCHOOL RESOURCE ACCESS**

My research shows that dominant ideologies of language, ethnicity, and race influence definitions and outcomes of minoritized groups in Central. Actors varied in their response to such ideologies in various activities. Further, state and local constructions of language, race, and ethnicity conflicted with local notions and resulted in a mismatch between people and reporting, arguably impacting how various communities are served. The ideologies present in Central are patterned and are a result of historical and current national, “glocal” (Robertson 1992), and local causes. Educational employees work within systems with long histories in communities similarly storied. However, systems can change and there is room for change in Central. While both Apple and Emerald had common issues, Emerald’s orientation to serving minoritized groups was more equitable. A critical reading of this dissertation and related scholarship should lead to even more equitable policies. Varying orientations to race and ethnicity and language impact the way students define themselves and behave, but even within given systems students show variation in the ways they articulate, reify, and rescale (Lempert 2012) or contest linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities. It is my aim that this project will advance theory and scholarly understanding of diversity in education in the United States and will also contribute to applications and dissemination of new ideas for improving schools and social life.



## Understanding this Research in the Context of Teaching in Central

Although I offer critique, I do not want this dissertation to be about maligning teachers or administrators. Our society should appreciate all folks involved in the process of educating our children. Teaching is not easy. There are several things that make it challenging, perhaps especially so in recent decades. These include some attitudes of students and parents, alienating features that arise from the irrationality of the bureaucratic nature of today's schools, standardized testing, lesson plans, paperwork, and the same things that can weigh on people in other professions: the politics of working with co-workers or, especially at this research site, operating within the confines of the power structure that has been created between the haves and the have nots, a system in which one's last name can take them places.

Some examples of the things that teachers deal with are the requirement to be "on" every minute because they have 20 or more students under their care for 8 hours or longer. Working with students can be stressful. Some of the things I witnessed included students talking at the teacher or others constantly and not always having nice things to say. Students may have psychological problems causing them to need to lay their heads down and ignore everyone for a matter of ten minutes or more. I witnessed students making their hands into fists and hitting them on the table saying "I don't know" or crying when frustrated in situations where they do not comprehend their work. In the same day students may do something that leaves a teacher just plain annoyed, makes them happy, or even breaks their heart. I witnessed compassion among children that made me want to be a teacher myself. I saw humble, innocent children who, when their friend is out of the room, will remind you to not forget to make sure that you also leave their friend their two jelly beans. Or children who will applaud the previously retained student who is waiting to be tested for special education for "becoming smarter" and "being so smart."

But sometimes these are the same children that many look down upon, whether those enacting such bias admit it or not.

The year I spent in the school was the first year Florida debuted the Florida Standards. By the time the 2014-2015 school year started, teachers had scarcely been informed of the standards that they would be responsible for while teaching their students. I hear many teachers complain about the curriculum. One teacher said that it has caused her to have ulcers, may make her retire early, and that it is driving away a lot of good teachers. I did not come across anyone who did not think that standardized testing was excessive. These schools were in testing mode for months. For months! It is one thing as a non-educator to read about the situation of testing in schools, but it is another to go day after day and hear the eerie and unnatural quietness of the halls and see the bodies in chairs bubbling in multiple choice answers or even sitting at computers with headphones for following prompts.

With that being said, I have attempted to ground my dissertation in an understanding that schools and people in them are part of their social context and society. In that way, they are agents who shape the life trajectories and opportunities of their charges. Thus, as an anthropologist might do in any state organization, behaviors and beliefs must be examined to reveal how the people in positions of responsibility support, are complicit with, or resist the subjugation of certain groups. It is important to critique the system and its schools as well as teachers' practices for the betterment of all.

## **Project Contributions to the Linguistic Anthropology of Education**

As I outlined in Chapter 1, my research contributes to the linguistic anthropology of education and related fields in several ways. In addressing my project's research questions, I contribute to both critical race pedagogy and research on the linguistic anthropology of education. Using language as a lens, I offer an ethnographic account on an area experiencing migration as a result of globalization to inform on how people are socialized into differential position of power within this context. The applications of this research offer ideas for how to address equity and make improvements for all actors involved in education, which is beneficial for teaching environments in U.S. schools and areas similar to the Central in various ways.

The first research question I posed in this dissertation asked whether there were racial, ethnic, and/or linguistic group hierarchies that restricted access to school resources and in what ways the school may have been producing a patterned belief system about those hierarchies. The second research question focused on how racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities are experienced/established/articulated into classroom interactions. The third research question looked at the strategies use to deal with racial, ethnic, or linguistic differences in class.

In addressing these three research questions, I found that language, race, and ethnicity impact students' access to school resources, identity articulation in school and the community takes form in struggles, and actors deploy various strategies in dealing with difference in the classroom. I also showed that many of the barriers schools, especially Apple, reported or encountered, could be addressed by using a culturally responsive orientation.

Lippi-Green (1997:65) wrote that we do not clearly understand how and why groups cooperate in the process of domination by which those in power deny "certain groups permission to be heard in their own voices." In this research, I believe I have illuminated how this occurs, or

at least the importance of sensitive and equitable practices in elementary education, especially in the lower grades. Very young children are open to suggestion. Those who had not been socialized into the Standard Language Ideology attempted to use their home language in school, but by the time they were in the upper elementary grades, that had largely ceased and they had adopted the ideologies promoted by the educational system.

While it is clear that the two schools at the center of this study do differ in important structural ways, such as their student body, the school age and layout, the types of amenities and activities there, what is most important is that the culture of schools differs significantly. Apple's cultural orientation to meeting the needs of non-English speaking students significantly impacts the school's ability to reach and form relationships with parents and improve the educational outcomes for children. In Emerald, the more culturally responsive orientation makes it possible to meet higher expectations, although both schools are stifled by the constraints through which the district and state measure language, race, and ethnicity.

For example, my language inventory, secondary analysis of school data, and observations show that there is a disconnect between how the school and state think about people and how those people think about themselves. This disconnect included not only biased practices against some but even erased (Gal 2005) particular groups, impacting how everyone was served. This resulted in the state and schools socializing children and families into a new racial system (Waterston 2006; Bonilla-Silva 2010) of blacks, Latinos, and whites and prevents more nuanced understandings of language, race, and ethnicity, which would help educators and the school better understand students and their families. A more open orientation would help all students, not just those who are minoritized, to develop more positive and socially productive strategies for their lives. When people from a dominant group comprise the majority of teachers and fill

most leadership positions in a school and use narrow definitions of race, ethnicity, and language or engage in racially isolated networking practices and use biased ideologies about race, ethnic, and linguistic groups through assessments of their values and performance, it reproduces inequality. By collapsing diverse linguistic groups into broad racial categories, linguistic differences, clearly impacting barriers to equality, are masked. In such a system there is no way to identify children whose oppressions intersect. The limited time afforded to cross-racial, cross-ethnic, and cross-linguistic interactions between schools and families is another manifestation of the disconnect between the school and community it serves.

The school observations I shared in this dissertation are reflective of a broader system of inequality. In this system, people are socialized to speak and think a certain way depending on their position in relation to the power structure. Whites especially have a possessive investment in those identities and their behavior is oriented to maintaining inequality (Lipsitz 1998). While I provided examples of teachers being culturally responsive or even critical of the curriculum, I have focused on ruptures, disjunctures, and conflict to complete a critical ethnographic analysis (Hadi-Tabassum 2006) to learn about people's orientations to race, ethnicity, and language identities.

The moments where race, ethnicity, and language are discussed in class serve to educate students on their place in society. By disallowing or constructing people or languages negatively, people are silenced and their identities may be diminished. This has been the aim of this project, to illuminate how people move through schooling in a way that propels them toward life paths and particular constructions of identity. Schools typically magnify and create inequalities to reproduce the existing social order, which is reflected in many of the local government entities in the area.

My classroom observations, as I have shared in this dissertation, support my claim that through the curriculum textually as well as through discourse and interactions with other students and teachers, children engage in behavior that reifies or resists dominant ideologies through language, yielding sociocultural knowledge and communicative competence about linguistic, racial, and ethnic hierarchies. I have illustrated how children in Central acquire the rules about what language is acceptable, cementing sociocultural knowledge about racial, ethnic, and linguistic hierarchies.

In informing my overall concern of how groups cooperate in the process of domination, in Central's elementary schools, children mostly learned not to use structural explanations for inequality and instead success was seen as the result of individual effort. Such learning of which discourses, ideas, orientations, and interpretations of inequality are acceptable in the classroom largely reflected the sociocultural knowledge of adults in both schools. This socialization sometimes happened through the absence of particular discourse. An example of this includes T's lack of problematizing the white male student's persistent questioning of whether the man breaking into her home was black. Other examples, ranging from a Latino student's use of Spanish in W's 1st grade class, to V's condemnation of children's use of Spanish in her room, U's correction of a 4th grade Latino student telling a Hispanic American Indian to "speak English," to T asking her students to draw on Spanish cognates, all directly and indirectly tell children about the language that is appropriate to use in school. By the time they are ready to leave elementary school, such occurrences socialize students into a constructed reality in which Spanish does not really have a place in school, although they sometimes receive conflicting messages. For instance, the place of Spanish in school can differ especially if the school actor is Spanish speaking, as in the case of Z's frequent use of Spanish in the classroom and her efforts

to teach some of her students Mexican Spanish pronunciations for words. Additionally, the accepted discourse about American Indian language and race provide a framework which socializes their erasure in the minds of school employees as well as the agencies of the school and state.

While the focus of this research has been on schooling, I do not suggest that children are only socialized through the school. Instead, schools are part of their glocal context and largely match cultural attributes of majority groups. Further, children receive socialization in churches and other community organizations which are “interdependent and interrelated parts of a broader process of communicative competence acquisition that spans an individual’s lifetime and experiences” (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2008:162).

Because of the deep connection between language learning and the learning of sociocultural knowledge, the way the language of students is addressed and the way actors in school discuss linguistic, racial, and ethnic groups should receive close attention by educators and researchers. Indeed, based on this connection, educators’ and schools’ approach to micro-level discourse as well as school policies and practices, such as the extent to which documents are sent home in multiple languages, should be addressed to attempt to disrupt the reproduction of cooperation in processes of domination.

This study informs work in the linguistic anthropology of education as it examines how children learn racial/ethnic norms in the school context. Socialization processes going on in the classroom deal with a student’s development of schooling/educational competence which is evidenced by the way they learn to talk about racial and ethnic groups and inequality. As I have shown, students develop schooling competence by internalizing dominant language attitudes and rules throughout their elementary school careers.

## **Applications and Applied Orientation of this Research**

Applied anthropology can be simply defined as using anthropology's knowledge, methods, and theories to address social problems with various stakeholders (Kedia and Van Willigen 2005). My work allows the possibility of social issues being addressed by community leaders, policy makers, educators, parents, students, and others outside academia that similarly focus on the interplay between education, language, and social change in this context. Applied anthropology is often constructed as different from theoretical anthropology, or anthropology which is done for the sake of knowledge or theory building, although many anthropologists contest this, such as Knauff (2006), who observed that today's anthropology occupies more of a middle ground between the two. A few of the many specialties of applied anthropology are known as activist anthropology (Speed 2008), engaged anthropology (Low 2011), or public anthropology (Lamphere 2004).

In Central, there are opportunities for these schools to improve their orientation to serving diverse families. I was able to highlight some applications in my own research by providing examples of things that teachers and/or schools did well as well as things that could be improved. Further, my study provides documentation of processes of linguistic, ethnic, and racial erasure that were previously unknown and can be used to better serve students. It also provides the district with a better understanding of the linguistic diversity of its students. The following are proposed methods for Central, although they may be useful in similar contexts, to improve educational equity. Several of these propositions can begin to be implemented through teacher in-service or training.

1. Improve language accessibility. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, language inaccessibility impacts access to educational resources. Follow through with the policy of



sending all school materials home translated in Spanish, to do so, re-evaluate current policies and plans for translating. Structural changes should be made. Below are specific things that can help.

Because some parents lack cultural knowledge about what schooling is like yet have the ability to translate, they may be able to contribute to their school if they are informed about how to do so. Some parents I talked to did not even know that volunteering at school was available, but stated that it would be something they would be interested in.

Make a cheat sheet of 20-50 common things in Spanish teachers can write in planners or report cards. Once one list is made, it can be shared throughout the district. This could have benefitted the frustrated teacher in the IEP meeting I wrote in Chapter 5 about who frequently sent notes home in English to a Spanish speaking mother. Google's automatic and imperfect translation services at [www.translate.google.com](http://www.translate.google.com) could be used to translate a few sentences to write in the planner, although it is clear that a translator's work would be much better. Also, include non-Spanish language minoritized groups. Harness the resources of the community or create a full or part time job for speaker(s) of Haitian Creole and Hmong and even frequently spoken indigenous languages of Mexico.

Harvest the resources of your middle and high schoolers to improve elementary schools, and in doing so, the secondary schools and community will improve. For example, when the ESE employee sent me math vocabulary for grades 1-5 to translate, I was able to use a member of the middle school honor society to help with this translation by allowing them to work and earn community service hours. Such a program, drawing on middle and high school honor society members to help the elementary schools with translation and similar services could benefit the district immensely. The student who helped me later told me that doing this helped her help a peer who spoke little English and whom the teacher asked her to help during math class.

2. Improve racial, ethnic, and gender representation in positions across the district. This is especially an issue in teaching, as I show in Chapters 5 and 6 where I mentioned the potential drawbacks to having mostly white teachers teaching mostly non-white students. Ways that this can be done could include offering support to current paraprofessionals or graduating high school students of color in the form of scholarships or other forms of aid to enable them to complete their educations to become teachers. In the research site, unlike in teaching, there were many paraprofessionals of color, and many had expressed to me that they desired to teach.

3. Put in place structural tools and aids for non-majority communities to guarantee they can take advantage of programs open to all. Ensure minoritized individuals have representative participation in extracurricular activities, and provide resources on the school level to achieve representation. As discussed in Chapter 4, Apple's after school program is less attended because of transportation issues, so addressing transportation issues by purchasing more buses or hiring more drivers can help. Aside from striving for English Language Learners and migrants to have basic access to education, involve them in presentations about the extracurricular opportunities in schooling. Many parents may not know what schooling can be like if they did not go themselves or attended school in another place. There are funds available for programs, especially from various federal Title grants, such as Title I (assistance for low-income schools), and Title III (assistance for English Language Learners and immigrant youth). There is some flexibility with how they can be spent. Consider implementing an AVID program at the elementary level<sup>53</sup>, as the program already exists in the middle and high schools. The program provides professional learning for elementary school educators and is implemented across the entire school structure.

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<sup>53</sup> For more information, see <http://avid.org/what-is-avid-elementary.ashx>.

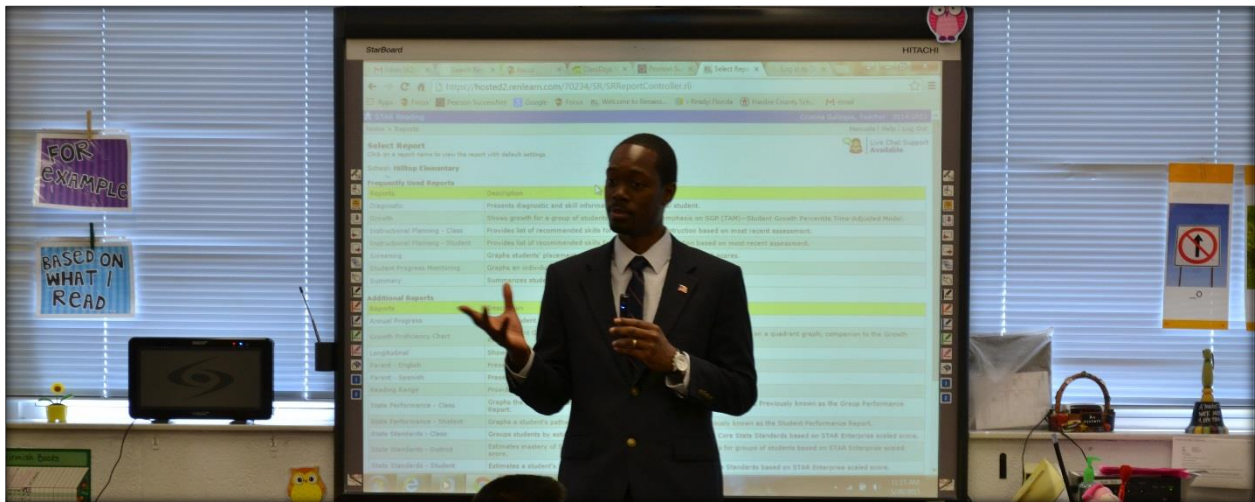
4. Better understand students by de-clumping definitions of race and ethnicity and considering intersectional identities (Lugo-Lugo 2008). Attempt to understand parents and home cultures to be able to better draw on the resources of the community. Accurately record parents' self-reported race and language when they register their children, as I pointed out was an issue in Chapters 5 and 6. Employee training can address this.

Encourage teachers and students to learn a language other than their native tongue. Learn about the culture of people in the school district so that educators can better meet resident needs and/or approach residents to contribute to schools however they can, if they would like. Try asking parents to do things that are specific. Be flexible to encourage volunteering. Some people might not be able to commit once a week or even once monthly, but especially if school officials and teachers get to know the families whose children attend their schools they can tap into local skills and resources.

5. Be culturally responsive in teaching. Evaluate the curriculum for how well it speaks to students. As discussed in Chapter 6, consider using and recommending bilingual books in class for those who speak or are from families who speak another language, they are beneficial in learning and many other ways (Alamillo and Arenas 2012). Positive attitudes and incorporation of multilingualism and minority languages is key in multicultural pedagogy (Ellis 2006). Invite guest speakers of diverse backgrounds, as I mostly observed white speakers (Figure 7.1 shows that it can be done). Have more diversity in school visitors and make real connections with the community (Figure 7.2; Figure 7.3), including Latinos, African Americans and other groups. As Chapter 6 examined, if unfamiliar with a culture, position yourself as a learner to allow the child to negotiate how they would like to be understood. Integrate culture into the teaching curricula and attempt to make the same type of relationships with minoritized groups that the school has

with whites. Do not worry about offending white families in order to recognize minoritized groups. Recognizing everybody will enhance opportunities for all.

Such marrying of home and school culture and respect for home knowledge has been identified as a desire by Latino parents in similar contexts (Villenas 2001b) and is helpful in educational contexts (Bui and Fagan 2013; González, Moll, and Amanti 2006; McIntyre and Stone 1998). For example, consider implementing González, Moll, and Amanti's (2006) funds of knowledge approach, discussed in Chapter 2, where they offer examples of drawing on student knowledge in the classroom. Home visits can help teachers better understand children and appreciate the knowledge they bring, and help them build on that and use it to understand the curriculum. Other programs discussed in Chapter 2, such as The Academic English Mastery Program (LeMoine and Hollie 2007) can be useful as well.



**Figure 7.1: Local senate candidate speaks to Z's class.**



**Figure 7.2** Researcher laughs with *bailarinas folklóricas* (folkloric dancers) at a multicultural event.



**Figure 7.3:** Photo of Latino market showing the thank you letter, circled in yellow, that the researcher sent for the store's donations to a Hispanic Heritage month event.

6. Use critical pedagogy (Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza 2012) to decolonize the curriculum and classroom spaces. While using critical pedagogy is not easy, Christensen and Aldridge (2013) offer three specific steps to moving toward a critical pedagogy at the elementary level. First, get students involved in curriculum planning. While Central has pacing-guides that ensure the grade levels are working on similar things throughout the year, there is some room to involve students in personalizing topics. Second, learn everything that you can about the

populations in your school, county and beyond. I wrote about this in recommendation #5 in detail. Third, examine assumptions and stereotypes about groups. This can begin to be addressed through home visits, which I also wrote about in #5. Further, Chen writes that “being critical does not mean teachers have to possess ‘expert’ knowledge of society, politics, and history, but rather it is about helping to create the dialogic spaces in the classroom so that students can become knowledge producers themselves and, in doing so, develop their language and literacy skills” (2016:129). Additionally, the use of links and videos illustrating critical approaches to discourses and texts can introduce teachers to critical pedagogy (Chun 2016).

Changing curriculum is difficult and change may have to come from the state and federal level, but that does not mean that there cannot be some district, school, or classroom changes which situate knowledge and folks more accurately through history. Incorporate discussions of race and class (Alim and Smitherman 2012) and other positions and their ramifications (Howard 2003), even in elementary school. In doing so, interrogate such representations in the community, such as at the local museum, petition to change them. Educating children on these matters will help them be able to challenge inequalities when they enter the world as adults (hooks 1994; Chun 2016; Smitherman and Cunningham 1997). Reevaluate ideologies that blame oppressed people for inequality and instead put those energies toward more plausible efforts at combating a difficult situation. In being critical, evaluate school happenings, question how events can be more representative and inclusive. Discontinue contests in which students win by doing something that requires money (i.e., King and Queen of Hearts and similar fundraisers; fundraisers can be done without setting up inequality). Consider the broader structural influences on student performance, such as institutional contexts that may hamper equal opportunities (Wirtz 2015).

7. If needed, hire an anthropologist or other cultural ambassador or liaison in each school, someone who is skilled in cultural responsiveness and bilingual in Spanish, to oversee such things as parent involvement and school communications. Indeed, policies should be made in conjunction with parents not for them. Bring Latino as well as African American parents, and the parents of children in other smaller but still significant groups into the decision making and inspirational discussions (Villenas 2001b). As my research suggests, improved parent involvement can occur when more translators are available, more documents are translated, and when parents are approached in a more culturally responsive manner.

### **Dissemination and Future Research**

Outcomes of my research have been shared at the 2015 American Anthropological Association Annual Conference in Denver, Colorado. My project will also be shared at the 2017 Southern Sociological Society Meeting in Greenville, SC and the 2017 American Anthropological Association Annual Conference in Washington, DC. Parts of this dissertation will be submitted to journals in linguistic and cultural anthropology and those dealing with education.

As promised to the two schools and district before this study began, a concise report will be submitted to both schools as well as the district. I will outline my more specific findings, highlighting both strategies and policies in the schools or districts that have been useful in this context as well as practices that might be improved. Several copies of this dissertation abstract will be presented to the schools, and I wish to thank them for being a part of this research and pledge my support to helping the district and schools apply this work to their context. At a

general level, outcomes from this project can inform destination sites that are receiving communities for the movements of new groups—both domestically and internationally, as well as areas that may be small, religious, conservative, and rural-like. While the particular strategies needed to create a productive learning and teaching environment will vary from locale to locale a critique of domination can be applicable in many situations. Strategies that open interactions to positive constructions of a variety of identities and peoples allow learning to proceed among diverse student populations.

Regarding steps for future research, I plan to follow-up with Central schools in the coming years to see in what ways my recommendations may or may not have been used and what have been their implications. For example, what is the status of language accessibility and how has its possible change impacted access to school resources for groups? Were more nuanced ways of defining student racial, ethnic, and linguistic identity used in measuring the student body? If so, in what ways was the improved measurement related to culturally responsive pedagogy? Moreover, future analysis of additional data gathered during this fieldwork may inform more specifically on indigenous Mexican children's schooling experiences with specific regard to language socialization and identity formation, which is in need of more research (Casanova, O'Connor, and Anthony-Stevens 2016; Velasco 2010).



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A.1: Excerpt from Interview with Maria

In response to my questions on the business relationships between new old and new Latino immigrants, Maria shared the following:

Maria: In the fields, because he was the one that had, he was like the crew leader so he would get the contracts and then he would get people to work for him.

Rebecca: What, doesn't he own houses now that he rents out?

Maria: My brother?

Rebecca: No, [man's name].

Maria: **[Man's name]? Well the [man's name] now. Like the younger ones. When we knew them as the younger ones. All of them, they're all in real estate.**

Rebecca: What about other people that you met besides the [man's name]?

Maria: **A lot of them, they worked at the mines and stuff like that.** See a lot of them, they went to school. We didn't go to school but a lot of them went to school.

Rebecca: How come they got to go to school, do you think? Did they grow up here?

Maria: Yeah. I think. Well, some of them were already here. With us, we couldn't go back to school because my father got sick a year after we got here and he passed away like, in a couple of years after we were here. So we were the ones that had to work to support my mother because my mother was sickly and she was a diabetic. So she didn't go to the fields, so it was up to me and my sister to make the money. So we never went back to school then and them, they did because they had their parents. We didn't. We didn't have, and we lived with my brother. We never had our own home.

Rebecca: Yeah. And then who? What about like, you know the people that own the *super mercados* and the different businesses here that?

Maria: There wasn't any of them.

Rebecca: **So there was no Hispanic-serving businesses?**

Maria: **There wasn't hardly, uh-uh. There was only that Acapulco that's still open. Them people had their restaurant open and see and all these [man's name] that have their businesses now. They didn't have it back then when we were here. They didn't get that 'til years later. It was like my brother. My brother didn't have very much when we got here. But after; he bought. He used to run a crew when we got here then he got enough money and he bought a [vehicle used in harvesting named a] goat. After that goat, he bought another and then he would have these crews and then he went and bought semis to haul his own. So he's got his own contract for everything...He bought his own trailers, so he got his own business. So I mean he did that for, for a long time 'til last year that he had that accident and he was, he got killed and you know, uh, the goat ran over him.**

Rebecca: I'm sorry to hear that...

Maria: ...Well there was a lot of people that we. That would work, you know, we would work together. And then it's like you know, a lot of them left.

Maria: A lot of them like, left the state or left the town or you know. Um, the reason I remember more [man's name] because my parents didn't hardly let us out and their father was real strict too. So that's the only ones that me and my sister were allowed to really talk to. 'Cause the man was strict and my father trusted him...

Rebecca: ...So um, let me ask you this. You know like. Is it *El Tapatio*. Is that the place that, where they have a lot of the *quinceañeras* at?

Maria: Oh the one. Uh-huh. [affirmative]

Rebecca: Okay, so you know there's like that and *El Ranchito*.

Maria: That, that one. That was one was built like years later. You know, after I was married and everything. A lot of the stuff, it was like years later. Maybe.

Rebecca: **I'm just wondering who, who's running those businesses? Is that like new people or is that people that had come in like the '70s?**

Maria: **No, I don't think so. I think it's a lot of new people.**

Rebecca: So there's a fair amount of new people.

Maria: Uh huh, yeah. I think there's a lot of new people. Back in the '70s there was not. There was very few. Like [woman's name]. Her family was here when we were here. I guess they had got here.

Rebecca: Oh, okay, so then they were here. What did their family end up doing?

Maria: Her family? I think he used to build cabinets. Her father. Yeah, he was like a cabinet maker or something like that. Which she is cousin to the [family name] that I told you. That they were here too. The [another family name], the [family name]. Uh, there was very few, the [man's name], the [another family name].

Rebecca: Like one of the girls is a teacher, is that the same [another family name]?

Maria: Yes. Their family was here too.

Rebecca: And, **so the girl is a teacher.** What else jobs do they do? The family or?

Maria: Well see at that time, they were all in the. We used to all pick oranges but then gradually their kids grew up. When their kids grew up, most of them started working in the mines, in you know. They really didn't do field work no more.

Rebecca: **So the field work more of like newcomers?**

Maria: **Yeah, I think the field work is the lowest paying job there is.** So anyone that gets a little smarter will go for something else besides that field. Sometimes they talk about how they don't pay a lot but really it's true because I think the highest they pay now is \$7, \$9 a basket that big tub. When I was picking it they paid I think \$7.50 so the price ain't gone up that much. It was like \$7.50 now, I don't think it has gone up 'cause I think when we were working in the field they used to pay is like \$1.25/hour, \$1.85/hour.

Rebecca: And so that was in the '70s?

Maria: Yeah. And I mean compared to now. You know, that's how come a lot of the ones that do come here. **I really believe that a lot of those contract workers are the only ones that will do that work. You know or, the ones that are illegal. That they don't have no other place. But if it's somebody that's legal, they're not gonna go out and pick oranges.**

[Maria, 61. Interview with author on July 6, 2016]

## APPENDIX A.2: Excerpt from Interview with Roseline

As we discussed the impact of translators on communication access, Roseline shared the following about her own experiences as a Haitian Creole speaker:

Rebecca: Now, do they ever have a translator for you or is it always English?

Roseline: Um, I use my English.

Rebecca: Use your English?

Roseline: Yeah.

Rebecca: Is there any times when they're saying things and you don't understand what they're saying?

Roseline: Um, sometimes, uh, when I, I go on (Unintelligible), I say can you repeat that again please?

Rebecca: And so then after they repeat it, you understand?

Roseline: Yeah, yeah.

Rebecca: So, has there ever been a time where they've said, they've told you something and you just really didn't get what they were saying?

Roseline: Um, what you say again?

Rebecca: Has there ever been a time when you were talking to the school about you children and you just really didn't understand what they were saying?

Roseline: Yeah, I understand what they say.

Rebecca: You do, you always understand?

Roseline: Yeah.

Rebecca: Always understand? **Would it be easier if they had...So, Haitian Creole is another language you speak?**

Roseline: **Yes.**

Rebecca: **Now do you speak any other besides Haitian Creole and English?**

Roseline: **No.**

Rebecca: **Would it be easier if the school had a Creole speaker for you or English is fine?**

Roseline: **Yeah but um, I, I, I, yeah but if some Haitian people (Unintelligible) is gonna good.**

Rebecca: **So it would be better for you?**

Roseline: **Yeah.**

Rebecca: **If they had a Creole [speaker]?**

Roseline: **Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah.**

[Roseline, 51. Interview with author on October 24, 2015]

### APPENDIX A.3: Excerpt from Interview with Yessica

As we discussed school-home communication, Yessica shared how mostly English-only communications impact her husband's ability to keep up with school happenings.

Rebecca: When they send notes home, like the school, do they always send them in a language you can understand?

Yessica: Mm.

Rebecca: What about a language your husband can understand?

Yessica: Well, not, but they would, when there's something like, if they're gonna have a party or something or they're gonna go on a fieldtrip, I would like let him know what it is about or let him know 'oh he's gonna go to a fieldtrip this day.' Like, they're gonna go to Sea World and like I guess they did it like, they had to pay fifty dollars but I guess they are doing like, they are giving them payments so they could do it if they don't wanna like have money to pay it all. And that's what, he's gonna go, and like I said, like you said, **I'll explain it to him 'cause he doesn't know how to read it in English**, so I'll let him know what it is that we have to, when is it we're gonna have to send the money, and do the payments.

[Yessica, 26. Interview with author on December 3, 2014]

## APPENDIX A.4: Excerpt from Interview with Ashley

In our interview, as we talked about how Apple copes with a lack of translators, Ashley shared the following strategies used by the school:

Rebecca: How well would you say the school does to accommodate, facilitate, or ensure the highest levels of education for families where English is not the primary language?

Ashley: I think it's hard here. The fact that we don't have bilingual people in the front office, I think is a real challenge for us. We did have a nurse who was bilingual, Mr. [Nurse's last name]. And when we lost him, a lot of times we would drag him out of the clinic to come translate or whatever. **We are really under the gun with the fact that we don't have a lot of adults period that are bilingual in this school. And certainly we don't have any manning the front desk. And when parents and families come in, that's usually the first place they go and the teachers having parent conferences and whatnot, you really need somebody, you need someone to translate to make sure that everyone understands what's being said. But a lot of times you end up with maybe the kid trying to translate for their parent, which that's always an awkward situation. Sometimes, I know when I was in my classroom, a lot of times I'd get Mrs. [last name], who's one of our custodians, I would drag her and say 'Can you come translate for me?' And she always would because she's a sweet soul but I'm thinking 'This is not her job,' to sit here and translate parent conferences.**

Rebecca: Is school or district leadership aware there's a need here that's not being met?

Ashley: **I think they're aware, the problem is that they don't want to give us any more positions.** And a lot of the people here have been here long enough that you can't get rid of them. They have tenure and they have continuing contract so you know we are sort of stuck. **We know we need it but who do we replace? Our positions are filled. We're definitely aware and we're trying to recruit new teachers,** we're going to the Teach-In and all in June. I know that's one of the things in the back of our brain when we're interviewing people is 'Who's bilingual?' A lot of the teachers, well not a lot, but a couple of the teachers we've gotten in the last year or two have been. We've got Mrs. [Teacher name] is bilingual.

Rebecca: Mrs. [A second teacher name].

Ashley: Mrs. [The second teacher's name]. You know we have Mrs. [Paraprofessional name] and Mrs. [Paraprofessional name]. But even with that being said, **those are all instructional personnel. They are working throughout the day, you can't just grab them and say 'Hey, I need you to translate this letter or I need you to come speak to this parent or somebody on the phone.'** So that's a real challenge, **we really probably got to try and find somebody in the office that's bilingual.**

[Ashley, 35. Interview with author on May 22, 2015]



## APPENDIX A.5: Excerpt from Interview with Daniela

When I asked if problems arose due to the languages spoken by people at school, Daniela shared how the lack of translators affects Spanish-speaking parents' attendance at meetings.

Adelina: ¿Hay problemas con la lengua de usted y de otros en la escuela? *Are there problems with the language of you and others in school?*

Rebecca: Sí, para ejemplo, en la oficina. *Yes, for example, in the office.*

Daniela: Ah hah...*Yes...*

Rebecca: No hay personas que hable español... *There is nobody that speaks Spanish...*

Daniela: Ah hah...*Yes...*

Rebecca: So, ¿Es un problema? *So, is that a problem?*

Daniela: Sí, es un problema. Necesito alguien que hable en español. *Yes, it is a problem. I need someone who can speak Spanish.*

Rebecca: So, háblame sobre las problemas... *So, tell me about those problems...*

Daniela: So, no más sería eso a ver cuando hay juntas en la escuela nunca hay una persona que traducir, nunca hay y muchos no entienden y se quedan pensando. Muchos hispanos, no sé si has visto tú, van pero no entienden. So, eso me gustaría que hiciera la escuela. Que pusiera alguien, un traductor en las juntas. So, ***the only request I have is that when there are school meetings there's never someone to translate, and many do not understand [English] and they stay thinking [trying to understand]. Many Hispanics, I don't know if you saw them, they go but they don't understand. So, that's what I would like the school to do. That they put someone, a translator, in the meetings.***

[Daniela, 32. Interview with author on May 22, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.6: Excerpt from Interview with Vanessa

When I spoke with Vanessa in her home about bilingual books and showed her one her daughter had brought home, she reacted positively, as the following transcript illustrates.

Rebecca: ¿Ayuda a su hija con la tarea? *Do you help your daughter with her homework?*

Vanessa: ¿A [mija]? Cuando es matemática, como sumar. Le ayudo poquito, pero inglés no, no puedo. Pero a veces sí le ayudo. *Help [my daughter]? When it is math, like adding. I help her a little, but when it's English no, I can't. But sometimes yes I do help her.*

Rebecca: (to Older sister) Can you hand me that book? [The book is a bilingual one.]

Rebecca: En la biblioteca, hay libros que es en inglés y español, los dos. [Vanessa: Mhm.] Por ejemplo, [I read from the book] Español “Cuando llegaron en los montañas Ted esquió el día enterró” y inglés “When they got to the mountains, Ted skied all day long.” *In the library, there are books that are in English and Spanish, both. So for example, in Spanish, “When they got to the mountains, Ted skied all day” and English “When they got to the mountains, Ted skied all day long.”*

Rebecca: So, a el mismo tiempo [su hija] can puede leer inglés y su leer [en] español. ¿Puedes leer en español? *So, at the same time, [your daughter] can read English and you read [in] Spanish. Can you read in Spanish?*

Vanessa: Sí. *Yes.*

Rebecca: ¿Le gusta, es un buen...? *Do you like, is this a good...?*

Vanessa: Sí, sí me gusta. *Yes, yes I like this.*

Rebecca: En la biblioteca hay libro que [su hija] puede dar a la casa--bring to the house. [Vanessa: MmHm.] *In the library, there's books that [your daughter] can bring to the house--bring to the house.*

Rebecca: (to child) Want to look at it?

Vanessa: Ella me enseña español y inglés, [mija]. *She, [my daughter], teaches me Spanish and English.*

Participant (Older sister): She tries teaching my mom English.

Rebecca: Aww, that's so sweet.

Vanessa (laughing): En la noche, ta hablando con mi inglés y español. *At night, she speaks to me in English and Spanish.*

Participant (Older sister) to child: I heard you, “No mommy, you don't say it like that.”

Rebecca: Aww, that's so sweet.

Rebecca: Pero, para el libro... [I point to the bilingual book] ¿Piensas que puedes ayudar [su hija] con leer, leyendo para esto? *But for the book...Do you think that you can help [your daughter] to read, reading with this?*

Vanessa: Sí, sí, sí pienso que sí puedo. *Yes, yes, yes I think that I can.*

[Vanessa, 42. Interview with author on February 26, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.7: Excerpt from Interview with Darnell

At our interview, on the topic of education, Darnell talked about the lack of representation in curriculum for children of color both in Central and the United States. He was also concerned that racial and ethnic minority children in Central are not treated the same as their white counterparts. Darnell also shared his own experiences about being impacted by having few African American teachers.

Rebecca: **Do you think that children in [Central] all have equal access to good educational opportunities?**

Darnell: **I do not.**

Rebecca: And why? Why is that?

Darnell: **Because the, because the, the curriculum in not only [Central] County but the curriculum in the United States is written in such a way where it actually causes division in terms of academic achievement and what I mean by that is, for an example: Growing up in an American School System, reading stories and the names of characters in those stories, a lot of times, I didn't know people. Or a lot of times, those stories didn't relate to me because of the names of the characters were not people that I dealt with on a regular basis. So if a person's name was Susie or Sally and I'm reading this. I'm reading it because I have to not because I want to but if some of the names would have been you know um, Tyrone or Lacreisha. I know people like that so when I read it, I automatically make the association with somebody I know and it holds my attention because it's simply association. So, what I've learned is that there are some school systems that tailor their reading material to the demographic so that when kids are reading it, it becomes more interesting and the more interesting the material is, the more they can comprehend it because they actually give a care.**

Rebecca: So is that done in [Central]?

Darnell: That's not done in [Central].

Rebecca: **So what's particular about [Central] County School District that, do you think, as compared to other school districts or is there anything particular?**

Darnell: **Well, it's predominately white, which means that the curriculum is going to pretty much reflect the white experience.**

Rebecca: So students are predominantly white?

Darnell: No, the School Board.

Rebecca: Oh, okay.

Darnell: **The School Board's predominately white, but the school system, I meant the school body, the students are not predominately white. So if the material doesn't reflect the demographic then you're gonna have a hard time of trying to keep that**

**student's attention and if you can't keep their attention, they're not gonna learn.** Especially children, young children. Their attention span is very short so every effort needs to be made to hold their attention while they're learning.

Rebecca: Do you think that the teachers are treating the students in the same way or could they possibly be treating different students differently because of something like their race?

Darnell: **I think they're definitely treating them differently based on their race.** I don't think it's something they intentionally do but I think it's the human element that comes into play...I mean I personally experienced that growing up you know, where teachers would give kids the benefit of the doubt in situations where there was conflict between, you know. Like one time I was in sixth grade and this kid. I was just walking, minding my own business and this kid ran his chair into my leg and it hurt you know. And he started laughing. So I retaliated and I pinched him. **I get kicked out of school because the teacher and the student, they went to the same church and she, I remember her telling me, 'He wouldn't do something like that.'** And so, you know, that was a scenario where I felt like you know, it was unfair. There was clearly a biased. I wouldn't say it was racial but there was a biased...I'm sixth grade, how am I supposed to know? And that's the other thing, a lot of times, children can't articulate what they are experiencing and so that makes it even harder on the child to not be able to talk about it in a way where another adult can comprehend what they're feeling. So, it's definitely an unfair situation.

[Darnell, 34. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.8: Excerpt from Interview with Yvonne

During my interview with Yvonne, as we talked about educational inequality she expressed concerns over the quality of education of all children in Central.

Rebecca: So do you think that children in [Central] are receiving a good education?

Yvonne: Um, well. **I dunno cause a lot of the kids nowadays are not graduating at all**, so. I had a friend of my daughter didn't. Almost didn't graduate so, and then their brother a couple years down the line (Unintelligible). So, so many kids. They say the school is not. I dunno, it's, it's confusing.

Rebecca: So you're not sure?

Yvonne: Yeah, I'm not sure.

Rebecca: What about at [Apple] do you think those kids get a good education?

Yvonne: I believe they are cause, I mean, I have a too many teachers that you know wanna help 'em and stuff.

Rebecca: So you haven't seen any reason to believe they wouldn't be getting a good education?

Yvonne: Yeah.

Rebecca: **Would you say that your children receive an equal quality of education compared to other children?**

Yvonne: **Yeah, same.**

[Yvonne, 39. Interview with author on January 22, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.9: Excerpt from Interview with Roseline

As we talked about her family's schooling experiences, Roseline and her daughter, Precious, told me about a time when a teacher told her son that his mother was his step-mother.

Roseline: What the problem is um, that teacher is. My son don't, don't, don't like the people to yell him. But when. If you yelling to him and he, he's mad. He's uh.

Precious: He feel like the teacher doesn't like him.

Roseline: Yeah.

Rebecca: Does he think that the teacher doesn't like him for a certain reason?

Precious: (Unintelligible)

Rebecca: Or you wouldn't know?

Roseline: I don't know.

Rebecca: Why that teacher acts like that.

Roseline: No.

Precious: He just said that she have favorites. She's like more of the girls.

Rebecca: Okay so maybe cause he's a boy.

Roseline: Mm.

Precious: He feels that.

Rebecca: I mean maybe. Maybe it is.

Roseline: **Yeah but, then tell, tell um him and the (Unintelligible) for that but then said um him maybe. Him not, I'm not him mother. This is um, step, step-mother.**

Rebecca: Okay.

Roseline: **It's not good for, for him. He, he, he's cried. He's crying and he's don't, don't, his mother (Unintelligible) for that.**

Precious: **Oh he said that I guess the teacher had told him that um, that my mom isn't his mom and that he, he's just, she's just a caregiver. Something like that.**

Rebecca: Why would the teacher say that? Oh my goodness that's not right. So that's probably the only issue that, that you can think of that you've had with the schools? The only problem that you've had?

Roseline: Yeah.

Rebecca: Okay.

Precious: And he's a smart boy.

Rebecca: But it's the teacher we don't know what's going on with that? Was that. So that's a woman teacher?

Roseline: Yeah.

Rebecca: A White teacher?

Precious: Yeah.

[Roseline, 51. Interview with author on October 24, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.10: Excerpt from Interview with Darnell

During our conversation, a local politician shared his observations about race, ethnicity, and inequality in Central.

Rebecca: So one of the things you said is that you didn't realize that different people have different things that were important to them? Different groups are interested in getting certain things done? What are different groups that you tried to talk to that you think have different needs and desires in [Central]?

Darnell: **Well one of the things that I noticed is that the Hispanic population, especially in the area around this particular school, [Emerald], is that the drinking water is really bad and for so many years their voices have been pretty much overlooked in terms of them going to leadership and trying to get some results or solutions. I've even seen studies and testing of the water where it shows clearly that there is E. coli and other pathogens in the water. So people are getting sick a lot of times they don't know that it's coming from the water, they just think that it's coming from something that they ate. You know, and they're finding that they're having diarrhea. I think that it would be really interesting to see a study on how many people have gone to the local hospital for the same issues. So that's one of the things I learned about the Hispanic community, that area sits on County property. The county is divided up between city property and county property and I noticed that the majority of the places where there is a lot of problems, it's along county property. Where the Hispanic and the Black community resides and the Black community, they have a really bad problem with lighting. It's really dark at night because there's no street lights. In fact, back in October, I almost hit somebody because I didn't see them. It was just that dark and so you know, whenever it's really dark in neighborhoods, crime rate go up because people feel like they can get away with it more. So, you know, the crime in [Central] County is going to take place most in the minority communities because there's, it's dark for one and then it's also you know, high drug areas or whatever so, uh, I notice there's only one business in that community so the issue that plague that community are systemic based on the fact there's even less opportunities, there's even less businesses. I noticed that there's still tarps on homes from the hurricanes which took place in 2005. So that's ten years ago. One of the things that I'm very keen on is and this is living in D.C., you know you have a lot of government analysts and analysts do a lot of research so whenever there's a catastrophe, an economic or an environmental catastrophe, the analyst and the Federal Government, they do the research to find out what is the average household income. What's the population size? How many homes are in the area? Then based on their research, they put together a budget to meet the needs of the community so whenever the people in the**

**community go to leadership in [Central] County and realize that the money is gone and therefore they don't have any government assistance, then it makes you wonder, how come for some people, they get their homes fixed and then for the majority of people in certain communities, they don't get it fixed? And so it leads one to think that either there is a bias or the money is really gone because it went somewhere that it shouldn't have gone to.**

Rebecca: **So what people aren't able to get their homes fixed?**

Darnell: **In both the Hispanic and the African American community.**

Rebecca: So do you think that some, the way someone looks or their race is a commonality or reason why they might be excluded from like, for example teaching positions or some other job or opportunity in [Central]? **Do you think that race, so being Black or Hispanic, could impact opportunities somebody has here?**

Darnell: You know, I actually wrote about this. When it comes to, when it comes to the human element, in terms of interviews or interviewing a potential candidate for a job. **I think in any, in any sector, in any job interviewing process, the human element will come to play and people would most likely choose candidates that they can identify with and if Blacks are not in a position to be doing the hiring in [Central] County, then the chances of Blacks getting hired for those types of positions are really far, few in between. Growing up in [Central] County, I didn't get my first Black teacher until I was in the 10th grade and that particular individual was the only black teacher in the entire county.**

[Darnell, 34. Interview with author on May 20, 2015]



## APPENDIX A.11: Excerpt from Interview with Lisa

As I interviewed Lisa, she questioned my ethnic background due to my language.

Rebecca: Do you speak any other languages aside from English?

Lisa: I speak southern English.

Rebecca: Me too.

Lisa: **I know your last name is Campbell, are you in some way Hispanic?**

Rebecca: No.

Lisa: No?

Rebecca: Do I look Hispanic? [I thought maybe my brown hair and eyes may have been what she was drawing on.]

Lisa: **Well sometimes your voice makes me think you are.**

Rebecca: Really?

Lisa: Yeah.

Rebecca: Well, my parents are from the north, so...

Lisa: Ok, maybe it's just that northern sound...

Rebecca: Yes. And I've tried to learn Spanish, so I can speak it ok, but um...

Lisa: From where up north are they?

Rebecca: Pennsylvania and Delaware...so...Let me get my other questions...I have a couple people ask me that too.

Lisa: Yeah, I guess I'm just trying to <inaudible> that sound of voice from that area.

[Lisa, 53. Interview with author on May 7, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.12: Excerpt from Interview with Alejandra

During my interview with Alejandra, we spoke about her reactions to her son being told to “speak English” after he gave thanks in Spanish (and English) at a class Thanksgiving event.

Rebecca: Can you ask her if she remembers during Thanksgiving when she came to the school, and her son started to say what he was thankful for in Spanish and another student told him to ‘speak English’?

Adelina: ¿Que se puede eso día de la acción de gracias cuando su hijo estaba hablando y que estaba haciendo gracias, este otro niño le dije que ‘hable en inglés’? ¿Se recuerdo eso? *Can you [remember] the day of Thanksgiving when your son was speaking in Spanish giving thanks, and another kid told him ‘Speak in English’? Do you remember that?*

Alejandra: Mm.

Rebecca: Ask her, how did that make her feel?

Adelina: ¿Usted cómo se sintió ahí? *How did you feel at that moment?*

Alejandra: Pues, se sintió uno un poquito feo, ¿verdad? Pero pues mijo él quieres hablar en inglés, le dijo como quieres, se sintió un poquito... ***Well, it felt a little bit ugly, right? But like my child wants to speak in English, and I told him whatever you want, but still it felt a little bit...***

[Alejandra, 40. Interview with author on April 16, 2015]

## APPENDIX A.13: Excerpt from Interview with Allison

During my interview with Allison we discussed her recommendations for improving the curriculum in Central schools. She shared the importance of background/sociocultural knowledge required (“what you talking about”) to learn another language.

Rebecca: So how could they change the curriculum in [Emerald] or both or either? Or what suggestions would you have?

Allison: I mean that’s hard ‘cause it’s state based. I feel like a lot of politics is in education and that’s the problem. I think politicians really need to come to small U.S.A. and really see what is going on in schools. That’s, I mean, I don’t think the state as a whole is not meeting their needs. I mean, what, if we are not doing as much here in, um, little [Central] County. I can only imagine big districts like Miami-Dade, who has a large Hispanic population or like Hillsborough County, I know they’re not meeting their needs.

Rebecca: So if you could tell the district, like because potentially, if we were to tell the district something, assuming they would do it. What would you suggest?

Allison: Put...focus more on language. Focus more on grammar even, like, I’m not just talking about Hispanic but our kids as a whole like these kids, if you, a lot of these teachers you hear them saying well ‘They need to learn English, they need to learn English.’ Yeah, I understand, but kids who don’t have a Hispanic background don’t know how to speak properly either. You know? **Like, so I mean yeah they can learn English all they want to but you have to understand the language, you got to understand what you talking about** and I think they need to incorporate a lot more language within the curriculum so they can...

[Allison, 32. Interview with author on March 10, 2015]

## APPENDIX B.1: Excerpt from Field Journal Entry on September 30, 2014

The field notes below reflect my conversation with an Apple office worker after I observe the practice of sending school communications home. Specifically, the communications are sent home in English and a small number of Spanish copies are available in the office.

*At [Apple], I see a letter being sent home to parents informing them how to log on to the school's website "portal" to view their child's information. The letter is only in English and when I inquire as to why, an office worker tells me it was done "to save paper." She continues "Spanish copies are available in the office if students say their parents need it in Spanish." She says we can look at the bright yellow emergency card (in Spanish) and says there's not that many that would need it in Spanish. (9/30/14)*

## APPENDIX B.2: Excerpts from Field Journal Entries on September 17-18, 2014

The field notes below describe my observations in Apple's office. This includes a conversation with a mother who could not read a class newsletter than was written in English and her child's teacher. Note the differing orientation of the (excerpt from 9/17/14) to a Migrant Advocate (excerpt 9/17/14) teacher to this topic.

*At the [Apple] front desk, a mother comes in because she was helping her child with his homework and didn't see a yellow paper with vocab words. We got to [his teacher] and I translate. She brings out the paper "Parents Guide to Sight Words." The mom looks at it and tells me she doesn't understand it since it's in English. **[The teacher] says that's all she has, and to me, doesn't seem to care beyond that.** I tell the mom I'll translate it for her and send it home with her child in the next day or two. **When I tell [a member of the school's leadership] the story she says, "Maybe she did this because English is our language,"** although she doesn't mind me translating it. (9/17/14)*

*The next day I tell [a Migrant Advocate at another school] what happened and she says to stay positive because there are teachers who do care. We lament the language attitudes of administration and teachers and she tells me stories. One is about a teacher who expected an ESOL child to be at a certain level and [the Migrant Advocate] had to explain that those expectations were too much given his English ability. The teacher was concerned about how his progress would impact the class data since this child was the lowest performer.<sup>54</sup> (9/18/14)*

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<sup>54</sup> Note: Standardized test scores of English Language Learners are factored into teachers' grades only after the student has been in the school system for two years.

## APPENDIX C.1: Educator Survey Results on Racism in Central

**Table C.1: Table of educator survey responses to whether racism is a problem in Central.**

| Race/<br>Ethnicity   | Do you think racism is a problem in CENTRAL? Why or why not?   | Co<br>de |
|--|--|----------|
| Non-<br>Hispanic<br>White  | No, this is a society where racism is not an issue.  | 0        |
|  | No, we are diverse in the culture  | 1        |
|  | I do not think racism is a problem in CENTRAL because there is very little evidence of conflict between the races.   | 1        |
|  | There are undercurrents, but most people are good at keeping it in check.  | 1        |
|  | No, I think our community has been diverse for some time which helps reduces racism  | 1        |
|  | no, everyone works well together   | 1        |
|  | No- students are exposed to so many races and cultures that they learn to accept it from an early age.   | 1        |
|  | No, I feel that everyone is very accepting and aware of different cultural backgrounds.  | 1        |
|  | I don't witness it in the lower grades. My daughter, who attends CENTRAL Senior High, tells me race is a non-issue for her social group at the High School.  | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No, my son plays on a little league team and their are white, African American, and Hispanic players,  | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | I do not think it is a problem in the younger generation. I see it more with older people.   | 1        |
|  | I don't think racism is a problem because CENTRAL County is so diverse.  | 1        |
|  | somewhat with the "old southern lifestyle." But I do feel it is changing   | 1        |
|  | no i don't   | 1        |
|  | not as bad as it use to be   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | Not in kindergarten  | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | No   | 1        |
|  | I am sure there are exceptions, but overall, I think racism is not a problem and people are treated the same.  | 1        |
|  | No,very diverse.   | 1        |
|  | I prefer the terms "prejudice" and "discrimination," because they are less inflammitory and don't cut off debate. There may be a perception, at times, due to changing demographics.                               | 2        |
|  | Overall, No. However there are always incidents, because there are ignorant , racist people everywhere.  | 1,4      |
|  | I don't think it is huge, but it exists, it has arisen recently even in politics   | 3        |
|  | I don't see it as an extreme problem, however, I know it still exists. As long as there are human beings, there will be this "better than thou" attitude with some. We have to continue to educate in this matter. | 3        |
| I think racism exists everywhere, but I would not describe it as a problem in CENTRAL County. I see many "mixed" families at all economic levels serving and worshipping together. | 4,3  |          |
| I am sure it exists. There are always people that only see race and aren't willing to look at an individual for who they are.  | 4  |          |
| I am sure there are racist people everywhere, including CENTRAL, but as far as the students go there is not much of an issue.  | 4  |          |
| I understand that it is a huge problem in secondary schools in our county. I have never witnessed it in elementary school.   | 5,1  |          |
| Yes. It's a problem everywhere.  | 5,4  |          |
| Yes, racism will always be around. Especially when you have two big groups of different people. In this case, Hispanic and non-Hispanic.   | 5,4  |          |
| Yes  | 5  |          |
| Yes - This community has experienced a cultural shift in its population. Some of the long-time residents are still unable or unwilling to accept those changes.                    | 5  |          |
| Yes  | 5  |          |
| With some people, it still is. Some people do not accept change, therefore they do not accept others of a different race becoming a part of CENTRAL County.                        | 5  |          |

**Table C.1 (Continued): Table of educator survey responses to whether racism is a problem in Central.**

| Race/<br>Ethnicity         | Do you think racism is a problem in CENTRAL? Why or why not?  | Co<br>de |
|----------------------------|---|----------|
| Non-<br>Hispanic<br>White  | Yes, to a degree. I don't really hear a lot because I don't involve myself with ignorance   | 5        |
|                            | Yes. There is a lot of the old southern culture here where people were used to having people of other races work for them in subordinate positions.   | 5        |
|                            | Yes to some degree But it's underlying and not out in the open for the most part  | 5        |
|                            | Sometimes, with it being a small county not as much.  | 5        |
|                            | I think racism can be a problem with adults, depending on the issue.  | 5        |
|                            | Yes!!!! Many adults teach their children to view other races as less accepted than their own.   | 5        |
|                            | Yes, comments I've heard people make.   | 5        |
|                            | In some essence, I have notice that certain races tend to only socialize with those in their specific race.   | 5        |
|                            | For some people who are not from here racism seems to be a problem.   | 5        |
|                            | Yes..... Passed from generation to generation   | 5        |
|                            | Yes. I think that people are quick to judge someone based on the color of their skin.   | 5        |
|                            | Yes   | 5        |
|                            | Yes   | 5        |
|                            | Yes. Well established, "old-money" land and cattle owners control the economic development of the county and purposely discourage outside business that would help the Hispanic population. Additionally some members of the Hispanic population themselves prey on those in the community by building businesses using "slum lord" practices.  | 5        |
|                            | yes...I think our county has changed over the last decade in the area of demographics. CENTRAL County refuses to change and does not want economic development. Therefore, it is pretty cheap to live here. The rich in this county want to keep their lifestyle and they rely on the lower-class to keep them living at that status. However, they don't like that the hispanics don't speak English, rely on our government to feed them and all their children and they have made our schools what they are. | 5,6      |
|                            | Yes.... I see it in people that have been here forever. The media loves to keep things stirred up. Not long ago we had a CENTRAL County Commissioner make a racist remark and it went viral. In my opinion, it's the white caucasians that are discriminated against, not the blacks or Hispanic. I don't own any slaves and it was the Spanish who were the first slave holders, not the white people.   | 5,7      |
|                            | I would not say "racist." I have observed from several residents of CENTRAL, a dislike for those that are low-income families. Since there are some who have abused resources, it is assumed that ALL that use assistance are abusing.  | 6        |
|                            | I don't color or ethnicity is a problem as much as I do the stigma against the poor, which in a community that is becoming more Hispanic each year, is a correlation. I see it with other colors of people, too. Again, I haven't experienced racism as a real issue in the county, though there may be, as there would be statistically, some of all colors that promote their own "race" above others.  | 6        |
|                            | No - intitlement is though  | 7        |
|                            | CENTRAL County is becoming a Hispanic-oriented community. The Caucasian population is now a minority and the majority is Hispanic.  | 7        |
|                            | Yes Spanish speaking students sometimes pick on non english speaking students   | 7        |
|                            | I feel we have reverse racism in CENTRAL. Hispanics are elligible for benefits at school that others are not.   | 7        |
|                            | yes, reverse discrimination   | 7        |
|                            | i believe it is misunderstood and use for excuses when nothing else makes a difference.   | 8        |
|                            | Maybe, don't really pay that much attention to race   | 10       |
|                            | No, I really don't have any knowledge of this problem. I'm not saying it exists or doesn't exist, I personally have no knowledge.   | 10       |
|                            | I don't have an opinion on this question.   | 10       |
| don't know don't live here | 10  |          |
| ?                          | 10  |          |
|                            | 11  |          |
|                            | 11  |          |
|                            | 11  |          |
| Hispanic/<br>Latino        | No  | 1        |
|                            | No  | 1        |
|                            | No  | 1        |
|                            | Sometimes, there are still those few who use racism as an indicator of what students are capable of.  | 5        |
|                            | Somewhat  | 5        |
|                            | Yes, not enough of other races in higher positions.   | 5        |
|                            | Yes. Some people are just set in there ways. CENTRAL county is known for its agricultural values and some still believe that Latino people are the only ones that should be working in the fields. They don't see Hispanics achieving much in their life and want the trend to continue.  | 5        |
|                            | Yes. Prejudice exists.  | 5        |
|                            | Yes, many of my students have expressed instances where they felt treated differently in public because of their race/ethnicity.  | 5        |
|                            | Certain people get away with things brcause of their parents or what family they come from, the good ole boy syndrome.....  | 5        |
|                            | yes, teachers make it easy. Some act very racist themselves   | 5        |
|                            | Yes   | 5        |
| African<br>American        | I have never witnessed it, but racism is everywhere. idont think any place is exempt.   | 4        |
|                            | yes, people are still using racial slurs and some people think it's ok.   | 5        |
| Asian                      | Not really. It plays a big part in the social dynamics, it does not mean that a specific race is being targeted because of the color.   | 1        |

## APPENDIX C.2: Educator Survey Results on Racism in School

**Table C.2: Table of responses to whether racism is a problem in school.**

| Race/<br>Ethnicity   | Do you think racism is a problem in your school? Why or why not?  | Co<br>de |
|--|---|----------|
| Non-<br>Hispanic<br>White  | No, see response above. [No, this is a society where racism is not an issue.]   | 0        |
|  | No  | 0        |
|  | No, same as above [No, we are diverse in the culture]   | 1        |
|  | Racism does not appear to be a problem in school either. Students seem to be friends with others no matter what their color.                  | 1        |
|  | Same as above- although perhaps less than the community at large. [There are undercurrents, but most people are good at keeping it in check.] | 1        |
|  | No, same as above [No, I think our community has been diverse for some time which helps reduces racism]                                       | 1        |
|  | no, you don't see separate groups   | 1        |
|  | Students are pretty flexible and open.  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No, I have not witnessed any racial tensions in the lower grades.   | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | no, I work with white, African American, and Hispanic co-workers and I have not seen racism problems  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | NO  | 1        |
|  | No, not at all.   | 1        |
|  | I do not think racism is a problem at JUNIOR HIGH because we encourage unity with everyone despite race.                                      | 1        |
|  | Not amount staff.   | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | no I feel that we are teaching our students that we all have the same value   | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No  | 1        |
|  | No I do not, I believe we instill a unity and a feeling of equality.  | 1        |
|  | Not in our school. Our students don't see race or use race to determine a person's value.   | 1        |
|  | No too much, you may find a student here or there, but most of the students don't see color.  | 1        |
| Not a serious problem - I have never witnessed a faculty member exhibit racist behavior, but we must continue to investigate opportunities for students to openly communicate and learn from each other.   | 1   |          |
| No   | 1   |          |
| No. Our kids play with all the kids. They are (mostly) sweet and their innocent minds don't view their peers with racism. They view them as their friends.   | 1   |          |
| No   | 1   |          |
| No. We have A diverse community in our school.   | 1   |          |
| I don't feel like racism is a problem in my classes I teach them we are all created equally  | 1   |          |
| Not as much as some schools. We are very high in the Spanish population, then whites, we do not have many africanamericans at our school. I am from Hillsborough county where there was a big problem with racism. I had to be bused to an africanamerican school and they were not happy about us coming to their school. In the same respect we (not me) were not happy about them at our school either. I also believe it is how a child is raised as to what they believe. | 1   |          |
| I do not think racism is a problem in my school because we have many minority cultures.  | 1   |          |
| No. If there is racism, it is a very small percent. I see friend "group" or "cliques" of all ethnicities.  | 1   |          |
| No, we have a good student environment/community. I feel, at least at my level, the students all pretty much see each other as equals. Sometimes we have teachable moments when children learn from their actions about how to treat others. However, this is part of growing up. Sometimes children bring to school what they witness at home; not realizing or comprehending a negative impact on others.  | 1   |          |
| No, I really don't see or hear anything related to race  | 1   |          |



**Table C.2 (Continued): Table of responses to whether racism is a problem in school.**

| Race/<br>Ethnicity  | Do you think racism is a problem in your school? Why or why not?  | Co<br>de  |
|---|---|-----------|
| Non-<br>Hispanic<br>White   | No  | 1         |
|   | No  | 1         |
|   | No, I think some students may feel they are treated unfairly due to their race, but most students get along well as far as race. There are considerably more conflicts started by rumors than race.   | 2         |
|   | I don't see it as a severe problem, but it does exist. It is probably taught at home and brought to school.   | 3         |
|   | Again, racism exists at our school, but it's not a problem. I believe children learn to be racists, and our students have not yet reached the age where it becomes a problem. I believe our teachers treat every child the same which fosters respect across all races.   | 3         |
|   | I do not use that term. There can be some stereotyping, but I have not witnessed a lot of it among students.  | 5         |
|   | Yes. Kids behave towards others the way their parents taught them to.   | 5         |
|   | Yes, I've heard comments from staff that lead me to believe this is an issue.   | 5         |
|   | In some essence, I have notice that certain races tend to only socialize with those in their specific race.   | 5         |
|   | Racism does seem to be a problem for some children when students come from other places.  | 5         |
|   | Yes , Kids learning what they see at home   | 5         |
|   | I do think that some teachers treat children differently based on the color of their skin.  | 5         |
|   | Yes   | 5         |
|   | Yes, I have heard many students accuse teachers of being racist against them because the student is black or Hispanic. I feel that there are race tensions because of the large number of Hispanics at our school and the fact that those students behave in such a way that would indicate that the rules are different for them.  | 5         |
|   | Students have a issue with race.  | 5         |
|   | Yes.  | 5         |
|   | Yes, I think many of the students have heard things from their parents and they do have a racist mentality. Some hispanics think the teachers are racist.   | 5         |
|   | Yes. Racism will always be a problem no matter which school you go to. I have witnessed students make fun of another race on several occasions. Even within the classroom they think they're race is the best and anything else is "weird."   | 5,4       |
|   | Racism has become a bigger problem in the last few years because there are certain groups of students who feel they are being overlooked by the school system. Some students (and their parents) feel the school has placed too much emphasis on trying to cater to the Spanish speaking community. At one particular Parent Night event, directions were being given in English and then translated for those who spoke Spanish. During the even one parent stood up, declared that he was tired of having to wait for the translation, took his child and left the event. Several parents in attendance applauded and some followed him out the door. In contrast I have witnessed Hispanic students complain that they're treated differently. | 5,7,<br>2 |
|   | Yes.... I see it and hear it listening and observing our students' actions on a daily basis.  | 5         |
|   | no. The culture of our school is more of a lack of understanding of how to develop a sense of pride for our Nation. Not how much \$\$\$ you can sucker out of it.   | 6         |
|   | I think there is social resentment, not necessarily due to race. It is due women who have children and have no desire to do anything to support them. They leave that to the segment of society that chooses to work for a living.  | 6         |
|   | small problem Mexican students want to bring it up as heritage, even if they were born in USA   | 7         |
| Kids cry "you're a racist" or "it's because I'm black or Mexican," but they are speaking ignorantly. I do believe that kids often come with their parents' attitudes even if they have never had a personal incident leading them toward disliking those that are different than themselves. Sometimes, Hispanic kids say things in Spanish that would be hurtful to and about other races, but again, I don't think they are being hateful. They appear to have a mixture of friends. They are just demonstrating their ignorance. | 8,7   |           |
| Students always bring up prejudice when being corrected for a behavioral issue. They use this to avoid accountability.  | 8   |           |
| When issues arise the students claim that a teacher/teachers are racists. I am not so sure that the students even understand what racism really means;  | 8   |           |
| I think bullying is a problem in general. Not always race related   | 9   |           |
| If allowed, it could be.  | 9   |           |
| ?   | 10  |           |
| [Researcher note: There were four blank responses not included here due to spacing.]  | 11  |           |
| Hispanic/<br>Latino   | No  | 1         |
|   | No  | 1         |
|   | No, we have lots of good role models in place that help to prevent such problems.   | 1         |
|   | No  | 1         |
|   | No  | 1         |
|   | Racism exists everywhere. Hispanics as well as other ethnicities will continue to be judged and stereotyped.  | 4         |
|   | Some, because of the difference in expectations of certain races.   | 5         |
|   | Yes. I've had students make racist comments in class without even realizing they were racist.   | 5         |
|   | at times students get away with certain things others cant, because of what family they come from.  | 5         |
|   | yes.  | 5         |
|   | Sometimes   | 5         |
|   | 11  |           |
| African<br>American   | I dont think it is a problem in my school.  | 1         |
|   | yes, unconsciously because when you hear "the apple doesn't fall far from the tree" or "it's a cultural thing " I think people don't realize it's really racism.  | 5         |
| Asian   | It exists but may not considered a problem; most fight I believe erupt from more personal issues.   | 3         |

### APPENDIX C.3: Student Survey Results on Remarks about Groups

**Table C.3: Table of student survey responses on words they have heard about various groups. Only surveys included here are those where participant wrote something.**

| School | Grade | Whites  | Blacks   | Migrants                    | Latinos           | Spanish speakers                   |
|--------|-------|---|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2      | 1     | You look nice                                 |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 1     | I he hrt me fling                             |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 1     | she looks peerty                              |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 1     | Rast  |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 1     | No  |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 1     |   |  | yes it wusgeyne             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 1     | Good  | Good   | Good                        | Good              | Good                               |
| 1      | 1     | Ugly  | Bad  |                             |                   | stupid, no one can understand them |
| 1      | 1     | you post yoo be black                         | Bad  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 1     | No  | No   |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 1     | That they are nice                            | Yes  |                             | they are nasty    |                                    |
| 1      | 1     | Bab   | you afuglye                                    |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     |   | Your fat                                       |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     | you loo uly                                   |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     | you see him over here he is fat               |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     |   | [check mark]                                   |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     | You look ugly.                                |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 3     | you are dum                                   |  |                             |                   | you are a Bich                     |
| 1      | 3     | No  | n-word   |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 3     |   | they are grose                                 |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 3     | ever one makes mistaks                        | stop bullying him.                             | you are so ugly             | are you okay.     | stop you bich.                     |
| 2      | 3     |   | Your to black I cann't sea because your black. | you work because your poor. |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 3     | No  | yes I herd black people are stuped             | No                          | No                | No                                 |
| 2      | 3     | Whitees                                       | Nlakee   |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 3     | good because they are nice.                   | bad because they said bad word                 |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 3     | They are nice.                                | I've heard that they said that they are mean.  |                             |                   | They are nice as Whites.           |
| 2      | 3     |   |  |                             |                   | He seid bad sufe to her            |
| 2      | 3     | Bad   | Good   |                             |                   | Bad                                |
| 2      | 3     |   | Dumd   |                             |                   | Stupid                             |
| 2      | 3     | They got a lot of friend.                     | They are bad.                                  | They have a big family.     | They are very bad | They have a bad voice.             |
| 2      | 3     | No they didn't                                | No they didn't                                 | No they didn't              | No they didn't    | yes they did                       |
| 1      | 5     |   |  |                             |                   | "I wish I could speak spanish"     |
| 1      | 5     | White crackers                                | Nigger   |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 5     | Yes   |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 1      | 5     | They don't like white                         |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 5     |   |  |                             | The color of skin |                                    |
| 2      | 5     | retard, edeight, stupid                       |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 5     | Were crackers                                 |  |                             |                   |                                    |
| 2      | 5     | yes, they're rich                             | yes, about their color                         | No                          | yes, their color  | yes, that they talk weird          |
| 2      | 5     | I've heard people say they hate white people. | I've heard people say they hate them.          |                             |                   |                                    |

**Table C.3 (Continued): Table of student survey responses on words they have heard about various groups.**

| School | Grade | Whites                           | Blacks                                    | Migrants                               | Latinos  | Spanish speakers            |
|--------|-------|----------------------------------|---|--|--|-----------------------------|
| 2      | 5     |                                  | I heard they look weird                   |  | I heard that they should not be at school but in the field |                             |
| 2      | 5     | whatecraker                      | Nigersnershy                              |  | Ugly   | ugly stupid                 |
| 2      | 5     |                                  | many people made fun of African americans |  | some people said their dumb.                               |                             |
| 2      | 5     | ale gay someone said that        |   |  |  |                             |
| 2      | 5     |                                  |   |  | Yes were are stupid  |                             |
| 2      | 5     |                                  |   |  |  | People call them the N word |
| 2      | 5     | get everything                   | are really dumb                           |  | are stupid   |                             |
| 2      | 5     |                                  | say bad words                             |  |  |                             |
| 2      | 5     | Bad words                        |   |  |  |                             |
| 2      | 5     | They say white people are stupid |   | people say hispanics are poor and dumb |  |                             |

## APPENDIX D.1: Interview Questions for Parents (English)

### **Interview questions for parents (English)\***

1. How many children do you have?
  2. Do they go to school in Central? Do they attend other schools for parts of the year?
  3. Tell me about your child's school. What do you think about your child's school? What school do they attend? What is your child's favorite class? Who is their favorite teacher? Why? Tell me about them.
  4. What do you and other adults in the household do for work? Tell me about it. How many hours do you/other household adults work? Is anyone involved in agricultural work? Migrant work?
  5. What languages are spoken in the home? What language do you use most often to communicate with your child?
  6. Do you help your child with homework? Language homework? Tell me about that.
  7. Has your child ever had any problems in school?
  8. Do you recall any language-related issues/problems arising in your child's education/class?
  9. Tell me about your child's class. Have you volunteered at your child's school? What languages are spoken by students at school?
  10. Do you think that children in Central are receiving a good education? Would you say that your child receives an equal quality of education compared to other children?
  11. Have you ever gotten into an argument or a discussion with another parent, teacher, or school representative about your child? What happened? Did language/racism have anything to do with it?
  12. Do you ever feel judged because of your race/ethnicity/language by other parents, teachers, or community members?
  13. Does your child participate in many field trips?
  14. How is your child performing academically?
  15. What have you and your child discussed regarding race, ethnicity, and language? Do you ever talk about heritage/ethnic pride?
  16. Do you feel that you have to cope with racial/ethnic/language difference in your child's schooling? Tell me about this.
  17. What sorts of traditions/holidays are important to you? Have you ever discussed them with other parents or people at your child's school? How did that go?
  18. What do you think about people/children/students who are undocumented? Tell me your views on this. How might this impact an individual's life in Central?
  19. What else would you like to share with me regarding your child's schooling/language/friends/identity/issues of race and ethnicity/culture?
- \*Other related follow-up questions to be used/added as they become relevant during interviews.

## APPENDIX D.2: Interview Questions for Parents (Spanish)

### **Preguntas de la entrevista para los padres (Español)\***

1. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene?
  2. ¿Van a la escuela en el condado de Central? ¿Asisten a otras escuelas en otras épocas del año?
  3. Hábleme de la escuela de su hijo. ¿Qué piensa usted acerca de la escuela de su hijo? ¿A qué escuela asisten? ¿Qué es la clase favorita de su hijo? ¿Quién es su maestro favorito? ¿Por qué? Háblame de ellos.
  4. ¿Qué hace usted y otros adultos en su hogar en el trabajo? Hábleme sobre su trabajo. ¿Cuántas horas trabaja? ¿Hay en su hogar alguna persona que trabaja en labores agrícolas? ¿El trabajo es temporal?
  5. ¿Qué idiomas se hablan en el hogar? ¿En qué idioma se comunica más a menudo con su hijo?
  6. ¿Ayuda a su hijo con la tarea? ¿Le ayuda con la tarea de idioma? Hábleme de eso.
  7. ¿Su hijo ha tenido problemas en la escuela?
  8. ¿Recuerda algún tema/problema relacionados con el lenguaje que se plantean en la educación/clase de su hijo?
  9. Hábleme de la clase de su hijo. ¿Ha sido voluntario en la escuela de su hijo? ¿Qué idiomas se hablan para los estudiantes en la escuela?
  10. ¿Cree usted que los niños de Central están recibiendo una buena educación? ¿Diría usted que su hijo recibe una calidad igual de la educación en comparación con otros niños?
  11. ¿Alguna vez ha tenido una discusión o un problema con otro padre, maestro o representante de la escuela de su hijo? ¿Qué pasó? ¿Tuvo que ver el lenguaje/racismo algo con el problema?
  12. ¿Alguna vez se ha sentido juzgado por su raza/etnia/lengua por otros padres, maestros o miembros de la comunidad?
  13. ¿Su hijo participa en paseos o excursiones de estudios?
  14. ¿Cómo le va a su hijo académicamente?
  15. ¿Qué ha hablado usted y su hijo con respecto a la raza, la etnia y el idioma? ¿Alguna vez ha hablado de su herencia y tradiciones y orgullo étnico?
  16. ¿Usted siente que tiene que enfrentar la diferencia racial/étnico/lingüística en la educación de su hijo? ¿Cómo le hace frente?
  17. ¿Qué tipo de tradiciones son importantes para usted? ¿Alguna vez las ha analizado con los otros padres o las personas en la escuela de su hijo? ¿Cómo fue?
  18. ¿Qué piensa usted acerca de las personas/niños/estudiantes indocumentados? Dígame su opinión sobre esto. ¿Cómo podría esto impactar la vida de un individuo en Central?
  19. ¿Qué más le gustaría compartir conmigo con respecto a la enseñanza/idioma/amigos/identidad/cuestiones de raza y etnia/cultura de su hijo?
- \* Otras preguntas de seguimiento relacionadas podrán ser utilizados/añadidas a medida que sean relevantes durante las entrevistas.

### APPENDIX D.3: Interview Questions for Teachers and Staff (English)

#### **Interview questions for teachers and staff (English)\***

1. Tell me about your career in education. What is your job title? For how long have you been teaching? What grades have you taught? Have you taught anywhere else besides Central? How long have you been teaching in Central? Tell me about your typical day. What are some atypical things that have happened?
2. What things do you like/dislike about teaching/doing this job in general? In Central?
3. Tell me about your school. What is it known for? What are some challenges it faces? What are the best things about it? Do you know of any plans to improve any issues?
4. Tell me about your students. How has the student body changed since you've been teaching? What are your students like?
5. Do the students you work with speak multiple languages? What languages?
6. How many languages do you speak? What is your primary language? What language do you speak at home?
7. What sorts of activities do you use (to teach language)? What subjects/languages do you teach?
8. What are your philosophies about teaching language/your subject? What sorts of goals do you have for learning outcomes?
9. Tell me about the curriculum you use to teach language/your subject? How was that decided on? Who decides what is used? What was used in the past? What do you think about it?
10. Have you ever had a language-related problem in your class? What happened? What was the outcome?
11. How often do you communicate with parents? Do you have any problems doing so? Are language differences ever an issue?
12. What kinds of kids usually work together? Do they gravitate toward the same gender?
13. Is language ability (Spanish or English language skills) ever used as a requirement to participate in activities? Do language skills impact access to resources?
14. What types of things do you share with your students about the importance of learning language? English? Spanish?
15. Have you ever noticed any discussions or fights about language/language use/bilingualism/Spanish (in your classroom)? Tell me about them.
16. If issues have arisen due to language, how have you dealt with them? How have students responded when these arose? Were parents/migrant advocate/teachers/others ever involved?
17. Do you recall any class discussions about race/ethnicity/heritage? How did they go? Do you attempt to discuss this in your classes? When teaching [history], do issues or race/ethnicity/heritage come up in class?

\*Other related follow-up questions to be used/added as they become relevant during interviews.

## **APPENDIX D.4: Interview Questions for Principals and Personnel (English)**

### **Interview questions for principals and personnel (English)\***

1. Tell me about your career in education. What is your job title? How long have you been doing this? Have you worked in other school districts?
2. Tell me about your school in general. What are some unique things about it? What is it known for? What are some of its challenges? What things are you focusing on improving/changing? What are the best things about it?
3. What sorts of concerns do people bring to your office? What do parents complain about?
4. How has this school changed in the time you've been here?
5. What languages do you speak?
6. Do you communicate a lot with parents?
7. Tell me about the students at this school.

\*Other related follow-up questions to be used/added as they become relevant during interviews.

## APPENDIX E.1: Copyright Permission from Central Newspaper

Re: Permission to use Copyrighted Material - Campbell, Rebecca

Page 1 of 2

Re: Permission to use Copyrighted Material

Publisher (Herald Advocate) <publisher@theheraldadvocate.com>

Mon 11/16/2015 4:36 PM

To: Campbell, Rebecca <rcampbe7@usf.edu>;

Hey Rebecca,  
That will be fine. Feel free to use anything you wish for your dissertation.  
Thanks,  
Michael

On Mon, Nov 16, 2015 at 4:22 PM, Campbell, Rebecca <rcampbe7@usf.edu> wrote:

Hi Michael,

The articles and advertisement apology letter in the November 6<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> editions from last year that have to do with the racial remark made by a commissioner. I would like to include them in my dissertation publication as well as in a poster that I present at an American Anthropological Association conference. If used, it may just be small portions of some of the articles.

Than you kindly,

Rebecca

Rebecca Campbell, M.A., Doctoral Candidate

Graduate Research Associate, University of South Florida

Adjunct Instructor, Saint Leo Unviersity

[rcampbe7@usf.edu](mailto:rcampbe7@usf.edu)

From: Publisher (Herald Advocate) [mailto:[publisher@theheraldadvocate.com](mailto:publisher@theheraldadvocate.com)]

Sent: Monday, November 16, 2015 4:17 PM

To: Campbell, Rebecca <[rcampbe7@usf.edu](mailto:rcampbe7@usf.edu)>

Subject: Re: Permission to use Copyrighted Material

Hey Rebecca,

What material would you like to reuse and what would the purpose of the use be for?

Thanks,



Michael

On Mon, Nov 16, 2015 at 10:49 AM, Campbell, Rebecca <[rcampbe7@usf.edu](mailto:rcampbe7@usf.edu)> wrote:

Hello,

Can you tell me how I can go about seeking permission to reprint material found in your newspaper? Thank you kindly.

Rebecca

Rebecca Campbell, M.A., Doctoral Candidate

Graduate Research Associate, University of South Florida

Adjunct Instructor, Saint Leo University

[rcampbe7@usf.edu](mailto:rcampbe7@usf.edu)

--

Michael Kelly

The Herald-Advocate

[publisher@theheraldadvocate.com](mailto:publisher@theheraldadvocate.com)

[863-773-3255](tel:863-773-3255)

--

Michael Kelly

The Herald-Advocate

[publisher@theheraldadvocate.com](mailto:publisher@theheraldadvocate.com)

863-773-3255

## APPENDIX E.2: Copyright Permission from National Park Service

11/17/2016

RE: Request to use park photos from website in disserta... - Campbell, Rebecca

RE: Request to use park photos from website in dissertation

Robinson, Martha J. <Martha.J.Robinson@dep.state.fl.us>

Wed 12/16/2015 4:07 PM

To: Campbell, Rebecca <rcampbe7@usf.edu>; FSP.Feedback <FSP.Feedback@dep.state.fl.us>;

Rebecca,

You may use the photos found on our website for your dissertation. Please credit the Florida Department of Environmental Protection unless we credit someone else in the caption of the photo. We have written permission to share all photos on our website.

You may copy/paste or Save As to acquire the photos. Please let me know if you need higher resolution images. Sometimes, I have access to different but similar photos.

Sincerely,

Martha Robinson



**Martha J. Robinson**  
FL Department of Environmental Protection  
Land and Recreation  
Bureau of Operational Services  
[Martha.J.Robinson@dep.state.fl.us](mailto:Martha.J.Robinson@dep.state.fl.us)  
Office: 850.245.2072



Please take our [Customer Survey](#) to provide feedback on our services!  
Select "Office of Operations" for the Division with which you had contact.

---

**From:** Campbell, Rebecca [mailto:rcampbe7@usf.edu]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2015 2:19 PM  
**To:** FSP.Feedback <FSP.Feedback@dep.state.fl.us>  
**Subject:** Request to use park photos from website in dissertation

Hello,  
I am writing to request to use photos from your Paynes Creek State Park website (<https://www.floridastatenparks.org/photos/paynes-creek>) in my dissertation.  
Please advise,  
Rebecca Campbell

Rebecca Campbell, M. A., Doctoral Candidate

## APPENDIX F.1: USF Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

May 15, 2014

Rebecca Campbell  
Anthropology  
4202 E Fowler Ave, SOC 107  
Anthropology c/o Antoinette Jackson, PhD  
Tampa, FL 33620

RE: **Expedited Approval for Initial Review**

IRB#: Pro00016348

Title: Addressing the Impact of Demographic Changes in Schools in a Nonmetropolitan New Destination Pocket in Florida: How are Constructions of Race, Ethnicity, and Language Reified or Resisted?

**Study Approval Period: 5/15/2014 to 5/15/2015**

Dear Ms. Campbell:

On 5/15/2014, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents outlined below.

**Approved Item(s):**

**Protocol Document(s):**

[Campbell Dissertation Proposal 5-12-14.docx](#)

This study involving data pertaining to children falls under 45 CFR 46.404 – Research not involving greater than minimal risk.

*(Please submit an Amendment when letters from the individual schools have been received).*

[ENGLISH Adult IC minimal risk.docx.pdf](#)

[ENGLISH Parental Permission Minimal Risk.docx.pdf](#)

[SPANISH Adult IC minimal risk.docx.pdf](#)

[SPANISH Parental Permission Minimal Risk.docx.pdf](#)

Child Verbal Assent Spanish (not stamped)

Child Verbal Assent English (not stamped)

\*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s).

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,



Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Vice Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board

## APPENDIX F.2: Informed Consent Form (English)-County Name Redacted



### **Informed Consent to Participate in Research Information to Consider Before Taking Part in this Research Study**

#### **IRB Study # 16348**

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You are being asked to take part in a research study. Research studies include only people who choose to take part. This document is called an informed consent form. Please read this information carefully and take your time making your decision. Ask the researcher or study staff to discuss this consent form with you, please ask him/her to explain any words or information you do not clearly understand. We encourage you to talk with your family and friends before you decide to take part in this research study. The nature of the study, risks, inconveniences, discomforts, and other important information about the study are listed below.

We are asking you to take part in a research study called:

#### **How Demographic Changes in a School in Florida Impact Race, Ethnicity, and Language Constructions**

The person who is in charge of this research study is Rebecca Campbell. This person is called the Principal Investigator. However, other research staff may be involved and can act on behalf of the person in charge. She is being guided in this research by Dr. Antoinette Jackson.

The research will be conducted within the [REDACTED] County School District and county.

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#### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to:

- Understand what schooling is like for various people in a context where the county's ethnic population makeup has changed significantly over the last 40 years.
- Rebecca Campbell is a Doctoral Candidate in anthropology, which means a student is conducting this study.

## **Study Procedures**

If you take part in this study, you will be asked to:

- Complete an interview, survey, focus group, and/or your normal behavior which will be observed. These activities will be less than one hour long.
- Participate in the above activities at least one or more times.
- The number of visits between you and the researcher is up to you; there may be between one and hour-long ten visits.
- These visits will take place in a normal place you frequent, such as your school, home, office, or local store (for example, a coffee shop).
- These visits may be audio or video recorded, you will always be informed of this at the beginning of the visit and are free to agree or refuse recording. No one else will have access to these recordings and the information gathered, as well as your identity, will be confidential. The tapes will be maintained for no less than 5 years. When the time comes, the material on them will be deleted.

## **Total Number of Participants**

About 265 individuals will take part in this study in ██████ County.

## **Alternatives**

You do not have to participate in this research study.

## **Benefits**

We are unsure if you will receive any benefits by taking part in this research study.

## **Risks or Discomfort**

This research is considered to be minimal risk. That means that the risks associated with this study are the same as what you face every day. There are no known additional risks to those who take part in this study.

## **Compensation**

You will receive no payment or other compensation for taking part in this study.

## **Cost**

There will be no additional costs to you as a result of being in this study.

## **Privacy and Confidentiality**

We will keep your study records private and confidential. Certain people may need to see your

study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are:

The research team, including the Principal Investigator and the Co-PI.

Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study. For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records. This is done to make sure that we are doing the study in the right way. They also need to make sure that we are protecting your rights and your safety.

Any agency of the federal, state, or local government that regulates this research. This includes the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP).

The USF Institutional Review Board (IRB) and its related staff who have oversight responsibilities for this study, staff in the USF Office of Research and Innovation, USF Division of Research Integrity and Compliance, and other USF offices who oversee this research.

We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not include your name. We will not publish anything that would let people know who you are.

### **Voluntary Participation / Withdrawal**

You should only take part in this study if you want to volunteer. You should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study. You are free to participate in this research or withdraw at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits you are entitled to receive if you stop taking part in this study.

### **You can get the answers to your questions, concerns, or complaints**

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, or experience an adverse event or unanticipated problem, call Rebecca Campbell at (352) 260-1789.

If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, general questions, or have complaints, concerns or issues you want to discuss with someone outside the research, call the USF IRB at (813) 974-5638.

## Consent to Take Part in this Research Study

It is up to you to decide whether you want to take part in this study. If you want to take part, please sign the form, if the following statements are true.

**I freely give my consent to take part in this study and authorize that my information as agreed above, be collected/disclosed in this study.** I understand that by signing this form I am agreeing to take part in research. I have received a copy of this form to take with me.

---

Signature of Person Taking Part in Study

---

Date

---

Printed Name of Person Taking Part in Study

## Statement of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

I have carefully explained to the person taking part in the study what he or she can expect from their participation. I hereby certify that when this person signs this form, to the best of my knowledge, he/ she understands:

- What the study is about;
- What procedures will be used;
- What the potential benefits might be; and
- What the known risks might be.

I can confirm that this research subject speaks the language that was used to explain this research and is receiving an informed consent form in the appropriate language. Additionally, this subject reads well enough to understand this document or, if not, this person is able to hear and understand when the form is read to him or her. This subject does not have a medical/psychological problem that would compromise comprehension and therefore makes it hard to understand what is being explained and can, therefore, give legally effective informed consent. This subject is not under any type of anesthesia or analgesic that may cloud their judgment or make it hard to understand what is being explained and, therefore, can be considered competent to give informed consent.

---

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

---

Date

---

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent



## APPENDIX F.3: Informed Consent Form (Spanish)-County Name Redacted



### Consentimiento informado para participar en la investigación

### Información a tener en cuenta antes de tomar parte en este estudio de investigación

IRB Estudio # 16348

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Se le pide a participar en un estudio de investigación. Los estudios de investigación incluyen sólo las personas que decidan participar. Este documento se llama un formulario de consentimiento informado. Por favor, lea esta información cuidadosamente y tómese su tiempo de tomar su decisión. Pregúntale al investigador o personal del estudio para hablar de este formulario de consentimiento con usted, por favor pedirle/ella que le explique cualquier palabra o información que no entienda con claridad. Le animamos a que hable con su familia y amigos antes de decidirse a tomar parte en este estudio de investigación. La naturaleza del estudio, los riesgos, molestias, incomodidades, y otra información importante acerca del estudio se enumeran a continuación.

Le estamos pidiendo a participar en un estudio de investigación llamado:

#### **Cómo los cambios demográficos en una escuela en Florida Impacto Construcciones de Raza, Etnia y Idiomas**

La persona que está a cargo de este estudio de investigación es Rebeca Campbell. Esta persona se llama el investigador principal. Sin embargo, otros miembros del personal de investigación puede ser compleja y puede actuar en nombre de la persona a cargo. Ella está siendo guiado en esta investigación por el Dr. Antonieta Jackson.

La investigación se llevará a cabo en el Distrito Escolar del Condado de [REDACTED] y el condado.

---

## **Por qué se realiza esta investigación?**

El propósito de este estudio es averiguar lo que la escolarización es como para varias personas en un contexto en el maquillaje de la población étnica del condado ha cambiado significativamente en los últimos 40 años.

## **Procedimientos del Estudio**

Si usted participa en este estudio, se le pedirá que:

- Completar una entrevista, encuestas, grupos de enfoque y / o de su comportamiento normal que se observa. Estas actividades estarán a menos de una hora de duración.
- Participar en las actividades antes mencionadas, al menos, una o más veces.
- El número de visitas entre usted y el investigador depende de usted, puede haber entre una y una hora de duración de diez visitas.
- Estas visitas se llevarán a cabo en un lugar normal, usted frecuenta, como su escuela, el hogar, oficina o tienda local (por ejemplo, una tienda de café).
- Estas visitas pueden ser de audio o de vídeo grabada, siempre se le informará de esto al comienzo de la visita y es libre de aceptar o negarse a grabar. Nadie más tendrá acceso a estas grabaciones y la información recopilada, así como su identidad, será confidencial. Las cintas se mantendrán durante no menos de 5 años. Cuando llegue el momento, se eliminará el material en ellos.

## **Número total de participantes**

Cerca de 265 personas participarán en este estudio en el condado de [REDACTED].

## **Alternativas**

Usted no tiene que participar en este estudio de investigación.

## **Beneficios**

No estamos seguros si va a recibir ningún beneficio por su participación en este estudio de investigación.

## **Los riesgos o molestias**

Esta investigación se considera que es un riesgo mínimo. Eso significa que los riesgos asociados con este estudio son los mismos que lo que se enfrenta cada día. No hay riesgos adicionales conocidos a los que participan en este estudio.

## **Compensación**

Usted no recibirá ningún pago u otra compensación por participar en este estudio.

## **Costo**

No habrá costos adicionales para usted como resultado de participar en este estudio.

## **Privacidad y confidencialidad**

Vamos a mantener sus registros del estudio privado y confidencial. Algunas personas pueden necesitar ver sus registros del estudio . Por ley, cualquier persona que mira su expediente debe mantenerlos completamente confidencial. Las únicas personas que tendrán permiso para ver estos registros son los siguientes:

- El equipo de investigación, incluido el Investigador Principal y Co- PI.
- Gubernamentales y universitarios Ciertas personas que necesitan conocer más sobre el estudio. Por ejemplo, los individuos que proveen una supervisión en este estudio pueden tener que ver sus registros. Esto se hace para asegurarse de que estamos haciendo el estudio de la manera correcta. Ellos también tienen que asegurarse de que estamos protegiendo sus derechos y su seguridad.
- Cualquier agencia del gobierno federal, estatal, o local que regula esta investigación. Esto incluye el Departamento de Salud y Servicios Humanos (DHHS) y la Oficina de Protección de la Investigación Humana (OHRP) .
- La Junta de Revisión Institucional de la USF (IRB) y su personal relacionado que tienen responsabilidades de supervisión para este estudio, el personal de la Oficina de USF Investigación e Innovación de la División de Integridad en la Investigación USF y Cumplimiento, y otras oficinas de USF que supervisan esta investigación.

Podemos publicar lo que aprendemos de este estudio. Si lo hacemos, no vamos a incluir su nombre . No vamos a publicar nada que la gente sepa quién eres.

## **Participación voluntaria/Retiro**

Sólo debe tomar parte en este estudio si quieres ser voluntario. Usted no debe sentir que no hay ninguna presión para tomar parte en el estudio. Usted es libre de participar en esta investigación o de retirarse en cualquier momento. No habrá sanción o pérdida de beneficios que tienen derecho a recibir si deja de tomar parte en este estudio.

## **Usted puede obtener las respuestas a sus preguntas, inquietudes o quejas.**

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, duda o queja sobre este estudio, o la experiencia de un evento adverso o problema no anticipado, llame a Rebecca Campbell al (352) 260-1789. Hablo español pero no perfecto.

Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca de los derechos de su hijo, preguntas generales, quejas o problemas como una persona que toma parte en este estudio, llame a la USF IRB al (813) 974-5638.

## El consentimiento para participar en este estudio de investigación

Depende de usted decidir si desea participar en este estudio. Si desea participar, por favor firme el formulario, si las siguientes afirmaciones son verdaderas.

**Le doy libremente mi consentimiento para participar en este estudio y autorizo que mi información según lo acordado anteriormente, recoger/divulgada en este estudio.** Yo entiendo que al firmar esta forma estoy de acuerdo a participar en la investigación. He recibido una copia de este formulario para llevar conmigo.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma de la persona que participa en el estudio

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre de la persona que participaban en el Estudio

### Declaración de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado

Le he explicado cuidadosamente a los padres del niño que toma parte en el estudio lo que él o ella puede esperar de la participación de su hijo. Por la presente certifico que cuando esta persona firma este formulario, a lo mejor de mi conocimiento, él/ella entiende:

- Lo que el estudio está a punto;
- Qué se utilizarán procedimientos de investigación;
- Cuáles son los beneficios potenciales podrían ser, y
- Cuáles son los riesgos conocidos que sean.

Puedo confirmar que este tema de investigación habla el idioma que se utilizó para explicar esta investigación y está recibiendo un consentimiento informado en el idioma correspondiente. Además, este tema se lee bastante bien como para entender este documento o , si no, esta persona es capaz de escuchar y entender cuando el formulario se lee para él o ella. Los padres firmar este formulario no tiene un problema médico / psicológico que pueda comprometer la comprensión y , por tanto, hace que sea difícil de entender lo que se explica y se puede , por lo tanto , dar su consentimiento informado jurídicamente eficaz. Los padres firmar este formulario no está bajo ningún tipo de anestesia o analgésicos que pueden nublar su juicio o hacer que sea difícil de entender lo que se está explicando y, por tanto, puede considerarse competente para dar permiso para que su hijo participe en este estudio de investigación.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado

## APPENDIX F.4: Parental Permission Form (English)-County Name Redacted



### Parental Permission to Participate in Research Involving Minimal Risk

Information for parents to consider before allowing their child to take part in this research study

IRB Study # 16348

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The following information is being presented to help you and your child decide whether or not your child wishes to be a part of a research study. Please read this information carefully. If you have any questions or if you do not understand the information, we encourage you to ask the research.

We are asking you to allow your child to take part in a research study called:

#### How Demographic Changes in a School in Florida Impact Race, Ethnicity, and Language Constructions

The person who is in charge of this research study is Rebecca Campbell. This person is called the Principal Investigator. However, other research staff may be involved and can act on behalf of the person in charge. She is being guided in this research by Dr. Antoinette Jackson.

The research will be conducted within the [REDACTED] County School District and county.

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#### Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this study is to find out what schooling is like for various people in a context where the county's ethnic population makeup has changed significantly over the last 40 years.

## **Why is your child being asked to take part?**

We are asking your child to take part in this research study because your child attends school in a county where the ethnic population makeup has changed significantly over the last 40 years. We want to find out what schooling is like in this district due to the population change.

## **Should your child take part in this study?**

This informed consent form tells you about this research study. You can decide if you want your child to take part in it. This form explains:

- Why this study is being done.
- What will happen during this study and what your child will need to do.
- Whether there is any chance your child might experience potential benefits from being in the study.
- The risks of having problems because your child is in this study.

## **Before you decide:**

Read this form.

Have a friend or family member read it.

Talk about this study with the person in charge of the study or the person explaining the study. You can have someone with you when you talk about the study.

Talk it over with someone you trust.

Find out what the study is about.

You may have questions this form does not answer. You do not have to guess at things you don't understand. If you have questions, ask the person in charge of the study or study staff as you go along. Ask them to explain things in a way you can understand.

Take your time to think about it.

The decision to provide permission to allow your child to participate in the research study is up to you. If you choose to let your child be in the study, then you should sign this form. If you do not want your child to take part in this study, you should not sign the form.

## **What will happen during this study?**

Your child will be asked to spend about one school year (2014-2015) in this study. The researcher will observe and talk with elementary school students in different classrooms during this school year. In reality, the amount of time your child will spend in the study will be much less than the actual school year. During the study, the researcher may observe your child's class and ask your child questions related to this research.

A study visit is one your child will have with the person in charge of the study or study staff. Your child will need to come for about 6 study visits in all. Most study visits will take 15 minutes and will take place at school during normal school hours. They will take place in the school classroom or another secure room to ensure confidentiality. During these visits, the researcher will talk with the student one on one about what their daily school life is like. All of

these visits may be audio or video recorded, but you are free to agree to this or refuse for your child to be recorded.

### **How many other people will take part?**

About 265 individuals will take part in this study in ██████ County.

### **What other choices do you have if you decide not to let your child to take part?**

If you decide not to let your child take part in this study, that is okay. You do not have to participate in this research study.

### **Will your child be compensated for taking part in this study?**

You will receive no payment or other compensation for taking part in this study.

### **What will it cost you to let your child take part in this study?**

There will be no additional costs to you as a result of being in this study.

### **What are the potential benefits to your child if you let him/her take part in this study?**

We do not know if your child will gain any benefits by taking part in this study.

### **What are the risks if your child takes part in this study?**

There are no known risks to those who take part in this study.

### **Privacy and Confidentiality**

We will keep your study records private and confidential. Certain people may need to see your study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are:

The research team, including the Principal Investigator and the Co-PI.

Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study. For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records. This is done to make sure that we are doing the study in the right way. They also need to make sure that we are protecting your rights and your safety.

Any agency of the federal, state, or local government that regulates this research. This includes the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP).

The USF Institutional Review Board (IRB) and its related staff who have oversight responsibilities for this study, staff in the USF Office of Research and Innovation, USF Division of Research Integrity and Compliance, and other USF offices who oversee this research.

We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not include your name. We

will not publish anything that would let people know who you are.

### **What happens if you decide not to let your child take part in this study?**

You should only let your child take part in this study if both of you want to. You or child should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study to please the study investigator or the research staff.

#### **If you decide not to let your child take part:**

Your child will not be in trouble or lose any rights he/she would normally have.

Your child will still get the same services he/she would normally have.

**You can decide after signing this informed consent form that you no longer want your child to take part in this study.** You can decide you want your child to stop taking part in the study for any reason at any time. If you decide you want your child to stop taking part in the study, tell the study staff as soon as you can.

#### **You can get the answers to your questions, concerns, or complaints.**

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, or experience an adverse event or unanticipated problem, call Rebecca Campbell at (352) 260-1789.

If you have questions about your child's rights, general questions, complaints, or issues as a person taking part in this study, call the USF IRB at (813) 974-5638.

### **Consent for My Child to Participate in this Research Study**

It is up to you to decide whether you want your child to take part in this study. If you want your child to take part, please read the statements below and sign the form if the statements are true.

**I freely give my consent to let my child take part in this study.** I understand that by signing this form I am agreeing to let my child take part in research. I have received a copy of this form to take with me.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Parent of Child Taking Part in Study

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name of Parent of Child Taking Part in Study

Please check below to indicate if the researcher may record images and audio of your child. Recordings/photos will be used only for research purposes.

- I approve of my child being photographed.
- I approve of my child being audio recorded.
- I approve of my child being video recorded.
- I approve of **all** of the above.
- I approve of **none** of the above.

### **Statement of Person Obtaining Informed Consent**

I have carefully explained to the parent of the child taking part in the study what he or she can



expect from their child's participation. I hereby certify that when this person signs this form, to the best of my knowledge, he/she understands:

- What the study is about;
- What procedures will be used;
- What the potential benefits might be; and
- What the known risks might be.

I can confirm that this research subject speaks the language that was used to explain this research and is receiving an informed consent form in the appropriate language. Additionally, this subject reads well enough to understand this document or, if not, this person is able to hear and understand when the form is read to him or her. The parent signing this form does not have a medical/psychological problem that would compromise comprehension and therefore makes it hard to understand what is being explained and can, therefore, give legally effective informed consent. The parent signing this form is not under any type of anesthesia or analgesic that may cloud their judgment or make it hard to understand what is being explained and, therefore, can be considered competent to give permission to allow their child to participate in this research study.

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Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

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Date

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Printed Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

## APPENDIX F.5: Parental Permission Form (English)-County Name Redacted



### **Permiso de los padres para participar por un niño en la investigación que incide riesgo mínimo**

**Información para los padres a considerar antes de permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio de investigación**

**IRB Estudio # 16348**

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La siguiente información se presenta para ayudar a que usted y su hijo deciden si su hijo quiere ser parte de un estudio de investigación. Por favor, lea esta información cuidadosamente. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta o si usted no entiende la información, te animamos a pedir la investigación.

Le estamos pidiendo a permitir que su hijo participe en un estudio de investigación llamado: **Cómo los cambios demográficos en una escuela en Florida Impacto Construcciones de Raza, Etnia y Idiomas**

La persona que está a cargo de este estudio de investigación es Rebeca Campbell. Esta persona se llama la investigadora principal. Sin embargo, otros miembros del personal de investigación puede ser compleja y puede actuar en nombre de la persona a cargo. Ella está siendo guiado en esta investigación por la Doctora Antonieta Jackson.

La investigación se llevará a cabo en el Distrito Escolar del Condado de [REDACTED] y el condado.

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### **¿Por qué se realiza esta investigación?**

El propósito de este estudio es averiguar lo que la escolarización es como para varias personas en un contexto en el maquillaje de la población étnica del condado ha cambiado significativamente en los últimos 40 años.

## **¿Por qué su hijo le está pidiendo a participar?**

Estamos pidiendo a su hijo a participar en este estudio de investigación porque su hijo asiste a la escuela en un condado donde la composición étnica de la población ha cambiado significativamente en los últimos 40 años. Queremos saber lo que la escolarización es como en este distrito debido a la variación de la población.

## **¿Si su hijo participar en este estudio?**

Este formulario de consentimiento informado le informa sobre este estudio de investigación. Usted puede decidir si desea que su hijo participe en él. Este formulario explica:

- Por qué se está haciendo este estudio.
- Qué pasará durante este estudio y lo que su hijo tendrá que hacer.
- Si hay alguna posibilidad de que su hijo puede experimentar los beneficios potenciales de participar en el estudio.
- Los riesgos de tener debido a que su hijo se encuentra en este estudio.

### **Antes de decidir:**

- Lea este formulario.
- Tener un amigo o miembro de la familia leerlo.
- Hable acerca de este estudio con la persona a cargo del estudio o de la persona que explica el estudio. Usted puede tener a alguien con usted cuando usted habla sobre el estudio.
- Habla de ello con alguien de confianza.
- Averigüe qué se trata el estudio.
- Usted puede tener preguntas de este formulario no responde. Usted no tiene que adivinar las cosas que usted no entiende. Si tiene alguna pregunta, pida a la persona a cargo del estudio o estudio personal a medida que avanza. Pídales que expliquen las cosas de una manera que usted pueda comprender.
- Tómese su tiempo para pensar en ello.

La decisión de proporcionar el permiso para que su hijo participe en el estudio de investigación depende de usted. Si decide dejar que su hijo esté en el estudio, entonces usted debe firmar este formulario. Si usted no desea que su hijo participe en este estudio, no debe firmar el formulario.

## **¿Qué sucederá durante este estudio?**

Le pedirán a su hijo a pasar un año escolar (2014-2015) en este estudio. El investigador va a observar y hablar con los estudiantes de la escuela primaria en los diferentes salones de clase durante este año escolar. En realidad, la cantidad de tiempo que su hijo pasará en el estudio será mucho menor que el año escolar actual. Durante el estudio, el investigador puede observar la clase de su hijo y hágale preguntas relacionadas con esta investigación.

Una visita de estudio es uno que su hijo va a tener con la persona a cargo del estudio o el personal del estudio. Su hijo tendrá que entrar por cerca de 6 visitas de estudio en total. La mayoría de las visitas de estudio se llevará a 15 minutos y tendrán lugar en la escuela durante las horas normales de la escuela. Tendrán lugar en el aula de la escuela u otro ambiente seguro para

garantizar la confidencialidad. Durante estas visitas, el investigador va a hablar con el estudiante uno a uno acerca de lo que su vida diaria a la escuela es como. Todas estas visitas pueden ser de audio o de vídeo grabado, usted es libre de aceptar o rechazar esta para su hijo que va a grabar.

### **¿Cuántas otras personas tomarán parte?**

Cerca de 265 personas participarán en este estudio en el condado de [REDACTED].

### **¿Qué otras opciones tiene si decide no permitir que su hijo participe?**

Si usted decide no permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio, que está bien. Usted no tiene que participar en este estudio de investigación.

### **¿Su hijo se compensará por participar en este estudio?**

Usted no recibirá ningún pago u otra compensación por participar en este estudio.

### **¿Cuánto costará a dejar que su hijo participe en este estudio?**

No habrá costos adicionales para usted como resultado de participar en este estudio.

### **¿Cuáles son los beneficios potenciales para su hijo si usted deja que él/ella participa en este estudio?**

No sabemos si su hijo va a ganar ningún beneficio por participar en este estudio.

### **¿Cuáles son los riesgos si su hijo participa en este estudio?**

No hay riesgos conocidos para aquellos que toman parte en este estudio.

## **Privacidad y confidencialidad**

Vamos a mantener sus registros del estudio privado y confidencial. Algunas personas pueden necesitar ver sus registros del estudio. Por ley, cualquier persona que mira su expediente debe mantenerlos completamente confidencial. Las únicas personas que tendrán permiso para ver estos registros son los siguientes:

- El equipo de investigación, incluido el Investigador Principal y Co- PI.
- gubernamentales y universitarios Ciertas personas que necesitan conocer más sobre el estudio. Por ejemplo, los individuos que proveen una supervisión en este estudio pueden tener que ver sus registros. Esto se hace para asegurarse de que estamos haciendo el estudio de la manera correcta. Ellos también tienen que asegurarse de que estamos protegiendo sus derechos y su seguridad.
- Cualquier agencia del gobierno federal, estatal o local que regula esta investigación. Esto incluye el Departamento de Salud y Servicios Humanos (DHHS) y la Oficina de Protección de la Investigación Humana (OHRP).
- La Junta de Revisión Institucional de la USF (IRB) y su personal relacionado que tienen responsabilidades de supervisión para este estudio , el personal de la Oficina de USF de Investigación e Innovación de la División de Integridad en la Investigación USF y Cumplimiento, y otras oficinas de USF que supervisan esta investigación.

Podemos publicar lo que aprendemos de este estudio. Si lo hacemos, no vamos a incluir su nombre. No vamos a publicar nada que la gente sepa quién eres.

## ¿Qué sucede si usted decide no permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio?

Sólo se debe permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio si los dos quieren. Usted o el niño no debe sentir que no hay ninguna presión para tomar parte en el estudio para complacer al investigador del estudio o el personal de investigación.

### Si usted decide no permitir que su hijo tome parte:

- Su niño no se verá en problemas o perder cualquier derecho que él / ella normalmente tendría.
- Su hijo seguirá recibiendo los mismos servicios que él / ella normalmente tendría.

Usted puede decidir después de firmar este formulario de consentimiento informado que ya no quiere que su hijo participe en este estudio. Usted puede decidir que usted desea que su hijo deje de tomar parte en el estudio por cualquier razón en cualquier momento. Si decide que quiere que su hijo deje de tomar parte en el estudio, informe al personal del estudio tan pronto como sea posible.

### Usted puede obtener las respuestas a sus preguntas, inquietudes o quejas.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, duda o queja sobre este estudio, o la experiencia de un evento adverso o problema no anticipado, llame a Rebecca Campbell al (352) 260-1789. Hablo español pero no perfecto.

Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca de los derechos de su hijo, preguntas generales, quejas o problemas como una persona que toma parte en este estudio, llame a la USF IRB al (813) 974-5638.

### Consentimiento para que mi hijo participe en este estudio de investigación

Depende de usted decidir si desea que su hijo participe en este estudio. Si desea que su hijo participe, por favor, lea las siguientes declaraciones y firmar el formulario si las afirmaciones son verdaderas.

**Le doy libremente mi consentimiento para que mi hijo participe en este.** Yo entiendo que al firmar esta forma estoy de acuerdo con permitir que mi niño participe en la investigación. He recibido una copia de este formulario para llevar conmigo.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del padre del niño que toman parte en el estudio

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre del padre del niño que toman parte en el estudio

Por favor, marque con una X para indicar si el investigador puede grabar imágenes y audio de su hijo. Grabaciones/fotos serán utilizados únicamente para fines de investigación.

- Apruebo que mi hijo sea fotografiado.  
 Apruebo que mi hijo sea audio grabado.  
 Apruebo que mi hijo sea video grabado.  
 Apruebo todo lo anterior.  
 No Apruebo ninguno de los anteriores.

### **Declaración de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado**

Le he explicado cuidadosamente a los padres del niño que toma parte en el estudio lo que él o ella puede esperar de la participación de su hijo. Por la presente certifico que cuando esta persona firma este formulario, a lo mejor de mi conocimiento, él/ella entiende:

- Lo que el estudio está a punto;
- Qué se utilizarán procedimientos de investigación;
- Cuáles son los beneficios potenciales podrían ser, y
- Cuáles son los riesgos conocidos que sean.

Puedo confirmar que este tema de investigación habla el idioma que se utilizó para explicar esta investigación y está recibiendo un consentimiento informado en el idioma correspondiente. Además, este tema se lee bastante bien como para entender este documento o, si no, esta persona es capaz de escuchar y entender cuando el formulario se lee para él o ella. Los padres firmar este formulario no tiene un problema médico / psicológico que pueda comprometer la comprensión y, por tanto, hace que sea difícil de entender lo que se explica y se puede, por lo tanto, dar su consentimiento informado jurídicamente eficaz. Los padres firmar este formulario no está bajo ningún tipo de anestesia o analgésicos que pueden nublar su juicio o hacer que sea difícil de entender lo que se está explicando y, por tanto, puede considerarse competente para dar permiso para que su hijo participe en este estudio de investigación.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento informado