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Understanding the Impact of Raciolinguistic Ideologies on the Educational Experiences of "Academically Promising" Mexican-origin Youth in Santa Ana, CA.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Chicana and Chicano Studies

by

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Understanding the Impacts of Raciolinguistic Ideologies on the Educational Experiences of "Academically Promising" Mexican-origin Youth in Santa Ana, CA.

Dedicated to María Guadalupe Hurtado-Zarate y Juan Zarate.

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the Impact of Raciolinguistic Ideologies on the Educational Experiences of "Academically Promising" Mexican-origin Youth in Santa Ana, CA.

In California, Latina/o/x youth make up more than half of the 2017-2018 K-12 student population. While recent ethnographic studies of Latina/o/x high school youth highlight the multiple ways this student population continues to underperform and teachers and school personnel continue to scrutinize youth for speaking "improper" or "mashed" forms of Spanish and English, my dissertation adds to the growing body of literature that contends that Latina/o/x youth are in fact sophisticated language users. Indeed, bilingual education in California has a politicized standing and often raises assimilative questions and concerns about immigrant children learning English.

My dissertation analyzes how raciolinguistic ideologies of Spanish-language influence the educational experiences and linguistic practices of "academically promising" Mexican-origin high school youth in Santa Ana, California. Santa Ana, located 32 miles from Los Angeles, houses one of the highest proportions of working class, immigrant Latina/o/x families in the state. This project is locally situated and contextualized, paying close attention to the city's history of segregation that sediment within local and contemporary understandings of race and education in working class communities. The student participants were all enrolled in the Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) program – a college readiness program designed to help students develop the skills they need to be successful in college.

My research largely focuses on the "Proposition 227" generation, or students who were never offered an opportunity to maintain their home language despite attending overwhelmingly Mexican-dominant schools. In order to understand how learning sites can function as spaces for socialization as well as sites of contestation, an *engaged school ethnography* composed chiefly of Mexican, immigrant, and working-class students demonstrates the resiliency of Latina/o/x youth. My ethnographic approach and research design uncover how knowledge of and access to Spanish language impacts Latina/o/x youth. This is especially important as the students are what I am referring to as the Proposition 227 generation; they are those who have had their entire K-12 education influenced by English-only policies. My findings reveal how validating Latina/o/x student engagement and funds of knowledge within educational settings, especially in relation to their linguistic repertoires and practices, can produce spaces and opportunities for students to contest oppressive assumptions about their native language. Students further develop navigational capital by connecting their linguistic abilities to their educational experiences. This research informs future discussions about critical pedagogies, English Language Learning programs, Latinx "push out" rates, and sociocultural linguistic justice.

Keywords: Latina/o/x youth education, raciolinguistics, U.S. language politics of Spanish, culturally sustaining pedagogies.

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References

Chapter I

Introduction

"Tienes que estudiar. La educación nadie te la quita"[1]
-Juan Zarate

As a first-generation Chicana from a Spanish-speaking, working-class, immigrant family, I acknowledge how various repertoires of knowledge can be developed in multiple learning spaces. My father, knowing nothing about the educational system in the U.S., always encouraged and valued education for his children. La educación se valora was instilled in me since I began my educational career. My parents knew that even if we were seen as "Other" in society due to our racial/ethnic and linguistic background, the education we acquired within academic settings could never be taken from us. They believed the foundation to their children achieving some kind of economic success and social acceptance began with U.S. schools. Like many immigrants, they believed U.S. school structures functioned as an "even playing field" for all children to make it in America (Gallo, 2018; Valenzuela, 1999). In U.S. institutions, however, a person's visual racial features and linguistic cues work together to racialize communities of color and impact their lived experiences (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1987; Baugh, 2000, 2003; Fergus, 2004; Omi & Winant, 2014; Rosa, 2019).

A common misconception upheld by white American society and educational systems about children of Mexican families is that they do not care about education (Gallo, 2018;

[1] Note on language: This is a bilingual project as the sources used and many quoted are in both English and Spanish. I do not italicize my Spanish, as Casillas (2014) writes, "in my opinion, this supports U.S.-based class, racial, and linguistic hierarchies, particularly in regard to Spanish." In a similar vein, I offer English-language translations in the footnotes to symbolically privilege both the bilingual reader and the Spanish text on the page. Translation: You need to study. No one can take away your education.

Pizarro, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999).[2] My personal educational experiences allowed me to see and feel how schools are structured around a belief that Mexican students are culturally disadvantaged to succeed educationally, with our "home" or native language serving as the core of the issue. There was always a distinctly felt yet unarticulated disconnect between who we were at home and who we were being molded to be at school. Recent ethnographic studies of Mexican students highlight the multiple ways in which this student population continues to struggle according to Eurocentric standards of education and learning (Flores-González, 2005; Pizarro, 2005; Suarez-Orozco, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). These studies attempt to identify, from school observations and from students themselves, why Latina/o/x students are perceived by institutions to disproportionately underperform competitively to white, middle and upper-class students. Schools seldom acknowledge how students come into school sites with an immense amount of knowledge and capital that is provided by their lived experiences outside of school (e.g., Freire, 1970, 2018; Giroux, 1988; González, 2006; Moll et al., 1992; Yosso, 2006). It is important to note that what is being learned in the classroom largely has an impact on the interactions inside and outside of that space (Freire, 1970, 2018; Lewis, 2001, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999). Therefore, the lack of a curriculum and approaches to teaching that are relevant to students' histories, culture, and languages largely influences the ways in which students position themselves in the world (Cabrera, Milem, Jaquette, & Marx, 2014; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Freire, 1970, 2018; Giroux, 2010). Research has shown that there is a dire need for culturally relevant/sustaining pedagogy within the classroom in order for all students to be academically successful and

[2] The majority of education research on the West Coast addresses primarily Mexicans populations, with some indigenous students from Mexico. East Coast education research focuses more on Puerto Rican and Dominican communities. This is in large part due to the immigration patterns of South American and Caribbean countries.

engaged in their education and communities around them (e.g., Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris; 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014; Wortham & Contreras, 2002). Utilizing culturally sustaining pedagogical (CSP) practices has been my commitment when working with students like myself, who are children within working-class, immigrant families.

SKILLS as Culturally Sustaining

The School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society (SKILLS) program based out of the University of California, Santa Barbara, is a program committed to culturally sustaining pedagogy and sociolinguistic justice. SKILLS was established in 2010 by an interdisciplinary collaborative team from the departments of Linguistics, Chicana/o Studies, and Education within that campus. The conception of this program originated from noticing the oppressive and unequal practices Latina/o/x students experience in school settings, particularly in their language use and acquisition (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2018). The program aims to have participants develop a co-learning environment and aid in creating a sense of pride in themselves and their language by challenging linguistic ideologies and unearthing linguistic histories.

> "SKILLS student-researchers explore and extend sociolinguistic concepts by carrying out empirical research and community action projects on such issues as youth linguistic practices, language in family life, language and culture in local settings, and language politics. At the same time, participants develop a deeper understanding of their own and others' linguistic heritage and expertise as language users while strengthening their academic skills and participating in mentoring relationships…" (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, p.9).

Through this inquiry-based approach and acknowledging the funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) that students bring into the classroom, they are seen as active knowledge holders and producers. The program sets up rigorous standards and curricula for the students, which they regularly meet and excel in regardless of being identified by their school as "academically deficient" (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016; 2018). The shift to viewing students of color as active holders and producers of knowledge is what has made the SKILLS program so beneficial to many students involved in it, including myself.

My participation in the SKILLS program spanned three years. I was a curriculum developer for a year and an instructor at a Santa Barbara High school for two years. My direct engagement with the program allowed me to see first-hand the benefits and impact that an approach like SKILLS has for Latina/o/x high school students. From my personal experience with Santa Barbara's Latina/o/x youth in a school with a large percent of white students, I was able to see how students gained a sense of pride in their cultural, racial and linguistic identities, even enacting their agency and having them create real sociolinguistic change within their community (see Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018 for examples). Students began to see their cultural selves, their families, and their linguistic abilities as meaningful to their learning and social development. I knew I needed to bring this back to my community, back home to students in Santa Ana.

Santa Ana

When most white people think of Orange County, California, they think of the beautiful beaches, the gated communities, and the wealth. They think of the images that media has painted for us from television shows like Fox's "The OC" and Bravo's "The Housewives of Orange County." And while these television images may be true for cities

with white, wealthy communities such as Laguna Niguel and Newport Beach in South Orange County, the largest cities in the county are actually the Mexican, working-class cities of Anaheim and Santa Ana. These cities are what I know as the *real* Orange County: the heart and strength of working-class immigrant people.

Santa Ana, located 32 miles from Los Angeles, houses one of the highest proportions of working class, immigrant Latina/o/x families in all of California. The California Census reports that over 78 percent of the population identify as being of Hispanic origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The majority of Latina/o/x population are of Mexican descent. In contrast to the wealth in South Orange County, 17 percent of Santa Ana residents live under the poverty line. Census Reporter calculates that of the estimated 335,000 people residing in Santa Ana, 38 percent identify as being foreign born; 79 percent of that population was born in Latin America (https://censusreporter.org/profiles/16000US0669000-santa-ana-ca). As of 2018, Santa Ana has 74 percent of children ages five through 17 reported to speak Spanish in the home, while 68 percent of adults 18 and over report Spanish in the home. In other words, the language of the community is Spanish.

The educational rates in Santa Ana reflect ongoing educational struggles among Mexican communities in California. City-wide between 2014 and 2018, 53 percent of the population had less than a high school degree, 22 percent graduated high school, 17 percent had some college experience, and only 7 percent had a bachelor's degree or higher (https://nces.ed.gov/Programs/Edge/ACSDashboard/0635310). Santa Ana Unified School District (SAUSD) is the seventh largest school district in all of California and the largest in Orange County (https://www.santa-ana.org/youth/schools). It is composed of 55 campuses, seven of them being public high schools. SAUSD schools are categorized as Title I, where at

least 40 percent of the students come from low-income families (https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=158). For the 2016-2017 academic school year, which was the year this research was conducted, SAUSD reported 54,907 students enrolled district wide. Out of those enrolled, 91 percent qualified for Free and Reduced-Price Meals (http://www.ed-data.org/district/Orange/Santa-Ana-Unified). The student body is primarily made up of "Hispanic/Latino" students, averaging about 79 percent of the student population. It is reported that about 60 percent of the student body are classified as English learners, the majority of whom speak Spanish. The term *English learners* refers to students whose first language or home language is not English (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). Most English learners, however, approximately 75 percent of them, were born in the U.S. and are actually quite bilingual in English and their home language (Martínez, 2018).

In 2010, the district was under fire for having three of its schools classified in the bottom 5 percent of lowest performing campuses in California, making them the three bottom campuses in all of Orange County (https://www.ocregister.com/2010/03/08/3-oc-schools-named-states-worst-performing/). The *OC Register*, the local newspaper, reported that many educators attributed having the lowest math and English proficiency scores on state testing to the schools having the highest concentrations of English learners and poverty levels of all county schools. The *OC Register* reports that each school has about half of all students classified as English learners, while three out of four students qualify for subsidized meals. One of these schools is the site for this research; Field High School (pseudonym).

Research Questions

Taking inspiration from Rosa (2019), my goal is to understand the historical and contemporary raciolinguistic construction of U.S. Latinas/os/xs as a socially constructed

"problem population" but also the everyday practices through which they contest, reimagine, and re-define racial and linguistic boundaries. This project explores personal, social, and academic perceptions of Spanish and Spanish-use among high school aged youth of Mexican-origin in Santa Ana. The research questions guiding this project are as follow:

1) How can implementing a SKILLS-inspired curriculum uncover the ways that raciolinguistic ideologies influence the perceptions and use of Spanish of "academically promising" Mexican-origin high school students at Field High School?
    a. How does this influence manifest itself throughout their *educational experiences*?
2) How do raciolinguistic ideologies influence *peer interactions* and *linguistic practices* among "academically promising" Mexican-origin high school students at Field High School?
3) How do raciolinguistic ideologies influence school structures and English-only policy implementation?
    a. How do participating students at Field High School understand and navigate these school structures and policies?

A Note on Terminology

Indeed, this dissertation valorizes linguistic variations, practices, and literacies from Latina/o/x communities residing in the U.S. Although students self-identified in distinctive ways such as Hispanic or Mexican-American (as discussed in Chapter II Student Profile section), their life trajectories were anchored by shared experiences of coming from Mexican origins, as they all report being of Mexican descent either by having grandparents, parents, or themselves being immigrants from Mexico. I use the term *Latina/o/x* when referencing the

overall population and literature that does not make ethnic distinctions among Latina/o/x groups. *Raciolinguistic ideologies* refers to the co-naturalization of language and race by highlighting their inextricable relationship and how they jointly structure the lived experiences of communities of color (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Rosa, 2019). The use of *academically promising* refers to the academic categorization of the student group in this research as being part of the Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) program, a college preparatory program. A discussion of both raciolinguistic ideologies and AVID as academically promising will come later.

As an alumna of Santa Ana Unified School District, I am fully aware of the disparity within educational opportunities for the district's students, especially when compared to the nearby affluent communities of Orange County. Economic and racial segregation structures the challenges of the educational system for working-class, immigrant students in my home community. These educational inequities stem from a historical legacy of education in California and Orange County that one cannot ignore. These racial, linguistic, and class disparities have long influenced the ways in which educational institutions function racially and linguistically today.

History of Education in California

Historically, the educational experiences of Mexican communities in the Southwest have been marked by inequality and discrimination, placing language at the center of many issues (Delgado-Bernal, 1999; González, 1994, 2013; Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1989; Pizarro, 2005; San Miguel, 1999; Suarez-Orozco, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). Spanish-use was a primary source for discrimination by viewing the linguistic difference within Mexican communities as a deficiency and social problem (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Hurtado &

Rodriguez, 1989; Sánchez, 1993; San Miguel, 1999). For Mexican children, American public schools were built on ideologies of inferiority about that population, acting as instruments of assimilation and as subtractive institutions (González, 1999; San Miguel, 1999). Further, the political/economic/educational trajectory of Spanish in the Southwest assert bilingualism as inferior and children who have Spanish as their home-language as intellectually handicapped, doomed for failure (Delgado Bernal, 1999; González, 2013; Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1989; Sánchez, 1993). In attempts to tackle the racial and linguistic "problems" of Mexicans, Americanization programs were created, primarily implemented through designated Mexican schools (González, 1997, 1999; San Miguel, 1999). The primary goal of 19th century Mexican schools was to spread Americanization by promoting "Anglo cultural purity, unification of the nation through establishment of a common culture and a common language, and maintenance of White political dominance" (San Miguel, 1999, p. 43). The nativist project of white America targeted the Spanish language in fear of its effects on political unity and hegemony (Lozano 2019). Since this time, schools were chosen as the public space in the Southwest to teach and standardize the English language at the expense of Spanish.

History of Spanish as "unAmerican"

English acquisition, Spanish erasure, and unequal educational opportunities have always been at the forefront of Mexican education. The California Constitution stated that all public institutions in 1879 must make English the "official language of the state" (San Miguel, 1999). As communities began to see and feel the disparities in educational opportunities, they began resisting.

Before schooling desegregation during the civil rights era, thousands of Mexican children in California were subjected to a supposed "separate but equal" education. Mexican classrooms were typically in barns or shacks with limited resources and unqualified instructors, notably inferior to Anglo classrooms (González, 1997). Specific to Orange County, California, the Mendez family was central to fighting against racial discrimination and ideas of "separate but equal" education. *Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County* (1946) was a class action lawsuit that represented five thousand Mexican American families that fought for school integration in four Orange County school districts, including Santa Ana (Blanco, 2010). These families argued that their children were being discriminated against and segregated into separate schools based on their national origin. Westminster School District argued that schools were segregated due to the "handicap" of language barriers and that non-English-speaking students should attend separate schools until they had acquired some proficiency in the English language. Again, language was at the core to justify discrimination and covert racial practices. The judge ruled in favor of the Mendez family and ruled the segregation to be unconstitutional, making this the first successful case to challenge the "separate but equal" doctrine in public school education. Although not commonly known, this case set legal precedent for the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case that ended racial segregation in public schools.

Bilingualism was seen as "unAmerican" and considered a deficit and an obstacle to learning therefore, there were no bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking students prior to the late 1960s (Delgado Bernal, 1999). Cases like *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946) served as a steppingstone for communities to demand more equitable education and resources. In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) and *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), federal law mandated that schools provide

English as a Second Language services for students (Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, 2010; Delgado Bernal, 1999). In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) the Supreme Court ruled that schools were responsible for providing language minority students (non-English speakers) equal and comprehensive access to academic curriculum (Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, 2010). Further, the court ruled that simply placing language minority students alongside native English-speaking peers did not constitute equality of educational opportunity. Therefore, schools were to identify students who do not speak English as their first language and implement services specifically designed to assist them in comprehending what is being taught to them. In *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), the Castañeda family filed a case against the Raymondville Independent School District in Texas for various acts of racial and ethnic discrimination. Specifically, the Castañedas claimed that the district failed to implement bilingual programs that would aid their children in overcoming the language barriers that prevented them from participating in equitable learning. The 1981 court decision ruled in favor of the Castañedas and schools were required to establish a three-part assessment for determining how bilingual education programs would be held responsible for meeting the requirements of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, which came about as a result of *Lau v. Nichols* (Castañeda v. Pickard, 1981). These court cases prompted federal law to promote equitable learning and linguistic opportunities for non-native English speakers to develop language skills and engage academically like native English speakers. These laws, however, did not prescribe a way to achieve this goal. It is in the authority of schools and school districts to identify ELLs, establish ESL programs, and implement curriculum (Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, 2010).

The efforts to make education more equitable for bilingual students only resulted in educational tracking and further inequity. Tracking was a way to identify abilities deemed important to educational systems by grouping students according to perceived abilities and merit (Harklau, 1994). This results in separate classrooms, separate instruction, and different curriculum. In attempts to streamline the education of students, tracking further segregates the experiences of non-English dominant students of color and continues to perpetuate inequality (Kanno & Kangas, 2014; Harklau, 1994; Ndura, 2004; Salazar, 2008). The main problem is that bilingualism in Latina/o/x communities is perceived by schools via a deficit-based perspective in which bilingualism is seen as a problem rather than a strength (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2014; Zentella, 2005). Deficit-based perspectives inform the way in which tracking of students is accompanied by labeling of students, marking a perceived deficiency that hinders their learning.

Language Politics in California

More than one in five people living in the U.S. speaks a language other than English at home, while more than one in 10 speaks Spanish (United States Census Bureau, 2017). In 2016, the United States Census Bureau reported that Spanish is by far the largest non-English language spoken at home by 40.5 million, or 13.3 percent of the population ages 5 and older (United States Census Bureau, 2017). Finally, 8.6 percent of the American population is considered limited English proficient, meaning they speak English "less than very well" (United States Census Bureau, 2017). These statistics are important to note as the majority of social and governmental functions are in English. Although the U.S. is currently the second largest Spanish speaking country with approximately 37.6 million speakers (Melendez, 2015). Even though Latinas/os/xs make up more than half of the K-12 student population,

Spanish maintains a racialized and classed within the U.S. imaginary (Hill 1998; Urciuoli 1996; Zentella 2002, 2007). Spanish has continuously shifted from being discouraged in school sites to defunding or banning most programs despite studies showing how bilingualism is indeed an asset (Delgado Bernal, 1999; González, 1999, 2013; San Miguel, 1999; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valdés, 2004). For decades, language has been at the core of the Latina/o/x educational experience. These laws largely set a precedent for future attitudes and ideologies developed around the Spanish language (Hill 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997).

The rise of the Latina/o/x population in California in the 20th century has been accompanied by legitimated democratic exclusions that directly target culture and language (Orellana, Ek, & Hernandez, 1999; Rosa, 2019; Suarez-Orozco, 2008; Zentella, 2002). In 1994, Proposition 187, also known as the Save our State initiative, targeted Mexican-origin communities by making unauthorized immigrant residents in the country without legal permission ineligible for public benefits, including education. Although voters passed 187, it was soon repealed and never enforced. The anti-immigrant sentiment was cemented in society and was at the forefront of other initiatives to come. The 1998 passage of California's Proposition 227, also known as the English Language in Public Schools Statute, targeted Mexican students and their families by emphasizing English proficiency and removing the Spanish language from pedagogical approaches (Fillmore, 2004; Gándara, 2005; Orellana, Ek, & Hernandez, 1999). This "English only" approach has largely affected the way in which current Latina/o/x students think about the Spanish language and their linguistic abilities (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018).

Through enforced policies like Proposition 227 in California, it is apparent that Spanish has continued to be viewed as a devalued resource that Latinas/os/xs possess. It is important to note however that not all Latinas/os/x speak Spanish or the same variety of it, but they are still largely influenced by widespread perceptions of it (e.g., Fought, 2006; Sánchez, 1987; Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 2002). Spanish has been assigned to a specific raced and classed set of speakers framed often as ignorant and uneducated (Fought, 2006; Hill, 1999; Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 2002). The stigmatization and racialization of Spanish has stripped linguistic capital from Latina/o/x communities (Zentella, 2002) and engages in what Anzaldúa (1987) refers to as "linguistic terrorism". This form of terrorism not only deems what is a "good" and "bad" language, but it creates a linguistic hierarchy and linguistic insecurities among its speakers (Anzaldúa, 1987; Ek, Sánchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 2002, 2003). Various research has shown, however, how youth's Spanish linguistic repertoire has assisted in creating multiple spaces of engagement, community, and accomplishment, demonstrating the linguistic capital of Spanish (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018; Gallo, 2018; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Orellana, 2009; Urciuoli, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Unfortunately, spaces like schools continue to marginalize non-English languages and speakers, affecting Latina/o/x student experiences and perceived achievement.

Policies have shown to reflect society's beliefs by privileging written language over spoken language, academic and "proper" language over everyday language, and English over Spanish (Hill, 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997; Bucholtz, & Casillas, Lee, 2018), which in turn privileges individuals who subscribe to these hierarchical ideologies. In immigrant, working-class communities like that of Santa Ana, the historical processes of segregation,

discrimination, homogenization, and labeling of Latina/o/x communities marks the way in which they continue to be labeled and educated for years to come.

Schooling Practices and Latina/o/x "Achievement"

As issues of Latina/o/x education continue to be reduced to issues of language, it is important to develop a full understanding of the social, cultural, and racial contexts in which language is embedded, especially within schools (Giroux, 1988; Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Moll & Ruiz, 2002; Suarez-Orozco, 2008; Zentella, 2002). Giroux's (1988) theorizations of schooling and language argue that schools are sites where the culture of the dominant society is learned, passing on a "common" culture and set of skills in order for students to operate in a dominant society that reproduce the existing one. Therefore, a specific type of perceived valuable form of cultural capital is transmitted through school: through ways of talking, acting, and socializing. Giroux argues that utilizing ideology is significant in understanding how schools sustain and produce meaning. Moreover, individuals and groups produce, negotiate, modify, and resist how our views of knowledge, values, and society structure classroom experiences. This is especially important as we evaluate assumptions about achievement and relationships. Giroux's (1988) early theorizations allow us to understand how traditional language about schooling is anchored in a limited worldview, operating in a mechanical way for educating, labeling, and systemically excluding students of color.

For years, schools have utilized segregation practices that deem Mexican students as low achieving (Pizarro, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999), institutionalizing policies and practices that create and perpetuate cultural deficit ideologies (Nieto, 2010; Solórzano, 1992). The obscurity of how embedded ideologies are in schooling language aids in structuring the language that educators use when labeling students as defiant rather than resistant. The ways

in which dominant language is used within schooling practices tends to lead students to reject schooling, its content, and the way it is offered to them by noting a lack of care (Valenzuela, 1999). Schools continue to racialize youth through language and scrutinize them for speaking "uneducated", "improper", and "broken" English, but many researchers have argued that youth are in fact sophisticated language users while showing the central role that language plays in identity formation (Alim, 2004; Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2018; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Paris, 2011; Rosa, 2019; Wyman, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2014). These theorists acknowledge and value the ways in which students' varying identities intersect and inform their learning.

Historically within schools, white students are seen as being high achieving while students of color are seen as underperforming. Some scholars have argued that is in large part attributed to experiences of racial inferiority and cultural deprivation that led students to reject Eurocentric ideals such as doing well academically (Davidson, 1996; De Jesus, 2005; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Nieto, 2010). Contemporarily, existing deficit notions categorize students of color as lacking the language, culture, family support, and academic competency to thrive academically (De Jesus, 2005; Paris & Alim, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999). Rather than placing the blame solely on the individual's racial and cultural background or their presumed lack of investment in their education, however, research has shown that schools play a large part in the segregation and labeling of students as high achieving and low achieving by placing them in distinctive tracks that reduces the number of positive educational outcomes students will experience (e.g., Ball, 2002; Callahan, 2005; Flores-González, 2005; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002; Topete, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999; Valdés, 1996, 2001).

Schools have distinct tracks set up for students, determining who belongs where based on how well the student has adopted to Western schooling and the mastery of the English language (Callahan, 2005; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002; Valdés, 1996, 2001). Specifically, discussions of the "Achievement Gap" have focused almost entirely on how students perform on standardized tests. The focus on closing this gap has only highlighted how differences in test scores between white students and students of color have led to schools intensifying discipline and control over curriculum and pedagogy in order to focus on testing preparation and performance (Brown, 2007; Irizarry & Brown, 2018; Giroux, 2010; Rodriguez, 2011). The focus on "teaching to the test" has corporatized education and repressed critical thought in both students and educators (Giroux, 2010). These types of tracking practices directly link race to language while manifesting the negative and oppressive ideologies that exist within the schooling of Latina/o/x students.

Aside from the Achievement Gap, one of the most distinct forms of tracking and segregation of Latina/o/x students as linked to the Spanish language is through the urge to close the "Language Gap". The Language Gap, which focuses on the "noticeable" vocabulary gaps among white and students of color, primarily Latina/o/x students, positions Latina/o/x children at a language deficit (Avineri & Johnson, 2015; Carlo, et al., 2004; Hart & Risley, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2007; Valdés, 2004) and their affluent counterparts. The Language Gap points to the clear connection being made between race, class, and language. Those pushing for "closing" the Language Gap are once again giving preference to and valuing a specific way of teaching and speaking language, positioning the English language as the most valid medium of knowledge (Alim & Paris, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2007; Hart &

Risley, 1995; Valdés, 2004; Zentella; 2015). This has largely impacted the way in which U.S. born and immigrant students are taught.

Viewing the home languages of non-English dominant households as a deficit for academic achievement leads to the growing numbers of students tracked into English Second Language (ESL) classes (Callahan, 2005; Carlo et. al., 2004; Flynn & Hill, 2005). This is especially important as more than 40 percent of all California K-12 students speak a language other than English at home (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). ESL classes and programs are based on the belief that fluency in English is the primary requirement for academic success (Callahan, 2005; Valdés, 2001). Although the majority of ESL programs focus on K-5 students, there is a growing population of students that are tracked in this program for years well past their K-5 experiences (Callahan, 2005; Flynn & Hill, 2005; Valdés, 2001).

In sum, schools are actively involved in the drawing and redrawing of racial lines (Alexander, 2012; Boger, 1999; Lewis, 2001, 2003) and largely influence the personal and social formation processes of high school youth (Davidson, 1996; Lewis, 2001, 2003; Nieto, 2009). Ultimately, oppressive and segregating practices coupled with a lack of racial inclusion can affect student perceptions of themselves, their peers, and their communities (Anzaldúa, 1987; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004; Lewis, 2001, 2003; Valenzuela, 2008). It is in this understanding that the theoretical frameworks of analysis were chosen.

Guiding Frameworks

Chicana Feminist Epistemologies in Education

My intentions for this research are rooted in a Chicana feminist epistemologies framework. Foundational Chicana feminists like Anzaldúa (1987), Moraga (1981), and Perez

(1999) argue for the need to reconceptualize research, theory, and epistemologies. Specific to educational research, Delgado Bernal (1998) proposes a Chicana feminist epistemology (CFE) framework to resist epistemological racism and privilege the histories of the social, political, and cultural conditions of Chicanas. Delgado Bernal further explains that CFE "arises out of a unique social and cultural history and demonstrates that our experiences as Mexican women are legitimate, appropriate, and effective in designing, conducting, and analyzing educational research" (p. 563). CFE is a system of knowing that questions whose knowledge and realities are accepted as the foundation of knowledge, especially for the research process.

Chicana feminist epistemologies highlight the failures of mainstream research to address forms of knowledge and experiences that Chicanas bring to educational institutions and research, especially when centering the role of the researcher. Hurtado (2003) states that who a researcher is and how they grow up is important for what they choose to study and how. A Chicana feminist standpoint informs how we develop and enact the research process, what questions we ask, how we analyze our findings, and how we frame our contributions politically and ethically. It allows us to change methodological tools, so they align with our world views that are shaped by place and relationships, while also challenging ourselves to contest the confines of heteronormativity (Calderon et al., 2012; Delgado Bernal, 2020). Therefore, within a CFE framework there is a sense of political urgency to engage in a decolonizing process and transform education through the process of consciousness raising, highlighting the inequities within Chicana/o/x communities (Calderon et. al., 2012; Hurtado, 2003). CFE guides my own intellectual engagement with my home and lived experiences, allowing me to center them and articulate them to a scholarly audience.

Grounding my research within a CFE framework reinforces the need to "deconstruct the historical devaluation of Spanish…the patriarchal ideology that devalues women, and the scapegoating of immigrants" (Delgado Bernal, 1998, p.562). For this dissertation, CFE supports my passion and the urgency to place Mexican-origin youth in Santa Ana at the center of intellectual discourse. CFE allows me to validate and address experiences that are intertwined with issues of language such as bilingualism and English proficiencies, skin color, gender, class, immigration, and generational status. Specific to this research, CFE influences the pivotal shift towards centering student experiences when understanding how school language policies function. Centering student points of view and valorizing their perspective through their experiences can provide an alternate form of historical uncovering and knowledge production that challenges hegemonic and mainstream forms of educational research and addressing communities of color. Most importantly, CFE as a framework demonstrates that my experiences as a Chicana are legitimate and valuable for designing, conducting, and analyzing educational research.

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies provide a theoretical framework for this research. Language ideologies consist of values and belief systems regarding language, specific languages and varieties, and particular language practices and ways of using language (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard, 1998). Specifically, language ideologies define the worth, value, and usage of different languages, placing them on a hierarchy when interacting with other social systems. Researchers agree that language ideologies are rarely exclusively about language, as they are "intertwined with ideologies about other social phenomena—such as gender, socioeconomic status, race, and nation—as well as with beliefs about the people who speak given languages

and varieties or who engage in specific language practices" (Leeman, 2012, p.43). Therefore, language ideologies systemically associate types of language use with socially located types of people.

In large part, the purpose of language ideologies is for power and hegemonic control. They appear to be seemingly commonsense notions circulating through broader society, complicitly reproducing social hierarchies that are situated, biased, and the result of historical and contemporary processes (Leeman, 2012; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Wortham, 2008). Through this understanding, we can analyze how language ideologies contribute to the portrayals of bilingual speakers of color as "intellectually challenged" and of minoritized languages as "inherently unpatriotic" (Leeman, 2004, 2012; Stoever-Ackerman, 2012; Urciuoli, 1999).

As a theoretical framework, language ideologies are essential for understanding the role that schools play in maintaining power. Educational institutions are key sites for authorizing and circulating language ideologies that are used to socialize youth into hegemonic value systems, normalizing a hierarchical language order (Leeman, 2012; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Wortham, 2008). Schools establish associations between "educated" and "uneducated" language use, placing differential values on how well people perform to these ideological standards (González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003; Wortham, 2008; Zentella, 1997). Further, schools are responsible for reproducing and circulating standard language ideology. "Standard language ideology" refers to idealized language varieties that are perceived to be neutral and correct, making the suppression of differing varieties desirable (Lippi-Green 1994; Milroy, 2007). Schools inculcate a single acceptable way to speak by emphasizing grammar "rules" and "correct" usage, placing standard language ideology as the key to

academic and socioeconomic success (Leeman, 2012; Macedo, 1997). This is especially important for Latina/o/x youth as the inception of education for Mexicans in the U.S. since the 1800's has been plagued with negative associations to Spanish abilities while pushing for English domination (Delgado Bernal, 1999; González, 2013; San Miguel, 1999). Situating the historical legacy of language ideologies for Latina/o/x communities is essential for understanding their impacts and influences contemporarily.

Raciolinguistic Perspectives

In attempts to further theorize language ideologies and racial ideologies, various race and language scholars are engaging a raciolinguistic framework in order to understand the inextricable relationship between the two and their influence on the lives of people of color (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Rosa, 2019). A raciolinguistic lens' central concern is understanding what it means to speak as a racialized subject in contemporary America (Alim, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2019). A raciolinguistic perspective forces us to realize that rather than living in a "post racial" America, we are in fact living in a hyper-racializing America, one that constantly orients to race while at the same time denying the overwhelming evidence that shows how American society is fundamentally structured by it (Alim, 2016; Rosa, 2019). Further, because language is often overlooked as one of the most important cultural resources that we have as people of color, a raciolinguistic lens aims to understand language and the process of racialization through viewing race through the lens of language and vice versa (Alim, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2019). Through this "racing language" and "languaging race" approach, an understanding of language varieties among people of color is developed which

provides a shift from viewing those varieties as deficiencies to viewing them as linguistic resources and translanguaging abilities (Alim, 2016; García & Li, 2014; Rosa, 2019).

Through a raciolinguistic lens, we can deconstruct how racialized ideologies of "languagelessness" have rendered Latina/o/x communities linguistically illegitimate, seen as producing neither English nor Spanish legitimately (Rosa, 2019). Specific to educational contexts, racially minoritized students must supplant or supplement their perceived "home" language practices in order to be "academically successful." Flores and Rosa (2015) demonstrated how raciolinguistic ideologies relegate racialized students designated as Long-Term English Learners, Heritage Language Learners, and Standard English Learners to a perpetual status of linguistic deficiency regardless of the extent to which their linguistic practices might seem to correspond to standardized norms. Therefore, Rosa (2019) argues that a raciolinguistic perspective "must be informed by a theory of change that is focused on reconstituting or eradicating systems of domination, such as racial capitalism, white supremacy, and the normative modes of colonial subject formation that organize these systems rather than modifying the embodied communicative behaviors of racially minoritized individuals" (p. 9). It is with this understanding that a raciolinguistic lens is utilized in conjunction with humanizing research models.

By centralizing the role that language plays in racialization and how it comes to be valued in highly disparate ways based on ethnoracial positions in society, we can begin to understand how the lived experiences of Latina/o/x youth are produced by and embody raciolinguistic difference. Rosa (2016) explains that through a raciolinguistic view, we can analyze how Latina/o/x language users "embody problematic raciolinguistic pasts, presents, and futures, necessitating the careful management of their ethnoracial difference through

language" (p.108). The use of a raciolinguistics perspective interrogates the processes through which "Latina/o/x" becomes a racially perceivable and linguistically intelligible category in U.S. society (Rosa, 2019). Through the co-naturalization of language and race when analyzing the role of ideology along with the enduring relevance of race and racism in the lives of Latina/o/x youth, we can begin to understand how existing raciolinguistic ideologies permeate through schools and have an influence on educational experiences, peer relations, linguistic practices, and identity formation processes of Latina/o/x youth.

Overview of Chapters

The organization of the dissertation captures the various ways in which utilizing SKILLS-inspired curriculum aided me in analyzing how raciolinguistic ideologies shape the educational experiences of Latina/o/x high school youth in Santa Ana, specifically how they perceive and use Spanish. It is important to note that the data was analyzed and the chapters were written with the understanding that these students were a product of Proposition 227's implications on education. Key to using the essence of the SKILLS program as a methodological tool is the way in which it has provided students an avenue to discuss, process, and create a space for their race, language, and culture within the classroom. The organization of the dissertation aims to investigate how our understandings of race and language as a cohesive unit work together to shape the ways in which we think about and educate Latina/o/x youth and, in turn, how they understand and think about themselves, their families, and their community. The three analytic data chapters each engage with how raciolinguistic ideologies as well as perceptions and practices of Spanish influence the personal and social engagements of Latina/o/x youth. These perceptions and practices derive directly from the students and their engagement with classroom discussions. Every data

chapter ends with policy recommendations coming directly from student input, sharing what they believe is an important and just way to producing equitable and sustainable actions for students, parents, and the community.

Chapter II: Methodology and Student Profiles

This chapter explains the methodological choices that influenced the research and analytical choices. Guided by Chicana Feminist Epistemologies, I explain my attempts to utilize and implement humanizing research practices. The chapter also includes a Student Profiles section that provides a description of the students who participated in the interview process. It provides an introduction to each student in hopes of enabling the reader to understand their contributions to the coming chapters by describing who they are personally and academically.

Chapter III: Connecting the Home and School through School-Work

This chapter examines the ways in which students discuss their linguistic labor as influenced by raciolinguistic ideologies of Spanish. When analyzing perceptions and ideologies about Spanish in the AVID class, the students made it known immediately that their home lives are the primary source for linguistic acquisition, use, and practices. Who they interact with within their homes largely influenced their initial perceptions about language abilities and practices. In this chapter, students explain the ways in which their linguistic labor of language brokering and translanguaging for the home has shifted over to their schooling experiences. Similar to the concept of "home-work" (Orellana, 2009), I utilize the term *school-work* to analyze the school sanctioned tasks and labor that students participate in within their educational settings, which entails the translating, brokering, and translanguaging that happens within the home. I argue that students are also asked to use

their translating, brokering, and translanguaging skills within the school. This chapter is important in making connections between school and home life, highlighting how students' cultural and linguistic capital from home is necessary when navigating educational spaces like parent-teacher meetings, yet are not always seen as a valuable asset to their schooling. This chapter discusses how students' linguistic abilities should be recognized by their school while acknowledging the labor that goes into specific assignments and responsibilities asked of them.

Chapter IV: Linguistic Hybridity and Mentorship in Peer Interactions

This chapter discusses the ways in which peer interactions and linguistic choices and practices are influenced by raciolinguistic ideologies and perceptions of Spanish use. This includes discussions about personal linguistic practices and linguistic accommodation when interacting with peers and friends and how the students are influenced based on the different academic spaces they navigate throughout their schooling. These discussions highlight the use of linguistic hybridity in the forms of Spanglish use, codeswitching, and what I am referencing as *linguistic mentorship*. Moreover, the analysis provides discussions about linguistic policing and speculations about ethnic authenticity from peers based on language and phenotype. This chapter highlights the importance of the development of linguistic identities within distinct speech communities.

Chapter V: "It's like they're bordered": How the School Structures the Experiences of English Learners

While Chapter II and Chapter III exemplify how language and raciolinguistic ideologies have influenced the student participants' home and schooling interactions, this chapter analyzes how English-only ideologies have structured the school site and policies,

informing how the students understand and navigate them. In this chapter, I analyze how English-only ideologies are implemented and assist in structuring the school linguistically. Through the use of language mapping as a method, we are able to see from the students' perspective how language functions to divide the campus and student body. This is especially important when contributing to discussions of English as a Second Language programs. I was able to further understand the experiences of ESL students at this school from the point of view of my participants. Most importantly, the experiences of Anahi, the only participant in the group that had been in the ESL program at Field High School, are central to this discussion. Her narrative and experiences provide first-hand accounts of how the ESL program functions to structure a student's experiences and future educational trajectory. This chapter highlights how students experience language socially and how hegemonic ideologies of language impact school structuring.

Chapter VI – Conclusion

The conclusion revisits my findings while also discussing the implications that this research has on educators, policy, and researchers. The chapter also discusses shifts in education within Santa Ana after my ethnographic research was conducted. Specifically, I discuss how the pandemic has challenged and overstretched schools but especially those with vulnerable students and families like those enrolled at SAUSD. The shift to Zoom and other platforms assumes an engagement with English language and technological resources. Without the peer engagement, linguistic mentorship, and navigational capital, I often wonder how specific groups are navigating "school" outside of its physical space.

Conclusion

The interdisciplinary of this research allows me to connect necessary aspects to how we can think about the education of Latina/o/x youth – as children of immigrants, immigrants themselves, and/or transnational subjects. Specific to this dissertation is my focus on cadence and tone of writing, keeping an awareness of both in efforts to make this all accessible to a wide audience; a principle rooted in Chicana and Chicano Studies. As a Chicana and Chicano studies scholar, I do not privilege an academic audience. Even though this dissertation is written in English and privileges the requirements of academics, I am purposeful making these efforts when possible. The implications of this research are intended for various communities, especially those I write about.

Chapter II

Methodology and Student Profiles

As a Chicana/o/x Studies scholar, the ways in which I observe and write are concerned with centering the community and youth's voices. Selecting a site, participants, and methods of inquiry were guided and influenced by a Chicana Feminist Epistemological framework. The centering of self-reflexivity along with humanizing methodologies drove this research in hopes to provide experiences that challenge deficit and racist narratives about youth of Mexican descent.

Site and Participants

Field High School (pseudonym), located in the center of Santa Ana, was the site for implementing a SKILLS-inspired curriculum. For the 2016-2017 academic school year, Field served approximately 2,396 students in grades 9-12 with 97 percent of them identifying as "Hispanic/Latino." About 92 percent of the student population was identified as being economically disadvantaged and qualified for Free and Reduced-Price Meals. During this school year, about 32 percent of students were classified as English Learners. Based on the 2016 California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress (CAASPP) report, a standardized testing that measures student progress in different subjects as appointed by state adopted standards, Field ranked at a four out of ten, based on students' testing percentile. Overall, the school has an 88 percent graduation rate and about a six percent dropout rate.

The classroom in which the SKILLS-inspired program was implemented was the 12th grade senior AVID classroom. The purpose of AVID is to increase college participation of Black, Alaskan/Native American, Latina/o/x, and low-income students who are underrepresented in "high achieving" educational tracks and in higher education (Swanson,

1993; Mendiola, Watt, & Huerta, 2010; Paugh, 2018). The program was primarily created for those students considered to reside academically in the "middle" who need an extra push to perform successfully in classes like Honors and Advanced Placement (AP), which they are encouraged to enroll in. Through its efforts to perform as a "untracking" program for "academically promising" students, AVID promotes a college-going attitude and implements college-going curriculum and skill development as an elective course that students enroll in (Swanson, 1993; Mendiola, Watt, & Huerta, 2010; Paugh, 2018). As AVID serves as an elective course, access to it was more feasible for this study rather than a core content course such as an English or math class, which have strict content to master and cover. Moreover, the principles that AVID stands for, such as providing resources to underrepresented and low-income students, support bringing in a sociocultural linguistics inspired program. When SKILLS was implemented in Santa Barbara County schools, the majority of the programs function within an AVID classroom as well. This similarity made for a simpler transition for a different site.

Field High School was chosen because I have previously served multiple roles within that site. I am a graduate of Field, was an employee of the district for the AVID program at Field for seven years, and I maintain communication with teachers and staff within the school. The history I have of being both a student and an employee, and the rapport maintained with multiple staff at this site allowed for access to a classroom[3].

Access to the senior AVID classroom was granted by the classroom teacher, Ms. Zavala (pseudonym), the principal, Mr. Smith (pseudonym), and the school district. Ms.

[3] For this project, standard IRB permissions were granted by my institution as well as Santa Ana Unified School District. School and classroom permissions were granted by the school principal and classroom teacher.

Zavala's AVID class met during the 0-period hour at 7 a.m. Upon arriving to the AVID classroom on the first day, the college-going attitude was clearly seen and felt through the decorations on the walls; there were college and university flag pennants adorning the classroom. The student desks were set up to form large tables where eight students made up each group table. This format reflected the collaborative emphasis that the AVID program has for students to work as groups and support one another, which is also an essential component of the SKILLS program.

Ms. Zavala's class consisted of 43 seniors, with a consistent 30-35 of them showing up regularly. The students within this classroom ranged from ages 16 to 19. For students with minor status under the age of 18, consent forms were sent to their parents in order to gain permission for their participation. A consent/assent form was given to all students in order to get their permission for participation. Out of 26 students who gave consent to participate in this project, 11 volunteered to have one-on-one interviews at the end of the program. Out of these students, five identified as male and six identified as female. A detailed description of each student is provided following this chapter in the "Student Profiles" section.

Methods

This project begins with the understanding that youth are keenly aware of how they use and understand language to navigate their gendered and racialized adolescent lives (Alim, 2004; Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2015, 2016, 2018; Paris, 2011). Just as significant, high school aged youth recognize how their K-12 school experiences have been shaped by racial and linguistic assumptions (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2018; Fergus, 2009; Zarate, 2018). Therefore, in order to observe how raciolinguistic ideologies influence the linguistic practices within Mexican-origin youth, I implemented an ethnographic approach

that allowed for engagement and collaboration. This dissertation is largely influenced by the foundational ethnographic works of Angela Valenzuela (1999), Ana Celia Zentella (1997), Marjorie Orellana (2009), Mary Bucholtz (2011), and Jonathan Rosa (2019).

Ethnography describes how people construct their social world by continually striving to make sense of that world and assigning meanings and interpretations to events (Lewis, 2001). A goal of ethnography is to reach a level of insider knowledge that allows for an understanding of a local culture through participant observation in certain contexts over time (Walford, 2008; Bucholtz, 2011). It is important to note, however, that this does not mean automatic membership in that community nor full understanding of social and language perceptions and practices within that space. Rather, ethnography as a method proposes a critical understanding that recognizes knowledge as co-constructed and strips away dehumanizing methods where people, especially youth, are treated like a number or an object (Paris & Winn, 2013). In trying to avoid long-standing colonizing research approaches with people of color, this ethnographic approach looks to build relationships of care, dignity, and dialogical consciousness by acknowledging and validating student engagement and funds of knowledge. The goal is to humanize the research by humanizing all participants (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2018; Irizarry & Brown, 2013; Paris & Winn, 2013). Specifically, my engaged ethnographic approach was guided by the multiple roles I played as a Chicana/o/x Studies researcher and educator, SKILLS curriculum developer and program implementer, and product of the Santa Ana community and school district.

My decision to pursue an engaged ethnographic approach, one that combined traditional ethnographic methods and inspiration from participatory action research (PAR) (see McIntyre (2007) for examples of PAR), was guided by several considerations. Rather

than focusing on ethnographic work as being passive and taking a step back to look and listen, my engaged ethnographic approach took on an active role of making connections through various forms of engagement with my student participants and my site. My engaged ethnography at Field High School began at the beginning of the academic Spring semester of 2017. Conducting an engaged and collaborative classroom ethnography was composed primarily of leading class discussions and proposing a space for students to share their thoughts, personal narratives, and impressions on a given topic dealing with race and/or language. Topics for the SKILLS-inspired curriculum included bilingualism, linguistic practices, and English-only ideologies. The in-class meetings took place twice a week for 60 minutes for the duration of the spring semester. Methods of inquiry for the ethnography included participant observations, and field notes, which include campus photographs, pre- and post-classroom interactions notes, and in-class notes. Audio-recorded interviews were conducted with eleven students that volunteered to have a one-on-one, 60-minute conversation. The interviews served to document and analyze the dialogue between and among me and the students in formal (instruction days) and informal (non-instructional days) manners by taking a more conversational approach to interviewing them rather than solely asking questions. The use of ethnographic interviews is useful in documenting explicit statements of language and racial ideology (Bucholtz, 2011). The interview process consisted of general demographic information as well as questions about the SKILLS inspired content and ideas covered in the classroom. A sample list of interview questions can be found in the Appendix 1.

Taking from Preston (1988) and Bucholtz (2011) specifically, the use of language mapping was used to document from students' perspective how youth ideologically represent

and report spatial and linguistic practices. Central to the data collection process was a journal that each student participant kept. Similar to Orellana (2009), my role as an educator has helped me cultivate open-ended pedagogical methods to elicit the viewpoint of students. I provided each student with a notebook journal in order to give them a place to further engage with me. The content of this journal included questions and reflections based on a given lesson or topic of discussion or another avenue for them to communicate with me through written text. As with Orellana's (2009) use of journaling, which provided prompts and free-writes on a topic, this method stressed the significance of allowing students to express themselves through writing from their own experiences and understanding. Emulating Orellana's use of students' writings as a method in order to reflect on their everyday lives and making connection to classroom topics of discussion was essential for this dissertation. The journals also served a purpose when creating the interview questions. I reviewed each interview volunteer's journal in order to see what sections they engaged with more or less and be able to have a conversation with them during the interview about why this was.

Fundamental to my methods of inquiry is the SKILLS model. Specific to this project, the critical pedagogical contributions of Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim; 2014) through the SKILLS program was utilized to center the experiences of Mexican-origin youth and how they navigate the influences of raciolinguistic ideologies on their schooling experiences. As previously mentioned, SKILLS is a social justice centered program combining research, academic preparation, and activism which closely aligns with the goals of culturally sustaining pedagogies (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2015, 2018). With its overall focus in language, culture, race, power, and identity in the United States, it is an essential model extending conversations about knowledge production

and acquisition to include historical and cultural literacies and practices that communities of color develop and that are essential for navigating their worlds. Because a youth centered approach to teaching and dialogue is at its core, students are able to fully engage their funds of knowledge and expertise in connecting their lived experiences to their academic experiences. A sample of SKILLS-inspired content and discussions used with the student participants in this project can be found in Appendix 2.

Positionality

In the process of humanizing research, it is essential to acknowledge our positionality, emotions, and history with dehumanizing spaces like schools (Irizarry & Brown, 2013). Being a first generation, working-class Chicana from the Santa Ana community and a graduate of the school district largely influenced the ways in which I designed and carried out my research. It has always been my goal to bring back to my community what I have learned, whether it be personal, social, or political. The knowledge I have acquired throughout my higher education career is not for me to keep for myself; making it accessible for multiple audiences is of utmost importance.

Further, my previous employment in K-12, specifically the AVID program, also largely influences my research questions and research implementation. Through my seven years of employment in the AVID program in Santa Ana along with the three years within AVID in Santa Barbara, I realized a significant limitation to AVID in the lack of racial and linguistic awareness within its curriculum. This program, intended for academically "middle of the road" low-income students, fails to address how schooling institutions and institutions of power have tracked these students in such manner (Swanson, 1993; Mendiola, Watt, & Huerta, 2010; Paugh, 2018). There are significant limitation to the program's

implementations not only at this Santa Ana site but also at others that I have been a part of as well; AVID has been known as the "Mexican program" by non-participating students in white dominant schools (Zarate, forthcoming). Although AVID aims to prepare students with a "college-going attitude" and skills deemed necessary for "academic achievement" and it has a successful college enrollment rate, my experiences within the program did not show that it culturally sustains its students. From my experiences, AVID does not always prepare students for the racialized experiences they are to encounter when they reach higher education, where they will be the minority on their college campus. Being an instructor in higher education has allowed me to see the culture shock that many Latina/o/x youth experience when getting into college; many of them struggle to remain in school and adjust to their new environment. While the AVID program equips students with the skills to be "academically successful" by Eurocentric standards, how does it help them navigate a racialized society? While this dissertation is not a direct analysis of the AVID program, through my professional and personal experiences I was deliberate in choosing the AVID elective course as my site for implementation and research for this project.

Who I am and my background accompanied me influenced the ways in which my interactions with high school youth unfolded and were analyzed. Through my personal lived experiences in the community and being a product of the school system, I was fully aware of how the educational system was not set up for the needs of Latina/o/x students. For this reason, I was committed to learning from and accompanying Latina/o/x youth along a process of sociolinguistic, racial, and educational justice.

Student Profiles

The following section provides a brief description for the students who volunteered to participate in the interview process. This section provides an introduction to each student in hopes to better understand their contributions to the coming chapters by describing who they are personally and academically. These students were most central to the data as the interview process provided a more intimate opportunity to understand them and get more detailed accounts of themselves and their perceptions and ideologies of language.

As mentioned, these students were all part of the senior AVID class that volunteered to be interviewed at the end of the 2016-2017 Spring semester. For their protection, all students chose or were given pseudonyms.

Alex

Alex was 19 years old and identified as Hispanic. He was phenotypically dark skinned with dark brown hair and dark brown eyes. He was born and raised in Orange County to a father from Michoacán, Mexico and a mother from Mexico City. Both of his parents immigrated to the U.S. as children. They are owners of a paleteria in Orange County. Alex was the youngest of two children; he has an older sister. Alex reported being an English and Spanish speaker but stated, "My Spanish is not that strong, but I do know how to speak and understand Spanish". Therefore, he identified as English-dominant.

Academically, Alex reported having a 3.8 GPA and was involved in Advanced Placement (AP), Honors, Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID), and Anteater Academy, a four-year college preparatory partnership program with the University of California, Irvine's Center for Educational Partnerships. He was also involved in extracurricular activities like baseball and football. After high school, he will be attending a local community college to major in business and marketing. He hoped to transfer to a

California State University. His choice for attending a community college was due to rejections from four-year universities as well as wanting to save money.

Throughout my time with Alex, I noticed that he was a very friendly and talkative student. He always arrived to class with so much energy and happily greeted everyone, regardless of the 7am start time. He would pick different seats upon arriving to class each morning, making it apparent that he had multiple friends within the class. He was a student that easily gravitated towards the discussions and material for the day, even when he did not fully express himself in his journal. Alex was a student who preferred to verbally express himself and did not shy away from volunteering to speak out loud to the class. He was an example of how journals do not always function for students who have differing preferences for engagement and discussions.

During our interview, there was an ease and honesty from Alex. He opened up about his struggles with speaking Spanish and how other's perceptions of his Spanish affected him, especially when interacting with Spanish speaking customers at his parents' paleteria. Alex's lived experiences were an excellent example of Rosa's (2018) concept of "looking like a language", where Alex visually represents a Spanish speaker, so it assumed that he could speak it (Zarate, 2018). His experiences also represented the backlash that one can receive from others when not meeting that expectation, making his relationship with his language tumultuous and sometimes painful.

Anahi

Anahi was 19 years old and identified as Mexicana. She was light skinned and had black hair and dark brown eyes. She was born in Anaheim, California but raised in Mexico by her maternal grandparents. Both of her parents are from Michoacán, Mexico and

immigrated to the U.S. in their late teen years and moved back and forth between the U.S. and Mexico. Anahi migrated back to the U.S. to live with her mother at the age of 15 when she was to begin high school. She reported being Spanish dominant as she only began learning English her freshman year of high school, which at the time of this research was only 3 years ago.

Academically, Anahi reported having a 3.9 GPA with some Honors and AP classes in her schedule senior year. As part of her extracurricular activities, Anahi is part of the Health Academy as well as the STARS program where she would volunteer to help special needs students on campus. Upon graduating, Anahi will attend Santa Ana College where she will pursue a career as a registered nurse. At the beginning of her high school career, Anahi was part of the ESL program on campus as she arrived from Mexico not knowing any English. She was in the program for only one year, testing out and being immersed into regular English instruction courses beginning her sophomore year.

Throughout my time with Anahi, I noticed she initially was reserved and kept to herself. Anahi would be considered to have an "accent" and was still adjusting to learning and pronouncing English. I am an avid code-switcher and I constantly incorporate Spanish into my discussions, especially when knowing that my audience can understand it. I noticed that my use of Spanish on the first day caught Anahi's attention, shifting her gaze from her desk to me when she heard me. She was quiet during in-class discussions but utilized her journal. We conducted her interview in Spanish as that is the language she still feels more comfortable using and can express herself with. Having Anahi as a participant allowed us to understand the experiences of an English Learner in AVID and how language policy and programs have structured her educational experiences in and out of the ESL program. Her

experiences also allowed me to obtain first-hand accounts of what it is like for a high school aged student to be acquiring English while navigating an educational institution.

Chan

Before I begin Chan's profile, I want to state that although he did not identify as Latina/o/x or come from Mexican decent and does not provide data specifically when researching that student population, I felt it important to include his involvement in the research. As the only non-Latina/o/x student in the AVID classroom, Chan's experiences provided a different vantage point for how we implement and construct sociocultural linguistic justice research and content. His contributions to the SKILLS inspired curriculum and classroom was significant especially in discussions of English-only policies and ideologies (see Chapter V).

Chan was 18 years old and identified as Asian or Vietnamese American. He was light skinned and had dark brown eyes and black hair. He was born in Fountain Valley, California but spent the majority of his life growing up in Westminster, CA up until his sophomore year of high school when his family moved to Santa Ana for financial reasons; Santa Ana has more affordable living areas. Chan had difficulties identifying himself ethnically and racially because of the complexities and ambiguity within his family history. His mother had Chinese parents and was born and raised in Vietnam. His father was half Vietnamese and it is not known by the family what the other half of his ethnicity was. Chan does not have much information or recollections about his father since he passed away when Chan was 9 years old. His mother immigrated to the U.S. in her late teens and met his father in the U.S. Chan has three sisters and one younger stepbrother. He is the second oldest in his family. Chan identifies as being predominantly English-speaking but does speak Vietnamese.

Academically, Chan reports having about a 3.5 GPA and has been enrolled in Honors and AP courses since freshman year of high school. As part of his extracurricular activities, Chan is involved in the AVID Club and Youth Leadership Program. After high school, Chan will attend California State University, Fullerton where he will major in electrical engineering.

Throughout my time with Chan, he was a very quiet and reserved student. At the beginning of my time in the classroom, he did not volunteer much to speak in large group discussions, engaged minimally in small groups, and engaged minimally with me. It was not until about half-way through my time with them that I noticed Chan begin to open up. It was the English-only unit that brought something out and made him want to participate more. When the class was doing our group linguistic landscape map (see Chapter V), Chan volunteered to draw the campus for the class. He also was one of the first students to raise his hand and volunteer to be an interviewee. Chan's journaling on English-only policies were crucial in chapter 4; his understanding and knowledge of the topic based on his personal experiences were extremely informative for understanding policy impact and ideologies on students of color, not just Latina/o/x. Although Chan is not a primary participant for this particular project focused on Latina/o/x youth, his insight and knowledge is incredibly significant for how we think about the impact of raciolinguistic ideologies on communities of color. His involvement also revealed limitations to the SKILLS curriculum, which at times had a Latina/o/x specific focus.

Gibby

Gibby was 17 years old and identified as Mexican American or Latino. He was phenotypically light skinned, with light brown hair and light brown eyes. He was born and

raised in Santa Ana to a mother from Chihuahua, Mexico and a U.S. born father from New Mexico. His mother migrated to the U.S. when she was 20 years old after marrying his father. He reports his parents going through the legal marriage process to be able to obtain residency for his mother. Gibby is the youngest of two children; he has an older brother. He reports speaking English and Spanish, but he considers himself to be English dominant. He attributes this to having a U.S. born father who learned English at a young age.

Academically, Gibby reported having a 4.65 GPA, having been positively tracked since elementary school through the Gifted And Talented Education (GATE) program, Honors classes in middle school, and now having AP and Honors classes in high school, which attribute to his high GPA. As part of his extracurricular activities, he reports being part of Aquatics, specifically water polo, and the school choir program. After high school, he will be attending the University of Chicago and major in Mathematics in hopes of becoming a math professor. The reason for this career path stems from his experiences as being part of a Stanford Summer Institute where he was able to get exposure to college-level mathematics. This experience allowed him to feel the disparities of his lived experiences in comparison to his peers in this program as he reports feeling the lack of resources and inequalities in teaching and learning for students like him coming from a working-class, immigrant community.

Throughout my interactions with Gibby, I noticed that he was not as openly engaged initially as others in the class. His interactions with his peers, especially one that chose not to participate in my project, affected his engagement and participation in the classroom. It was a few weeks into my research that I felt him switch his focus over to me and the content and become more involved. He volunteered to be interviewed and became central to my

understanding that even when a student is at the top of their class and excelling academically, their Spanish abilities are necessary not only for their personal navigation of their world but also for others.

Grace

Grace was 16 years old and identified as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicana. She was phenotypically dark skinned with black hair and dark brown eyes. She was born in Acapulco, Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. as a one-year-old. During her interview, she reported begin an undocumented student. Her mother was from Acapulco and her father was from Oaxaca. She explained that her father moved to Acapulco from Oaxaca to work and that was where he met her mother. Grace shared that after having a difficult marriage in Mexico due to financial hardships, her father decided to come to the U.S. and brought the family with him the following year. Grace had an older sister and two younger siblings. She had an interesting relationship with her linguistic abilities as she juggles between Spanish, English, and Mixteco. She migrated to the U.S. when she was one year old, where she grew up in a Spanish and Mixteco home up until she began school. It is from her father's side that she acquired some Mixteco but she reported not being able to speak it very well, leading to a loss of communication with her father's side of the family.

Academically, Grace reported having a 3.7 GPA and was enrolled in Honors and AP courses once she got into high school. As part of her extracurricular activities, she participated in the Track and Field program as well as various clubs on campus like EAOP and Green Club, which was a program focused on environmental preservation. Upon graduating, Grace will attend UC Merced where she will be Pre-med in hopes to become a pediatrician. Grace explains that because she is an AB540 undocumented student, her choices

to leave home to study elsewhere were not as open. UC Merced offered her a financial aid package that made it feasible for her to afford her schooling.

Throughout my time in the classroom, Grace was one of the students who was last to truly engage and participate. Because the SKILLS class was part of AVID, which allowed students to use class time to work on assignments from other classes, Grace opted out regularly; I would often see her studying and practicing for her upcoming AP Spanish exam. Even though she agreed to participate in my project, it took some time for her to engage with the SKILLS class. She was a very quiet and reserved student, never really sharing in large group discussions. It was about midway when I saw her utilize her journal and process the material there. Her contributions to my project were essential to understanding the experiences of not just an undocumented student but also someone who comes with a background in Mixteco, a language that is losing its use and preservation (Bax, 2020).

Isaias

Isaias was 19 years old and identified as Hispanic. He was phenotypically dark skinned, with dark black hair and dark brown eyes. Isaias was born and raised in Santa Ana to parents from Mexico, who both immigrated to the U.S. as teenagers. Isaias was the middle child, having an older sister and a younger brother. He reported speaking Spanish and English but being Spanish dominant, primarily attributing this to Spanish being the only language his parents use and understand.

Academically, Isaias reported having a 3.0 GPA and had been enrolled in Honors courses beginning in high school, with this 2016-2017 academic year being his first taking AP classes. As part of his extracurricular activities, he was involved in the Media program and baseball. After high school, he will be attending Santa Ana College, a local community

college, in hopes to save money and transfer to a 4-year college after he is done with his general education courses. He hopes to go into the field of Education or Accounting, reporting that he likes math and could possibly see himself being a high school math teacher.

From the beginning of my time with Isaias, he was such a joy. He cheerfully walked into class, said hi to everyone, and was ready for his day even when meeting at 7am. Every morning, he greeted me with a "Buenos días". I would describe Isaias as a class clown and social butterfly, not shying away from talking to his peers and myself and voicing his opinions while having a very light-hearted and funny personality. He quickly developed a playful but respectful relationship with me, siempre payasiando and making us all laugh. He was very involved in discussions and felt comfortable sharing in larger groups. His journal did not get as much attention at times, but I knew he was engaged and interested based on his in-class time with me. Isaias is an example of having pride in one's home language, regardless of how others perceive it and how they might perceive oneself. His experiences throughout the following chapters demonstrate his resistance towards discriminatory perceptions aimed at communities like his own. His relationship with his Spanish has allowed him to develop his agency and stand up for what he feels, even when facing institutional powers.

Jasmin

Jasmin was 18 years old and identified as Latina. She was phenotypically dark skinned with dark brown/orange dyed curly hair and dark brown eyes. She was born in Tustin, California and raised in Orange County. Her mother was from Guerrero, Mexico and her father from Durango, Mexico. Jasmin shares that both her parents had already migrated to the U.S. individually before migrating one last time together as a family with the help of a

coyote. Jasmin had 2 older sisters and one younger brother, who like her was also born in the U.S. She reported being bilingual in Spanish and English but throughout the chapters, we see the struggles she faces with her Spanish abilities and how others perceive them.

Academically, Jasmin reports having a 2.6 GPA and had taken AP and Honors courses scattered throughout her high school career. As part of her extracurricular activities, she was part of the drama club. After high school, she will be attending Santa Ana College and was undecided about a major and future career objective.

Throughout my time with Jasmin, she was very open and willing to participate in our classroom discussions. I remember her being very vocal they day we discussed English-only policies in class. Jasmin's participation was essential for understanding the experiences of someone who was tracked as "academically promising" by being enrolled in AVID and having a few AP and Honors courses throughout high school while still being a student who was not necessarily at the top of her class. Not being fully tracked into a "high achieving" track allowed her to have experiences with various students on campus, allowing her to gain different perspectives for how language functioned and structured the school and student experiences.

Jessica

Jessica was 17 years old and identified as Hispanic. She was phenotypically light skinned, with dark brown eyes and black hair. She was born and raised in Orange County to parents from Mexico. Both of her parents immigrated to the U.S. in their late teens. Jessica reported that her mother immigrated when she was 20 years old and was pregnant with her oldest sister. Jessica was the youngest of three children. She reported being both an English and Spanish speaker but considered herself to be English dominant. She reported that she

spoke primarily in English to her mother, the parent she lived with. To her father, Jessica spoke only in Spanish, but their communication is not as constant as with her mother.

Academically, Jessica reports having a 3.6 GPA and is involved in AP, Honors, and AVID. She is also involved in extracurricular activities like Associated Student Body (ASB), Global Business Academy, and the Early Academic Outreach Program (EAOP). After high school, Jessica will be moving to Georgia to join her older sisters who have moved there to be with other family and for work purposes. Jessica will attend a community college there. Her mother will follow a few months after her move, while her father will stay in California as her parents are separated. While at the community college she hopes to major in accounting and business to serve as the accountant for her uncle's business in Georgia.

Jessica was a shy and reserved student. She always sat in the same seat and only engaged with peers at her table. I was surprised when she volunteered to be interviewed because her involvement in the classroom was minimal. Her journal, however, showed her engagement with the material and that is where she processed ideas and concepts. Jessica's involvement provided insight into the experiences of students who come from separated parents and have their language practices influenced by the parent they live with, in this case being an English-dominant home with her mother.

Martin

Martin was 18 years old and identified as Mexican. He was phenotypically light skinned with brown hair and brown eyes. He was born in Guadalajara, Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. when he was three years old. His father was from Michoacán, Mexico and his mother from Guanajuato, Mexico; after they met, they moved to Guadalajara, Mexico. Martin shared that his father came to the U.S. first and arranged to get his papeles

and those of his mother and himself. When Martin and his mother came to the U.S., it was with a residency card. He reported being bilingual in Spanish and English but states that Spanish is his first language and home language while he learned English once he entered school.

Academically, Martin reported having a 3.6 GPA and had been enrolled in Honors courses since middle school, adding AP courses once he entered high school. As part of his extracurricular involvement, he was part of the Engineering club. He also shared that he was involved in the Tennis and Basketball program on campus freshmen and sophomore year but had to stop due to obtaining employment. Like Isaias, the financial needs of the family contributed to them seeking employment as high school students. Upon graduating, Martin will attend Santa Ana College in hopes to transfer to a Cal State and major in mechanical engineering or computer science.

Throughout my time with Martin, I noticed how quiet and reserved he was. He did not interact much with his peers and never shared with the class when having a larger group discussion. I knew he was engaged and invested in my project by seeing his involvement through nodding along or taking notes in his journal. When interviewing him at the end was when I got to see him open up. There was an ease when having the interview discussion with Martin, having him share his perceptions and experiences with the various topics we discussed in the classroom. He was a student who did better in one-on-one interactions and expressed himself more comfortably. Through his participation, I was able to understand how childhood arrivals like himself negotiated the two worlds and languages that they interacted with.

Melissa

Melissa was 18 years old and identified as Mexican American. She was phenotypically light skinned with dark brown hair and brown eyes. She was born in Tustin, California and raised in Santa Ana. Both of her parents are from Mexico and she shared that they immigrated to the U.S. as pre-teens. She reported that because her mother was about 8 or 9 years old when she immigrated, she was able to attend some elementary and middle school until she got pregnant and dropped out. Melissa had one older sister who passed away, a younger brother, and a baby sister. Melissa spoke both Spanish and English but considered herself to be English dominant.

Academically, Melissa reported having a 3.1 GPA and had never been enrolled in AP or Honors courses. As part of her extracurricular involvement, she was part of the Automotive program. Upon graduating, Melissa was unsure whether she would take time off from school to work or if she would attend Santa Ana College. She was unsure what she was to major in or what career path to follow. Melissa was considered a student with special needs, being part of the Individualized Educational Program (IEP). This means that she had regular meetings with staff and her parent/guardian in order to provide a 504 Plan, which is a plan that lists the accommodations, resources, and support required for a student with a disability. She had been part of IEP since elementary school.

Throughout my time with Melissa, I immediately noticed her sweetness and soft-spoken demeaner. She was a bit shy but warmed up to me quickly. Her involvement was a bit inconsistent, utilizing her time in AVID to catch up on other assignments much like Grace did. She contributed more to larger group discussions than in her journal. Having Melissa involved gave me the opportunity to understand the experiences of a student with an Individualized Educational Program (IEP). As part of the special education program, students

are evaluated to see if they qualify for services and supports to supplement their special needs. Through Melissa's experiences of being considered a student with special needs, she was able to share the significance that language politics and policies have on the education of students like her.

Minerva

Minerva was 17 years old and identified as Mexican. She is phenotypically light skinned and has light brown/blonde hair and light brown eyes. She was born and raised in Santa Ana to a father from Michoacán, Mexico and a mother from Jalisco, Mexico. Her mother immigrated to the U.S. as a pre-teen and her father immigrated in his early twenties. Minerva was the middle child, having an older and younger brother. Minerva reported being bilingual in English and Spanish. She spoke Spanish primarily at home due to her father's expectations of their home language.

Academically, Minerva reported having a 3.5 GPA and is involved in AP, Honors, EAOP, and AVID. As part of her extracurricular activities, she was involved in the school's choir and theater programs. After high school, she will be attending California State University, Fullerton and majoring in English in hopes of becoming a high school English teacher. When asked why that major and career goal, she replied,

> "As I grew, I realized that people are quick to judge by the way that you speak. If you say one thing wrong, before you know it they're giving you a nasty look and I want to teach people how to speak English in a way that is more socially acceptable not so that it can stop other forms of speaking but so that they're not judged as harshly. I want to make sure that they have just as much as an opportunity of getting a job as somebody who had a higher English-speaking level."

Minerva's response exemplified the astute awareness that she has for how we can be linguistically profiled and policed in society. This quote provides a roadmap for how Minerva's understanding and perceptions of language unfold throughout the chapters.

Throughout my time with Minerva, it became clear that she took great pride in her Spanish abilities but had a complicated relationship with the language. I noticed how much she loved Spanish and how much she cared about maintaining her language, but her Spanish use came with constant surveillance and scrutiny from her home and from school. Her phenotypical appearance as someone perceived as "white passing" also complicated how others perceived her linguistic abilities. At home, she reported her father being very authoritarian and at times elitist with how he expected Spanish to be spoken by his children and interact at home. Throughout the remaining chapters, we get Minerva's accounts of how her father had influenced her perceptions and use of Spanish for herself and her views on others.

Conclusion

In following with a Chicana Feminist Epistemology framework, I was intentional about representing my student participants in a way that allowed them to be presented in a way that helped us understand them not just academically but as young people with a past and a future. The short descriptions provided above come from them; they come from conversations and interactions that detailed to me who they were. My participation within the AVID classroom and the in-depth interviews with these eleven students allowed me to understand the role that languages have played in structuring their educational experiences and interactions. The following chapters discuss personal and social perceptions and practices that these students engage in daily. These chapters illustrate how these students use

their Spanish to advocate for their themselves, their peers, and their families while navigating English-dominant school structures.

Chapter III

Connecting the Home and School Through School-work

"Please tell your father that the test results found leukemia."
-Medical doctor to me

At the age of 28, I was tasked with translating the most devastating information to my father. Because I was the only U.S.-born child in my family, my bilingual childhood experiences included helping my parents navigate the social and economic systems of a country foreign to them. My role as language broker, or linguistic advocate, for my monolingual parents (Orellana, 2009), has spanned what seems like my entire life. As my siblings grew older and took on other obligations, the translating labor was inadvertently placed on me. Being their language broker consisted of having to always facilitate communication between my parents and institutions of law and seemingly innocuous settings such as doctors' offices and parent-teacher meetings. These experiences not only served as a reminder of my parents perceived "linguistic deficiency", but they also reminded me of the precarious position of my family as immigrants to this country. Even after being in the U.S. for over 30 years and acquiring legal documentation, my parents are still suspected as foreigners to a country that has long been their home, with language being at the forefront of their "difference". For my father, this "difference" manifested itself through his accent and skin color. My father, un hombre de piel morena, as a landscaper acquired some verbal and receptive English skills from daily work interactions with white landscape contractors. His U.S. citizenship and functioning English skills were not enough; his accent continued to marginalize his interactions and led others to question his legal status. The linguistic labor I engage in stems from and is in response to a racialized society that positions Spanish in a language hierarchy and perpetuates ideas of its lesser importance in comparison to English

(Anzaldúa, 1987; Aparicio, 1999, 2000; Hill, 2008; Leeman, 2012; Lippi-Green, 1997; Urciuoli,1996). Although the U.S. is the second largest speaking country, there continues to be a lack of adequate bilingual resources available to families, resulting in the need for language brokering and translating work within the family.

Language brokering, or the way in which the knowledge of two or more languages is used to speak, read, write, listen, and do things for others, is largely influenced by the needs of immigrant headed households that reside in English-dominant societies (Orellana, 2009; Orellana, Martínez, & Martínez, 2014). For families like my own, this meant that the children who were acquiring the English language took on roles and responsibilities specific to linguistic abilities needed in the home. Translating, sometimes interchangeable with interpreting, refers to the oral and written transactions of providing information from one language to the other (Orellana, 2009). Language brokers also actively engage in translanguaging, crossing linguistic borders and tapping into their full linguistic repertoires as they make meaning for others (Garcia & Li, 2014; Orellana, Martínez, & Martínez, 2014). These children not only have a distinct linguistic role within the home, but they also come into a distinct form of power (Orellana, 2009). Children who are language brokers enter into adult space, which we can also understand as white public space (Hill, 1999; Gallo, 2017; Orellana, 2009) that exists and thrives off of racialized ideologies and practices. This largely influences the ways in which children from immigrant households are viewed and used linguistically in society.

Educational spaces like schools largely play a role in the way in which linguistic ideologies are conceived and perpetuated. Historically, schools have been a primary White public space chosen to uphold Americanization and White dominance (Hill, 1999; San

Miguel, 1999). Hill (1999) explains that white public spaces like schools are constructed through intense monitoring of the speech of racialized populations for signs of linguistic disorder. Therefore, schools are the primary sites that institutionalize the hegemony of English (Macedo et al., 2003; Perez-Huber, 2011, San Miguel, 1999). As discussed in Chapter I, in the 1990's, the social climate in California was one of nativist rhetoric, anti-immigration, and xenophobia. In response to the large influx of immigration from other countries into California, primarily from Mexico, the government proposed propositions that directly targeted immigrant communities of color. Proposition 187 and 227 primarily targeted public education. Proposition 187 of 1994, or the Save Our State initiative, was to establish a state-run citizenship screening system and prohibit "illegal immigrants" from services like health care and public education (ACLU, 1999). For public education, this meant that teachers were to verify and report the immigration status of all individuals in the school, including children. Although the proposition was repealed soon after passing, the nativist sentiment lingered and set precedent for future political policies. Institutionalized policies like 1998's Proposition 227, known as the "English in Public Schools" initiative, made English-only instruction a requirement and ended bilingual education in California (California Department of Education, 2006). This proposition was not repealed until 2016 when Proposition 58 was passed. This proposition gives school districts authority to establish bilingual and dual language immersion programs for both native and non-native English speakers (Hopkinson, 2017). The proposition, however, preserves the requirement that public schools ensure students obtain English language proficiency. For 18 years, Latina/o/x students in California public schools were institutionally subjected to the linguistic dominance of the English language over other languages (Macedo et al., 2003; Perez-Huber,

2011), leaving their Spanish language as secondary or irrelevant to their schooling. Mandated policies like that of Proposition 227 have significant ramifications for how students' linguistic and home lives are perceived in relation to their learning.

The student population in this study had their entire K-12 schooling impacted by Proposition 227; therefore, I am referring to them as the Proposition 227 generation. This is especially important to signal and understand as we move forward in understanding how perceptions and ideologies of Spanish use have influenced their educational experiences. The Proposition 227 sentiment has perpetuated the way in which schools see Latina/o/x students and devalue the capital that they come into the school with. Students do not come into the school site and leave their cultural and linguistic selves at home. Rather, students come to the schooling site with an immense amount of knowledge and various forms of capital provided by their lived experiences (Moll et al., 1992; Olmedo, 1997; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992; Yosso, 2005).

Bourdieu's theories of capital (1977, 1986) explain that capital refers to the materialized and embodied forms of accumulated labor. Capital, whether social, economic, or cultural, takes time to gather and reproduce. The type of capital that a person receives and can attain is reliant on a stratified society, centered on white, middle class values and ideals. Cultural capital, referring to the material and symbolic social assets of a person that promote social mobility, has been used to contribute to understanding levels of performance and academic achievement within the educational system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Traditional theorists continued to center ideas of capital on a white, middle-class society which position communities of color as "capital-less" or lacking appropriate forms of capital. Building off of Bourdieu's (1977) and Oliver and Shapiro's (1995) concepts of wealth and

resources, Tara Yosso (2005) extends how capital is understood by showing the various influences assisting Latina/o/x communities in building what she calls, community cultural wealth. Community cultural wealth builds off of cultural capital and focuses on the experiences of communities of color by centering on the critical historical context that reveals accumulated assets and resources in the histories and lives of Latina/o/x communities (Yosso, 2005). Significant to this research is recognizing students' linguistic capital, which includes the intellectual and social linguistic skills attained in multiple languages (Orellana, 2009; Yosso, 2005). As shown through my lived experiences of growing up bilingual in a Spanish-dominant home, my bilingualism was necessary for family and personal functioning inside and outside of the home and served as a source of "wealth" or resource that helped secure material opportunities for my family.

In trying to understand how raciolinguistic ideologies of Spanish influence student educational experiences, this chapter examines the ways in which students discuss their linguistic labor. In this chapter, students explain the ways in which their linguistic labor of language brokering, translating, and translanguaging for the home has shifted over to their schooling experiences. This chapter is important in making connections between the school and home life, highlighting how their cultural and linguistic capital from the home is necessary when navigating educational spaces like those of parent meetings, yet this capital is not always seen as a valuable asset to their schooling. The chapter ends with recommendations from the students for how their linguistic abilities should be recognized by their school while acknowledging the labor that goes into specific assignments and responsibilities asked of them.

SKILLS-inspired Curriculum and Classroom Discussions

In order to understand the ways in which raciolinguistic ideologies of Spanish were influencing the educational experiences of "academically promising" Latina/o/x youth at Field High School, I engaged in conversations and presentations in class that would prompt such discussions. It was apparent immediately that the root of students' language came from home. Their home lives are the primary source for linguistic acquisition, use, and practices, and who they interact with within their homes largely influenced their initial perceptions about language abilities and practices. The presentations discussed the topics of bilingualism and language brokering. These practices or activities meant to expand students' scope of knowledge about their own and others' linguistic abilities and adaptation to the linguistic needs of their surroundings. The hope of these activities was to have students reflect on their linguistic experiences and assist them in developing tools to understand and value their bilingual abilities and linguistic repertoires, which can often be questioned or devalued by a rhetoric of "proficiency" or "fluency" (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Martinez, 2018).

The presentation on bilingualism is one of the first discussions I had with the students. Based on previous experiences when working with youth, I found it very common for students to have an inaccurate view of their levels of bilingualism. Because perceptions about bilingualism can starkly impose what the levels of fluency should be, students underestimate their abilities and do not always acknowledge their bilingualism (Hirsch, 2018; Lateef-Jan, 2018). For bilingual children, it is important to develop understandings of how their multiple languages and repertoires intertwine to make meanings while leveraging their knowledge across both languages (Escamilla et al., 2014; Gallo, 2017; Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008). This discussion was intended to help students understand that a lot of fluctuation exists within bilingualism and they have more bilingual abilities than they

think. Ideas about bilingualism and multilingualism were introduced to students and defined based on existing SKILLS curriculum (http://www.skills.ucsb.edu/). An introduction to concepts like heritage language, multidialectal, and receptive and productive bilingualism were all part of the discussion. The goal of this discussion was to examine truths and myths surrounding ideas of bilingualism and providing students the space and opportunities to evaluate and value their varying levels of bilingualism.

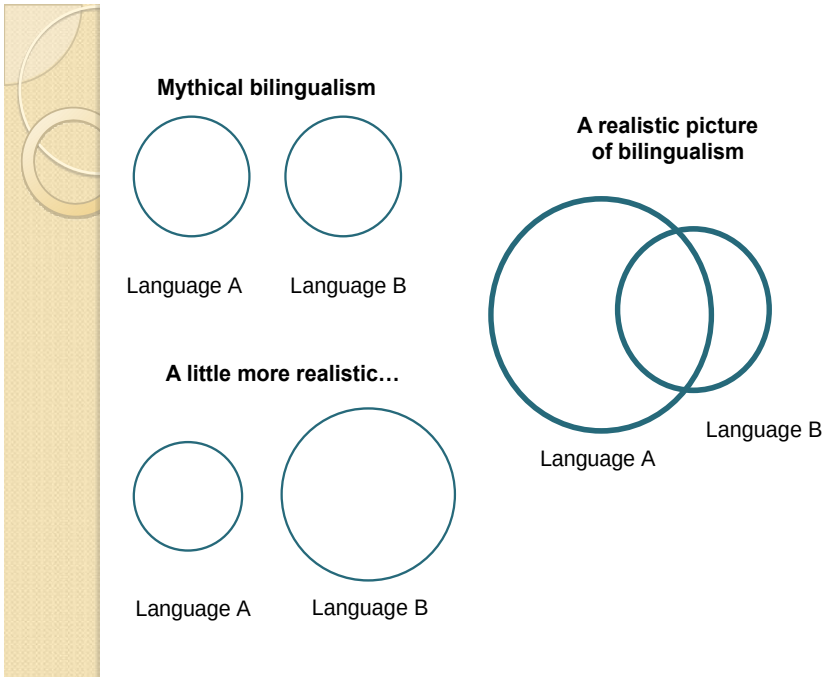


Figure 1: PowerPoint Slide-Bilingualism

The image in Figure 1 resonated the most with students. For them to visualize how their languages exist and interact allowed for them to have that "Oh!" response. Following this slide, we were able to discuss the differences in "passive", "active", receptive and productive bilingualism. In traditional research, passive bilingualism refers to a person understanding two languages but speaking only one of them whereas active bilingualism refers to a person who both understands and speaks two languages (Aparicio, 1998). However, the use of terms like passive or active relegates a speaker to polarizing ends of the bilingual spectrum,

limiting and sometimes devaluing the linguistic abilities that lie in between. Therefore, the use of receptive and productive were utilized in our discussion. Receptive bilingualism means that a person can understand but not speak a language (Aparicio, 1998). Productive bilingualism takes into consideration the interaction between two cultural systems, where native and target language reinforce each other and form deeper understandings (Gao, 2002). The explanation of receptive bilingualism really resonated with students who felt as though they had weaker Spanish language abilities and can understand more Spanish than they can produce. This helped validate them and show that they indeed can think of themselves as bilingual.

Conversations of language brokering usually began with me sharing my personal experiences with the students. My testimonio of being my parents' language broker and translator for my entire life and sharing with them my active translating and brokering experiences at the time with dealing with my father's cancer diagnosis allowed students to relate my account with their personal brokering and translating experiences. Part of Chicana Feminist Epistemologies and my ethnographic methodological practices included sharing myself with the students in order for them to not only be able to understand and name their lived experiences but also to offer a level of relatability as a child of immigrants from a working-class community, much like them.

The presentation on language brokering began with defining what interpreting, translating, and language brokering were. Orellana's (2009) seminal work operationalizes and provides definitions of these terms. In our discussion, I provided a list of some of the daily tasks that language brokers have reported doing. One of the most significant topics we discussed in relation to language brokering and translating was that of feelings (Lopez,

2018). Positive, negative, rewarding, stressful; these were all given their place in our discussions. Language brokering and translating can be accompanied by affective reactions, generated through positive and negative feelings. It was important to discuss this with the students as they have varying experiences with wavering feelings. The type of affective labor that they participated in, or how their actions are informed by and involve their emotional embodiment, is significant to explore with youth who are active agents in the translation process (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018). Their affective agency coupled with the need to help sustain their familial communication allows them to develop skills to communicate and read the world (Ferrada, Bucholtz, & Corella, 2019; Gallo, 2017). Just as important, the students needed to know and be reminded that those who participate in language brokering and translating are indeed gifted and have significant cognitive skills and abilities (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; López, Lezama, & Heredia, 2019; Orellana, 2009; Valdés, 2003). To end the discussion, each student was given time to reflect in their journals and share what they wanted to on a more intimate and personal level.

The following data presented in this chapter originates from the product of my school ethnography, which included classroom discussions field notes, journal entries, and interview responses. In this chapter, I utilize the term linguistic labor in order to examine/analyze the various work, roles, and affective agency that students engage in when tasked with trying to communicate with and for their families in a predominantly English-speaking U.S. As discussed in Chapter I, in conversation with Orellana's (2009) use of the concept of "home-work", I propose the term school-work to analyze the school sanctioned tasks and labor that students participate in within their educational settings.

Family Influence on Language

When trying to understand and discuss how students use and think about their languages, it was inevitable to talk about their home lives. Before the student participants acquired language through schooling, their home influenced their language acquisition. For all of the participants, their language development occurred in the private, familial space of the home. Eight out of ten of the students reported having Spanish as their first language, with two reporting having Spanish and English simultaneously (Figure 2).

Spanish as 1st language	Spanish and English
Minerva	Alex
Jessica	Melissa
Gibby	
Isaias	
Grace	
Jasmin	
Martin	
Anahi	

Figure 2: First Language Acquisition of Students

For both Alex and Melissa, their learning of English and Spanish simultaneously when growing up was entirely attributed to their parents' immigration status. Both of Alex's parents as well as Melissa's mother came to the U.S. when they were children and learned English through their experiences in public education. Alex's parents were both high school graduates while Melissa's mother went to school until the end of middle school. Because Alex and Melissa's households had been rooted in the U.S. for years prior to their births,

their knowledge and use of English in conjunction with Spanish as their first language is understandable.

All students reported the significant role of grandparents in their Spanish acquisition and use. When asked about who they learned Spanish from or who they use Spanish with today, all students reported their relationships with their grandparents. For students like Alex, Melissa, Grace, and Jessica who identify as coming from an English dominant home, their lack of communication or contact over the years with Spanish speaking family like their grandparents contributed to their loss of Spanish. Grace reports that when she does communicate with her grandparents, who live in Mexico, they often times critique her Spanish abilities. She stated, "—every time I would talk to them [grandparents] before, they thought it's a little kid talking because I wasn't really learning Spanish that well…". Grace's interactions with her grandparents grew less and less frequent as their lack of proximity to her coupled with her struggles of sounding like "a little kid" affected her maintenance of Spanish.

For many students, their relationships with their grandparents become secondary to their parents as they continue to grow up. The languages that these students use at home are largely attributed to who they live with currently, which for the majority of them are mother and/or father, and siblings. Students who reported having an English dominant home like Alex, Melissa, Grace, and Jessica, have an English-speaking parent. Aside from Alex, whose parents both speak English, the majority of students who reported having an English-speaking parent identified that this parent was their mother. This was the case for Jessica, Grace, Melissa, and Minerva. For these girls, using English to communicate with their mothers brought on a negative reaction from their fathers. For Jessica, Grace, and Melissa the

negative response to their English use stemmed from their father's inability to understand them. For Jessica, her ability to communicate to her mother in both Spanish and English largely influenced her relationships with her parents. She reports that being able to communicate bilingually with her mother has influenced her father and his wanting to learn English. She stated,

> "—my mom understands both languages so it's much way easier [to communicate] and with my dad I think he's noticed that I speak with [both] languages to my mom and he wants to take classes as well like for English".

Jessica's ability to consistently use her linguistic repertoire when communicating with her mother has made her father feel that learning English is important in order to have that same relationship with her. For Minerva, however, her father's negativity towards English use stems from trying to maintain "Spanish purity" in the home. Leeman (2012) explains that ideologies of power are inextricably linked to ideologies of language, rendering ideas of "authenticity" or "purity" to privilege and material resources while subordinating other language varieties. In multiple class discussions as well as in our interview, Minerva expressed the strict relationship she had with Spanish due to her father's beliefs. She explains,

> "My dad's very picky with how I speak Spanish. When I was little if I would get home and I didn't speak Spanish right away I was hit and then I was told to sit at the table and write bible verses in Spanish until my mother got home from work so I would be there for hours and hours and hours writing in Spanish".

Minerva's father's ideas about Spanish use in the home led to very specific rules and reactions. The influence of language hierarchies and assumptions of linguistic power can be

internalized, influencing the ways in which we pressure and police ourselves and others (Anzaldúa, 1987; Aparicio, 1999, 2000). For Minerva's father, the maintenance of "proper" Spanish and demanding it of his children was a way in which language ideologies are internalized and projected onto others. Minerva's father adopted a family language policy, where parents make decisions about language use and language learning in the home, that prioritized Spanish in order to expose their children to a strong foundation for developing their bilingualism (Fogle, 2013; Gallo, 2017). The choice to adopt such language policy in the home can stem from years of hate and discrimination associated to the Spanish language in U.S. society, ultimately leading to the loss of it in Spanish speaking communities (Anzaldúa, 1987; Aparicio, 1998; Gallo; 2017; Zentella, 2003). In order to prevent the loss of Spanish in Minerva, her father utilized very purposeful and at times harsh practices. As we can see throughout this dissertation, Minerva loves the Spanish language and takes great pride in her abilities and acquisition, but it came with difficult home expectations.

Home expectations of language use are very flexible for students like Gibby, Isaias, Martin, and Jasmin. Their parents allow them to speak however they like but for comprehension purposes, they ask that their children address them in Spanish. Although the majority of students have parents who prefer Spanish use when addressing them, there are cases like Jasmin's family who request more English use in the home in order to develop their own linguistic abilities. Jasmin shared that her parents' request is specific to help with their citizenship examinations and the expectation to perform in English during that examination. In this case, Jasmin is acting as a guide between her parents' English acquisition and immigration status. Similar to what Gallo (2017) found in her study with families of mixed immigration status, I also found with Jasmin and her family the

significance of home-based literacy practices. Through requesting more English within the home for their citizenship test, Jasmin's parents were developing her home-based literacies for how to read the world by reflecting on the political context of their request. Jasmin was not merely helping with their English development for a test; Jasmin was learning to read and navigate the world of what it meant to be in a mixed-status family in the U.S (Mangual Figueroa, 2012).

Anahi has a distinct case from the rest of the students as her linguistic abilities in English developed much later in her life. Anahi, although born a U.S. citizen, lived most of her life in Mexico with her grandparents. Her entire life was in Spanish until she came back to the U.S. in her freshman year of high school. Living with extended family in the U.S. has influenced how she uses language. Because she lived most of her life in Mexico, Anahi points to the differences between Mexican Spanish and U.S. Spanish. This difference has affected the way that her family thinks about Spanish and Spanglish use. She explained, "No saben hablar ni un idioma ni el otro"[4] is a common response she gets from her family when discussing U.S. Spanish practices like that of codeswitching and Spanglish. Anahi continues to refer to herself as Spanish dominant although she has learned English quickly. She points to sometimes having difficulties navigating how her three linguistic systems/codes are developing now that she is exposed to more than just Mexican Spanish.

The development of these students' linguistic repertoires has allowed them to navigate their immigrant households in a variety of ways. Their familial relationships transcend levels of what might be considered basic everyday interactions like having dinner

[4] English translation: They do not know how to speak one language or the other.

together or recapping how their day was and instead engage in multifaceted exchanges with their language being at the forefront.

Language Brokering and Translating Experiences

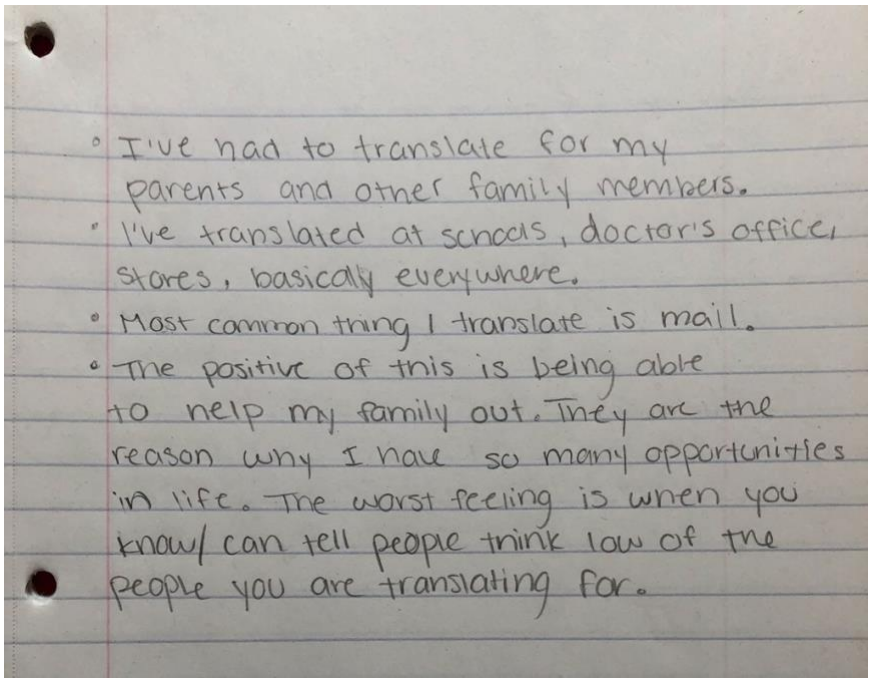


Figure 3: Student journal entry

Figure 3 illustrates a student's journal entry response to our classroom discussions on translating and language brokering. This journal entry shows who the student has had to translate for, what and where they have translated, as well as positive and negative experiences of having to be a language broker. This journal entry provides a quick glance into the lives of the bilingual students living with immigrant and often times Spanish monolingual family members. As mentioned in Chapter I, journaling was used as a method to cultivate open-ended conversations to elicit the viewpoint of students through their writing and contributions in a personal space. Seeing their writing, such as this journal entry, provides a window into their understanding and feelings, while reminding us that they are young adults still processing their experiences. Through this entry, we see the student's affective responses to providing this labor while acknowledging that her family members

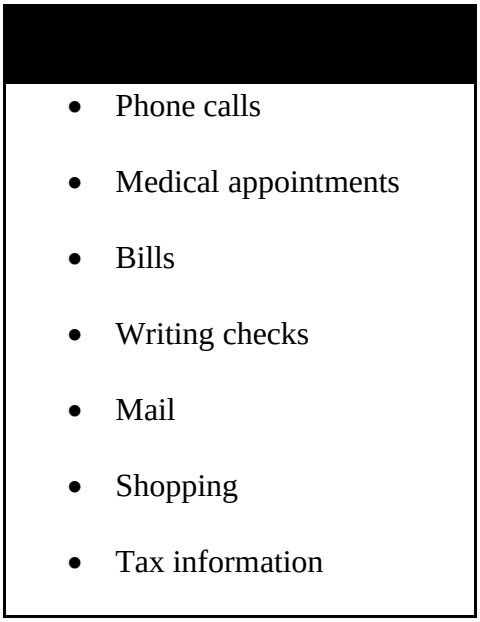
"are the reason why I have so many opportunities in life" while at the same time understanding that others can "think low" of those she translated for. The emotional responses this student had to this type of labor speaks to their understanding of hegemonic ideas surrounding monolingual, Spanish speakers.

Every student participant reported translating for a family member at some point in their lives. Students reported translating for one or both parents, grandparents, and extended family. Alex is the only student who reported never translating for a parent due to their English language abilities. This in part could be understood by the generational difference between Alex's parents and the parents of his peers: Alex's parents are considered the 1.5 generation that immigrated to the U.S. as children. For many of the students, the timing of when their brokering began or decreased has many influencing factors. Similar to Orellana's findings (2009), family order, gender, and age played a significant role in these student experiences. Typically, if the student is the oldest child in the family, they take on the role for the younger siblings (Orellana, 2009). This proves true for students like Isaias, Melissa, Anahi, Grace, and Martin. However, Gibby and Jasmin both shared how their responsibilities of translating and brokering for the family began when their older sibling had other obligations that prevented them from being the helper to the family.

Minerva and Martin point to the gendered aspect that exists in translation labor (Orellana, 2009). Although Minerva has older brothers, she reported being the translator for her parents and grandparents. Martin, who is the oldest in the family, shared how his role as translator is minimizing as his younger sister, who is just a year younger, has taken on the role. For many, age played a significant factor in when and what they help family with. For students like Isaias, who has monolingual Spanish-speaking parents, and Anahi, who has

monolingual Spanish-speaking guardians, their role as translator is ongoing. In addition, familial linguistic development has played a significant role in the amount of translating that students are exposed to. For students whose parents have developed their English abilities over the years, their translating has decreased to some extent. These abilities can range from linguistic comprehension in spoken or written English. For Gibby, this means that his brokering has shifted more to written translations as his father is developing his spoken English abilities. Jessica reports having to translate a lot more during a specific time in her life. For her, elementary and middle school were when her parents were not as fluent in English. Jessica states, “I haven’t translated much since”. The familial linguistic development occurring in Jessica’s home through her mother’s English development has significantly impacted the amount of linguistic labor that Jessica engages in now as a young adult compared to her childhood.

When asked to list the tasks that they have helped their families with linguistically, the students provided an extensive list of experiences (Figure 4).



- Parent's work emails/texts
- Lawsuit documents
- Parent-teacher conferences
- School documents

Figure 4: List of daily tasks students translate

Figure 4 is compiled from student responses to journal entries and one-on-one interviews. This list shows the wide variety of tasks that the students must take on in order to help their families. A majority of these take place within the home, and are therefore what Orellana (2009) calls home-work. Different from homework assigned by schools to be completed at home, home-work is positioned between the school and familial work that occurs within the home. The variety of experiences demonstrates how students must learn to navigate through different spaces and institutions of power when translating and language brokering for their household.

It is important to be able to view these experiences as linguistic laboring acts. The linguistic labor that these students take on daily encompasses multiple factors working together to develop capital.

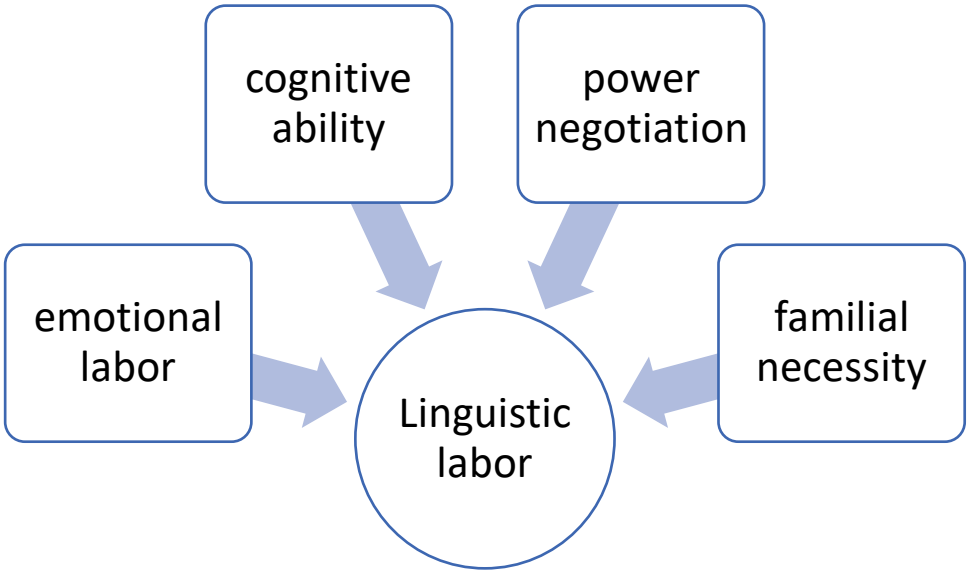


Figure 5: Aspects of linguistic labor

Figure 5 is in conversation with Orellana's (2009) explanation of home-work and the "invisible" labor that children often times participate in when growing up in an immigrant household. There are very real and valid feelings associated with this type of linguistic labor. A lot of emotional labor goes into each linguistic labor task taken on by a student. Students share positive and negative feelings about having to perform this kind of labor for their families. For many, as seen in Figure 3, being the families' translator is their way of thanking their parents for everything they have given them. Gibby explains,

> "I feel a little rewarded because I know that I am contributing to the family and that I'm not necessarily just a kid. It's more like I'm taking a position that an adult would take on. So that in itself is rewarding knowing that you're contributing to your family. They're making the money but at the same time you're also translating that money and you're making sense out of it and I think that it's also rewarding to know that you are

> a product of what they wanted. They wanted their kid to be able to understand both languages and be able to help other people just like they [the child] would help them [the parent] you know."

This quote exemplifies how Gibby understands the emotional and cognitive labor that goes into each linguistic laboring task while also acknowledging the power negotiation that occurs when trying to fulfill the family's necessities. He understands himself as no longer being a "kid" but now a young adult "contributing" to how even the financial aspect of the family is influenced and sustained by his translating and brokering, or as he says, "translating the money". This example connects ideas of labor to ideas of capital that is had and developed in these students. To Gibby, engaging in linguistic labor for his family not only contributes to the functioning of the home but also speaks to the goals and aspirations that parents have for their children to participate in a multilingual society.

As rewarding as many experiences can be for students, it is important to acknowledge the negative emotional toll that linguistic labor can take on them as well. Through class discussions and in interviews, all student participants reported experiencing stress at some point when translating for their families. A significant factor contributing to this stress was not knowing how to translate properly at times. Many of them help with various official documents and formal settings, but their Spanish vocabulary in certain spaces is not developed or polished enough to be able to translate adequately. An example of this could be translating in a doctor's office that uses medical terminology uncommon in everyday verbal exchanges, leading to the translator/student/youth broker not knowing how the word translates between languages. When I had to give my father his cancer diagnosis, I recall the anxiety and stress of not knowing how to translate unfamiliar medical terms, trying to make

sure he understood the status of his health condition, all while personally trying to remain strong with such news. When describing difficulties with translating experiences, nearly all students used words like “scary”, “embarrassing”, and “frustrating”. Isaias was the only student who expressed the importance of tone when translating. He shared how “trying to get it in the same tone” was extremely important and what causes him stress at times. Tone is an interesting factor to consider when translating, as it can easily be lost in translation. We tend to focus more on the words themselves and leave the tone and sentiment of the statement behind.

Another significant factor associated with emotional distress in students is when they are tasked with translating hate. When translating hate, children are positioned to hear and respond to expressions of racism while helping their parents (Orellana, 2009). As shown above in Figure 3, the student is very aware that those they translate for are viewed negatively for their inability to speak English in a white, English-dominant public space. For Anahi, translating hate-speech have negatively affected both her and the family member she is translating for. Because Anahi is still developing her English language abilities, her translating experiences are fraught with constant struggle. She explains how when she is struggling to translate for a family member, “la gente se me queda viendo mal”[5]. These subtle but apparent embodied microaggressions of viendo la mal allows Anahi to feel the hate from others towards hers and her family member’s inability to speak English “properly”. Gibby also shared experiences of having to translate in a white public space. He shares,

[5] English translation: People look at me negatively.

> "I was embarrassed for them because they were in a position where they were kind of defenseless and they couldn't say anything back and they couldn't answer or respond and help themselves and a lot of times that was taken advantage of".

Gibby points to the emotional distress that can be experienced by both the child and the parent. He explains a kind of powerlessness that is embodied by both the translator and the one being translated for in the sense that both a child translator and someone who does not understand English is "defenseless". Instances like Gibby's can shift the conversation of a child being ashamed of the linguistic inability of the parent (Orellana, 2009) to the child actually being worried for the parent and having sympathy for them for being "taken advantage of". His embarrassment stems from a place of wanting to protect them and understanding the feelings that his parents may feel.

Students participating in linguistic labor require a certain level of cognitive ability (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; López, Lezama, & Heredia, 2019; Orellana, 2008, 2009, Valdés, 2003). Not everyone who speaks multiple languages can be a translator. A child translator must have linguistic knowledge of both languages used in the interactions, must be able to go from one language to the other quickly, and must make meaning for both parties in order for the interaction to exist (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; López, Lezama, & Heredia, 2019; Orellana, 2008, 2009, Valdés, 2003). This process exists for both written and vocal interactions. The amount of cognitive ability that is required and that goes into each interaction is truly astounding. The cognitive skills used and developed during translating have positive correlations for academics, as students who are bilingual and translators scored significantly higher on tests and have more fully developed problem-solving skills (López, Lezama, & Heredia, 2019; Orellana, 2008, 2009; Valdés, 2003). The students involved in

this study are all in the AVID program and have been identified as “academically promising” and college bound. We can speculate that their linguistic laboring experiences may have contributed to their academic achievements.

The negotiation of power is a challenging aspect of linguistic labor. Many of these students have been their family’s translator from a very young age and have had to participate in adult situations for many years before they reached adulthood themselves. This idea of “adultification” or fearing that the parental authority is diminished when engaging in linguistic labor is not always the case (Orellana, 2009). For these students, they have managed to negotiate being in a powerful position while still acknowledging that parents hold the authority. They perform this labor as a form of reciprocity for what family has provided to them, termed the “immigrant bargain” by Katz (2014). Katz (2014) explains that the immigrant bargain refers to the children’s efforts to repay the considerable sacrifices that their parents have made to raise them in the settlement country. As children of immigrants, they acknowledge it as a co-constructed act of labor where the parental knowledge and resources are necessary. As Gibby explained above, “—they're making the money but at the same time you're also translating that money and you're making sense out of it”. This exemplifies the partnership and cooperation that occurs when participating in linguistic labor.

Familial necessity is one of the most significant factors leading to linguistic labor. Students’ role as translator and language broker for their families allows for them to function as their family’s “right hand” in an English dominant society. The familial necessities range from home-work tasks to public para-phrasing, a term that suggests that translation work is for (para) a specific goal and aligns children as para (informal) professionals (Orellana, 2008, 2009). Para-phrasing can take the home-work out of the home and benefit the family by

offering access to services outside the home (Orellana, 2008, 2009). When leaving the home, child translators are exposed to speaking to figures of authority in a multitude of institutions of power. It is important to highlight that when taking the translating roles outside of the home, the child translator is now benefiting the public and performing labor that the state should be responsible for (Gallo, 2017; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009; Orellana, 2009). The lack of attention placed on languages other than English in American society is the leading cause of why familial necessity is a significant factor contributing to child linguistic labor (Gallo, 2017; López, Lezama, & Heredia, 2019; Orellana, 2009; Valdés, 2003).

One of the most important public space domains belongs to the schools. Aside from the home, educational settings are the most influential spaces that children and young adults are exposed to (Freire, 1970, 2018; Giroux, 1988; Lewis, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Students can spend more than 7 hours in a K-12 educational setting; therefore, it is important to understand how their linguistic abilities interact with their schooling experiences.

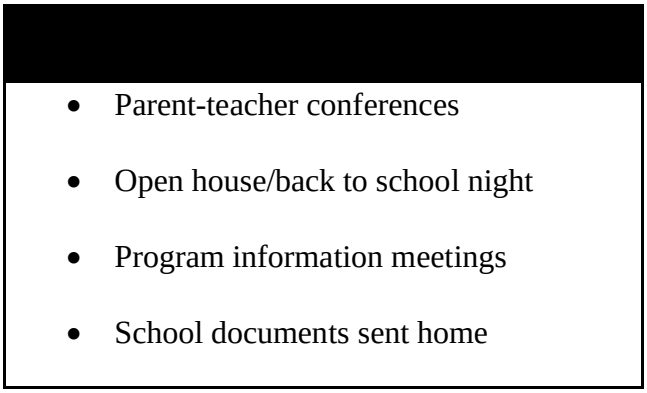
Language and Educational Experiences: School-work

Student linguistic labor transcends from home life and actively plays a role in schooling experiences. When trying to understand how student perceptions of Spanish play a role in their educational experiences, it was necessary to investigate the greater influence their home life plays and build a connection between the two spaces. Research has shown that students enter the schooling site with a vast array of skills and knowledge that are gained from their families and cultural background (Delgado Bernal, 2001; Gallo, 2017; Moll et al., 1992; Orellana, 2009; Yosso, 2005). These forms of capital, however, have been deemed insignificant and unnecessary for the academic learning of Latina/o/x student. Since the early 1900's the purpose of schooling for Latina/o/x youth in the Southwest has been to promote

Americanization and the English language. For decades, this sentiment has perpetuated the schooling system and has aided in the erasure of Latina/o/x culture and language (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Gonzalez, 1999; San Miguel, 1999). This has largely affected the ways in which Spanish is allowed and used in the school, having a direct impact on how Latina/o/x youth think about their home language and use of it.

Whatever connection these students have to their Spanish language is largely attributed to their home life. All students reported having their home interactions with family members as the most significant influence in their Spanish acquisition and use. Alex and Jasmin were the only two students who reported their schooling experiences as aiding their Spanish language development. Both students reported that high school Spanish classes helped with their language. For Alex, Spanish classes helped him learn the language, as his access to Spanish as a child decreased as his interactions with his grandparents decreased; they were his primary link to the Spanish language. For Jasmin, taking Spanish classes at the high school level helped her with her written Spanish abilities. She had never formally learned this skill prior to taking courses in school.

During a classroom discussion of the ways that these students use Spanish in their learning spaces, they provided an extensive list of examples (Figure 6).



- Permission slips
- Meeting information
- School event updates

- Progress reports
- Report cards
- School automated phone calls
- Conversations between English learners and monolingual English teachers

Figure 6: List of school-based translations

I am utilizing the term school-work to analyze the school sanctioned tasks and labor that students participate in within their educational settings. According to my data, the primary space that students are used as translators is during parent-teacher interactions like meetings and open houses. The school's need for Spanish use in these events elicited linguistic labor from the students in their sites of learning. Just like linguistic labor at home, linguistic labor at school is comprised of the same types of cognitive ability, familial necessity, power negotiation, and emotional labor. The cognitive abilities and skills allowing students to translate have been developed within their home-work use and further developed through schooling translating experiences. Nearly all students reported having to translate during a parent-teacher conference or open house event. Students like Jessica, Minerva, Isaias, Jasmin, and Martin all reported this type of linguistic labor beginning at the elementary school level. Their linguistic labor was influenced and developed by their schooling from a very young age. Orellana & Reynolds (2008) argue that the para-phrasing abilities developed within the home help students when paraphrasing or putting school assignments and readings

into their own words. My findings extend this conversation, demonstrating that students' schooling sites also play an active role in developing their school-work skills. Students explain how schools position them in a unique power negotiation position by having to mediate between their institution and their Spanish-speaking family. For some, this has been happening since they were children.

Linguistic labor in academic spaces, or school-work, imposes the expectations of the school on the student. Although their Spanish is not allowed during instruction or used for their learning, the school utilizes students' knowledge of Spanish its own needs and benefits. Many students have reported having to serve as translators for the school. The student tasked with translating for the parent at the school site means that the school does not have the appropriate linguistic resources available to accommodate to parent needs. Therefore, the student is now serving a dual role of learner and translator for the school and its personnel. In instances like parent-teacher conferences, the student is not only the subject of the conversation but is also tasked with translanguaging, leveraging their linguistic toolkit in order to transmit information from two parties of authority.

Aside from personal parent-teacher meetings, some students reported having the school use their labor for other schooling events. These experiences were a result of them being asked to volunteer by their teachers, teachers offering incentives like extra credit, or being a requirement for a club or school organization on campus. Jessica reports being required to travel to intermediate schools in the district as part of Associated Student Body (ASB) program in order to help translate for teachers at larger informational events. Both Gibby and Minerva have translated for a large group of parents at program information meetings at their high school. Gibby, who is involved in a UC partnership academy at the

high school, was tasked with translating to parents the information about the program and share his experiences as participant in the program with them. This was all done in Spanish, which he reports having difficulty with. Minerva's experiences have ranged for multiple events and meetings at her school. She reports having to translate for teachers, parents, and other students during their parent-teacher meetings. This puts Minerva is a peculiar position where she is now being exposed to personal student/parent/teacher information and breaching confidentiality. Because the school cannot provide appropriate resources for families who cannot translate for themselves, it can compromise sensitive and confidential information by bringing in a student to take on the task. Experiences like these elicit a lot of emotional labor from the students on top of the linguistic tasks they are asked to perform. Request for this labor were often times made on a face-to-face basis, eliminating the autonomy for students to volunteer or sign-up and instead instilling pressure from authority figures.

Similarly, the school has limited appropriate resources to serve English learners. All students have reported having to translate for monolingual English-speaking teachers who have English learners in the classrooms. The topic of peer translations and lack of resources for English learners is explored further in Chapter V.

All of the examples of linguistic labor within schooling spaces involved various outcomes and feelings from the students. The emotional labor that goes into these experiences brought on positive, negative, and ambivalent emotions. For students like Gibby, Isaias, and Anahi their ability to serve as translators brought positive feelings. For Gibby, being able to translate for a large group of parents allowed him to "show that my language connects to people". Although at times he experienced difficulty, being able to use his

Spanish not only provided understanding for parents but allowed him to connect to them through the power of their common language. For Isaias, being able to be a translator for his parents during student meetings allowed him to be confident that his parents understood what was going on. He explains that attending conferences with them allows for more clarity and support for his parents. He shared,

> "I think it [translating for them] made them feel a bit comfortable and more understanding because they got to kind of know what's going on instead of them just coming by themselves and then trying to figure out what the person is trying to explain to them".

Isaias alludes to the fact that if parents attend school events alone, no translation or explanation services will be available for them to understand how their child is performing; parents are left to figure it out on their own. Therefore, him being his parents' translator allows for him to be sure that they know and understand everything they are told. For Anahi, her linguistic labor in school comes from a place of pride. She acquired English fairly quickly in comparison to other English learners in her class, which allowed her to assist her English Learner teachers, who at times did not speak Spanish, when communicating with their students. Anahi explained that she was surprised that they would trust her with such task. She explained,

> "No podía creer que tuviera confianza en mí para estarle ayudando a los demás y para traducirles. Yo me sentía bien porque cómo aprendí rápido me sentía como orgullosa de mí misma".[6]

[6] Translation: "I could not believe that they would trust me to help others and translate for them [teachers]. I felt good because since I learned [English] quickly, I felt proud of myself."

Even though Anahi's linguistic labor is being elicited by her ESL teachers, her experiences have been positive in that she has found great pride in herself for learning the language and for being able to be there for her peers. Her surprise in this instance can help us understand the unfamiliarity with the power shift that occurs when teachers require the help of students in these classrooms in order to function properly.

Feelings of satisfaction and appreciation when translating in schools are not always the case for every student. Jasmin and Minerva both explain that they experience a lot of stress when being put in a position between their parents and teachers. The root of their stress lies in their insecurity of translating properly. Jasmin explains the emotionally vulnerable position and responsibility that accompanies translating. She explains,

> "…I'm not good at Spanish, so I'm not going to be able to say a lot of things and then when I did translate, I don't want my parents to think I'm lying to them about what the teacher is saying, you know? So that was kind of hard".

Jasmin expresses the anxiety of everyone involved in situations like this one. For one, students with limited Spanish translating abilities like herself experience the stress of not knowing whether they are translating properly. The parents and teacher on the other hand are both unaware of what is actually being transferred to the other party so questions of lying or omission can arise, causing more stress on the student. It is possible that Jasmin's expression of this stress about being suspected of lying come from previous experiences she has had with translating between parents and teachers.

Schools not having proper translating services for students and parents can have a significant impact on the learning experiences of students like Melissa. Melissa explained that she has more frequent parent-teacher meetings than her peers because she is an

Individualized Education Program (IEP) student. An IEP is developed for students who are identified as having special educational needs. For Melissa, having to translate to her parent during IEP meetings has brought on difficulties with understandability. She explains that even defining and explaining what an IEP is in Spanish is difficult, sharing how "…they're going to interpret it into like my son needs help or he's special". Here, Melissa's use of "special" refers to someone with special needs. She signals the differences between being a special needs student and a special education plan student and the difficulty of translating the difference when not knowing how to do so with her current linguistic repertoire.

Language and Skin Color

Because schools exist within White public space, they are influenced by the racialized beliefs and ideologies that exist in an English-dominant society. Schooling practices are governed by racialized views of communities of color (Lewis, 2001; Pizarro). What a person looks like largely influences how others perceive them and their linguistic abilities (Rosa, 2018; Zarate 2018). This raciolinguistic profiling positions a person into a specific linguistic ability based on their appearance (Zarate, 2018). Alex and Minerva both reported being raciolinguistically profiled into speaking a certain way by their schooling experiences. For Alex, his darker phenotype signaled to others a perceived ability to speak Spanish and to be able to translate for his grandfather at the school's open house. Alex, who is English dominant and comes from an English dominant household, explains that although he has learned some Spanish through his schooling and his work at his parents' paletería he "kinda still sucks at Spanish". He explains that because he was not able to fully translate for his grandfather, they were both disengaged from the event. Alex's disengagement stemmed from

his frustration with not being able to translate properly and his grandfather's disengagement stemmed from his inability to understand the primary used language at the event.

Minerva's experience stands in opposition to Alex's. Minerva, who is light skinned with blonde hair, was raciolinguistically profiled into not knowing Spanish for her phenotypical appearance signaling "white" to others. Minerva explains the expectations that others have of her when she translates. She explains,

> "I find it funny when I translate 'cause everybody is always shocked because they see me and they see a little white girl and they're like, 'This blonde girl is going to try to speak Spanish'. They're just waiting for me to butcher a word and they sit there laughing as I go to translate and then I start talking and they're like, 'Oh wait, what? She actually knows what she's saying' and well yeah. You were so quick to judge but little did you know my dad over here is like, 'You better speak Spanish and you better speak it properly'."

Minerva shares that people have been "shocked" when they see her translating because of their racialized perceptions about what language someone who looks like her should be able to speak. Minerva, who grew up in a Spanish-dominant home with a very strict father, takes great pride in her Spanish abilities and is amused by others' perceptions of her linguistic abilities. Others' expectations, however, do lead to Minerva feeling "very scared" when translating due to the stress of making sure she is translating properly. She was not only trying to prove people wrong for raciolinguistically profiling her, but she shared how she also feels like she had to translate accurately every time to avoid criticism.

For Minerva and Alex, "looking like a language" (Rosa, 2019) impacted how others thought of their linguistic abilities and had a direct impact on how their linguistic labor

influenced their educational experiences. For all of these students, their linguistic labor was necessary for navigating their educational experiences. They used their linguistic repertoire for themselves, their families, and their schools, which allowed them to function as best they could. The linguistic labor that goes into home and school translating tasks seamlessly occurs without much attention or praise being given to it. This labor continues to go unnoticed and is "invisible" (Orellana, 2009) despite how greatly important and necessary it is.

Conclusion and Recommendations

> "I cannot believe that this school has so many Spanish speakers yet they [the school] cannot get a proper translator of any capacity".
>
> -Minerva

The students painted a clear picture for how their linguistic abilities have developed and worked together in their home and school lives. The need for their linguistic labor in both home and school spaces stems from Spanish not being deemed an important communicative language in U.S. society. The abolishment of Proposition 227 by Proposition 58 may aid in shifting the perceptions of the Spanish language and the learning experiences of Latina/o/x students in California. Because these students had their entire educational career impacted by Prop 227, they shared how schools can be better prepared for working with Latina/o/x communities and their home language.

All students expressed the need for schools to provide adequate translating services when communicating with non-English speakers. Relying on student translators appears to be the primary translation service of choice for schools but as many students have expressed, there are many factors that demonstrate why this does not always work. One of the most significant factors is the assumption that they all have strong Spanish speaking/translating abilities even though the language is not being fostered academically.

Jessica expressed her raciolinguistic understanding of schools utilizing student linguistic labor. She explains, “I feel like they do [rely too much on students] just because we are Latino they think, ‘Oh, you know she speaks wonderful in Spanish’.” Jessica’s observation of how reliant schools are on student translators comes with a racialized sentiment. She understands the school’s reliance on students as being coupled with the assumption that all Latina/o/x students are Spanish speakers. Although some students like Alex, Minerva, and Jasmin believe it is fine for students to be used as translators, they all think that this is acceptable only when the student has the linguistic capability of doing so. For Minerva, her main concern with student translators was proper translation and dissemination of information. She explains,

> “Like I said I’m totally fine with a student being the one translating ‘cause I’ve been there. I’ve been a student who has to translate. But make sure that the student is translating the proper message.”

Minerva shared how her concern was not so much about the labor being asked of the student and more about the proper message being translated. This is especially important for her as she has seen the disparity between Spanish and English documents that the school sends home. She explains,

> “Overall, make sure the same message comes across…because of that, that’s why my mom does not take papers in Spanish. She does not take school papers in Spanish. It’s happened to her so many times that she’ll get a paper in Spanish and the message is different than the one in English because they don't have proper translators”.

Minerva’s mother has built a distrust in the Spanish translated documents sent to her by the schools, so much so that she has refused to receive Spanish information and chooses English

documents. This example shows the lack of importance that the school places on the Spanish language documents and whether the parents are receiving the proper information as English speaking parents do.

School districts like Santa Ana Unified School District are constantly targeted for underperformance and are persistently underfunded, leading to a disparity in school resources. Therefore, providing services like translators can be difficult and expensive for schools. Students like Grace and Jasmin have thought about this disparity and share their solution to such issues. Grace and Jasmin both point out that events like parent-teacher meetings and open house are not spontaneous or a one-time occurrence; there is really no excuse for lack of translators. Therefore, they believe that schools should be better prepared by taking the time to ask for volunteers from bilingual staff at their site. A plan like this alleviates the roles of all of those involved in the interaction by having a point person who is capable of translating the information back and forth and is getting monetarily compensated for their labor. Whether employees are paid hourly or on salary, the school can facilitate a payment method that is not only easier to fulfill but also is ethically not exploiting students for their unpaid linguistic labor.

A key concern for students like Isaias and Gibby is providing opportunities that allow for understanding and unity between the school and the home. Isaias explains,

> "…if the person doesn't know how to speak Spanish, they should have someone that can translate. That way, it's better and they can be united like school, and the families, and the kids that come to the school because if it's just like an English speaker with like the Spanish-speaking parent, you're not going to understand each other so they're going to be just like, 'Okay. Okay.' and when they leave outside the office or

> whatever [school site], they're not going to know anything or understand anything that they said".

Isaias speaks to the fact that the lack of proper communication that exists between the school and home is causing a divide between the two. Spanish-speaking parents can just say "okay" in agreement during an interaction when in reality they leave the interaction or meeting not knowing what was actually said or having a clear understanding. Like Isaias, Gibby is concerned with the lack of proper communication leading to a lack of understandability in interactions. The lack of services that allow for direct communication between both parties has an effect on how they interact and think of each other. Jessica explained,

> "I think they [parents] just felt like sad or something like they can't even…they couldn't understand the language. I feel like that's what made my mom want to learn English."

Jessica shares how parents like her mother can feel sad when attending school events that are not inclusive and do not accommodate to their linguistic abilities. The inability for the school site to accommodate to her mother's needs pushed her to take the initiative and learn English in order to be involved in her daughter's education. This is not the case for all parents though. Different financial and/or familial obligations can impact the time that parents have available to take classes and learn a new language. This has significant implications for lower or no parental involvement in school events. Instances of miscommunication or lack of proper care for clear communication can have implications for future involvement from parents. As a result of feeling unwelcomed or shamed for their lack of language abilities, parents can lower their levels of involvement with the school (Gallo, 2017). This pattern contributes to the deficit notions that exist around parental involvement and Latina/o/x

communities where they are assumed to be un-caring or un-involved in their children's schooling.

In short, translation work and language brokering are accompanied by various degrees of labor and emotions. Growing up in an immigrant household has positioned U.S. born and/or English-speaking immigrant children to assist in the functioning of the family through brokering. Although a necessity for some homes, language brokers utilize their varying linguistic skills and repertoires in various spaces within society for the functioning of others.

This chapter highlights how students credit their home lives for the development of language practices and skills like translating, language brokering, and translanguaging. Although often times this home-work is imposed on them, students have an understanding that their skills and knowledge, although sometimes limited, aids in the functioning of the family and the home. Institutions like schools also engage students in linguistic labor and tasks, or what I term school-work, in order to utilize students' linguistic skills for the school's functioning when working with monolingual Spanish speakers. It is important to note, however, that although their linguistic labor is consistently utilized in schools, the ways in which their Spanish intersects their academic learning is limited or non-existent. Other than Spanish language class, Spanish is not used for academic learning in other classrooms or for other subjects. Researchers have demonstrated the positive correlations of implementing dual languages by providing an academic advantage that can lead to bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy (García, 2009; Martínes-Roldán & Sayer, 2006; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). But because of politically

sanctioned laws imposed on education, the way in which students are taught does not include their home languages, histories, or practices.

Now that California's school districts have more autonomy to incorporate various languages in schools due to the passing of Proposition 58, it is important to investigate how schools will accommodate the needs of monolingual Spanish speaking parents or if they maintain the same practices of utilizing student linguistic labor for translating. As many scholars have shown, students are more academically successful if they view both languages as resources that can help them academically and socially rather than one hindering and having less value than the other (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2018; Gallo, 2017). Shifts in language hierarchies and how schools implement policies around language can create shifts in students' language, literacy development, and linguistic identities.

As the influence of the role that the home and school on the development and use of linguistic abilities has been explored, Chapter IV analyzes the impact of friends and peers on their linguistic practices and choices.

Chapter IV

Linguistic Hybridity and Linguistic Mentorship among Peer Interactions

"Dime con quién te juntas y te diré quién eres."
-Mexican proverb

"Tell me who you hang out with and I will tell you who you are". This popular Mexican proverb is used to assert clear connections between who you surround yourself with and how others will perceive you. As I was growing up in a working-class, Mexican-dominant immigrant community, this proverb was used by many señoras in my neighborhood in response to adolescents getting involved in la mala vida. This proverb has a lot to do with perceptions and how society reads you physically and linguistically. To these señoras, being pelon[7] or speaking like a cholo automatically associated you with gang life. If they saw you associating with someone who they read as a cholo, you were a cholo too.

Dominant narratives around race and language are inextricably linked to communities of color and how they are perceived. Popular discourses position communities of color as inferior and lacking proper social and cultural qualities required to "make it" in America (Santa Ana, 2002; Yosso, 2006). In large part, how the world profiles us physically and linguistically to be able to categorize us into a specific racial/ethnic group has an impact on how these narratives impact our lived experiences (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1987; Baugh, 2000, 2003; Fergus, 2004; Rosa, 2019). How others perceived me and associated me with specific communities of people had a large impact on how I navigated personal and academic spaces and those I associate with.

[7] Translation: bald; having a shaved head.

"White girl" and "Güera" were terms I heard a lot growing up. Being a light-skinned Chicana comes with levels of privilege that I reflect on and acknowledge as I learn about hierarchies of skin color. I remember the praise I received as a child for my appearance in contrast to darker-skinned peers and siblings; I have benefited from colorism ideologies (Hunter, 2007). My skin color and name have oftentimes left me in places of ambiguity; people cannot easily identify me racially or find signifiers for my Mexicanidad. In elementary school, I was never tested for English as Second Language (ESL) programs even though I come from a Spanish-speaking dominant immigrant family. Rather, I was tracked into Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), which led me to honors classes in middle school, and honors/Advanced Placement (AP) in high school. This chain of tracking practices and separating me into specific achievement tracks influenced the type of education I was receiving in contrast to others within the same school (Zarate, 2018).

My physical appearance has significant implications for how others perceive my linguistic abilities. "It doesn't look like you speak Spanish" and "You speak English so well" are consistent microaggressions I have received my entire life. Not speaking English with an accent that is associated with my Mexican background has others disassociating me from the Latina/o/x community in the U.S., especially when I do not fit the stereotypical physical markers of someone who comes from Mexican origins. The ways in which my appearance and language worked together to position me in a certain space within educational settings had implications for who and how I interacted with peers within school settings.

Influence of Social Groups and Interactions

Racial and linguistic ideologies are largely shaped by and from interactions with our immediate environment. As familial relationships are important for linguistic acquisition and

maintenance, they are not the only source of influence for youth. Peer influence is an integral part of adolescent relationships. Much research has discussed the influence of peers during adolescence, both positive and negative (Alim, 2011; Downey & Ainsworth-Darnell, 2002; Fergus, 2004, 2009; Flores-Gonzalez, 2005; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Horvat & Lewis, 2003; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004; Neal-Bernett et al, 2010; Topete, 2010). This relationship has developed as a bidirectional process with constant negotiations and accommodations in order to establish a stable personal and social identity (as cited in Gándara, 2004; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004). Some foundational existing literature on peer influences like that of Fordham and Ogbu (1986) contextualizes our understandings of communities of color in a specific time and place, often times reinforcing the historical trajectory of deficit modes of thinking connected to them. This is important to consider when trying to understand the historical legacy of deficit associated with the Latina/o/x community. Current narratives about Latina/o/x youth are those of constant underperformance and linguistic deficiency with negative peer influence at the forefront of this discussion (Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Paris, 2011; Pizarro, 2005). These narratives, however, do not take into account the intersections of social, cultural, and structural influences that affect this community.

For Latina/o/x youth, adhering to norms and standards of a social group can be much less about peer pressure and more an expression of their identity within that community (Gándara, 2004; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Since the time we are children, we are in a fluid and ever-growing process of identity formation, especially a linguistic one (Stanford, 2008). When navigating different social groups, we learn and construct different personal and linguistic identities that belong to that social group (Alim, 2004; Bucholtz, 2001; Hurtado & Gurin, 2004; Paris, 2011; Stanford, 2008). As we develop

closer relationships with peers, they can provide different forms of capital in the form of information and support that can be missing in other immediate environments (Valenzuela, 1999; Gándara 2004; Yosso, 2005, 2006). Understanding the influence of peers on linguistic beliefs and practices can help understand the ways in which language functions as a socializing agent within academic spaces.

Although there is a great amount of research connecting peer influence to academic success, recent research has focused on the influence of peers on linguistic choice and perceptions within academic settings (Aragón, 2018; Martínez, Durán, & Hikida, 2017; Paris, 2011). Some research points to the disconnect between school, culture, and language for Latina/o/x communities and positions negative associations to assimilation at the heart of that disconnect (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2017; Gándara, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999). However, current literature is shifting the conversation from being an internalized issue and deficiency within Latina/o/x youth to focusing on structural and societal influences affecting their educational experiences (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2015, 2016, 2017; 2018; Lewis, 2001, 2003; Pizarro, 2005; Valdés, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999). Therefore, it is imperative to see how peer relations are impacted by language and linguistic practices, paying close attention to how practices interpolate into interactions within students and different spaces within their schooling experiences.

This chapter discusses the ways in which peer interactions and linguistic choices and practices are influenced by raciolinguistic ideologies. This includes discussions about personal linguistic practices and linguistic accommodation, specifically the ways in which we attempt to adapt our speech in response to the varieties spoken to us (Coupland & Giles, 1988; Giles, 1984). Close attention is given to linguistic practices and accommodation when

interacting with peers and friends and how they are influenced based on the different academic spaces that the students navigate throughout their schooling. These discussions highlight the use of linguistic hybridity in the forms of Spanglish use and codeswitching. Moreover, the analysis discusses linguistic policing and speculations about ethnic authenticity from peers based on language and phenotype. The chapter ends with recommendations for how we should proceed when working with Latina/o/x youth and understanding their linguistic abilities in close connection to their interactions with their peers in academic settings. This chapter aims to highlight the importance of the development of linguistic identities within distinct speech communities.

SKILLS-inspired Classroom Interactions

In order to understand the ways in which racioliguistic ideologies influence peer interactions as linguistic choices and practices, I constructed classrooms presentations that would prompt such discussions. For this chapter, the presentations discussed topics such as accent, codeswitching and Spanglish, racial and linguistic profiling and policing, and microaggressions.

The presentation of accents addressed general discussions about what accents are and about the racial hierarchy that exists within accents, which all derived from SKILLS curriculum (http://www.skills.ucsb.edu/). Further, this presentation prompted students to think about the idea of intelligibility of accents as an ideology and how that functions to further racialize communities of color. The purpose of this presentation and discussion was to have students reflect on their personal ideologies about accents and how they have experienced the influences of existing ideologies about Spanish accents.

The presentation on codeswitching and Spanglish provided a general definition of what the terms are, given that the majority of these students did not have a name for these linguistic practices in which they engage in their daily lives. Spanglish was defined as "a hybrid language combining words and idioms from both Spanish and English, especially Spanish speech that uses many English words and expressions". This definition came directly from an existing SKILLS curriculum lesson (http://www.skills.ucsb.edu/). Spanglish is known to include loan words from English (Fought, 2003) in creating words such as parkear and lonche that have English as the root word with Spanish endings. Codeswitching was defined as using more than one language in a single utterance or interaction (http://www.skills.ucsb.edu/). This discussion positioned the importance of having multiple forms of bilingualism and levels of fluency to be able to practice Spanglish and codeswitching. The purpose of this presentation and discussion was not only to give name to the practices these students use but to also highlight the value and skill associated with having these in their linguistic repertoire. Much research has highlighted the negative associations with youth's expressions of linguistic hybridity and classify them as "mashed up" and incoherent forms of speaking. Historically, Spanglish has been referred to as Spanish-English mixing and traditionally signals a pejorative view of complex linguistic phenomena and processes (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; Stavans, 2003; Martinez, 2013). A deficit perspective of Spanglish is associated with use by the lower class as "the tongue of the uneducated," and as a "hodgepodge" (as cited in Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013, p. 3). Codeswitching practices have been seen as insufficient competence in one of the two languages, gaps in vocabulary, and lack of proficiency in one or both languages (Gumperz, 1982; Lance, 1969; Martinez, 2013; Romaine, 1995; Zentella, 1997).

This discussion and presentation, however, highlighted how language lives and transforms constantly to adjust to the time and place that we live in, demonstrating the true cognitive ability associated with these practices.

The presentation on racial and linguistic profiling and policing discussed and analyzed the ways in which communities of color have been signaled as "Other" for their race and language. In this presentation, linguistic profiling was defined through housing discrimination, whereas racial profiling was defined through Arizona's Senate Bill 1070, which requires police to determine the immigration status of those arrested or detained when there is "reasonable suspicion" that they are not in the United States legally (Campbell 2011; Stoever 2010). In this conversation, students and I made the clear connection between how race is influenced by language and how language is influenced by race: there is a co-naturalization happening based on a raciolinguistic understanding. The topic of linguistic and racial policing was important to this discussion as we analyzed how actions of profiling are actively being policed on both micro and macro levels, focusing now on how an individual can take on the role of enforcer and challenge someone for supposed transgression of in-group norms. The purpose of this presentation and discussion was to have the students understand how racial and linguistic ideologies affect their daily-lived experiences and recognizing the intersection of the two.

In transitioning to understand how people act on their racial and linguistic ideologies, our discussions moved towards the topics of further policing and microaggressions. Students were asked to read "Literary Wetback" by Alicia Gaspar De Alba in order to see how someone negotiates a dual linguistic identity. In this essay, Gaspar De Alba talks about how she experienced linguistic policing at home and at school, each having different preferences

for her linguistic use and fluency. In conjunction with this essay, students were introduced to microaggressions, "the linguistic and nonverbal behavior focused on social difference that may or may not be intended as an insult but that has the effect of marginalizing and/or devaluing" (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). In this presentation, students were asked to think about how they have experienced a microaggression personally or know of how others have experienced them. This discussion was proposed in order to have students reflect on how they have experienced sometimes unintended forms of discrimination associated to their race and language. The following data analyzed in this chapter originates from the product of classroom discussions field notes, journal entries, and interview responses around these issues.

Linguistic Choice and Use

For the purpose of clarifying terms, the students and I operationalized the terms "peers" and "friends". Friends are "the people you actually hang out with" whereas peers are people you know and interact with, like classmates. With these distinctions in mind, we proceeded to discuss linguistic choice and interactions. All participants reported using a mixture of Spanish and English when interacting with their friends. The mixture of languages varied for the 10 Latina/o/x participants, with five reporting they use more English with few inclusions of Spanish, four reporting they use a consistent mix of Spanish and English, and one using mostly Spanish.

Mostly English	Consistent mix of Spanish and English	Mostly Spanish
Alex	Minerva	Anahi

Jessica	Isaias
Gibby	Grace
Jasmin	Melissa
Martin	

Figure 7: Student self-reporting language use with friends

The linguistic choices made when interacting with their friends reflected a similarity in linguistic abilities. For Alex, given that he has self-reported the lowest Spanish speaking abilities of all of the participants, this was especially true as he describes that he and his friends "stick to English because we all suck at Spanish". Alex's use of the word "sucks" allows us to understand that he has internalized "good" and "bad" assumptions about language use (Anzaldúa, 1987; Aparicio, 1998, 2000; Urciuoli, 1996). In a sense, Alex and his peers are self-policing (Aparicio, 1998, 2000) based on these internalized assumptions. Therefore, it is understandable that he would use mainly English when interacting with his friends and peers.

For some students, their friends offered a type of linguistic mentorship relationship. By linguistic mentorship, I refer to the way in which their friends served as a mentor or support in order for them use and enhance their less dominant language. For Grace and Jasmin, this meant Spanish use. Although Grace reports using a consistent mix of English and Spanish in her interactions, she reported that her friends influence her to use more Spanish in order to better her language and learn from them. Jasmin had a similar experience with linguistic mentorship from her friends and points to it serving as a protection mechanism. She explained,

> "…[We] fix each other cuz we're just like 'you didn't say right so I will help you a little bit to pronounce it the right way'. It's mostly just fixing each other so we won't look bad in front of other people who might make fun of us."

Jasmin and her friends are aware of the ridicule that can come from speaking "poorly" in front of others, therefore, they are very purposeful in "fixing" each other by helping and mentoring each other linguistically in order to avoid speculation. Anahi had an especially interesting relationship with linguistic mentorship, as she served as both mentor and mentee with her friends and her roles included both Spanish and English. Anahi served as a linguistic mentor for her Spanish-dominant newcomer friends, helping them with their English, while also being mentored by English-dominant friends for her English given that she had only been learning English for the last four years. Linguistic mentorship is about caring and supporting for one another, while highlighting how students feel about language and their relationships. Their creations of linguistic practices like linguistic mentorship highlights their acknowledgement of linguistic speculation from others and the influence these speculations can have on interactions with others.

Along with the development of practices like linguistic mentorship, students also mentioned their use of linguistic accommodation, or the adjustment to language use based on other's preferences. Linguistic accommodation was important to all participants. They all expressed that they reciprocate in whatever language they are approached in by their friends, sometimes speaking one language over the other in order to make their friends feel comfortable. This was especially true for Gibby. He expressed that although he is English dominant, his two friends Mari and Celia influence his use of Spanish when interacting with them. He shared,

> "…It's very Spanglish. It's very like mid-sentence we switch language kind of thing and that's just how I interact with them because I know that they are from Mexico and they love their culture, they love their language, and I love that about them and it just became this thing where we just talk to each other like that."

The relationship that Gibby has developed with Mari and Celia and their linguistic choices and practices when they interact are entirely influenced by his affective understanding about their linguistic preferences. He is making a clear and conscious decision to use what he refers to as a "Spanglish" hybrid with them in order to accommodate that linguistic relationship. Anahi also expressed the importance of accommodation to peer linguistic abilities and choices. Anahi, the only student who reported using mainly Spanish in her interactions, has an English monolingual friend. She shared that although she continues to struggle with her English due to being in the U.S. school system for only 3 years as an English Language Learner, she makes it a point to always speak in English when with her English-speaking friend. Anahi shared that she knows what it is like to struggle and how difficult it is to be in a conversation where you do not understand what is being said, so she makes a conscious decision to always be understood by her friends by using their preferred language. The development of a linguistic mentorship and accommodation is a direct response to affective feelings and emotions that students have in relationship to their friends and language.

Minerva is a distinct case when considering the languages she would use when interacting with friends and peers. Minerva, who has the strongest "formal", i.e., as opposed to casual, Spanish abilities of all of the participants, reported having to "lower" her Spanish in order to adapt to the Spanish level of others. She explained,

> "I think my friends have made me lower my Spanish a lot and sometimes it makes me sad because I'm starting to lose touch with the more elevated Spanish skills that my father taught me. It makes me sad cause I feel like I'm disappointing him but at the same time, at times it makes me happy because I'm learning all these words [from my friends] that I never would have learned otherwise. I feel like it opened up a whole new world but it's scary because I'm still leaving a part of me behind."

For Minerva, having to accommodate her Spanish to her peers brought both joy and sadness. Because of her strict Mexican Spanish-language upbringing enforced by her father, Minerva never had the opportunity to develop a more casual U.S. Spanish-use like her friends and peers did. This equated to developing feeling of having to lose her Spanish in order to learn a new variety. Her use of the word "elevated" when describing her Spanish abilities speaks to the hierarchal nature and categorization of types of Spanish created and upheld by her language ideology, where her use of "elevated" is in reference to formal, educated, and "correct" use of Spanish (Aparicio, 1998). By explaining how her friends have made her "lower" her Spanish, she is implying that their forms of Spanish use are inferior to the "formal" and "elevated" Spanish she grew up with. Her explanation, while showcasing the internal linguistic conflict she deals with, highlights how Minerva had internalized the hierarchical rhetoric of "good" and "bad" ways of speaking and practices within her own community. Throughout their discussions, students highlighted a significant relationship between language use and their campus.

Space and Place: Linguistic Use and Campus Sites

Where linguistic interactions took place largely influenced the participants' language use. When interacting with peers, all participants reported using English almost entirely.

Interactions with peers primarily belong in classroom settings, therefore addressing their use of English. This is especially true for Isaias as he made it very clear that he chose to speak to peers in English because "well like in class …you're basically told to speak English". The classroom belongs to white public space where English is dominant over any other language (Corella, 2018; Lippi-Green, 1997; Hill, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996), leaving Spanish secondary if ever used. Alex speaks to the status and leverage associated to English use when he shares about language in classroom interactions. He explained, "During classroom we kind of keep it professional cause like normally all my friends are Honors students and so we try to keep it professional". This quote speaks to the expectations associated with English and high achieving students like those in Honors courses and the English language being the link to "sounding professional" (Fought, 2006; Love-Nichols, 2018). Specifically, when looking at language use and peer classroom interactions, students added to the narrative of English being the expected norm within that space. Gibby explained that any use of Spanish with English dominant peers would be "out of place" even though they are Spanish speakers themselves and can understand him. Melissa experienced the same sentiment as she shares that she uses more English in classroom interactions with peers in order to feel comfortable and "not look different or apart from anybody". For these students, the inclusion of Spanish is never a part of their academic learning time when interacting with their teachers or peers aside from Spanish class as a foreign language requirement. Spanish use in the classroom with friends for some only occurred once instruction was done, popping up sporadically during their down time or when working in isolation from their teachers.

The classroom environment and linguistic choices of students is entirely dictated by the teacher's choice and preference. Some students report that they include Spanish during

their non-instructional or down time with their friends and peers only when they feel comfortable with their teachers. For students like Jasmin, Isaias, and Alex, however, the use of Spanish in the classroom only happened in the form of or for the purpose of omission. For Jasmin, the use of Spanish in classroom interactions was met with challenges. She recounted that using Spanish in the classroom with friends or peers sometime equated to getting in trouble or being reprimanded by the classroom teacher for their linguistic choice in that space. She explained,

> "… In a classroom if we say something in Spanish the teacher is going to be like, 'This isn't Spanish class' or 'Are you saying something that we need to know too or is it just between you guys?' I don't want to get in trouble for something I'm saying, you know".

Jasmin's choice to omit Spanish from her classroom interactions stems from being in an environment that does not accept it and is hostile to its use. She explained that teachers believe that using Spanish was directly correlated to speaking poorly about them or others. Jasmin was aware that her use of Spanish is going to be met with dissonance and will result in the policing of it. Some students, like Isaias, however, found ways within an English dominant space in order to stay true to their personal linguistic choices.

> "… [I use Spanish] sometimes in the classroom too like if the teacher's like in the other side of the room then I start to speak in Spanish because I mean it's not like he's going to hear me or anything…"

Isaias indirectly speaks to Jasmin's experiences of getting in trouble for using Spanish in the classroom by sharing the strategies or techniques he has had to develop in order to achieve Spanish inclusion. For Isaias, the inclusion of Spanish within educational settings with his

peers is a reflection of his self-identification as Spanish dominant. He manages to find ways like waiting for the teacher to be out of hearing proximity in order to speak how he chooses. This is a clear example of how Isaias is utilizing his agency and finding ways to resist the expectations of an English-dominant learning environment.

For Alex, who identifies as English dominant, his relationship to Spanish and the classroom is a little different, as his use of Spanish with peers stretches to a payasiando or playful manner. The classroom for Alex extends to the sports fields, as he is a football and baseball player and interacts with teachers in that space. Although considered an informal educational setting when compared to a classroom, there is still authority and English dominance on the field and in the way in which Alex thinks about that space. He explained that his use of Spanish in a payasiando manner is largely influenced by his peer interactions on the field and comes in the form of slang or curse words. He expresses how he uses primarily English but will throw in a "little flair" in Spanish in order to show more meaning that cannot be achieved when cussing or using slang in English. This "little flair" he explained, is his way of addressing the untranslatability that exists between some English and Spanish words (Lateef-Jan, 2018). Alex, who struggles with his use of Spanish, manages to use the language for the purpose of exclusion in what he considers a less formal academic space. Because some coaches do not understand Spanish, Alex shares how he has used Spanish curse words or slang with his peers in order to express his frustrations on the field without his coaches understanding him. Like Isaias, Alex is finding agency in using a language other than his dominant language within an educational setting in order to avoid understanding from English-dominant authority while also fostering communication with his peers. Alex's resistance to speaking solely English even when he struggles to speak Spanish

demonstrates the importance of having one's home language as an asset and support regardless of one's level of fluency. Although he recounts having primarily English-dominant encounters with his peers, his inclusion of Spanish on the field with his teammates creates a different type of connection and form of communication with them that cannot be achieved through the English language.

Codeswitching and Spanglish

Codeswitching is a very important linguistic practice for all student participants. Even before having conversations about codeswitching or giving it a name for them, I heard it. I heard it in the hallways, on my walks to the classroom, and in classroom conversations. I heard the blending of Spanish and English, working together to efficiently communicate and get a point across.

In the SKILLS class, I defined codeswitching for the students as using more than one language or code in a single utterance. I made a differentiation made between alternation codeswitching, which occurs across speaker turns, and insertion codeswitching where language A is being inserted into language B and vice versa (Bloom & Gumperz, 1972). Thanks to this discussion, the students knew exactly what to call what Melissa referred to as a "daily routine". The students were participating in intrasentential codeswitching, where they inserted Spanish and English words interchangeably in a single utterance. This kind of codeswitching has been identified as a distinctive feature of Spanish in the Southwest (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013). Rather than being seen as a deficiency or lack of mastery of both languages, research argues that these are complex creations by competent and creative bilinguals (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2017, 2018; Galindo, 1999; Zentella, 1997). Codeswitching is a "product of bilingualism that enables its speakers to be able to

cross codes intrasententially and intersententially with great ease and facility" (Galindo, 1999, p. 179).

All participating students reported being codeswitchers. For all of them, codeswitching had a clear association with comfort. Codeswitching was about the comfort of being able to blend their two linguistic worlds and speak with ease with who they interact with. Codeswitching for them occurred mostly with their friends because they already know their levels of bilingualism and what they can and cannot get away with when interacting with each other. For Gibby, his linguistic relationship with Mari and Celia was defined by their ability to codeswitch. He expressed that they are the primary friends with whom he is comfortable enough to codeswitch, and he described his linguistic relationship with them as a Spanish and English hybrid. Most importantly, all participants identified codeswitching as occurring in more casual encounters, outside of formal academic settings. This speaks to the English-dominant nature of the classroom that the students talked about. Understanding that classrooms belong to white public space where formal English dominates over other language varieties (Corella, 2018; Lippi-Green, 1997; Hill, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996), explains why inventive and varying means of communication like the use of Spanglish and codeswitching are forced out of that space. This is not to say that codeswitching does not happen within the classroom, but it is reserved for non-academic or non-learning moments. Students are aware where their language is allowed. Their linguistic practices and deviations from normalized standard English-use exist in the break time.

The use of codeswitching for these students was all about "normal" expression. It was used regularly to be able to communicate and express themselves better in an interaction. For Jessica, her purpose for codeswitching had a lot to do with translatability. When not knowing

how to translate a word in language A or the language being spoken, she knew she had the ability to switch to language B in order to keep the interaction going and be understood. Jasmin shared a similar sentiment when associating codeswitching to translatability. For her, codeswitching was important for being able to convey a message better and with more meaning that sometimes is lost in the translation. She expressed that some things are just "done better in Spanish" so she finds freedom of expression in being able to utilize her Spanish.

For some, the purpose for codeswitching had everything to do with their friends and peers. Minerva shares how she is seen as "more down to earth" when she codeswitches. This could in large part be related to how peers and friends may perceive her "formal" and "elevated" forms of Spanish use as off-putting, therefore when she codeswitches, she appears more approachable and relatable. For some students like Gibby, codeswitching provided an emotional relationship and a way to form a bond with new peers in situations where they were the only Latina/o/x Spanish speakers. He explained how codeswitching became a tool for bonding with other Latina/o/x prospective students when sharing with me about how his prospective college visits were going and trying to find community in primarily white college campuses. Codeswitching has a purpose, but it is usually not planned when utilized, even though sometimes going unnoticed as an ability that young people possess.

When asked why she codeswitches, Jasmin made a deeper connection between her linguistic choices and her ethnic identity. She explained,

> "I do it because I don't want to lose my roots. I may be born here but my roots are Mexican. Like the outside… my birth certificate may say American or whatever you know native Indian whatever you know but my heart says Latina you know or

> Spanish speaker. I say that because I don't want to lose my roots. Like my parents, I have Mexican blood you know? It's not like if I was born here that makes me have American blood. That's just a label".

To Jasmin, it is important to maintain her Mexican roots and she thinks that can be achieved through her maintenance and use of Spanish. Although Jasmin identifies more with being English-dominant, she still uses and has a relationship with Spanish with her friends primarily outside of school. Her level of bilingualism allows her to codeswitch and find value in her Spanish use not only for comfort reasons but also for her self-representation and ethnic identity. Similar to Lopez's (2018) analysis of complex emotional experiences and affective stances of bilingual youth, Jasmin's affective relationship with her language and racial/ethnic identity demonstrates how she emotionally constructs, recognizes, and negotiates raciolinguistic ideologies and their influence on her identity.

Spanglish was interesting to discuss in the class, as students had their own ideas about and definitions for it. They often used the terms Spanglish and codeswitching interchangeably, referring to their codeswitching practices as forms of Spanglish. They all reported to knowing and using Spanglish words like lonche or parkear, but many did not know that these words belonged to Spanglish. To them, like codeswitching, Spanglish is a natural occurrence incorporated into their linguistic practices. Spanglish, however, was a hard pill to swallow for someone coming from a "formal" Spanish-dominant home like Minerva's. I clearly remember the day that I had the conversation about Spanglish with the students. The class was lively with engagement and plenty of laughter about how inventive Spanglish words can be. When presenting the students with a list of existing Spanglish terms, I remember looking over at Minerva. She had her face burrowed into her hands and was

shaking her head “no”. She clearly was having an issue with what was being presented. At this time, I had not learned about her strict Spanish upbringing and how her father dictated what and how she should speak. I left that day feeling extremely perplexed about her embodied discontent with Spanglish and knew this was important to investigate in her journal and through our one-on-one interview. Sure enough, in a more intimate setting, Minerva shared her feelings about Spanglish words. She explained, “—it’s just, I grew up differently and I can’t use them, but I love hearing people speak like that. They have meaning. It’s just that I didn't grow up with them.” For Minerva, her inability to use Spanglish without being reprimanded for it largely influenced how she views it and how she uses it when interacting with her friends. Research demonstrates that rather than having ill intent when demanding, correcting, or even “purifying” Spanish use as Minerva is accustomed to by her father, parents are often motivated by a desire to protect their children from hostility, embarrassment, or linguistic discrimination brought on by others’ negative judgments (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; Gallo, 2018). Her embodied discontent in the classroom discussion, however, could have been read as not accepting of this form of speaking as being valid or valuable. This could have a negative effect to how others perceive her and how they perceive their own linguistic practices of Spanglish.

Linguistic Peer Policing

How a person is perceived based on their linguistic abilities and choices can largely be monitored and reinforced by their peers. In conversations about racial and linguistic profiling and policing, students identified the ways in which they have lived these experiences. For most, policing of their language began prior to them coming to high school. Minerva remembers being told by a teacher very early on in elementary school that she was

not allowed to speak Spanish. For Isaias, his policing began in elementary school as well, with his peers associating his Spanish use to his inability to speak English. Jasmin recalls middle school being the specific time when she realized people were really paying attention to how she and others speak. At an early age, students became aware of how auditory cues signal specific ideologies of "good" and "bad" forms of speaking (Anzaldúa, 1987; Aparicio, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996).

When discussing accents, the participants highlighted the ways in which people's speech is highly monitored and criticized. Many of them have been told that they have an accent when speaking Spanish, while others have been told they have an accent when speaking English. The majority of students that have been told that they have an accent when they speak Spanish have a transnational relationship with family members in Mexico. Minerva, Gibby, Isaias, Grace, Jasmin, and Melissa all share this experience. These students acknowledge that their U.S. Spanish is very different to Mexico Spanish and they report getting judged for it. Peers in Mexico view their U.S. Spanish as different and as indexing that "no eres de aqui"[8], as Gibby mentioned. Gibby furthers the conversation by adding that his U.S. Spanish in Mexico is associated with class and status. He explained that people say, "El tiene dinero y va a la escuela"[9]. Money and free public education do not that come easy to some Mexican families, so they associate U.S. Mexican families to having a higher-class status than them, solely based on their U.S. Spanish. For Jessica, Alex, and Martin being told that they have an accent in Spanish has never happened. They also have never been to Mexico or in Martin's case, he has not returned since he came to the U.S. as a child. Their

[8] Translation: "you are not from here".
[9] Translation: "He has money and goes to school".

lack of transnational relationships could be the reason why they have never experienced being told they have an accent when speaking Spanish.

There is hyper criticism and monitoring of "proper" uses of English within the experiences that these students have had at Field High School. The main targets of linguistic policing are those that speak English with an accent. Words such as "beanerish", "paisa", "lengua pegada", and "travada"[10] are all words that these students have heard associated to speaking English with an accent. Martin and Jessica point out that speaking English with an accent also links ideas of proper citizenship to language. They share that peers make comments like "you weren't even born here" to those with an accent. Usage of such words and sentiments speaks to the power of language hierarchies in the U.S. These hierarchies are established, maintained, and perpetuated through linguistic violence, either through physical or symbolic manifestations (Bourdieu, 1991; Zentella,2007). The use of negative comments from Latina/o/x's towards other Latina/o/x's is violent. It is part of attempts to distance themselves from hegemonic ideologies around Spanish speakers as being viewed as immigrants and undocumented (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; Zentella, 2007). This type of buy-in about Spanish speakers shows that Latina/o/x's can adopt anti-Spanish ideologies and project xenophobic and hostile ways while upholding the English language and the power it has over other languages (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013).

Speaking English with an accent is very personal to Anahi, as she shares her experiences of being extensively linguistically bullied by her peers in the early years of her English acquisition. "Cuando recién que llegué como decían que me vine como la

[10] These terms are all pejorative terms in reference to someone being of Mexican decent. Lengua travada directly translates to someone's tongue being stuck.

mexicana…me hacían como burla por el idioma porque no hablaba el inglés"[11]. She recalls getting bullied and ridiculed for her inability to speak what her peers perceived to be a proper form of English. She would get told not to speak English if she did not know how to speak it properly. Her educational experiences were saturated with anguish and she even reported having a low self-esteem due to the harsh linguistic policing and criticism she experienced during those years.

In contrast to Anahi, Minerva is policed for both her Spanish and her English. She was the only student who reported having been policed for both of her languages. She explained, "Some people tell me I sound like a white girl and to some people I sound like I just crossed the border". Her accent and enunciation of certain words in both languages warranted her getting "called out" by her peers and getting comments like "your paisa side is kick in" or getting told she speaks like a gringa. She is also heavily policed into speaking a certain form of Spanish, often times being mocked for her "formal" Spanish. Minerva's experiences with policing always signaled the hyper visibility of her language, warranting others to point out her difference and want to change it (Anzaldúa, 1987). She shared,

> "They'd always say that I was stuck up and arrogant of course because my Spanish was a higher level than theirs and it's not that I would try. Like I said, I'm very paranoid about how I speak Spanish with certain people and if I had known that they were going to judge me that way I would have brought my Spanish down and I would have spoken in a different way; in a way that they're used to".

[11] English translation: When I first arrived, they would tell me I looked like a Mexicana. They would make fun of me for my language because I did not speak English.

For Minerva, constant speculation about her language brought on a sense of paranoia and always having to be alert with how she spoke with her peers. As discussed above, Minerva's use of words like "higher level" and saying she would have brought her "Spanish down" demonstrates how ideologies of Spanish language have influenced how she thinks of her own Spanish and that of others, replicating the negative aspects of the hierarchy of languages.

In finding a way to speak back to the policing that they have experienced or that they know exists for their peers, students shared how they are actively trying to fight against these ideologies. Isaias actively defends himself and his constant use of Spanish with peers on campus. He said, "I've had peers tell me like, 'Why do I speak Spanish than English?' 'This is the USA you speak English no matter what'". How peers are responding to Isaias' use of Spanish demonstrate how aware youth are of English-only rhetoric and how they subscribe to it by policing others and demanding they change their linguistic practices. Isaias' constant use of Spanish in his interactions warranted him getting reminded by his peers that he was in a country that gave preference to English speakers. Rather than listening to them and changing the way he speaks, Isaias is very strong willed and consistently utilized his agentive resistance. He shared,

> "I mean I can speak whatever I want. You're not going to tell me what to speak. I can be speaking English in class because I have to but other than that I would speak Spanish like I don't care what you tell me."

Isaias is actively resisting others ideologies about linguistic correctness and makes a conscious decision to maintain his Spanish and use it as he pleases in spaces where he has control.

Aside from Isaias, students like Grace, Anahi, and Jasmin report being active defenders against linguistic peer policing, specifically defending those who get policed for their English abilities. These three young women take it upon themselves to stand up to peers who speak negatively and offensively about others. Grace explained,

> "—there was this one kid that was trying to learn [English] really hard and then there was this other person that I'm still friends with but he called him a beaner and I told him not to cuz I felt that offensive to me cuz I'm like you know, we're like Mexican. You know we're not supposed to and he's like, 'Oh, it's because of the way he dressed'. It doesn't matter you know. He's still learning."

In this example, Grace was speaking up to a friend for linguistically policing an English learner by reinforcing the idea that they are all Mexican. The majority of policing instances that the participants brought up demonstrate how Latina/o/x peers can go against other Latina/o/x peers. In Grace's statement, she explained how style of dress was used as a justification for why her peer decided to call someone a "beaner". Self-presentation through clothing became a target and semiotically indexed this student as someone who did not speak English and was likely an immigrant. In trying to understand why this happens, Jasmin associated these negative occurrences to popularity. She shared,

> "—it's sad because I'm pretty sure that if you follow one of those people [who polices others] home, they talk the same way and do the same things. They just try to hide it here at school because once again, popularity."

Jasmin believes that the students who engage in the policing of others come from a similar linguistic background and upbringing to those they police but change who they are for popularity reasons. This statement makes a clear connection between popularity and

perceptions about "proper" forms of English. Anahi, who has personally experienced policing and bullying, points to the embarrassment that she has noticed among her peers doing the policing. She explained,

"Yo pienso que a lo mejor se sienten como raros. No quieren que los oigan así y más que nada porque yo… yo pienso que… siempre lo he pensado que si se avergüenzan porque si no se avergonzaran de el idioma pues estuvieran hablando pero no lo hacen."[12]

Anahi believed that the lack of Spanish use by her peers and the fact that they ridicule it stem from a place of embarrassment. She has a clear understanding about how dominant linguistic ideologies about Spanish function in the U.S. and how they operate in order to create and maintain oppression against the Latina/o/x community (Ek, Sanchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013). Anahi finds these attitudes to be offensive to other peers and parents because "es el idioma de sus papas"[13] so in a sense she feels like they are in turn embarrassed by their parents when being ashamed of their language.

Linguistic Ability and Ethnic Identity

Based on aspects like social location, phenotype, and class, individuals can be assumed to use language in a certain way (Aparicio, 2000; Rosa, 2019). Rosa's (2019) theorizing about "looking like a language, sounding like a race" connected with some of the participants and their experiences. Rosa describes raciolinguistic enregisterment as an ideological process in which a person is assumed to speak a certain language solely based on racial signifiers that are marked as belonging to users of that language. Grace, Alex, and

[12] Translation: "I think that maybe they feel weird. They don't want others to hear them speaking that way. I think that they are ashamed because if they weren't ashamed of their language, they would be using it and they do not."

[13] Translation: "It is the language of their parents".

Minerva were all raciolinguistically profiled, or profiled into certain linguistic expectations based on what they looked like (Rosa, 2019; Zarate 2018). This led to the participants discussing struggles grappling with their identity based on others perceptions of what they are ethnically and what they should look like. It is challenging to understand the dualities that exist within the participants' experiences since they reported being linguistically policed for their language while facing expectations for what they should sound like based on their appearance.

Grace and Alex are dark skinned with black hair and Minerva is light skinned with blonde hair. For Grace, having lost her Mixteco and sometimes struggling with her Spanish puts her in a place where she questions her Mexicanidad. She stated that others constantly reinforce the link between knowing Spanish and a Mexican identity. Ideas about "not being a good Mexican" for not having strong Spanish abilities, or very minimal ones like Alex's, are existing narratives that influence the ways in which these students think of themselves.

Alex's Spanish abilities linked with his phenotypical appearance warrant him to be called white-washed by his peers. He shared, "—a lot of people say, 'You look Mexican but you don't know how to speak it so what's the point?'" Alex is being raciolinguistically profiled into certain expectations associated to being darker skinned. His musical preference also adds to the white-washed title given to him by his peers. He stated that him not listening to Spanish language music is another marker of his un-Mexicans. Alex's struggle with Spanish coupled with the raciolinguistic profiling he experiences triggers his linguistic insecurity. He shares how peers questioning his Spanish and pointing out his inabilities makes him feel like they "stick the knife in the heart".

Minerva has struggled with raciolinguistic profiling from a very young age. She reported that since elementary school, she has had peers question her Mexicanidad due to her appearance. She explained that in interactions with teachers, she expressed, “What do you mean I can’t speak Spanish? These kids already think I’m white and you’re not going to let me speak Spanish?”. For Minerva, being able to use Spanish was a way for her to demonstrate that she was Mexican and not white so when it was banned in the classroom, she struggled to find ways to show her ethnic identity. She explains how she mainly receives microaggressions in the form of praise towards her light skin. She recalls a friend saying how she was a pretty Mexican because she was light skinned and had French blood from her ancestors. She explained,

> “I was so mad because it was like that's my great grandparents like that’s not me. First off, I identify as Mexican and second off, you’re insulting the culture that I grew up with, the culture that I embody. That’s my culture and you just insulted it. I think Mexicans are beautiful and gorgeous. How dare you?”

Minerva recognized that rather than being a compliment attached to her beauty, that comment was charged with discriminatory racial undertones, implying that Mexicans are dark and therefore not pretty. Minerva’s raciolinguistic profiling reached excruciating levels of trauma and anguish for how she thought about herself and her ethnic identity. She explained,

> “I feel like I did not grow up in Mexico, but I don't feel like I grew up in America either. Like I grew up in America yes, but I grew up in my own version of Mexico. I had Spanish and I had Mexican food and I had Vicente Fernandez playing in the background. I didn't grow up super Americanized and I think that’s why it hurts me

> when people say like, 'Oh, you're so white-washed'. I'm not. I grew up with so much of my culture and that's why it frustrates me too 'cuz I feel like I have to fight ten times harder to prove that I'm Latina."

Minerva expresses this feeling of ni de aquí ni de allá[14]. She struggles to find ways to prove her ethnic identity as linked to her upbringing because her looks do not match what people expect a Latina to be. Her torment of wanting to be accepted as a Latina by others went as far as to change her physical appearance in order to be accepted. She shared,

> "I dyed my hair brown because I want to look Latina because naturally my hair is a dirty blonde. It's not brown and I keep going to get my roots darkened cause people actually now they tell me like, "Oh, yeah you look like a white Latina."

Her decision to dye her hair brown in order to achieve a "Latina look" speaks to the trauma cause by raciolinguistic profiling. Because at times she could not use her language to prove her Mexicanidad, she felt the need to move forward with altering her appearance so that without needing to use her language to prove her Mexican background, her appearance can match the societal construction of what a Latina should look like. Minerva felt like she needed to fit the mold for what society thinks a Latina should be and compromised herself and her individuality for these violent hegemonic ideologies.

Conclusion and Recommendations

"There is intellectualism behind any language and how you use it."
-Gibby

This chapter has investigated the ways in which Latina/o/x linguistic choices and practices are influenced by peers. Specifically, this chapter demonstrated the inventiveness

[14] Translation: "neither from here nor there".

that youth have in creating hybrid and mentorship relationships in order to sustain each other. Further, the participants shared both positive and negative experiences associated to peers/friends and language. They discuss how peers either accept their linguistic choices or impose racial and linguistic perceptions within interactions. Their experiences demonstrate the significant impact that their peers/friends make on their linguistic identity, practices, and choices. The linguistic hierarchy that exists within Spanish and English as well as the styles of speaking each language largely influences how students at Field High School associate to each other and either navigate through or perpetuate the hierarchy. Although some report being active in their fight against linguistic discrimination and even having friends who served as linguistic mentors, the majority of students experience significant struggles to how they position themselves linguistically.

In order to better understand the educational experiences of Latina/o/x youth, there must be more attention placed on topics such as linguistic influence. Peer interactions and relationships influence much more than academics and school choice. There is a need to continue investigating associations among peer influence, linguistic choice, and academic performance. A sizeable body of literature looks to understand and explain how peers influence high and low achievement (Davidson, 1996; De Jesus, 2005; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), with growing work looking at the larger structural problems that trickle down and affect linguistic identity and academics (Bucholtz, Casillas, and & Lee, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018; Paris & Alim, 2014; Pizarro, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Peer perceptions and ideologies do not come into being in isolation, especially those related to language. There are larger social and structural influences that make their way into students' everyday lives and experiences.

Whether a person experiences a positive or negative association to their home language has a large influence on how they will think about themselves and their language. As the participants shared, some peers adopt the hostility associated to Spanish in the classroom in their interactions with others and by taking on policing actions. We have seen how these students have built defense mechanisms for themselves in order to navigate their educational experiences in relation to their interactions with their peers. Experiencing policing and negative associations to their home language is hurtful not only to the victim but to the perpetrator as well. The one doing the bullying and policing of language has internalized the racist and prejudicial attributes associated to the language. This internalized racism has significant ramifications for how a student can think of themselves and the world around them (Valenzuela, 2008).

The participants recommend that schools need to see the linguistic abilities and varieties of students as assets for their social and academic development. There are significant amounts of linguistic capital that the students possess (Yosso, 2005, 2006) like their use of codeswitching, Spanglish, and other linguistically inventive practices (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2017, 2018). Banning the use of Spanish and these practices for academic learning is only continuing to mark difference and create distance between the home and the school lives of the students. This in turn creates difference and distance between Latina/o/x students and the linguistic varieties within the school. When schools and classrooms understand and appreciate the linguistic lives of students, they aid in their social, cultural, and academic growth and development (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2015, 2016, 2017; Paris & Alim, 2017). Gibby said it best when he stated, “You don't need this English to be very formal to say something, to get your point across, and to develop intellectual ideas

you know. There is intellectualism behind any language and how you use it." This quote not only represents the awareness that these students have of varying linguistic abilities but also demonstrates how keenly aware they are that their linguistic abilities beyond English are not seen as a valuable asset or as intellectual. Schooling experiences that help promote multilingualism and accept multiple linguistic varieties can have an impact on how the students develop positive ideologies about language for themselves and in how they relate to their peers.

We currently are in a political time and climate that is hyper attentive to proper forms and uses of language as linked to proper forms of being "American" (Anzaldúa, 1987; Moyer & Rojo, 2007; Stoever-Ackerman, 2012). Therefore, it is important to see how ideologies of Spanish are influencing students from a top-down or macro-micro approach. Chapter V discusses how school practices and policies influenced by English-only ideologies influences the ways in which students experience and navigate their school.

Chapter V

"It's like they're bordered": How the School Structures the Experiences of English Learners

"Es que cuando registro a su hija, puso que hablaban español en casa."[15]
-Middle School counselor to my sister

Casandra is 12 years old, a U.S.-born daughter of immigrant parents who have obtained U.S. citizenship, and has been immersed into an English and Spanish bilingual household since birth. She grew up with her parents and older sister and maintains consistent engagement with immediate family members. Growing up in a bilingual household has allowed her to learn Spanish and English simultaneously and develop communicative practices for interacting with her parents, grandparents, sibling, and immediate family members. Casandra developed familial practices of code switching with her English receptive bilingual parents; she would speak to them in English and they would respond in Spanish or alternate languages within a single utterance. Over the years, like most children of immigrants, Casandra's English acquisition, proficiency development, and language use at school overshadowed her Spanish use and English became her language of choice for most if not all of her interactions. Despite her still speaking Spanish daily to her parents and with monolingual Spanish speakers in the family, English is now Casandra's primary language. I know this because Casandra is my niece; she is my sister's daughter.

In August 2019, Casandra started middle school in a north Orange County, California school district. Upon picking her up on her first day of school, I asked to see her schedule of classes. Her schedule indicated that she had been placed in an English as a Second Language

[15] Translation: "When you registered your daughter, you stated that you speak Spanish at home".

(ESL) class. When I asked Casandra why this class was in her schedule, she was unaware of what the name even meant. To our knowledge, based on the information given to my sister by public schools, Casandra had never been tested for ESL or been in ESL classes before. I tasked my sister with going to her school and asking why Casandra had been placed in ESL now as she entered middle school. The school counselor indicated that Casandra had been identified as an English Language Learner (ELL) and had been placed in an ESL class because when my sister filled out Casandra's school registration packet, she indicated that Spanish is the primary language spoken at home. Casandra was to remain in her ESL class until she "tested out" and demonstrated that she in fact was proficient in English. There was no date or official procedure for how this would happen; she would just eventually get tested. Casandra and my sister fell victim to linguistic discriminatory schooling practices that track and label students based on one simple check of a box on a registration packet associated to home language practices.

Casandra has a history of language ideologies influencing her educational experiences. During kindergarten, my sister was told by Casandra's teacher that she needed to stop speaking to Casandra in Spanish in order for her to learn English. This form of linguistic terrorism (Anzaldúa, 1987) engendered fear and worry in my sister that in order for Casandra to excel, she needed to eliminate the use of Spanish within her home: eliminating the only means of communication she has with her family. Although my sister did not comply with the teacher's demands, in large part due to her having family members who are educators themselves, other immigrant families do not always have a choice and subscribe to this subtractive model of education. They are terrorized into believing that there is no value in their home linguistic practices and in order for their child to be successful, they must be

stripped of their home language to acquire proficiency in Standard English (Anzaldúa, 1987; Cummings, 2000; Flores & Rosa, 2015).

It was not until November 7th, 2019 that Casandra was administered an examination and "tested out" of ESL. On December 20th, 2019, students who "tested out" were presented with a certificate at the school's award ceremony. Although no longer being identified as an ELL, by the end of her first semester Casandra was still in ESL as the school had not figured out a way to rearrange schedules in order to place students into mainstream English Language Arts classes. Even when removed from ESL classes, the fact that Casandra was labeled as an ELL will follow her throughout her educational trajectory. She is now a reclassified English Learner. Research shows that this form of tracking places students into "low-achieving" classes, resulting in lower graduation rates and limited access to post-secondary information and education (Kanno & Cromley, 2015; Kanno & Kangas, 2014). For students like Casandra who have been tracked into ESL, their educational experiences can be altered drastically.

As seen through the example of my middle school aged niece, schools in 2019 in predominantly Latina/o/x areas of Orange County still use home language survey data on enrollment registration packets as a form of tracking students into ESL programs without informing the student or parents/legal guardian or testing the child before doing so. This practice is in large part due to the California English Language Development Test (CELDT). CELDT is administered to "Students in kindergarten through grade twelve whose home language is not English and are required by law to be assessed in English language proficiency (ELP)" (https://www.cde.ca.gov/re/pr/celdt.asp). This test was intended to allow schools to identify students who needed to improve their skills in listening, speaking,

reading, and writing in English. The test is administered each year for those who continue to be identified as "still learning English" based on their testing scores. This is how school registration packets and home language surveys work together to identify students as English learners if they identify their home language as other than English.

This policy ultimately damages the educational experiences of students like Casandra and prevents them from obtaining an education that fits their needs by not only tracking them but also delaying their access to curriculum appropriate for their learning level. These covert practices perpetuate linguistic ideologies about languages other than English as being a hinderance to English proficiency and proper learning.

LEP vs. ELL vs. ESL (or whatever is "in" at the time)

The Latina/o/x community has a long history of being labeled with a variety of terms in order to signal a kind of "deficiency". When education for Mexicans in the U.S. became state-based public education in the Southwest in the late 1870s, the "de-ethnicizing" of the community meant that their intelligence and ability were questioned and supposed remedies were prescribed (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Gonzalez, 1999; San Miguel, 1999). Because bilingualism was considered a cognitive disability that caused confusion and impeded academic learning, many bilingual students were tracked into special education courses for "the mentally retarded and the emotionally disturbed" (as cited in Delgado Bernal, 1999, p. 132). This had significant implications for how Mexican students were perceived, treated, and tracked for decades to come.

Terms like "drop-outs", "at-risk", and "low achieving" are all contemporary labels imposed on Latina/o/x student communities. Specific to language minoritized groups, the term LEP (Limited English Proficient) was used to label students who were not fluent in the

English language. This term and its reductive connotations led scholars Mark LaCelle-Peterson and Charlene Rivera to propose the term ELL (English Language Learner) in 1994. This term refers to students whose first language is not English while emphasizing the fact that in addition to meeting all the academic challenges that their monolingual peers overcome, these students are also mastering a new language (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). The term ESL (English as a Second Language) refers to the programs in schools that educate students who are not native English speakers. In California, Latina/o/x students make up over 50 percent of the student population, with 22.1 percent classified as "English learners" (Martínez, 2017). Most English learners, approximately 75 percent, were born in the U.S. and are actually quite bilingual in English and their home language (Martínez, 2018). Tracking into ESL programs divides ESL and non-ESL youth, creating a "cultural track" that separates Spanish-speaking students from English-speaking students (Valenzuela, 1999). Valenzuela (1999) and Martinez (2018) argue that this separation encourages and legitimates a status hierarchy that positions immigrant, non-English dominant youth at the bottom, highlighting what they do not know rather than what they do know.

The passage of the English-only initiative Proposition 227 in California had as much to do with race as it did with language (Dueñas-Gonzalez, 2001; Garcia, 1999; Hill, 2000), speaking to the racist and xenophobic anti-immigrant sentiment in American society. This attack on bilingualism made it so that it was illegal for "English learners" to receive instruction in any language other than English. Even if bilingual students were never classified as English learners or experienced ESL programs, English-only policies influenced all aspects of their educational experiences. Chapters III and IV exemplified how language and raciolinguistic ideologies have influenced my study participants' home and schooling

interactions. This chapter analyzes how English-only ideologies have structured the school site and policies, informing how the students understand and navigate these policies.

The data presented in this chapter are the product of my school ethnography, which included classroom interactions and discussions, field notes, journal entries, and interviews. In this chapter, I discuss how English-only ideologies are implemented and assist in structuring the school linguistically. The next section analyzes data from classroom lectures and discussions that prompted discussions of English-only ideologies in the U.S. and in students' daily lives. These discussions reveal how students experience language socially and how hegemonic language ideologies impact school structuring.

SKILLS-inspired Curriculum and Classroom Discussions

English-only ideologies within in the U.S.

In order to understand the ways in which English-only language policies and ideologies, influenced the educational experiences of Latina/o/x youth, I had the students analyze macro and micro levels of language ideologies. Specifically, we discussed ideas surrounding English-only beliefs and policies in their everyday lives. The beginning of this unit's discussions of English-only ideologies, which spanned three class visits, coincided with Cinco de Mayo celebrations happening that weekend. The use of Cinco de Mayo as a tool for understanding racial and linguistic discrimination as well as ideas about cultural appropriation is something that we as Chicanx Studies scholars have consistently included in our curriculum and something I incorporated into the SKILLS curriculum as a teaching fellow.

Cinco de Mayo is one of the largest consumer holidays, widely celebrated in the U.S. with margarita deals, taco promotions, and "traditional" decorations like oversized sombreros

and sarapes. This “Mexican celebration” is often mistaken for and celebrated as Mexico’s Independence Day. Cinco de Mayo instead celebrates La Batalla de Puebla where the Mexican army was victorious over occupying French soldiers in 1862. While non-Latina/o/x people partake in celebrations and adorn themselves with oversized sombreros and pose for pictures with fake mustache props, their lack of interest in what the holiday is actually about continues to dismiss Mexican history and in turn to perpetuate negative stereotypes associated to Mexicans. We are more than tacos, guacamole, and tequila shots.

Our class discussion for the day began with a media clip discussing the relationship between Mexican people and the U.S. fetishization of Mexican culture. Specifically, the clip argues how the U.S. has a love for Mexican culture but not for necessarily for Mexican people and their rights. The video clip (https://www.facebook.com/attn/videos/1368916733143782/) was produced by the media group Attn: and disseminated through its Facebook page on May 4th, 2017. This one-minute video quickly summarizes that Americans love Mexican culture, spend 39 billion dollars at Mexican restaurants a year, and travel to Mexico more than any other country. On Cinco de Mayo, Americans consume 81 million pounds of avocados and drink more beer than on Superbowl Sunday. Cinco de Mayo allows white Americans to feel comfortable to partake in mock Spanish by calling the holiday Cinco de Drinko or using other Spanish-inspired phrases that are intended to be humorous but that in fact perpetuate unfavorable and stereotypical views of Spanish speakers (Hill, 1995). The video clip continues by outlining how Americans fail to support Mexican people, especially with the 2016 election of Donald Trump. The clip explains how educational systems continue to exclude Mexican-American studies from schools and how the Latina/o/x community is the most affected by the wage

gap. Coupled with increasing anti-immigrant sentiment, the Mexican community faces all-time high levels of discrimination and disenfranchisement. Media outlets like Attn: seek to inform viewers how white America separates the Mexican culture from the Mexican people, choosing to accept one over the other. Our discussion for the day ended without a large group discussion for lack of time, so since Cinco de Mayo was on a Friday that year, I asked students to observe any Cinco de Mayo celebration or promotion they came across and connect it with what we had covered in class that day.

Following our discussion on Cinco de Mayo, during my next classroom visit we proceeded to discussing language. In May of 2017, we were well into the Donald Trump administration and anti-immigrant sentiment, especially as it pertained to language use and English-only ideologies. Since the inauguration of Trump, the U.S. has witnessed a resurgence of racist and discriminatory hate crimes aimed at communities of color, especially those who speak a "foreign" language. With cellphone technological advancements, cellphone camera recordings have been a central tool to capturing and exposing hate and disseminating it through digital and social media. This has allowed for a wider audience to gain access to these acts. One of the recordings that reached national viewers and gained immense popularity was a video of a New York lawyer threatening to call Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) on Spanish-speaking restaurant workers (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJ8s_W3R-T0). Although this clip was not shown to the class, the simple mentioning of it had all of the students raising their hands, indicating that they knew exactly what I was talking about. They prompted me to pull the clip up on my laptop in order to analyze it together. This clip had reached them through various outlets like social media and local news channels. Feelings of disgust and anger circulated in the room as

we watched together, and students made their feelings apparent through verbal communications like “that’s fucked up” and bodily reactions like shaking their heads and looking down in disbelief. They were well aware that this video was not an isolated incident, with many reporting in their journals that they have experienced similar threats themselves or toward a loved one. One student reported the following in her journal:

> “Whenever I’m with my parents and we’re at the store but mostly the mall. When they are speaking Spanish, people turn around and give us a dirty mad face. Sometimes I get like embarrassed but then that’s my first language and I shouldn’t hide my language”.

This student expresses feelings of embarrassment when speaking Spanish while interacting with her family in public. Her statement demonstrates that she struggles between expectations from others and how she should speak in public spaces as well as trying to find empowerment in being able to use her first language and reclaiming it without having to hide it.

In continuing to shift our discussion to language ideologies and ideas of bilingualism within the U.S., I presented the students a media clip from Mic Media (http://www.facebook.com/MicMedia/videos/1372703319419121) discussing ideas of bilingualism within the U.S. It is important to note that students had already had a lecture/discussion about bilingualism towards the beginning of our time together, primarily discussed in chapter 2. The clip that I presented opens with a recording of Sarah Palin, an American politician and former governor of Alaska, stating, “When you’re here, let’s speak American”, followed by Donald Trump, the president of the United States at the time, stating, “This is a country where we speak English not Spanish”. The clip proceeds to explain

how many Americans perceive speaking languages other than English as “unAmerican”. This English-only ideology has consequences for non-English and multilingual speakers. Some of the consequences have come in the form of in-person hate speech or have infiltrated institutions like schools. The clip concludes with scientific data explaining the cognitive benefits of bilingualism and explaining how one can be bilingual and still be American. The bilingualism as “unAmerican” sentiment as displayed in this clip helped students understand the longevity of the “unAmerican” sentiment that has existed since the late 1800s.

Following these media clips, I continued the conversation by discussing how language ideologies of English-only are centered on the speaking body. *Who* is speaking a certain language has implications for how we think of the language. Ideologies of acceptance and rejection of languages are attached to the body of the speaker, giving more clout to those who are dominant English speakers and acquire a second language rather than those who are born into a non-English dominant, bilingual household (Subtirelu, 2017). Finally, in order to discuss accent sensationalization/fetishization and the importance of who is speaking a “foreign” language, I presented the students with a meme found on an Instagram social media page (Figure 8). Social media has become an avenue for discussions about things like language, culture, and ethnicity. By adding a humorous lens to these discussions as a way to lighten the mood, the use of memes can address real racial issues and tensions within the U.S. The meme I used with the class had both text and visual components. The text reads,

> “This is America we speak English here”
>
> Justin Bieber: “Despacito”
>
> America: *image of white young woman apparently crying in crowd of people*

Figure 8: Meme about the fetishization of Spanish

This meme is in reference to the 2017 hit song *Despacito* by Puerto Rican artist Luis Fonsi. The original song features Puerto Rican rapper Daddy Yankee with a remix including Canadian singer Justin Bieber. This remix version of the song transcended Spanish radio and reached extreme popularity on English radio stations. The remix features singing the chorus in Spanish, making it exciting to English listeners.

In analyzing this meme, we can presume that the speaker [who we assume is the white female in the image] holds English-only ideologies, by stating, "This is America we speak English here", but when a white artist like Bieber sings *Despacito* in Spanish, the perception of the use of Spanish changes to one of adoration, even bringing a white American to tears. The creation of this meme is telling of the relationship between Spanish-speaking ideologies and Latina/o/x's in the U.S. Although I do not know the creator of the meme nor whether @BrianHPark identifies as Latina/o/x themselves, I can posit that they

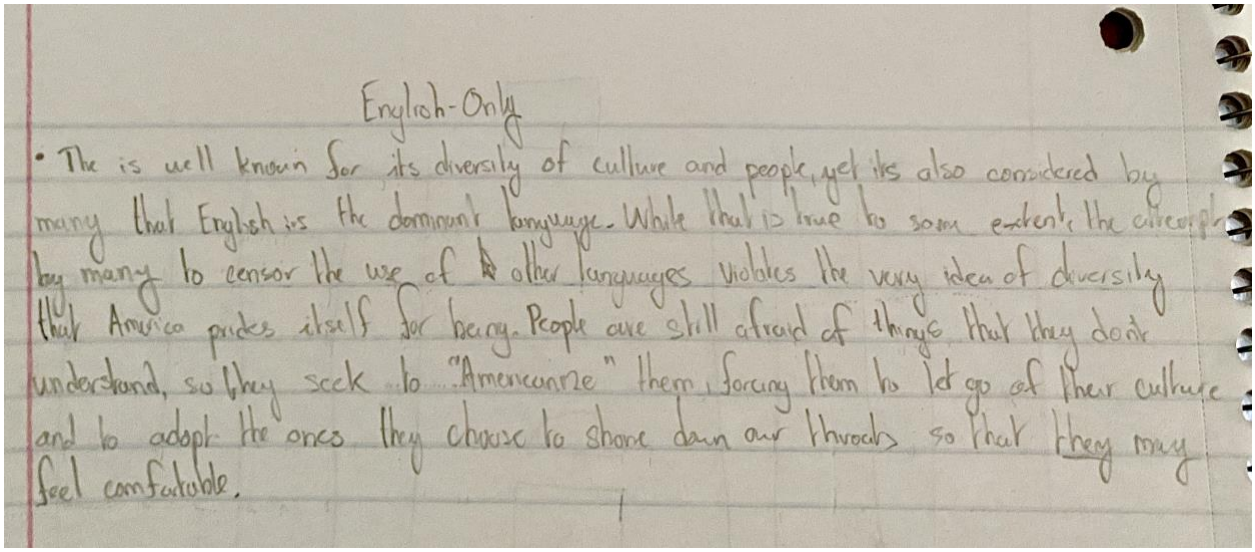
have knowledge of the racialized experiences of native Spanish-speaking communities. Their creation of the meme and the relationship between the text, image, and context (i.e., success of the song for a white singer like Bieber among white English-dominant listeners) symbolizes the user's understanding of the fetishization that exists when white, English-dominant speakers partake in the use of a "foreign" language.

Words like "sexy" and "exotic" are used to characterize accents, especially when they are coming from a desirable body (Casillas, Ferrada, & Hinojos, 2018; Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004). As we see through examples like those of the New York lawyer analyzed above, ideas of sexiness and exoticness do not extend to all bodies of Latina/o/x Spanish-dominant peoples; they can be seen as "unAmerican" and unworthy of being in the U.S. This meme can be understood to be a visual representation of how the Spanish language has been racialized, meaning that it has classified Spanish speakers as lacking attributes considered vital to an American identity (Aparicio, 2000; Urciuoli, 1996; Fought, 2006).

This meme prompted a further discussion by the students at a later date on ideas of mock Spanish as Justin Bieber forgot the lyrics to *Despacito* and substitutes mock Spanish (Hill, 2008) while performing. During his performance, Bieber proceeds to sing words like "burrito" and "Dorito" in place of the actual Spanish lyrics in the song; he clearly did not know the lyrics and replaced them with whatever sounded like the word "despacito". Through this act of mock Spanish, Bieber participates in what Zentella (1995) refers to the as "chiquitification" of Spanish where the mocking or lack of care diminishes the complexity of the language. The introduction to ideas about mock Spanish during our English-only discussions gave the students a way to identify what Bieber did as a form of stereotyping and

lack of care for the Spanish language on the basis of a song that brought him extensive airtime on both Spanish and English radio stations.

To culminate the first day of this unit on English-only ideologies, I had the student journal about the following questions: "What are your thoughts on promoting English-only policies and practices in the U.S.?" and "Have you ever experienced any negative perceptions or feelings about your native language due to English-only ideologies?". All students reported having negative beliefs about promoting English-only policies and ideologies, using words like "idiotic", "wrong", and "dumb". Many mentioned that the U.S. does not have an official language; as Minerva mentioned, promoting these beliefs "goes against ideas of diversity and being a multi-cultural land of the free". This statement highlights Minerva's awareness of how the U.S. promotes itself as a "cultural melting pot" yet does not always promote and support multiculturalism and multilingualism. One student in particular, Chan, links ideas of Americanization to English language attainment.


English-Only

• The is well known for its diversity of culture and people, yet its also considered by many that English is the dominant language. While that is true to some extent, the attempts by many to censor the use of other languages violates the very idea of diversity that America prides itself for being. People are still afraid of things that they don't understand, so they seek to "Americanize" them, forcing them to let go of their culture and to adopt the ones they choose to shove down our throats so that they may feel comfortable.

Figure 9: Chan's journal response to English-only policies in the U.S.

In this journal excerpt, Chan, who was the only Asian student participant in the AVID classroom, engages with ideas of censorship, fear, and forced Americanization. In his

statement, Chan explains how although the U.S. is known for its diverse cultures, many believe that English is the dominant language. Chan describes, “People are still afraid of things that they don’t understand, so they seek to ‘Americanize’ them…”. His response demonstrates his understanding of how minoritized language communities are forced to Americanize themselves in order to succeed, let go of their culture and adopting “the ones they [white America] choose to shove down our throats so that *they* may feel comfortable”. Chan explains that comfort is associated to white America, not those forced into Americanization. This excerpt exemplifies how Chan, a student of color, merged his experiential knowledge with the content we have discussed in this space, by having the language to be able to name the injustices faced by his community.

When journaling about the second question for reflection, “Have you ever experienced any negative perceptions or feelings about your native language due to English-only ideologies?”, most students reported not having any negative experiences. However, students like Gibby, Anahi, and Minerva provided more insight into their personal experiences. Gibby reported, “Sometimes in elementary school we were told that we couldn’t speak in Spanish, which was very hard for some of us”. Gibby’s reflection on this question allows us to understand how English-only ideologies and linguistic censorship began for him at a very young age. For Anahi, migrating back to the U.S. as a young adolescent and trying to learn English brought “stares” from others, making her feel “weird” and “sad” for not being able to speak or understand English at that time. Minerva taps into feelings of fear similar to Chan’s but in her instance, it is fear for herself. She wrote,

> “I will admit that the negative stigma towards the Spanish language has cause me to restrain from speaking Spanish in certain areas, but it was fear not shame”.

Minerva's lived experiences had exposed her to the negative stigma associated to Spanish language and speakers. She has developed a sense of awareness and knowledge for where she can and cannot safely speak her native language in order to protect herself. She could be seeking protection from verbal or even physical attacks that target non-English dominant communities. As previously mentioned, the rise in hate crimes against Spanish speaking communities has risen since the election of Trump and have been made more public through social media outlets. Minerva was very clear to make a distinction between fear and shame for why she may not speak Spanish in certain spaces. We can understand this decision as an act of maintaining safety. For Isaias, following in line with his agentive resistance towards negative perceptions associated to Spanish language use as demonstrated in previous chapters, he responds as not having experienced any negative perceptions or feelings because, "I don't care what they tell me because I can speak whatever language I want". His experience is the polar opposite of what Minerva reported. It is important to note that a gendered dynamic may contribute to the differences in their experiences and responses, because women in many societies are in much more danger than men.

English-only in Schools

The next unit of our classroom discussions of English-only ideologies dealt directly with English-only policies in schools. I began this discussion by presenting a news report from CBS New York (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBV-KpnshaI). This clip, posted on March 19th, 2015, is entitled School Divided by Pledge of Allegiance Controversy. The report uses the tag line "A school divided" to present a case in Pine Bush, New York where a local high school is celebrating International Languages Week by incorporating the use of multiple languages into their morning Pledge of Allegiance, starting with Arabic. The news

report includes reasons from the members of the Pine Bush American Legion Post, stating that the veterans were displeased with the use of languages other than English for the Pledge of Allegiance and how to them it was “a big deal”. The news report continues with an interview from the district Superintendent apologizing for the incorporation of Arabic being perceived as disrespectful whereas the principal of the school states that they will not apologize as “this district accepts and appreciates diversity, and at the end of the day, it’s a teachable moment”. The report continues by stating that only one member of the Pine Bush American Legion Post supported reciting the pledge in another language. The remaining veterans reported their disapproval as not being associated to their hatred for Arabic or Islam, as they agree that the use of any other foreign language in the pledge, including Spanish, is inappropriate. The news report concludes by stating that a member of the Pine Bush American Legion Post held a meeting with the Superintendent, who they agreed to only reciting the Pledge of Allegiance in English in that school district. Following this clip, I had the students free-write in their journals, having them reflect on the following questions: “Do other languages have a place in schools aside from foreign language requirements?” and “Has your school adopted English-only practices? Who has done so? Where is this done?”. Every student participant present on this day reported that languages other than English do belong in schools for issues of “diversity”, “being equal”, and “appreciating cultures”. Minerva connects her beliefs and impressions on the video in her journal response by writing,

> “Schools should embrace other languages and cultures. America has no official language. Saying that English is the only proper language to recite the pledge is b.s.!”.

In her response, Minerva is once again calling out the system for embracing an ideology that ignores the significance of other languages for diverse and multilingual cultures. For Gibby, his understanding of bilingualism and its cognitive benefits learned through previous discussions led to his response,

> "Bilingual education is essential to developing a child's understanding of both languages and their cognitive ability. Bilingual education should be available to all grade levels for students who require help, yet definitely in elementary school".

Through his journaling, Gibby is connecting the knowledge he has gained through our discussions with his lived experiences, connecting to his previous statements about his Spanish being censored beginning in elementary school. Through his understanding of the benefits of bilingualism and optimal windows of learning of a second language, he can now make claims about the importance of incorporating or supporting a second language at an early age. Like Gibby's reflection, Chan coincided with discussions of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. Chan, however, digs deeper and once again making connections to larger ideas surrounding language acquisition as related to fear of difference.

> "There is no reason why we shouldn't teach both English and a second language simultaneously, other than the fact that some parents and people are afraid of exposing their children to other cultures. Teaching them to hate something that they don't understand and can't control".

Through his reflection, we can see how Chan associates lack of care for other languages as being part of white America's fear towards communities of color. Chan believes that by excluding other languages, this will teach hate towards whatever is perceived as different or deviating from "the norm", which in this case is English-only schooling. For the journal

question, “Has your school adopted English-only practices? Who has done so? Where is this done?”, students unanimously reported that their school has not, attributing this to the student population. Students reported that because their school has primarily Spanish-speaking students, it has not adopted English only ideologies. This perception changed, however, when I interviewed students, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Debate over Bilingual Education

In culminating our discussions of English-only ideologies and bilingualism, I presented the students with the controversial and on-going debate over bilingual education programs in schools. Debates about bilingual education programs largely affect the education of Latina/o/x communities. In order to discuss this further, I presented the students with a news report from KSBW Action News 8 in the Central Coast entitled Debate Over Bilingual Education Programs in Schools (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFCkhppJLdw). The news segment reported a case in Salinas, California where Latina/o/x parents from Jesse G. Sánchez Elementary School were complaining that a limited bilingual education program at their children’s school was “stripping their kids of invaluable communication skills”. The reporter interviews a parent who is fighting to get more Spanish language into the classroom, stating that the importance is for “culture and for when they go to college”. Parents complained that they were misled by the school district, which falsely stated that a meeting to discuss bilingual education was canceled, leading only a dozen parents to show up. They demanded that the original bilingual program be brought back, where teachers taught in both Spanish and English until the 3rd grade; the program was removed due to the election of a new anti-bilingualism state trustee. Parents stated that they were never consulted or notified when the changes were made. A bilingual teacher interviewed stated that “without Spanish

education, they [students] fall behind". He continues by stating that such students continue their educational career by trying to play catch up, leading to higher dropout rates. The news report ends by stating that some parents agree with the changes made by the state trustee and over 100 of them have signed a petition to end bilingual education after the 1st grade. Following this clip, I gave students a quick description and definition of ESL/ELL, and explained the "sink or swim" approach, where the students' native language is not focused on or utilized for learning English. I told the students that these programs are taught in English and typically involve only a single English support class. Following this brief explanation, I followed up with a journal reflection to conclude the unit and give students a space to reflect on their opinions and experiences. The questions asked were as follow:

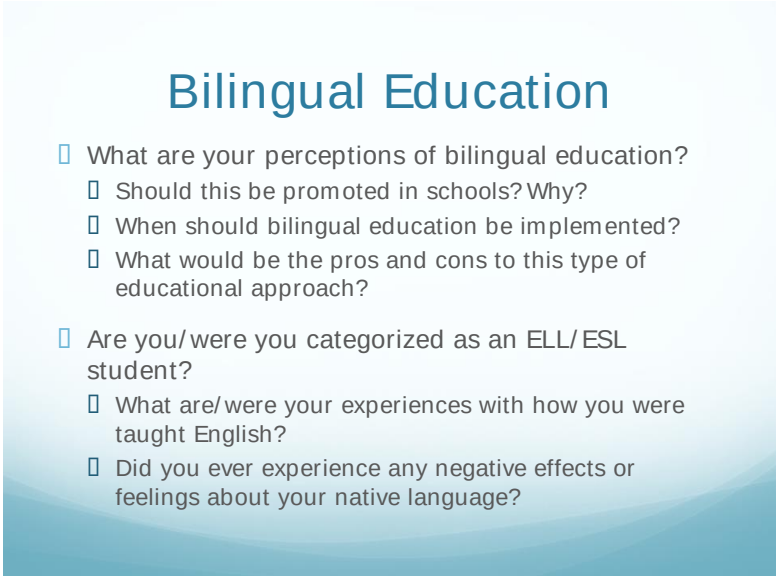


Figure 10: Reflection slide from PowerPoint presentation on bilingual education

Of course, I was not expecting an answer for all questions; students were asked just to begin thinking about these issues and address what they could. As previous journal entries had already addressed how they perceived bilingualism, I was not surprised that these questions also reflected their approval of bilingual education as a necessary resource for students like

them. Many, like Gibby, reported that this implementation should start as early as elementary school and continue on for their whole education. The students did not engage very much with the second major question, asking about whether they had been labeled or categorized as an ESL or ELL student. This could be understood in part to time constraints and how much time we had left for them to journal after our discussion was over. However, this topic came up when I conducted one-on-one interviews and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Language Structuring Within the School

For Field High School, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) has played a significant role in the way that the school has implemented policies and regulations on language (Figure 11).

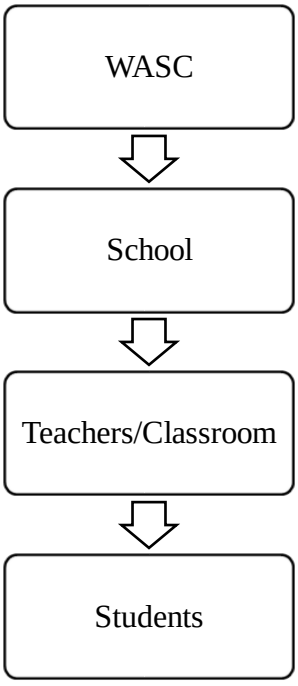


Figure 11: Chain of command for Spanish implementation

In our interview, Gibby reported that WASC complained about "too much Spanish in the classroom" and how that has affected the way in which intellectualism and language is thought about at the school. He explained,

> "I personally think that [using Spanish in the classroom] it's fine because that's something that we just learn to do to communicate with each other. That's how we grew up. That's how we get our point across sometimes if we are helping each other with an essay and we just start talking and whatnot even though the essay is in English we sometimes speak in Spanish to get our point across and help them develop the idea."

Gibby understands how unfair WASC is with their ideologies of Spanish and associating those ideologies to ideologies of student learning difficulties. He exposes the disconnect and lack of understanding for how Spanish use is part of students' upbringing, cultural environment, and the supportive learning community that they build. WASC proposes and implements policies and rules that speak to the larger narrative associated to "proper" uses of language, ignoring the value behind Latina/o/x students' linguistic abilities.

How WASC perceives and reinforces the use of Spanish largely affects how the school implements and monitors Spanish use. As we can see from what the students report, the classroom is a primary space within the school that largely regulates their linguistic perceptions and choices. Through their experiences, it can be understood that not having Spanish in the classroom or not having the language be seen as an asset for learning stigmatizes the language for the student population. The Spanish language is policed by teachers by banning its use for academic learning or even sometimes entirely from their classroom. This sentiment makes its way into student perceptions and ideological formations about the language and manifests itself through their interactions and how they police others.

Now that students had discussed and understood ideologies of language on a macro level, the next step was for them to analyze how these ideologies and practices influenced

their schooling, paying close attention to how their campus was structured based on language. The following class visit with the students entailed visually mapping out their school. Below is an official district image of the campus layout from 2017 (Figure 12).

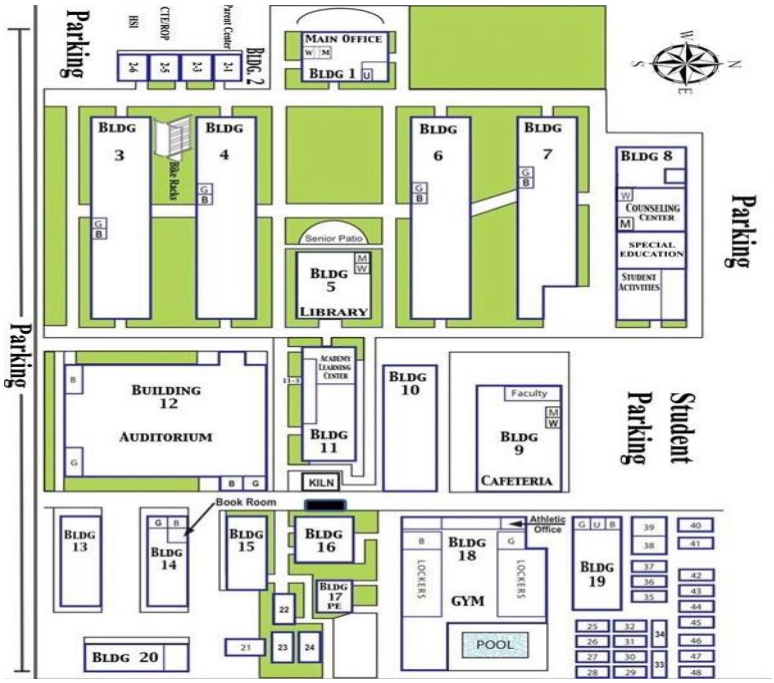


Figure 12: Map of school campus

I share this map to provide a comparison between the official version and what the students created in their school linguistic landscapes map. Taking from Bucholtz (2011), the use of language mapping to spatially locate language and communities of practice, this activity was utilized to have an ideological representation of spatial and linguistic practices among the student population. Using their knowledge and memory of their site navigation, I had students collectively draw their campus on a large piece of butcher paper (Figure 13). The class nominated a student to be their artist, and they all participated in guiding him through drawing each section and building of the campus. Some students pulled out the academic calendar agenda provided by the school, which included a map of the campus, while others went from their own recollections.

Figure 13: Linguistic landscapes map made by students

Once the campus was sketched out with a blue marker, I had the students think about what kinds of language use they hear in these spaces of their campus. I had them think about what these spaces sound like at specific times of day, such as during lunch or after school. With a red marker, students noted which areas of their campus sounded a certain way, marking things like “English”, “Spanish”, “mixture of languages”, and “Spanglish”. During this part of the mapping, students also began identifying communities of practice and who primarily occupies certain spaces. In a mixture of primarily green marker and some red, students identified things like “couples”, “cholos”, and “soccer”, with some red marker indicating things like “students’ parents”, “lunch ladies”, “athletes”, and “Asian students”. Where the students labeled where the “cholos” hang out, they also included Spanglish as their language choice. Even if students themselves identified as Spanglish users, there were very intentional about placing this label with this student population. Further, they identified the cafeteria

featuring multiple languages, stating that this is a space where one can find Asian students and hear Spanish being used when addressing the Spanish-speaking "lunch ladies". It was interesting to see how they are listening and engaging with these spaces. Another space they designated was what they labeled as "Spanish alley" between the auditorium and a classroom building.

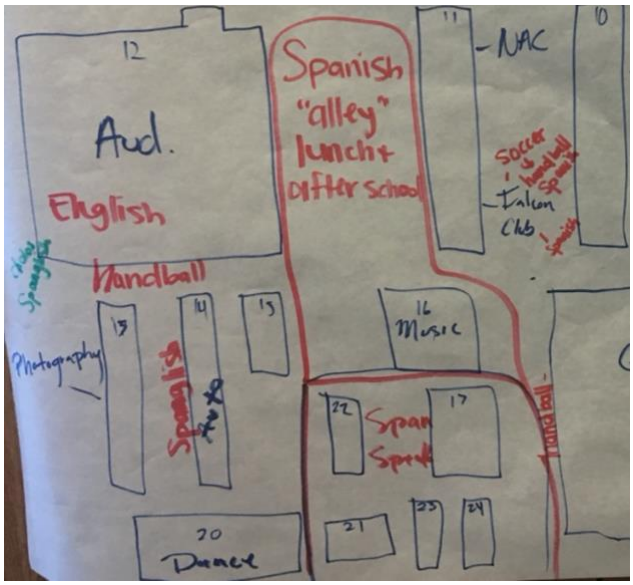


Figure 14: Student depictions of "Spanish alley" and ESL classrooms

Reflecting on it now, this designation is not surprising as this alley leads into the area on campus that houses the ESL classrooms. These classes are held in portable classrooms, or what students refer to as "bungalows". The designated bungalows for ESL classrooms are 21 through 24. Within these spaces, students identified much of the Spanish language use on campus in general. Finally, although not shown on either the official campus map or student-made map, the remainder of the campus behind ESL classrooms is composed of the athletic fields. This becomes significant later in the chapter when students reflect on the placement of the ESL classrooms on their campus.

Other spaces on campus that students signaled as having Spanish language use were the Family and Community Center (Building 2), the Main Office (Building 1), and Counseling and Associated Student Body (ASB) (Building 8). This is in large part due to those spaces housing the majority if not all of the parent interactions that happen on campus. This signals the awareness that students have of their and peers' parents being primarily Spanish speakers.

The activity of making a linguistic landscapes map allowed for a jointly crafted representation of peer groups, linguistic practices, and spatial interactions. This activity resulted in students demonstrating their understandings of how language structures their interactions and peer groups, while showing how they associate certain spaces and groups to a specific language practice.

Personal Experiences of Language Structuring within Schooling

As part of the interview process, I further investigated areas that were left unanswered in journal reflections or where I needed more elaboration from students. As part of our interview discussions on English-only policies and forms of tracking, I had students reflect on their own experiences with English as Second Language programs. Six out of the ten students who participated in interviews indicated that they had been identified as ELL at some point in their educational career.

Students Identified and Tested for ESL

Yes	No
Alex	Jessica
Isaias	Minerva
Jasmin	Gibby

Martin Melissa Grace Anahi	

Table 1: List of students who had been identified as ESL

The majority of students who report having been labeled as ELL were classified during elementary school. Alex recalls being tested every year but not knowing what exactly these tests were for aside from it being for English. It was not until 8th grade that Alex "got out" of being tested and was notified through a phone call to his parents that he would no longer be taking the annual CELDT test. Although Alex was tested up until 8th grade, he does not recall being placed in an ESL specific class.

Melissa, who is identified as a special needs student and has regular IEP meetings, she was tested up to 12th grade. As discussed in Chapter III, Alex and Melissa are the only students in the group who identify both English and Spanish as their first language. They learned both languages simultaneously as they both could be considered 2nd generation immigrants: their parents immigrated as children and acquired English through schooling in the U.S. Similar to Alex's experiences, Melissa was never placed in ESL classes that she was aware of but her English development was being monitored yearly through CELDT testing.

Isaias does not recall being tested or placed in ESL programs throughout his elementary education but upon entering high school, he was placed in an English support class. He explains that he did not have a clear understanding of the purpose of the tests being administered so he "messed around", not paying attention to his performance. Due to this, he was placed in an English support class. He stated, "I had to pass that class because my test

was really low cuz I didn't try it. I just guessed on it so then they made me stay in that class". Regardless of what Isaias' linguistic abilities in English were, the ultimate determinant of his abilities relied solely on the testing scores.

Students who reported never having been identified as ELL do not have a clear recollection of whether they were ever tested for it or not during elementary school. And if they had been, they must have performed up to standard to avoid being labeled and tracked in that way.

In trying to understand student perceptions about how language structures their schooling, I had them rank their school from one to ten, one meaning that the school has adopted no English-only policies to ten meaning that it has adopted nothing but English-only policies. This activity was done during the interview process. Four students ranked Field High School a three, one student ranked it a four, one student ranked it a five, and four students ranked it between six and seven. Students who ranked their school between three and five attributed this ranking to the perceived acceptance of using Spanish on campus. Minerva mentioned, "I think that this campus…I love saying it. It's very open to Spanish". Words like "welcoming" and "bilingual" were used to describe why these students believe their school does not solely subscribe to English-only policies. This lower ranking is in large part attributed to bilingual signs on their campus, which will be discussed in detail shortly. Gibby, who also ranked the school at a three, made a clear distinction as to how he felt the school was welcoming of other languages by mentioning that although he felt the school did not perpetuate English-only policies, "School doesn't promote Spanish use but they're okay with it". His reasoning for why he believes the school is "okay with it" was further explained when talking about the ESL program on campus.

> "It's very hard to set this ground for everyone to speak English; it's a public school at the same time. If we do end up like setting those rules and it becomes more privatized, we would start losing a lot of our funds. We don't have already a lot of funds, so we try to make it open as possible and I like that."

Gibby's response as to why he believes his school is accepting of Spanish use comes from his understanding of privatized versus public education. A public school has to adhere to school board demands, whereas private schools can function with their own rules and regulations more freely. His awareness of funding was astonishing: not only is he aware of the lack of resources that his campus and district suffer from, but he shows having some awareness about why his campus has funds to support an ESL program.

The students who ranked their school a five or below attributed their scoring to the campus culture, focusing on the campus as a whole rather than certain spaces that are more accepting and welcoming than others. Students who ranked their school at a six or seven made clear connections to where on campus they feel like Spanish is acceptable. Isaias and Jasmin both mentioned that English is mandatory and preferred overall as instruction is entirely in English; therefore, classrooms have adopted English-only ideologies. Anahi's ranking of a six is related to the number of Spanish speaking students within the ESL classrooms. That is the only place she hears Spanish within the classroom. She is aware that Field High School is one of the few schools in the district that offers ESL classes, so she attributes the large enrollment of EL students to that fact.

All students agreed that their school is aware of the bilingualism that exists within the community population where Spanish is as prevalent as English if not more. A significant signal of acceptance and promotion of bilingualism as perceived by the students was the

bilingual signs that were visible through the campus. The following images (Figures 14 through 16) are of bilingual signs that appeared on campus after winter break of 2016, which happened to be when I began my ethnographic work on campus. My past experiences with Field High School prior to coming in as a researcher allows me to know that this had never been done on this campus: when I was a student and an employee, everything was in English and nothing was visibly available to speakers of other languages for navigation of the campus. The following photos were taken after my time with the students was completed.

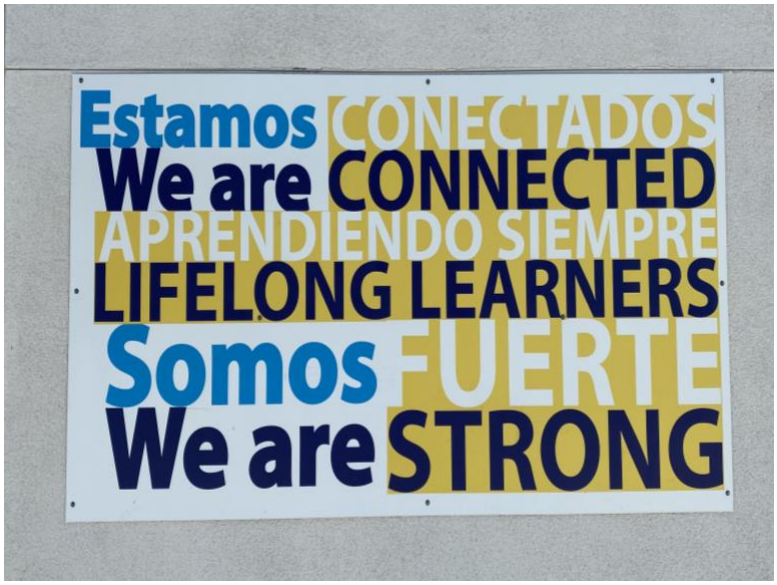


Figure 15: Bilingual school motto on various campus buildings

Figure 15 is the school motto. This sign appears on outside of the buildings, while some classrooms and offices have it in smaller poster form. There was a poster with this motto in the office I was assigned to conduct interviews, which was in the Main Office building. This sign begins the motto with the Spanish translation and follows with English.

Figure 16 is of the campus directory where students, staff, and visitors can access the campus layout and building information in both Spanish and English.

Figure 16: Campus directory in both Spanish and English

Although the sign appears in both languages, this directory gives preference to English as it is the first language that appears, with smaller and less visible translations in Spanish. Not all areas of the map are translated either. These slight inconsistencies can make it difficult for Spanish-only readers. But significant translation efforts were made, especially with the building number signs.

Figure 17: Bilingual building numbers

Figure 17 shows the sign placed on building sixteen, a classroom building. The sign shows the text in English, the number sixteen, and the Spanish text translation. I walked by this building every morning on my way to my classroom. The Spanish translation shocked me. I could not believe that the spelling of dieciséis[16] had an acento[17]. Blitzer (2016) discusses the widespread mishandling of Spanish in the U.S., especially with the use of acentos. In Spanish, a word without the appropriate acento is considered misspelled, whereas in the U.S. it is part of the historical linguistic confusion and lack of care paid to Spanish language and grammar. For this reason, the sign paying close attention to the acento means that they are paying close attention to their Spanish speaking community and how to represent the language correctly.

The student participants are well aware that the majority of students' parents are Spanish speaking. They signaled this in their linguistic landscapes map where they pinpointed where parents engage on campus and how they use Spanish. In their bilingual

[16] Translation: sixteen
[17] Translation: accent

attempts, the school also set up a bilingual sign for their Family and Community Center (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Bilingual sign on building for the Family and Community Center on campus

The Family and Community Center is the space on campus that engages most with students' parents. The efforts made by the school to include the name of the center in Spanish signals the awareness they have to their primary users of that particular space. This is the only place on campus that accompanies the building number sign with a large painted sign of what the building is for.

When I interviewed the students in June of 2017, the signs had been on campus for about five months. When asked why these signs were posted or where they came from, not a single student could tell me. They were never told by teachers or administration why they were posted. There was never any form of announcement or explanation; they just appeared.

When asked about their feelings or perceptions about the choice to post these signs on campus, the students all agreed that it was a positive decision. Martin explained,

> "I feel like they want everyone to feel comfortable speaking Spanish. This is the school that you come to learn English, but you can speak Spanish. Eventually, Spanish is gonna become a big part in everyone's life cause it's the 2nd most spoken language in America".

Martin believes that the bilingual signs will encourage people to feel comfortable using Spanish on campus. Through his response, he also recollects a statistic that I shared with the class: Spanish is widely spoken in the U.S., making it the 2nd largest Spanish speaking country. Given that Field High School has a significant number of Spanish speaking students, including those that are recent arrivals to the U.S., the students all saw the use of bilingual signs as contributions for that student population specifically. They explained that this change would help newcomer students "feel proud" and "comfortable" when communicating and navigating the campus. For Minerva, she believed this change not only could benefit newly arrived Spanish speakers but all students on campus.

> "I think it's amazing because I think it helps the newcomers feel safer. They're not as scared you know they see a language that they know that they can read and they're like, 'Wow! Like okay, it's gonna be okay'. It made me feel really happy … it's okay to speak whatever language you want and like I think it makes us want to be more engaged and I think it makes us want to participate more in school and be active learners rather than just sitting here in class you know and not really absorbing anything. I think it's a great thing that we have [them] and I think it's going to help people not be so scared to speak up in class."

Minerva speaks directly to her belief that inclusion of languages like Spanish on campus can help with student engagement and how they interact with their schooling. She even correlates linguistic inclusion and acceptance of Spanish to having a positive impact on participation in classrooms. Her response shows that she is aware of lower engagement and participation when students' languages are not included in classrooms or schools. For Anahi, the only student who was an ESL student in high school, the signs are extremely important for both student and parent treatment and navigation on campus. She explained,

> "…Yo me imagino que ellos [la escuela] buscaron la forma de que también los padres entendieran lo que decían en la escuela para que se sintieran esté así como más conectados a la escuela y más para los estudiantes también porque así no los hacen como de menos. ¿Es algo…como se dice? Equality."[18]

Anahi believes that the school is making efforts to connect Spanish speaking parents and students to the school and even believes that these signs are a form of promoting equality by not making them feel "menos" or less worthy.

The choice by the school to have bilingual signs on the campus can have positive implications for the Spanish speaking community as a whole. The students explain that Spanish speaking students can feel welcomed and navigate the campus easier, that parents can feel validated and accepted for their Spanish, and that these signs can even have larger implications for how we think about Spanish speaking bilingual communities in our society given our current political climate. Alex explained,

[18] Translation: "I imagine that they [the school] looked for a way for parents to also understand what schools are saying so that they could feel more connected to the school and more for the students as well. That way they don't make them feel less worthy. It's something…how do you say? Equality".

> "It feels good to be honest. Like I think it's helping like our culture now how like *laughs* with Donald Trump how he's saying like 'Make America Great Again'… whites…blah blah blah…Americans…I think everybody can come together as a culture…it made me like our school".

Alex's awareness of the anti-immigrant and English-only sentiment in society, at an all-time high during the Trump administration, allows him to understand how his school's inclusion of bilingualism on campus can help students unite as a Spanish speaking cultural group in order to combat the negative rhetoric associated to them and their community. Let me remind you that their Spanish, however, cannot be used in the classroom.

Overall, the inclusion of these bilingual signs all over the campus is innovative and necessary for a predominantly working-class, Mexican immigrant Spanish speaking population. Although the signs seemed to pop up out of nowhere and administration and staff did not address them with the students or explain what their vision was for placing them, it is a step in the right direction. The lack of proper attention given to them does bring up some questions and doubt about the intention for why they were installed. Students like Martin are aware of the progress made but his experiences make him aware of the work that still needs to be done. He states, "They have adapted to being bilingual, but they have a long way to go to make it comfortable for everyone". Martin's sentiment is further understood when I investigated the ways in which students who are part of the ESL program experience education on this campus.

English Language Learners and Campus Culture

As discussed in Chapter IV, there is hyper criticism and monitoring of "proper" uses of English within the experiences that the students in my study had at this school. They

explain throughout that the main targets of linguistic policing from peers are those that speak English with an accent or are learning to speak the language. The majority if not all of the students that my participants were referring were newcomer ESL students. Words like "beaner" and "paisa"[19] are used by other students on campus to describe these newcomers. Throughout the discussions in the interview process, I was able to further understand the experiences of ESL students at Field High School from the point of view of my participants. The experiences of Anahi, the only participant in the group that had been in the ESL program at Field, will be central to this discussion. Her narrative and experiences provide first-hand accounts of how the ESL program functions to structure a student's experiences and future educational trajectory.

The extent to which the participants interacted with students classified as ESL was limited. A contributing factor was enrollment and the types of classes my students participated in. As mentioned in Chapter I, my students were all in AVID. These students were tracked into classes that promoted a college-going attitude and the majority of them took honors and Advanced Placement classes. Because of this "academically promising" tracking, the majority of my students reported having interaction with students from the ESL program only in classes like physical education or visual and performing arts. I sensed a divide when engaging in this conversation, especially when Jessica reported having interactions with ESL students "only when they come to our classes". This idea of "our classes" signals a sense of ownership that non-ESL students seem to feel when discussing when and how ESL students engage in classes outside of their designated ESL classrooms. As mentioned in the section above and shown on the campus map, there are designated

[19] These terms are all pejorative terms in reference to someone being of Mexican decent.

bungalows where students in the ESL program are placed. This becomes significant as our discussions about the ESL program and ESL students continue to unfold.

When discussing interactions with ESL students, both Martin and Alex brought up the fact that because they were AP and honors students, they did not interact with ESL students. Alex stated, “I was taking honors classes all the way…I’ve been taking honors and AP classes so I normally…I don't wanna say I’m better than other students, but I did take more rigorous classes”. In Alex’s response, there’s a sense of elitism that comes with being part of a higher achieving track like AP and honors. This sentiment, although not ill-willed towards other students, does create a narrative of “better” or “worse” students. Among participants who did have interactions with ESL students in their classrooms, I was interested to investigate what the extent of these interactions was. This conversation quickly shifted over to translations and the linguistic labor utilized by my participants, which was largely discussed in Chapter III.

Through our discussions, it became apparent that ESL students had minimal interactions with non-ESL students. When ESL students were enrolled in courses with my participants, their interactions were focused on language. Eight out of ten participants reported in their interview that they have helped an ESL student by translating course content and instructions to them in their classrooms. Many of the students stated that the labor of translation mainly falls on them because when ESL students are enrolled in classes outside of their ESL program, they do not have school support to provide adequate translations for them. Gibby explains,

> “I really can't speak very well of it [the support], but I can say that from what I see it's very limited. It's not that much support. A lot of the support in fact is from ourselves,

> the students and a lot of it is again that some of the teachers don't speak Spanish so they can't help."

A significant contributing factor to the lack of support for ESL students in non-ESL classes was the lack of teachers' linguistic abilities and curricular support in Spanish. Gibby realizes that because of the limited support for ESL students and non-Spanish speaking teachers, the labor of translating and assisting falls on the students. Although some teachers do speak or understand some Spanish, the majority of them cannot properly assist ESL students. Isaias shares, "They [ESL students] sometimes get support by [non-ESL] students. Sometimes teachers help you, but they only help you to a certain extent so then it's like you kind of have to make friends. That way they understand that they can explain it to you". Isaias explains the need for ESL students to make friendships and connect with bilingual speakers in the class who understand instruction and the material in order to get assistance. Students also report having to translate for interactions outside of classrooms. Jessica reports helping translate for a peer buying tickets for an extra-curricular school event and Gibby reports helping translate for a sporting event. As discussed in previous chapters, issues of untranslatability and different varieties of Spanish prove to be a struggle for students. Gibby explains that while translating for a water polo teammate, he faced challenges translating water polo jargon, or words used to signal certain plays or moves in water polo. He explains,

> "It was very difficult to teach him water polo because a lot of the language that's used in water polo is just English like nowhere in the rulebook did they ever put translations. So, for example, to say 'shoot' it was kind of weird to say dispara you know. We were like 'what's the word?' Like do you say like tírala? And we were also

> thinking of like, how do we translate all this other lingo like turn the guy, swim down, like 'nada pa' bajo?' You know?"

Gibby addresses the lack of Spanish translations in water polo rulebooks and the difficulties of finding the right words in Spanish that have the same sentiment and effect as an English word. This exemplifies the wide range of struggles faced by ESL students and the lack of proper support and translations throughout various educational spaces and activities.

The most significant factor influencing the interactions and experiences of ESL students on campus was the placement of the ESL program and classrooms. As discussed above, there are designated bungalows for where ESL classes are held: bungalows 21 through 24. This area became of interest when the student participants identified it on their linguistic landscapes map as one of the main areas on campus for Spanish use. I soon learned that the area where the ESL classrooms are located on campus is also known as "Little TJ", TJ being short for Tijuana. The first time I heard this term was from a classroom teacher. She laughed it off, making it known that the area was widely known on campus for this nickname. Interestingly enough, when the students drew out their campus and identifies various areas, that nickname never appeared on that map. This was further investigated through my one-on-one interviews.

When asking students about their experiences interacting with ESL students, a significant component was them expressing their reactions and perceptions to the area known as "Little TJ". As displayed on the maps, the ESL program bungalows are on the opposite side of campus buildings where academic subjects and A-G requirement classes are taught, like the math building and science building. This divide was noticeable and felt by all students, regardless of whether they themselves were part of the ESL program or not. The

nine students who shared their perceptions of being an outsider to the ESL program on campus were almost evenly split regarding how they felt about it. Five students shared their conflicted views on the location of the ESL program while four were completely against this marginalized location. For Grace, Gibby, Martin, Jessica, and Minerva, the placement of the program was not as much of a concern but rather, they cared more about the students having a space to learn and feel comfortable, away from criticism and discrimination. Grace explained,

> "I feel like it's nice because they're more in a group and they can help each other. But I don't like it when other people who know English exclude them out. All the Spanish speakers choose to be there [in that space] outside of class. During lunch and after school they still choose to be in that space."

Students like Gibby and Juan made it very clear that although they somewhat agreed with the separation for comfort and support purposes, it felt "fishy" or felt like students were being "segregated" by placing them so far from other classrooms. One significant reason for their support for having ESL students together was to try to prevent them from experiencing struggle or embarrassment. Both Martin and Jessica stated that they have noticed the struggle that comes with being "thrown into other [non-ESL] classes" while also feeling shy and embarrassed to speak and practice their English with non-ESL students. As previously mentioned, this student population receives a lot of policing and hate from others for their language abilities in English. My student participants are very aware of the negative labels associated to this student population, so their conflicting views of the placement of the ESL program, I feel, came from a place of care and wanting to provide comfort and protection for their peers to continue their path towards learning English. In concluding her thoughts, Grace

brought up an interesting point in her justification for why she believes the school has a designated area for ESL students. She stated, “The school is okay with having them in a space as long as they don’t cause trouble”. Grace is making connections to the responsibility and intentions of the school when placing students in a designated area on campus. Her mentioning of “as long as they don’t cause trouble” speaks to how she thinks her school and others view or perceive ESL students as “trouble”. This connects to the larger narrative in society where Spanish-speakers are perceived as “trouble” or “illegal”.

The students who were very bold and candid about their negative feelings about the ESL program classrooms’ placement were Isaias, Jasmin, Alex, and Melissa. Alex explained,

> “I think it's kinda like horrible cause it throws a target on them like you’re kinda targeting them a little like saying, ‘Oh you’re going to Little TJ?’…They’ll [peers] be like ‘Oh, those are the beaners! Those are the wetbacks!’”.

Alex’s response has multiple layers as he explains his personal feelings of the placement being “horrible” because it labels the students and identifies them to others as being part of “Little TJ”. His narrative explains his awareness that others perceive ESL students as “beaners” and “wetbacks”. Isaias’s dismay at the separation of students both by location and in integrating into other classrooms was extremely powerful. He stated,

> “I don't think it's right because I mean it's like you are separating them from the whole school ‘cuz I think…I've heard last time that one student that did have those [ESL] classes was only in that section like all day except for like one or two classes that they have to come to like for Biology in Building 7. But other than that they only have that little section. So, I didn't feel comfortable with it because like you know they're human beings as well. Just because they only speak Spanish ‘cuz it’s their first

language doesn't mean that you have to separate them. I mean why can't they have like classes all around as well that way they can experience the school?"

For Isaias, the divide and separation are a question of humanity. He was aware that ESL students only leave their designated area periodically for other courses but spend the majority of their time in one "little section". To him, this decision prevented ESL students from fully experiencing their campus and their schooling. Following this outspoken dismay, Jasmin's response to this topic left me stunned.

> "I think it's pretty fucked up because they pretty much are by the Auto which is being constructed right now. They're pretty much bordered and I think that's messed up. They deserve a building."

Jasmin's choice of the word "bordered" speaks volumes to how this separation is mirroring our society and how both the physical and imagined borders influence the experiences of immigrant communities. She continues,

> "These students will feel left out and being pushed into a corner or being pushed out of the school cause that's pretty much where they are. It's them, then the field, then the gate to get out of the school. They're pretty much getting pushed out of the school if the field wasn't there…I feel like those students…I feel like those bungalows shouldn't be there. I think they should be by freshman village [designated classrooms for freshmen students] instead of being hidden. I feel like they're hidden because they're just pushed there. Like you don't have a choice. You're going there whether you want to or not."

Jasmin believed that placement had everything to do with ESL students feeling unwelcomed and even being "pushed out". Research shows that ESL students are categorically struggling,

leading to higher dropout rates (Martínez, 2018, Watt & Roessingh, 1994) and Jasmin's response showed how well aware she was of that issue. Regardless of whether she knew the statistical data or not, she felt that ESL students' placement so far from other academic buildings was for the purpose of occluding their presence: to hide them. She also speaks to the lack of choice that ESL students have when being enrolled in an ESL program. Even if they wanted to immerse themselves in other parts of the campus and be enrolled in other courses, the school has designated one area for them and they are placed there "whether you want to or not".

The specific words used by these students in describing the ESL program and its placement like "segregated" and "bordered" was truly shocking. The amount of awareness and the agency they felt to be able to voice their opinion of how their peers are treated by their school was astounding. The amount of connections they made to how societal perceptions and views of Spanish speakers is mirrored on their campus for this particular space still leaves me speechless. Often times, youth are not given the credit or the time for us to see how truly aware and knowledgeable they are. My participants, whether they knew it or not, were giving conscious critiques not only about how their school deals with Spanish-speaking students but also how society views them as a whole.

Anahi's experiences as an ESL student

Anahi was born in the U.S. but raised in Mexico. Her migration back to the U.S. coincided with her beginning high school. Upon enrollment, she was identified as an English Learner and placed in the school's ESL program. Anahi explained that her involvement in the ESL program was only during 9th grade. She described that while in the ESL program, she was criticized and policed by peers.

> "Antes cuando recién que llegué como decían que me vine como la mexicana o así. Cómo estaba todavía en la academia [programa de inglés] en la esquina los salones…en los últimos…le decían como Tijuana entonces pues sí decían como… me hacen como burla por el idioma…porque no hablaba el inglés".[20]

When explaining the ESL program, Anahi uses "en la esquína", "en los últimos" when describing the placement of the ESL classrooms, signaling the distance she felt between the ESL classrooms and other academic classrooms. Her response also made it clear that she was aware that others called that area "Tijuana" or "Little TJ". She explains that being part of that area or program warrants an ESL student to be made fun of or bullied for their lack of English abilities. She believes that by others doing this, "tratan de bajar así como la autoestima y no se dan cuenta. O tal vez sí pero pues nada más les gusta hacerlo".[21] While she believes that some may not intend to maliciously police others, she does believe that it affects her and other EL self-esteem and how they think of themselves when learning English.

Anahi explained that criticisms and mistreatment did not only come from peers, but she also experienced being singled out for her English abilities by her 9th grade Physical Education (P.E.) teacher. She explains that he would ask her questions or direct a conversation to her in English, knowing very well that she did not understand. "Yo acababa de llegar y no entendía nada"[22], she explains. The teacher's behavior towards Anahi led other

[20] Translation: "When I first got here [U.S.], they would say that I came Mexican. When I was still in the academy [English Language Program] in the corner classrooms…in the last classrooms…they would call it Tijuana. They would make fun of me for my language…because I wouldn't speak English".
[21] "They try to lower your self-esteem and they don't even realize it. Well maybe they do and they just like to do it".
[22] "I had just arrived and did not understand a thing".

students to laugh at her and join in the ridicule. “Pero no me deje”[23], she explained. She got tired of the mistreatment and spoke up for herself against that teacher and others. Unaware of whether he understood the “groserias”[24] she said to him, Anahi spoke up for herself. She reported that since then, the teacher just left her alone, no longer questioning her. At a very young age and at the beginning of her education in the U.S., Anahi felt disparities for her lack of English abilities but also built up her agency and resisted mistreatment from peers and staff.

Anahi explained that beginning in 10th grade, she was no longer in the ESL program. In describing the ESL classrooms in comparison to the classes she is now enrolled in, she uses words like “los salones de allá” or “los de acá”[25], signaling the distance and separation between the two. Once she tested out of the ESL program, her courses were no longer in that designated area, making it difficult for her to maintain relationships with peers in the ESL program. She reports that she still has friends who are ESL students but because they are not in her classes, they only interact during lunch or after school.

The way in which Anahi “got out” of the ESL program revealed a great amount about how the tracking of that program works. Anahi explains that during her 9th grade year, she moved through the levels quickly. At the end of the school year her teacher recommended that she test out and be immersed into academic courses outside of the ESL program. She explains her hesitation to “get out” of the program as she felt it was too soon. “Yo no quería y fue cuando el maestro me dijo que si yo quería seguir estudiando tenía que salirme rápido

[23] “But I didn’t stay quiet”.
[24] Translation: Bad words
[25] Translation: “the classrooms from over there” or “the ones from here”.

porque iba a gastar mi tiempo allí"[26]. It was through her teacher's encouragement and advocacy for her to be removed from the program that Anahi learned that ESL classes would not count for her to continue her education and could even delay her graduation from high school. Anahi reported that this information was never given to her and her peers and that she became aware of this only when the teacher told her personally. Since being removed from the ESL program, she does not know whether this information is now shared widely with its students but when she was there, this information was not known. This lack of proper dissemination of information can greatly hinder the educational trajectory of ESL students. Anahi shared that had it not been for this teacher advocating for her, she would have chosen to stay in ESL for comfort rather than being aware that it could delay her taking courses to be able to graduate and continue her education.

When discussing the location of the ESL program on campus, Anahi had conflicting views. Although she did not like that the seclusion led to them being identified as and being targets of bullying for being part of "Little TJ", her experiences of being a student in ESL classes and having their own space to learn overshadowed the negative. She explained,

> "Pues yo me siento bien por que así como que les dan la ayuda necesaria que ellos necesitan porque no es fácil llegar aquí y no más entrar a clases regulares donde no vas a entender nada y pues como le decía le pueden hacer burla. Yo me acuerdo de mí. No quería ni venir a la escuela. Hay muchos que sí les importa seguir estudiando y eso pero por causa de eso pues dejaron de estudiar. Pero ya con la academia esa que

[26] "I didn't want to and it was when the teacher told me that if I wanted to keep going to school I had to get out fast because I was going to waste my time there".

pusieron y darles cómo ese espacio a ellos donde se sientan ellos mismos está bien. Así no se sienten en un lugar diferente."[27]

Anahi explains that having an ESL program and designated classes allows for EL students to learn without being made fun of by others. She explains that her experiences of bullying made her not even want to go back to school but that because she had the space to learn, it helped her not feel like she was thrown into a classroom where she would not understand. She explains that when she "got out", she did struggle as she was trying to further develop her English while learning academic content. She explained that because instruction was all in English and very few teachers spoke Spanish, "le costó"[28] to be able to adapt and understand the material. She reports not having any further assistance after 10th grade, when she was in an English support course rather than ESL. She stated, "Ya sacándote ya nos les importa. Dicen que sí pero yo vi que no"[29]. It was up to her to acquire the language and look for ways to get resources and help as she was still acquiring and developing her English. The school did not provide any further assistance or resources for her transition.

Anahi's narrative and experiences help us gain perspective on how an ESL student experiences their education and schooling. While she did find benefits in having an ESL program and support for students, there were ways in which its function was not universal for every student. Once you were "out", it was up to the you to figure it out. The ways in which schools promote bilingualism and resources for English learners appear to be well intended,

[27] Translation: "I feel good because they give them the necessary help that they need because it's not easy getting here and going into normal classes where you won't understand anything and like I told you, they may make fun of that. I remember with myself. I didn't even want to come to school. There are many who do like to keep studying but because of that they stop. But now with the academy and giving them their space, they feel more themselves. That way they don't feel like they're in a different place."
[28] Translation: "it was a struggle".
[29] Translation: "Once they take you out, they don't care anymore. Even though they say they do, I say that they don't care because with me, they didn't".

but as vocalized by the students, the ways these intentions and resources are structured can have larger ramifications for how the students experience their education.

Conclusion and Recommendations

> "I think they should be in the [non-ESL] classrooms. They are students too. Why do you wanna push them away from the kids that know English and Spanish? Wouldn't you want them [ESL students] in the middle of everything?
> -Alex

This chapter analyzed how English-only ideologies are implemented and assist in structuring the school linguistically. The students demonstrated the significant impact that raciolinguistic ideologies have in society and how schools function and impose policies around language. Their sharing of their lived experiences and knowledge of English-only policies and ideologies allow us to see the power of language hierarchies as well as ideas of bilingualism within communities of color.

The most significant example of the power of English-only ideologies on the one hand and community ideas of bilingualism on the other was reflected on the ESL program at Field High School. All students expressed their feelings with how ESL students are viewed, treated, and segregated by the school. Alex's quote above brings up an interesting point when he questions why the school pushes ESL students to the margins rather than integrating them with other English and Spanish speaking students. This questioning brings up his own ideas of how beneficial it could be for ESL students to interact with and be exposed to others who are bilingual.

All students argue that it is very important for the school to incorporate Spanish and other languages that would reinforce and promote bilingualism. Researchers like Valenzuela (1999) and Valdez (1998) have long argued that the solution to the struggles within the education of Latina/o/x youth is not to deprive immigrants of much-needed language support

systems, but rather to restructure academic programs so that they enhance learning opportunities for all. Alex also recommended that promoting bilingualism could help fight white supremacy. He explains, “I think it’s [bilingualism] helping our culture now with how Donald Trump is saying like, ‘Make America great again’. Alex understands the anti-immigrant and English-only rhetoric imposed by Trump and this administration, so he has hope that bilingualism and the promotion of it can help the divisive societal culture of the Trump Era. Youth are keenly aware of how the current political climate has situated them, their culture, the communities, and their language.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

"If you speak Spanish and English, you're going to have an advantage…both languages can take you pretty far." -Isaias

For students at Field High School, their educational experiences proved to be influenced by social and political perceptions and ideologies of what it means to be a racialized subject in society. Throughout the 2017 Spring semester, I was able to understand how Mexican-origin students actively sought out ways to negotiate deficit perceptions about themselves and their community, with language being at the forefront of much of that perceived deficiency. Although their Spanish language was not used for their academic learning, the students found ways to engage their Spanish abilities for themselves, their peers, and their families. As mentioned above by Isaias, the students were aware of how valuable their Spanish could be in conjunction with their English and how "both languages can take you pretty far."

Significance and Contributions

Over the span of 20 weeks, the participants' engagement with the SKILLS-inspired curriculum and discussions assert how Mexican-origin youth are keenly aware of the ways in which their lived experiences are guided and impacted by racial and linguistic ideologies. This research analyzed how as children of immigrants, their relationship with their racial and linguistic identities were at times complicated but necessary for the functioning of their families in the U.S. The students discussed how their abilities in translating, language brokering, translanguaging, and linguistic mentorship were developed and utilized inside and outside of their educational settings. These abilities, often developed out of necessity, were

an incredible skill set that had developed over the years and would follow the participants for years to come.

The use of engaged ethnographic methods as informed by critical and culturally sustaining pedagogies, funds of knowledge-centered praxis, and Chicana feminist epistemologies allowed for a research project that centered the role and impact that youth can have in their educational experiences. This research engages with renewed public calls from educators, policy makers, and researchers for more pedagogical and curricula shifts for serving multilingual and diverse classrooms (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016, 2017, 2018; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Paris, 2012). The choice to implement a SKILLS-inspired research design aimed to develop a co-learning environment with students and aid in creating a sense of pride in themselves and the linguistic abilities. Most significantly, a goal of this research was to encourage students to envision change for themselves and those that come after them. Each data chapter purposefully ended with a policy and practice recommendation that came directly from the students, sharing their perceptions about how the educational system should function for their learning. It was critical to create a space for students to articulate their ideas and have them believe that they can envision a solution and make recommendations for their education. This process served as a means for them to transform their thinking by seeing themselves as active agents of change and by challenging dominant narratives that positioned them as racially, linguistically, and culturally inferior in our society. This process would, in hopes, incite a sense of activism and sociolinguistic justice for themselves and their families during the current divisive political climate.

Tiene que haber confianza y cariño.[30] I attribute my positionality, care, and relationship building with the students to have played a major role on how this research developed and unfolded throughout the semester. I came into the classroom as myself not just as a researcher. Making myself and my field of research accessible to students was of utmost importance. I wanted them to feel seen, heard, and validated. I wanted them to have a space where they could connect their home life to their school life and continue to build a bridge between them. I wanted them to feel like their lived experiences and stories mattered to their learning. Given that some of the topics of discussion were very personal and a lot of times included our families, I was purposeful to approach the content and the students in a respectful and honest way. I shared with them who I was, never hiding that like themselves, I was a product of a working-class, immigrant family from Santa Ana. I feel as though this cariño, or politics of caring (Valenzuela, 1999), can make a vital impact on how research is collected and analyzed when working with youth. I felt as though I was allowed into their space and granted access to their lives by them feeling welcomed and respected.

Future Directions

Upon completing my research at Field High School, there were significant changes that occurred district-wide. As discussed in Chapter V, the passage of Proposition 58 repealed bilingual education restrictions enacted by Proposition 227. The passage of this proposition will have meaningful implications for the education of bilingual children and the inclusion of languages other than English in their education. Upon completing my research in June of 2017, I began to notice the ways in which the passage of Prop 58 had already influenced the ways the school district was envisioning the inclusion of bilingualism and

[30] English translation: There has to be trust and care.

dual-language immersion programs for the upcoming academic school year. The following image began to circulate at many schools within the district for the 2017-2018 academic school year.

Figure 19: District promotion sign of Spanish dual language immersion program

The photograph of the sign was taken at a neighboring middle school to Field High School in summer of 2017, a few weeks after the completion of the 2016-2017 academic school year. The sign promoted a *free* Spanish-English dual-language immersion program from preschool to 8th grade. The program was being offered as a free incentive for students who enrolled, even providing full-day pre-K and Kindergarten options for parents. The program was being promoted as a way to build a "competitive edge" in students for our "global society", which is significantly different than the Proposition 227 rhetoric regarding bilingualism and use of Spanish within educational settings. This shift of inclusion of bilingualism and dual-language programs will provide a distinct educational experience from the students in my research, which had their entire K-12 education impacted by the racial incentives behind Proposition 227. Whereas Prop 227 was eliminated because Mexicans students must learn English, Prop 58 was passed because of the significance of non-Mexicans learning Spanish.

Being a resident of Santa Ana, I have seen the impact that charter schools have had on the enrollment of students in SAUSD. Over the years, I have seen an increase in charter schools popping up throughout the city. They offer an alternative for parents with many of the charters promoting themselves as math and science academies. In conversations with educators and administrators of SAUSD, they have expressed their concerns of losing public school students to charters and other privatized institutions. The passage of Proposition 58 and the move SAUSD made towards promoting dual-language programs could have implications for the district moving forward with enrollment. I believe these changes to be an attempt by the district to increase enrollment of students by marketing various opportunities like promoting their home language and wanting them to be developed dual-language abilities as part of developing competitive global citizens. Often times this discourse ignores the reality that California, and certainly Santa Ana, is already Spanish-dominant and already immigrant.

Another change that happened after the graduation of the 2016-2017 student cohort was the English Language Proficiency Assessments for California (ELPAC) replacing the CELDT in Spring 2018 (http://www.elpac.org/). This change comes at almost 20 years of having the CELDT examination dictate the experiences of ESL students and their categorization. Similar to the CELDT test, the ELPAC is also administered to students whose primary language is one other than English in order to determine their language proficiency (for more information on the ELPAC, visit https://www.elpac.org). ELPAC differs from CELDT in the form that students will be categorized as Emerging, Expanding, and Bridging. The ELPAC is composed of two exams rather than one for CELDT; the first exam for ELPAC is the Initial test and the second is the Summative test. Finally, students will have

examples available for all grades rather than being grouped by grades 3rd to 5th and 9th to 12th like CELDT did. Although implementation of the exam is in the beginning stages, it could have meaningful implications for ESL students and their educational trajectories.

Just as significant, in California, the legislature passed the Alejo Bill in 2016, encouraging Ethnic Studies courses in all California public schools in grades 7th to 12th. At the onset of the 2020-2021 academic school year, SAUSD voted to make Ethnic Studies a requirement for graduation at the high school level. Studies show that Ethnic Studies courses have a positive impact on academic achievement in all classes through better attendance, increase in GPA, and more credits earned toward graduation (Cabrera et al., 2014; Dee & Penner 2016). This requirement and push towards Ethnic Studies will have significant implications for students at this school and will create a positive shift in their curriculum and pedagogical practices available to them at their sites of learning. Through the goals of Ethnic Studies, discussions of race and language will be embedded in the learning of youth.

Currently, COVID-19 and the global pandemic has largely influenced schooling, especially in communities of color like Santa Ana that have been hit hardest by this illness. In Orange County, Santa Ana is currently the city with largest amount of positive COVID-19 cases (De Nova, 2020). This crisis has left students and families of Santa Ana and SAUSD dealing with issues of access to adequate resources and technology all while experiencing the largest numbers of infections in our communities. At this time, how we think about sustaining our students has largely shifted to multiple aspects: education, health, and the economy. We must now think of their access to sometimes trivialized resources like WIFI and functioning computers in order to access their virtual classrooms. The largest struggle for most students and families at the time is their mental and physical health. We can no longer

ignore the impact that a students' home life has on their education when their home has become their school and classroom. Educators, policy makers, and researchers must account for the impact of lived experiences on schooling of children and youth more than ever before.

The shifts we are seeing towards bilingualism, dual language programs, and Ethnic Studies in SAUSD is a step in the direction that students involved in this research have largely argued for. Their experiences of being children of immigrants, being Spanish speakers, and having their entire educational trajectory influenced by English-only ideologies and policies demonstrated the ways their educational experiences were largely impacted. This research analyzed the impact that implementing a culturally sustaining and sociocultural linguistic justice inspired curriculum can have on students, by allowing their voices and experiences to be an integral part of their learning. The implementation of future research and approaches have to address students' current needs in order to continue to provide equitable educational opportunities and outcomes for communities like Santa Ana.

Reflection

This research project allowed me to reflect on my own relationship with my linguistic repertoires and abilities, my educational trajectory, and my family. Growing up in Santa Ana, coming from a Spanish-speaking immigrant home was not uncommon. Throughout my entire K-12 experiences, I was with peers who came from similar homes as mine; we spoke the same languages and shared similar Mexican cultural practices. However, my educational experiences rarely included our racial/ethnic and linguistic identities to our learning. For me, being placed in "high achieving" tracks within schools meant that Spanish had no place in my academic learning. Even though my peers and I came from predominantly working-class, immigrant, Spanish-speaking households, our Spanish abilities were never utilized to

complement our English instruction. Years later, I see how this remained true for the students in this research. For me, this disengagement had a significant impact on how I thought of my own Spanish abilities and who I used them with at sites of learning. At home however, Spanish was the only way for me to communicate with my parents; I was stuck in two separate linguistic worlds. It was difficult for me realize how schools really functioned for us, the children of working-class, immigrant families.

The opportunity to develop and conduct this research proved to be much more than a process of collecting data and reporting my findings. This process allowed me to understand the education of Mexican immigrant youth on a different level, now as a researcher. I acknowledge the privilege and access to resources and knowledge that I did not have at their age. I am driven with a political heart to seek change and equity for student of color.

Youth, like those in this study, have an immense amount of accumulated knowledge and ganas to offer to our society at this time, at the peak of Black Lives Matter and COVID-19. Youth in this community are strong-willed and passionate. Against many odds and obstacles, le hechan ganas and they make it; we make it. Even when we are positioned to fail with limited resources and expectations, we make it. As Spanish speaking children of immigrants, we make it. It is our responsibility more than ever as educators and researchers to continue to seek ways to uplift and accompany our communities and value the endless skills and contributions that youth have to offer.

Appendix 1

Sample of Interview Questions

Interview
June 2nd, 2017
Pseudonym chosen: Alex

Personal

1. Please state the pseudonym you have chosen for yourself
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. How do you identify ethnically/racially?
5. What language(s) do you speak?
6. What is your GPA?
7. Are you/have you been enrolled in special academic programs (GATE, AP, honors, etc.).
8. Are there any clubs or programs on campus that you are a part of?
9. What are your plans after high school?
    a. What college are you going to?
    b. What will your major be?
    c. What made you decide this major?
    d. What do you hope to do with this major?
    e. What is your career goal?

Family

10. Where is your family from?
    a. I see that in your family tree you have stated that your father and mother both came to the US when they were 2 years old. What do you know about her immigration story?
    b. How did your family end up in Santa Ana?
11. How has your family influenced your linguistic practices?
    a. Grandparents
    b. Parents
    c. Siblings

    d. Has your family encouraged you speaking one language over the other?

    e. Has your family ever expressed positive or negative feelings about using slang, Spanglish, or code-switching when speaking with them?
12. What kinds of things have you had to help your family with linguistically?
    a. Where have you had to translate for your family?
    b. What have been some negative or positive feelings that you have?
    c. We talked about how this kind of labor goes unnoticed and it often seen as both rewarding yet incredibly stressful. Tell me about a time where you have felt like your language brokering was a rewarding experience?

d. When considering translation and schools, have you ever had to translate for your parents at school? Tell me about it.
    i. How did this make you feel?
    ii. How do you think this made your parents feel?
    iii. What role do you think the school should play in translation for Spanish speaking parents?

Peers

13. What language(s) do you use when interacting with your friends?
    a. Does this change depending on the place you are at with them?
        i. How do you and your friends speak at school?
            1. Classroom
            2. Lunchtime
            3. School events
        ii. You mentioned in your journal that you use Spanish with peers but it's mostly in the use of bad words. Tell me more about this.
    b. Do you have friends who are Spanish speaking only?
    c. How do you think your friends have influenced your use of Spanish/English?
        i. Different peer groups?
    d. There are times when bilingual people speak primarily in say English but slip in some Spanish when we don't want others to know what we are saying.
        i. Do you and your friends ever do this?
        ii. Tell me about a time this has happened?
        iii. Why do you think we do this?
        iv. Have you ever thought about this as a linguistic ability?

Personal-linguistic

14. Let's now talk more specifically about you and language. We started our journey together with talking about accents. You mentioned in your journal that you have never been told you have an accent. Was this with you speaking Spanish or English?
    a. Have you ever been told you have an accent when speaking Spanish?
    b. What kind of negative things have you heard about accents?
    c. Your campus has a large portion of Spanish speaking students. Do you pay attention to accent with them? Does their accent affect the way you think about them?
15. We also talked about code-switching in our classroom conversations. You mentioned in your journal that your Spanish is not as proficient as your English.
    a. Does this affect your choice to code switch?
    b. When and with who do you find yourself code-switching with?
    c. Is there a specific time that you can pinpoint to when you began doing this?
    d. In our reading of Alicia Gaspar De Alba she talked about being restricted to Spanish only (home) and English only (school) Have you ever felt or been told that you should not speak a certain language in a specific place?
16. When reading your entry about microaggressions, I was frustrated for you for the things you have heard from people.
    a. Tell me about being called whitewashed for not speaking Spanish.
        i. Who has told this to you?

        ii. Why do you think people associate being White to not being able to speak Spanish?
        iii. Have you ever been told something about your perceived inability to speak Spanish in relation to your skin color?
    b. How do microaggressions about you language or race/ethnicity make you feel?
17. When we talked about English-only policies, you wrote about how opposed to them you were.
    a. Does your school promote the use of Spanish on campus?
        i. In the classroom?
        ii. Teachers?
        iii. Administration?
    b. On a scale from 1-10, where would you place your school with adopting English only policies?
    c. Have you noticed the signs around campus that are bilingual? What do you think of these?
    d. How do you think your school can change or adapt to changing some of its English-only ways?
    e. How do you see this affecting your education?
        i. Your peers' education?

18. We have talked about English Language Learners and the infamous "Little TJ" on your campus.
    a. Have you ever been identified as an ELL student?
    b. Have you ever been in classes with ELL students?
    c. Do you have friends who have been identified as ELL?
        i. Have they ever shared their experiences with you?
    d. What is your interaction with "little TJ" or the students that are in that space on campus?
    e. Have you ever had to translate for someone who is identified as ELL?
    f. How do you feel about the school designating a place for ELL students?
        i. I heard that ELL students are now integrated in other classes not just in little TJ. What kind of support do you see these students getting in these classes outside of little TJ?
19. Your last journal entry really intrigued me and I have noticed that this encounter with this man at your paleteria really affected you. I wanted to talk about it with you.
    a. Why do you think this affected you so negatively?
    b. How did this man make you feel about your Spanish ability?
    c. Is this the first time that you have encountered something like this?
20. How has this experience with me and talking about language influenced the way in which you think about
    a. your linguistic abilities
    b. your educational experiences in relation to language
    c. yourself

Appendix 2

Sample of SKILLS-inspired Curriculum and Journaling Prompts

Note that more samples of SKILLS curriculum and materials can be found at http://www.skills.ucsb.edu.

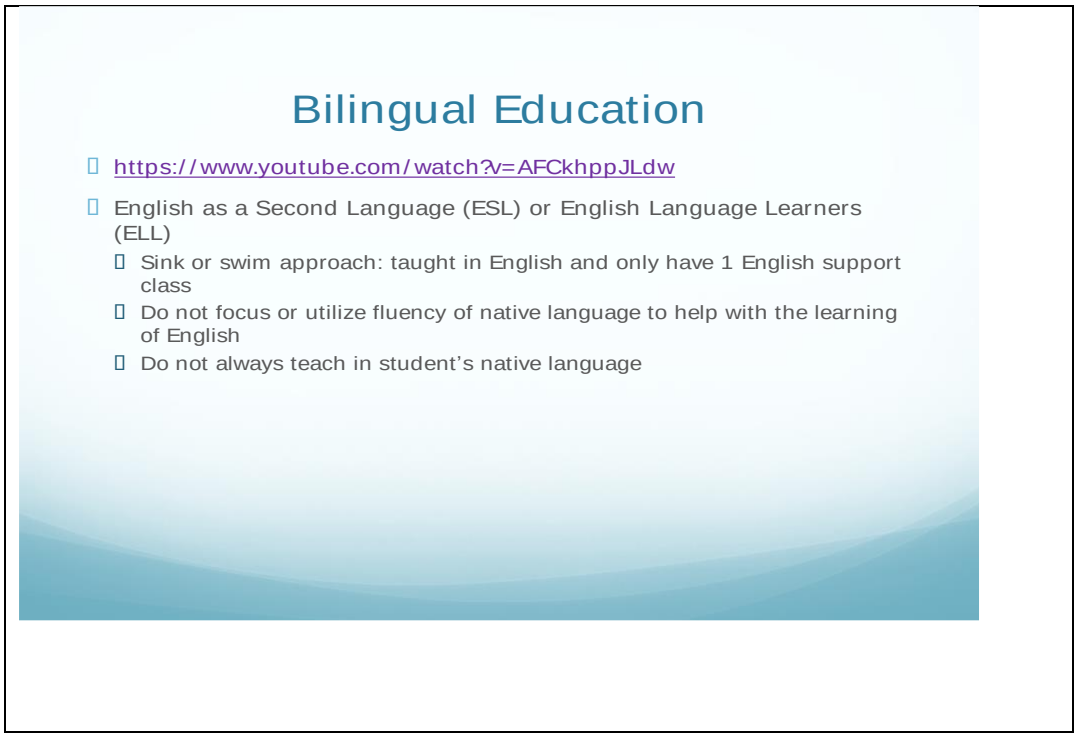
1. *English-Only Ideologies and Policies PowerPoint Presentation*

English-Only in Schools?

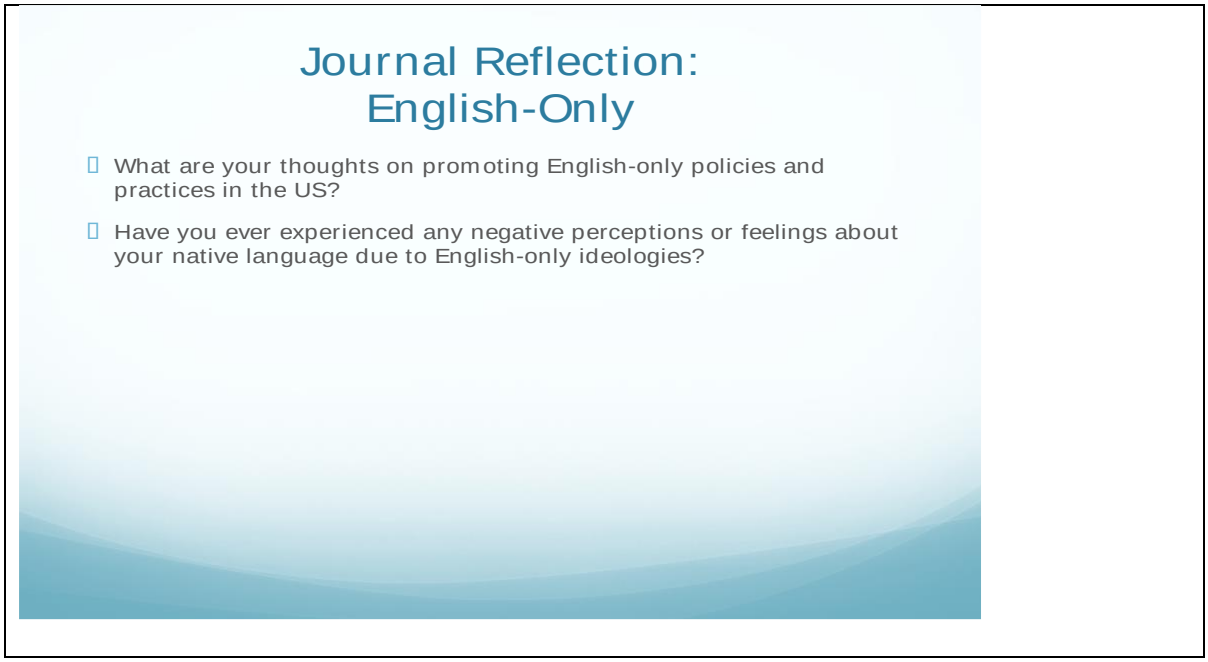
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBV-Kpnshal

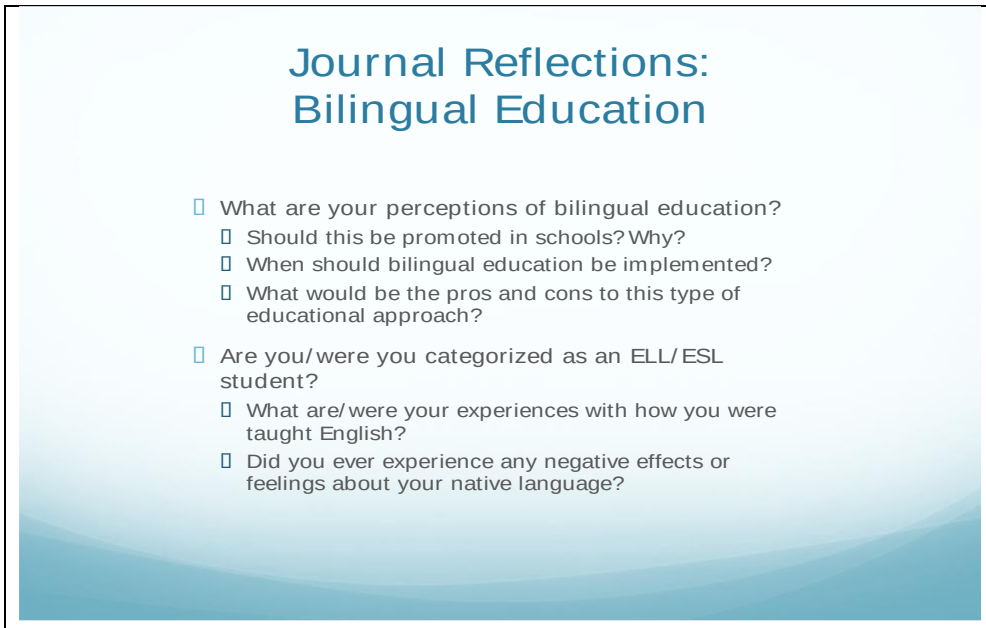
Journal Quick-write

- Do other languages have a place in schools aside from foreign language requirement?
- Has your school adopted English-only practices?
  - Who?
  - Where?



2. *English-Only and Bilingual Education PowerPoint: Journal Reflection Prompts*




Journal Reflections:
Bilingual Education
What are your perceptions of bilingual education?
Should this be promoted in schools? Why?
When should bilingual education be implemented?
What would be the pros and cons to this type of educational approach?
Are you/were you categorized as an ELL/ESL student?
What are/were your experiences with how you were taught English?
Did you ever experience any negative effects or feelings about your native language?

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