

# UC Berkeley

## UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

### Title

Emplacing White Possessive Logics: Socializing Latinx Youth into Relations with Land, Community, and Success

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7s63z389>

### Author

Stone, Theresa Amalia

### Publication Date

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Emplacing White Possessive Logics:  
Socializing Latinx Youth into Relations with Land, Community, and Success

By

Theresa Amalia Stone

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

Professor Zeus Leonardo

Professor Charles Briggs

Summer 2019

Emplacing White Possessive Logics:  
Socializing Latinx Youth into Relations with Land, Community, and Success

@2019

By

Theresa Amalia Stone

## Abstract

Emplacing White Possessive Logics:  
Socializing Latinx Youth into Relations with Land, Community, and Success

by

Theresa Amalia Stone

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

This dissertation examines the logics and relations that Latinx youth are socialized into via a college preparation program from a settler colonial studies perspective. An ethnographic project drawing upon critical place inquiry and language socialization approaches, it features data from pláticas and interviews, participant observation, and a multi-sited place project, building upon youths' and educators' readings and navigations of their social worlds. It contends that white possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) were enacted through a series of classificatory technologies of control which shifted in response to efforts by local educators to employ educational structures and practices that countered them. Further, it examines the navigation of the settler-native-slave triad by Latinx youth, as their status as exogenous others positioned them as not-quite-yet determined within this structure. This dissertation argues that the precarity and tenuousness of life shaped by racialized and gendered vulnerabilities made aspiring towards normative visions of success a (non)option for those given the opportunity to do so. Finally, it describes the complex and at times conflicting relations with Land, community, and success that Bridge Program youth were socialized into, arguing that, ultimately, the relations embedded therein limit the potential for such a program to produce significant changes to the structural inequities of the U.S. nation-state. In all, this dissertation underscores that college-going pathways and the attainment of higher education are always embedded within the white supremacist, settler colonial nation-state, and cannot be the primary strategy for racialized peoples' liberation, despite its championing by liberal multicultural approaches to social change.

For Taylor, Elena, and Eva, and all who come after them.

For Cecilia and Tim, whose love, dreams, and support have made this possible.

And for Amalia Rada Burruel, who I will always carry with me.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Dedication.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
Preface.....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v
Chapter One .....	1
Introduction: Visions of Success, Latinx Youth, and Settler Colonial Studies.....	2
a. The Bridge Program: College Access Programs and a Growing Latinx Population.....	4
b. Rethinking Success.....	7
c. Theoretical Framework: Settler Colonial Studies.....	10
d. White Possessive Logics: Connections to the Nation-State.....	13
e. Latinx Youth.....	18
f. Exogenous Others and the "Competence" Required of Subordinate Settlers.....	22
g. Project Goals & Research Questions.....	24
h. Outline of <i>Emplacing White Possessive Logics</i> .....	25
Chapter Two.....	27
Methodology: Ethnography of Schooling, Language Socialization & Critical Place Inquiry.....	28
a. Epistemological Foundations.....	28
b. Language Socialization and Critical Place Inquiry.....	35
c. Choice of Site: Muwekma Ohlone Land, Cedarville, SF Bay Area, California.....	37
d. The Bridge Program in Cedarville.....	43
e. Research Design & Approach.....	46
f. Participants.....	54
g. Methods of Sense-Making.....	57
Chapter Three.....	58
EmPlacing White Possessive Logics: Controlling Educational Resources in Cedarville.....	59
a. Classificatory Technologies of Control.....	61
b. Exclusion.....	65
c. Assimilative Inclusion.....	69

d. Accommodative Inclusion.....	74
e. Official Antiracisms: The Usurpation of Anti-Racist Thought & Projects.....	80
f. Appropriation.....	83
Chapter Four.....	89
Exogenous Others Navigating the Settler-Native-Slave Triad: Latinx Youth’s Racialized & Gendered Vulnerabilities in Cedarville, California.....	90
a. Stories of Migration, Terror, and Making a Life.....	92
b. Bridge & Chicano Studies as Means to Navigate Racist Schooling.....	106
c. Latinx Gendered Vulnerabilities & Imagining Futures.....	112
Chapter Five.....	121
Relations with Land, Community, & Success.....	122
a. Learning Settler Relations: The Socializing Force of Local History Narratives.....	122
b. Logics and Practices of Settler Replacement & Futurity in Cedarville.....	125
c. Giving Back to Which Community? .....	133
d. Taking Up & Pushing Back Against Normative Visions of Success.....	141
Chapter Six.....	146
Conclusion: Engaging Tactics vs. Strategies: UnSettling the Logics & Relations of Our Imaginaries.....	147
References.....	151
Appendix A.....	165
Appendix B.....	167
Appendix C.....	171

## Preface

This dissertation project took place on Muwekma Ohlone Land, in what is commonly referred to as the San Francisco Bay Area city of Cedarville,<sup>1</sup> at Cedarville High School. It focuses on the Cedarville Bridge Program which prepares Latinx youth for college. A former high school English teacher, I once taught in a similar program. My experiences both in the classroom and later, as have I kept in contact with and run into youth and their families over the years, have shaped the ways that I engage with research and scholarship.

As this dissertation was taking form, I caught up with Enrique, one of my former students, during a chance meeting at a city park. Early on a Saturday morning, I'd brought my then 16-month-old twins to play. Enrique was out walking his family's dog. As we caught up, Enrique told me he'd been recruited by a ridesharing service after his college graduation. He explained that while the 60-hour work week was draining, the hours weren't what kept him from wanting to stay, despite health benefits and a decent salary. "Is it the CEO's support for Trump?" I asked. Enrique replied, "Well, there's that, but I don't like the direction they're going." In the car sales division, he was essentially engaging in subprime lending. "I feel bad at the end of the day," he added, reflecting on the moral dilemma of his job.

By all accounts, Enrique was a success story, a college graduate and salaried employee, a young person who had "made it" despite his family's undocumented migration from a region of Mexico where NAFTA had destroyed corn subsistence. The economic stability of Enrique's job was offset by a moral quandary that, for the time being, was a necessary trade-off. Latinx youth like Enrique are at the center of this dissertation: young people, who, along with their families, have looked to college-going pathways as a way to mitigate their racialized, socioeconomic, and migration-related vulnerabilities.

This dissertation examines how one schooling pathway, a college preparation program designed to increase the number of Latinx youth attending four-year colleges, unintentionally perpetuated logics and relations that increased individual success and familial access to needed resources, but simultaneously reproduced the continued need for such programs.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cedarville, the Bridge Program, and the names of former students and project participants are pseudonyms for the purpose of anonymity.



## Acknowledgments

I acknowledge that this dissertation took place on the territory of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area who trace their ancestors through the Verona Band of Alameda County. Further, I acknowledge that the institution through which this work was completed sits on the territory of Huichin, the ancestral and unceded land of the Chochenyo Ohlone, the successors of the historic and sovereign Verona Band of Alameda County. These acknowledgements are made as part of my responsibility as a Xicana scholar and person who benefits from the use and occupation of this Land which continues to be of great importance to the Ohlone peoples.

I appreciate deeply the youth and educators' of the Cedarville Bridge Program who made this work possible. I strived to offer a picture of you in all of your complexity, in the ways that you know that you and others deserve more, and in the bravery of forging and taking up pathways to secure dignified lives.

Many thanks to my committee, Dr. Patricia Baquedano-López, Dr. Zeus Leonardo, and Dr. Charles Briggs. I am so grateful for your guidance and support, both intellectually and professionally. You each have shaped this work profoundly through your generous and thoughtful feedback and critique. Dr. Baquedano-López, thank you profoundly for all of the ways that you have guided my work and my person throughout these years. The affirming spaces for intellectual growth and intergenerational scholarly support that you foster show us the ways that we can build together.

Other professors whom I very much appreciate, Dr. Daniel Perlstein, Dr. Frederick Erickson, Dr. Laura Sterponi, Dr. William Hanks, and Dr. Ramón Grosfoguel, thank you for the ways that your teaching and thought have shaped my own. Dr. Perlstein, I appreciate deeply your intellectual guidance and political clarity. Dr. Travis Bristol, thank you for the gift of time and your generosity with institutional knowledge. Dr. Barbara Tye and Dr. James Brown, thank you for supporting my vision of myself as a scholar. Dr. Jan Osborn, you were the first to imagine me here; thank you.

To the members of Dr. Baquedano-López's research group, Bayley Marquez, Gabriela Borge-Janetti, Vianney Gavilanes, Derrika Hunt, Omar Davila, Sara Chase, Rosalinda Godinez, Susana Castro, Maryam Moeini Meybodi, Nathan Gong, and Franklin Mejia, I thank you each profoundly for your thoughtful feedback of my work and camaraderie. To the members of previous generations of Dr. Baquedano-López's research group, Drs. Sera Hernandez, Ariana Mangual Figueroa, Irenka Pareto, Wayne Yang, Kathryn

Moeller, Becky Alexander, Jennifer Collett, Susan Wooley, and Cecilia Lucas, thank you for your kind words, support, guidance, and example.

This research was generously funded by the Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship, the Soroptimist Founder Region Dissertation Fellowship, the University of California, Berkeley Center for Race and Gender, and Sonoma State University. Also, I appreciate the support of the Institute for the Study for Societal Issues.

To my comadres: Dinorah Sánchez Loza, thank you for your brilliance and love, and for all that we have planned. Mara Chavez, thank you for reminding me that we can choose new lives for ourselves. Bianca Suarez, you have always shown the way.

To Susana Castro and Rosalinda Godinez, René Espinoza Kissel, Derrika Hunt, Kenly Brown, and Nicole Rangel, thank you for helping me make my return, for your scholarship, and for seeing me. Thank you to Tadashi Dozono, Gabby Falzone, Paul Lai, Jenni Higgs, Arianna Morales, Krista Cortes, Blanca Gamez- Djokic, Omi Salas-SantaCruz, and Patrick Johnson for camaraderie, advice, and kind words along the way.

To my dear Henna and Nancy, your light brightens every path. Sonia, I will always be grateful for working with you. Valeria, thank you for believing in me, as I have believed in you. Robert, thank you for your wisdom and affirmation. Juan, thank you for your encouraging words. Roxanna, thank you for the care you provide. Cathlin Goulding, thank you for showing me how to write myself into this story.

For my family, I write and do this work with you in my heart. Monica, thank you for your support from afar; you have always shown me how to look for other ways to live. Tío Robert, thank you for showing us all how to give so generously. Tía Berna, Tía Dee Dee, and Fred, thank you for your love, pride, and care.

To my parents, Cecilia and Tim, thank you for caring for me and for my children always, and especially in the months of writing this work. I appreciate so much your belief in me and the support you offered to make writing within this time frame a possibility. Along those lines, I am also deeply grateful for Taylor and Jenny. Thank you both for the loving care you provided. Taylor, you, along with Elena and Eva, are my heart. Elena and Eva, thank you for reminding me throughout this process that there was always more outside of this document.

Nana, thank you for all of your best wishes.

## Chapter One

## Introduction: Visions of Success, Latinx Youth, and Settler Colonial Studies

Popular liberal theories of social change responding to racial inequity in the U.S. suggest that if enough people of color get into positions of power, they will be able to shift the ways that social structures function, make those systems function equitably, thus alleviating the suffering caused by racist people and practices. Such a theory of social change underlies many of the efforts and programs that racialized people/s and white allies engage in as they work towards what is commonly described as “diversifying” government, higher education, and professional fields that hold power over people’s lives. Along these lines of thought, the demographic shifts in the U.S. in recent decades that have led to white fears about a “browning” population have, for some, held promise of a shifting politic and potential for greater equity and fairness for all. Battles over issues such as affirmative action and DACA, especially in their potential to open pathways for racialized/migrant youth into higher education, highlight the popularity of the logic of multicultural inclusion in reaction to historic exclusion from positions of power that these pathways lead to. Indeed, springing from the ideal of inclusion foundational to *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement, higher education has held the promise of a way out of economic and social precarity for racialized individuals and groups at the bottom of the U.S.’s hierarchies since the 1960s.

At the same time that higher education has provided a pathway away from such precarity, responses to the decline of the white majority have included criminalization of racialized peoples that have evolved into ever-more strategic means of control, threat, and death, as well as new efforts to forestall them (e.g., Hernandez, Dupuy, Bryan, & Allen, Million Dollar Hoods Project). For racialized migrants, especially those who fall under the broad umbrella category “Latinx,” efforts to deter, detain, and deport have taken on a particular vehemence and have been exercised with seemingly unlimited funds. Legacies of child-taking and migration in U.S. history born out of slavery and settler colonial genocidal practice are evident in the migration caused by U.S. imperialism, the detainment of children and separation of families faced by present-day refugees. Underlying each of these acts of criminalization and terror is the desire for the maintenance of two foundational systems to the U.S. nation-state, white supremacy<sup>1</sup> and settler colonialism, which work together to maintain U.S. power relations on a global scale, beginning with possession of Indigenous Land. White supremacy is the system that creates hierarchies amongst and between whites and

---

<sup>1</sup> In the U.S., because of its foundational practice of chattel slavery, white supremacy is exercised in the form of antiblackness (Day, 2015) (discussed in further detail in Chapter 3).

racialized others to justify exploitation and dispossession that functions through a particular set of political, moral, and epistemological logics and relations (Mills, 1997). Settler colonialism is the system in which settlers forcibly remove Indigenous peoples from their Land, institute and claim the legitimacy of a settler state, and justify ongoing possession of that Land through occluding the foundational violence of Indigenous dispossession (Veracini, 2010). Settler colonialism, like white supremacy, functions and evolves through a flexible set of logics and relations that allow for adaptation to counter-movements and strategies for social change (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Goldberg, 1993). This dissertation considers social change and reproduction at the intersection of these systems of power.

Scholars of settler colonialism (Byrd, 2011; Day, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Glenn, 2015) have discussed the intersection of these systems, and in particular, the ways that racialized peoples' strategies to survive white supremacy tend to ignore settler colonialism, serving to perpetuate settler futures. Jodi Byrd (2011) describes this phenomenon in the following:

As liberal multicultural settler colonialism attempts to flex the exceptions and exclusions that first constituted the United States to now provisionally include those people bothered and objected from the nation-state's origins, it instead creates a cacophony of moral claims that help to deflect progressive and transformative activism from dismantling the ongoing conditions of colonialism that continue to make the United States a desired state formation within which to be included. That cacophony of competing struggles for hegemony within and outside institutions of power no matter how those struggles might challenge the state through loci of race, class, gender, and sexuality, serves to misdirect and cloud attention from the underlying structures of settler colonialism that made the United States possible as oppressor in the first place. As a result, the cacophony produced through U.S. colonialism and imperialism domestically and abroad often coerces struggles for social justice for queers, racial minorities, and immigrants into complicity with settler colonialism. (p. xvii)

Just as overt violence against racialized peoples serves to maintain these systems, so can socialization into their logics and relations, particularly in places of schooling (Althusser, 1972). Charles Mills (1997) explains of white supremacy, "*Whiteness is not really a color at all, but a set of power relations*" (p. 127, emphasis in original). Following this insight, the import of examining how the overt violences of these systems work in tandem with their ideological violences to perpetuate their existence is central to antiracist and anticolonial projects. As the largest, most rapidly growing demographic within the state of California and throughout the U.S., Latinx youth have

been identified as a focal group for educational intervention as a means to improve the wellbeing of the entire nation-state (The Education Trust-West, 2017; Gándara & The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, 2015). Considering the ways that schooling interventions aimed at the growing population of Latinx youth in the U.S. have been framed as central to the nation-state's wellbeing, it is imperative to examine how efforts to address racial inequity may be appropriated into the emergence of a multicultural settler state.

Predicting how the growing Latinx population will be absorbed into the U.S. nation-state, Eduardo Bonilla Silva (2010) suggests that instead of the racial binary of white-black that has long taken centerstage in U.S. constructions of race, a mediary class of "honorary whites" made up primarily of light-skinned, mixed-race, and socioeconomically better off people of color will emerge to maintain rather than end racial hierarchy (pp. 177-205). Perla Guerrero's (2017) comparative study of migrant and refugee groups to the American South points to the ways that structures of antiblack racism and violence were repurposed when increasing numbers of Latinx entered communities in northwestern Arkansas. Considered through the lens of settler colonial studies, the possibilities of a class of "honorary whites" simultaneously located in structural opposition to Indigenous peoples as "subordinate settlers" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 18) exists alongside the ways that structures of antiblack racism are always available for those who are deemed unassimilable. Both possibilities serve the perpetuation of white supremacy and settler colonialism. This project considers these possibilities empirically. Answering an invitation to "[attend] to the ways we come into relation through coloniality" (Patel, 2016, p. 8), this dissertation considers the relations and logics that Latinx youth are socialized into via a college preparation program designed for first-generation college-going, Latinx youth. *Emplacing White Possessive Logics* offers a method to examine how the logics and relations of settler colonialism are taught and enacted through the everyday and institutional practices that stem from the settler colonial nation-state and occur in a specific place of schooling.

### **The Bridge Program: College Access Programs and a Growing Latinx Population**

College access programs such as the Cedarville Bridge Program at the center of this project must be understood within the sociohistorical context that fuels the need for them. To understand Latinx youth as beneficiaries of such programs beyond population growth and labor force needs, the following must be taken into account: histories and ongoing practices of colonization, military and economic imperialism, economic exploitation, forced migrations, deportations, detentions, racial profiling, national scapegoating, xenophobia, and the tenuousness of U.S. citizenship. It is through these histories that the racially, linguistically, nationally, etc. diverse group of

“Latinx” peoples have struggled for self-determination and wellbeing, both in recent and more established (im)migrant generations.

For example, in the Puerto Rican and Chicano power movements of the 1960s and 70s, as in the Black Power Movement, education was viewed as a means to develop the political consciousness necessary to gain group autonomy and maintain dignity in the face of such realities.<sup>2</sup> Describing one such effort, Nelson Flores (2016), drawing upon the work of Jodi Melamed (2011), describes how two different perspectives emerged regarding the potential of bilingual education to improve the lives of language-minoritized populations. The first perspective, drawing upon the “race radicalism” of the power movements, specifically, the Puerto Rican Young Lords, viewed bilingual education as a vehicle for liberation from white supremacy, imperialism, and capitalism embedded within U.S. schooling structures and practices. The second perspective, drawing upon “liberal multicultural” theories of social change, saw bilingual education as a means towards assimilation and a place at the table of existing social systems (Flores, 2016, p. 14). Flores explains how bilingual education, although originally part of radical demands for liberating education, was incorporated into an assimilatory and hegemonic liberal multiculturalism as it was carried out in schools. While “positioned as antiracist, [liberal multicultural framings of bilingual education] offer a limited vision for the possibilities of social transformation” (Flores, 2016, p. 33). As such, the institutionalization of bilingual education supported hegemonic language practices, normalizing whiteness and perpetuating white supremacy through political incorporation into “official antiracisms” that limited the scope and effect of antiracist thought, subjectivities, and educational practices (Flores, 2016, p. 17; Melamed, 2011). In this dissertation, I consider how access to higher education was similarly appropriated into liberal multicultural approaches to social change.

After long histories of exclusion, the civil rights and power movements led to greater access to higher education for Latinx and other racialized youth (Aguirre & Martinez, 1993; Macdonald, Botti, & Clark, 2007). As a whole, these gains were modest, as the broader goal of social equity sought by these movements was undermined by the limited scope of programs such as affirmative action that in actuality, staved off greater social change (HoSang, 2010, pp. 204, 231). However, in 1996, the passage of Proposition 209 in California ended even the modest gains of race-based admission considerations in the state. In 1995, the Regents of the University of California passed SP-1, barring race-based admission considerations, and while later overturned, was the impetus for the state constitutional amendment voted for by

---

<sup>2</sup> El Plan de Santa Bárbara, written by and for the Chicano Movement in 1969, is one example. It describes the higher education desired to achieve Chicano self-determination without the cost of assimilation.

California voters via Proposition 209 (Gándara, 2005, p. 295). In the wake of this loss of access, college preparation programs were expanded and more fully funded in order to rectify the immediate drop in Black, Latinx and Native American enrollment at UCLA and UC Berkeley which had been considered “standard bearers for diversity within the system” (HoSang, 2010, p. 230; Gándara, 2005, pp. 295-6). This end of affirmative action and resulting replacement with college access programs meant that such programs had to produce Latinx applicants who were academically competitive with socioeconomically privileged, white college applicants. It is within this push and pull for access to higher education that the Bridge Program at the center of this dissertation came to be at Cedarville High School.

In order to contextualize the Cedarville Bridge Program within the expansion of college preparation programs on a statewide level, I describe a similar effort, the Puente Project, which expanded from a few community colleges and high schools to become “a national model for student success” (Gándara, 2005; “The Puente Project,” 2019). Additionally, I describe the Puente Project because of its shared ideals and pedagogical approach to the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School. The Puente Project, like the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School, draws upon Latinx culture, primarily Mexican/Chicano, and language as assets rather than deficiencies. Both programs emphasize giving back to one’s community as part of receiving a college education, a response to the largely subtractive educational practices most Latinx and other historically educationally mis-served youth receive (Valenzuela, 1999; Woodson, 1972). The Puente Project aims to increase the college-going rates for “educationally disadvantaged students” who “return to the community as mentors and leaders to future generations” upon graduation (“The Puente Project,” 2019); it is important to contextualize the Cedarville Bridge Program as an academic intervention program with similar goals at its core. Important to note is the expansion of a program that was designed for and focused on Latinx youth; Native American and Black youth remain comparably significantly “underserved” and “disadvantaged” by American public schooling. Why such a well-funded college preparation program remains focused on Latinx youth in particular may reflect the sheer numbers and perhaps perceived malleability of Latinx youth of certain migration generations (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999; Wortham, Mortimer, & Allard, 2009). This singular focus seems to indicate that there is more concern with shaping a large, growing, and potentially disruptive population within the nation-state, rather than because it had the most need.

Often researched and nationally recognized, the Puente Project was founded in 1981 in order to address Latinx students’ low transfer rates at a San Francisco Bay Area community college. The expansion of the Puente Project to California high schools began with funding from private foundations in 1993 (Gándara, 2005, p. 300). As of this writing, the Puente Project existed at 65 community colleges, 38 high schools, and 4



middle schools in California, and had recently expanded to the states of Texas and Washington. Co-sponsored by the University of California and California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office in California, the Puente Project had served approximately 300,000 students across the state ("The Puente Project," 2019). The expansion of the Puente Project became part of a multi-part strategy to increase the "preparation and enrollment of 'educationally disadvantaged' students" targeting Latinx specifically, though, as Gándara notes, this is not stated overtly (Gándara, 2005, pp. 298, 301). The Puente Project, as a combination of student-centered and school-centered strategies, was not only designed to increase students' matriculation to four-year colleges, but also, importantly to this study, aimed to change schools' and communities' views regarding their potential. This included increasing students' feelings of being "empowered by their heritage rather than disadvantaged by it," and "promot[ing] more positive attitudes towards schooling" (Gándara, 2005, pp. 300, 303). The successes of the program and others like it are notable. Lauded in many publications as an exemplary model (Gándara & Moreno, 2002; Contreras, 2004; Laden, 1998; Haro, 2004; Cooper, 2002), it is described as taking a validating, or in some cases, celebratory, approach to ethnicity (P. A. Pérez & Ceja, 2010; Laden, 1999; Cazden, 2002). Statistical data shows increases in the college-going rate for Latinx students via the Puente Program (Gándara, 2005). Through its inclusion of Mexican-American/Chicano/Latino literature within schools' existing curriculum, mentorship and/or leadership training, and an overall recognition of ethnic/racial identities as strengths or assets rather than weaknesses, the program affirms Latinx youths' backgrounds (Laden, 1999).

## Rethinking Success

In this dissertation I consider how social reproduction occurs not only due to the production of schooling "failures" (Varenne & McDermott, 1999), but also due to what are typically thought of as schooling success stories (Rosa, 2018, p. 213). Centrally, I examine how even the "success" of racialized youth may serve to (re)create the relations of the white settler state. In this work, I describe *normative visions of success*, that is, high academic GPAs, awards and accolades, four-year college acceptance and graduation—especially at prestigious institutions, and the career success, financial gain, and social mobility that is assumed to follow. Centrally, I bring into focus the individualism that such success is representative of and embedded within. In my focus on a racialized group, Latinx youth, I consider how such successes, while beneficial to individuals and their immediate families, also serve to reproduce ongoing relations of racial hierarchy and exclusion. Through differentiating from the normative success of individuals and the wellbeing of racialized peoples as collectives, I point to the ways

that even the successes of individual persons from racialized groups are connected to the hierarchy, scarcity, and suffering endemic within the U.S. settler state.

In efforts to move away from the deficit framing of racialized youth, some have taken up research that focuses on academic success and how to attain it (e.g., Carter, 2005; Conchas, 2006). While some lines of research that started with questions about how such youth might be successful (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 1995) have evolved into more definitive calls for schooling to sustain rather than reject or merely respond to Indigenous, Black, and Latinx, etc. cultures, languages, worldviews, and sovereignties (Paris & Alim, 2014), research that has remained centered around the idea of academic success has largely taken up normative visions of success as an unequivocal goal for racialized youth. Several existing empirical works examining the success of racialized youth have focused on what can be done to enable Black, Latinx, migrant, and other historically mis-served groups to succeed academically (Carter, 2005; Conchas, 2006; Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009). For example, Gilberto Conchas (2006) finds that schooling can be designed to encourage academic success through both cultural approaches such as community building and structural approaches such as school-within-a-school structures that provide access to opportunities often absent in schools serving racialized youth (Conchas, 2006, p. 19). Prudence Carter (2005) emphasizes how students, parents, and teachers can look to adult “cultural navigators” who can help youth access both school and community-based cultural capital in order to increase youth’s “investment in their education” (pp. 149-150). Carter’s uptake of success focuses on closing the achievement gap with interventions that address cultural differences, school engagement and attachment. On the other hand, Conchas, while also normalizing typical notions of success, locates academic success or failure within the ways that schooling is structured. With this focus on institutions and the processes within them, the lack of success is located within schooling structures rather than the racialized communities that schools by and large, mis-serve (Woodson, 1972). What these studies leave largely unaddressed however is the normative assumption that academic success is entirely desirable.

Signithia Fordham’s work on the burden of acting white, particularly as clarified against its many (mis)interpretations since its first publication raises this question (Fordham, 1996, 2008, 2014). Fordham examines how the structural limitations that shape schooling experiences and (im)possibility of normative success for Black youth create a burden, or experience of suffering, endemic to schooling (Fordham, 2008, pp. 229, 235).<sup>3</sup> Fordham explains that “‘Acting White’ is the embodiment of what U.S. culture has historically defined as success and quintessentially American” (2008, p. 234), which creates a burden on Black youth who then must embody whiteness in order

---

<sup>3</sup> For further engagement with schooling as a site of Black suffering, see Dumas (2014).

to be recognizable as “successful.” She states, “Black children’s success in school [... confers] the burden of acting white. It is indeed a burden. School success requires that you become unrooted” (2014, p. 98). Though expected to “unconditionally [embrace white American] institutions and practices,” Fordham describes how Black youth engaged in mimicry in order to be read as successful (2008, p. 234). This dissertation also questions the desirability of success as normatively defined, but rather than considering the burden of the performance of outward practices that signal whiteness and therefore success, I examine the inner logics and relations that Latinx youth on pathways to success are socialized into.

Conversely, and in response to “the burden of acting white,” Antwi Akom (2003) describes how the “Black achievement ideology” of the Nation of Islam “framed achievement as a valid response to economic and political oppression” (p. 312). Akom’s ethnographic study documents the positive outcomes stemming from Black, high school-aged girls’ rootedness in the Nation of Islam, thus illustrating how strong connections to ethnic/racial cultures can also lead to academic success rather than only serve as an impediment. Examining a college preparation program that emphasizes cultural strength and “giving back to one’s community,” this study considers how Latinx youth who strongly identified with their ethnic/racial culture can still become complicit with the settler state. While the program is undoubtedly meaningful for its participants (described in more detail in Chapter 4 & 5) and, at times, individually freeing from the antiblackness structured by white supremacy, racialized peoples’ academic success does not weaken the settler state. Instead, as with the flexibility of white supremacy, the successes of racialized peoples have served to deny such systems’ ongoing power. This has been demonstrated in the case of Asian Americans, as their actual and mythologized successes have been used to highlight the “failures” of Latinxs and African Americans, revealing the ability of such systems to “[mutate] according to historical conditions” (Leonardo, 2002, pp. 43–44; Lee, 1994; Saranillio, 2013). Centrally, this dissertation considers how college-going pathways may defeat their intended outcomes by perpetuating the racial hierarchies that success is often pursued in order to overturn.

Ethnographic projects in education and anthropology, have served to examine social reproduction in terms of class, race, and gender (Willis, 1981; Ferguson, 2001; MacLeod, 1987); they have yet to examine how the relations and logics of white settler colonial societies are reproduced via schooling.<sup>4</sup> Such works have documented how schooling processes racialize young people and map notions of merit onto particular bodies (Lewis, 2003; Akom, 2004). Further, ethnographic studies have considered how

---

<sup>4</sup> Importantly, works that address these concerns, including this dissertation, are the focus of an emerging area of study (see also Sanchez Loza (n.d.)).

racialized youth navigate dispossessive and criminalizing social systems, including schools, that push them towards what is typically viewed as social and economic failure (Fine, 1991; Jones, 2009; Nolan, 2011; Rios, 2011). Angela Valenzuela's (1999) *Subtractive Schooling* focuses on Latinx youth, highlighting the ways schooling ignores Mexican youth's culturally-based understandings of educación at the same time that it employs "assimilationist practices and policies that are designed to divest Mexican students of their culture and language" (p. 20). This dissertation considers the schooling practices of a program that included and celebrated Latinx youth's language and culture, but ultimately stopped short of a cultural engagement that would address the broader socioeconomic and political forces shaping their lives. Jonathan Rosa (2018) examines the co-constitution of racial and linguistic categories within the schooling of Latinx youth as part of colonial legacies. Rosa considers how these categories affected the governance of "stigmatized student bodies" (p. 33-70), as he describes a predominantly Latinx-serving Chicago high school principal's goal of producing "young Latino professionals," an idealized subjectivity that invoked discourses of assimilation and multiculturalism. This dissertation similarly considers how processes of socialization within a college preparation program for Latinx youth function reproductively through contributing to a shift in racial categories within U.S. settler society. As such, this study builds upon both educational and linguistic anthropological studies that examine how youth navigate processes of racialization and gendering, accessing cultural and linguistic resources, and building identities through close attention to everyday discursive practices in schools and local places of interaction (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; García-Sánchez, 2014).

### **Theoretical Framework: Settler Colonial Studies**

Settler colonial studies, a field that emerged in order to examine settler colonialism as a distinct form of colonialism in which Land<sup>5</sup> is the desired resource (Veracini, 2010). Settler colonialism is the ongoing theft, destruction, and justification of settler ownership of Indigenous Land turned property via the doctrine of *terra nullius* (Wolfe, 2006; Veracini, 2010; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Ultimately, settler desire is the possession and ownership of Indigenous Land (Veracini, 2010). As a structure that requires ongoing maintenance, rather than an event (Wolfe, 2006), settler colonialism requires that its relations be (re)made. Relation in this dissertation is best described as

---

<sup>5</sup> Land here, is defined as land, air, and water following decolonial and anticolonial works within the field of education (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Patel, 2016). I capitalize Land within this dissertation to signal this meaning, the way Land is usurped and converted into property to be exploited by settlers, and the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples on that Land.

the inter-/in-dependencies, inter/dis-connections, or lack of/mutuality, with one another, Land, and non-human others that differentiate Indigenous and settler worldviews (Wilson, 2008). Indigenous scholars name the centrality of Land to Indigenous understandings of relation. For example, Sean Coulthard describes “land as *system of reciprocal relations and obligations* [that] can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms” (2014, p. 13, emphasis in original). In contrast, settler societies in which Land has been turned into property to exploit are founded upon and normalize relations of domination, exploitation, and dispossession with Land, other people and non-human others alike:

Within Indigenous contexts land is not property, as in settler colonialism, but rather land is knowing and knowledge. Conceptualizations of land and place that rely upon latent notions of property are tangled in the ideologies of settler colonialism, dependent on constructions of land as extractable capital, the denial of Indigenous sovereignty, the myth of discovery and the inevitability of the nation-state. (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p. 21)

Uncovering how relations that support the reproduction of the settler colonial state are transmitted provides means to study the ongoing, daily reiterations of “settler futurity,” or practices that ensure an inevitable settler future (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 80). This dissertation examines how socialization into such relations stemming from and supporting the white settler nation-state are built into the structures, places, and daily practices of the Cedarville Bridge Program.

The historical role of schooling within the settler colonial project largely focuses on residential schools (Adams, 1995; Willinsky, 1999) through recent work has highlighted how this has also occurred through other types of schooling, such as industrial schools designed for both Indigenous and Black students by white reformers (Marquez, 2019). Malathi Iyengar (2014) describes the language ideologies and policies enacted in schools for the purpose of maintaining European languages other than English, meant to attract European settlers to the U.S. during settler colonial expansion. Iyengar contrasts these with the equally purposeful destruction of Indigenous languages in the process of Native elimination.<sup>6</sup> The role of such elimination in residential schools was to “kill the Indian but save the man,” as declared by Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (qtd. in Iyengar, 2014, pp. 52–53). Centrally, the purpose of these schooling projects

---

<sup>6</sup> Iyengar (2014) takes up Wolfe’s (2006) explanation of settlers’ “logic of elimination” as it was carried out through a “cultural genocide” which coincides with, rather than stands in contrast to, “biological genocide” (pp. 48, 53).

has been to transmit and maintain settler logics: “McKnight (2003) and Willinsky (1998) demonstrate how the project of schooling has been historically premised, first and foremost, on maintaining symbolic logics through which to justify the theft and occupation of Indigenous land” (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 75). In the field of curriculum studies, Dolores Calderon (2014b) examines the reproduction of settler colonial logics through a close examination of social studies text books. Calderon describes the specific ways that settler occupation of Indigenous Land was normalized and validated. These social studies textbooks are used throughout U.S. public schools by all demographic groups. In this dissertation, I demonstrate how such logics are expected of racialized youth to achieve success as conventionally defined. Settler colonial schooling practices serve therefore, not only to deindigenize or assimilate Native youth as in the case of Indian boarding schools, but also, as is the focus of this project, to socialize Latinx youth into complicity with settler colonialism, that is, to be settlers. This dissertation aims to contribute directly to these bodies of literature by considering their contributions through an ethnographic approach.

Specifically, this project considers how the threat of capitalist, white supremacist exploitation leads to the continued dispossession of Indigenous peoples by the settler colonial state’s flexible employment of white supremacy. Specifically, it considers the development of a liberal multicultural settler-hood based upon the foundational and ongoing antiblackness of the U.S. nation-state (Day, 2015). Asian settler colonialism in Hawai’i has been examined along similar lines (Fujikane & Okamura, 2008; Saranillio, 2013). Dean Saranillio (2013) highlights the ways a liberal multicultural settler colonialism retains Land as settler property, the central resource of settler states, and ideologically serves to bolster the continuance of the U.S. nation-state through “diversifying” the settler class (pp. 281-282; Veracini, 2010). These insights are of direct import to deepening understandings of the socialization of Latinx youth, particularly in relation to their complex social location owing to their families’ forced migrations:

[...] while migration in and of itself does not equate to colonialism, migration to a settler colonial space, where Native lands and resources are under political, ecological, and spiritual contestation, means the political agency of immigrant communities can bolster a colonial system initiated by White settlers. (Saranillio, 2013, p. 280)<sup>7</sup>

In the context of a white supremacist state, the Bridge Program created a space of safety and much needed pathway that would, in many cases, materially improved the lives of the Latinx youth who participated in it (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4).

---

<sup>7</sup> Also cited in Day, 2015.

However, considering the settler relations to Land that enabled such a state's existence, this dissertation examines how Latinx youths' racialized vulnerabilities were used to perpetuate settler colonialism via shifts in the racial composition of its settler class.

Thus, while at first glance, the relevance of settler colonial studies to the college pathways of Latinx youth may not be apparent, I use this approach to deeply imbricate the places, discourses, relations, practices, and logics surrounding the college preparation program at the center of this dissertation. Further, it allows for an empirical study of what has been described as the "incommensurability," or the incompatibility, of various social justice projects and decolonization taken literally (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Often working at cross-purposes due to varying histories and structural locations within the white supremacist settler state (Grande, 2004; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Day, 2015), this work considers this concept empirically. It pushes for "an ethic of incommensurability" in which the irreconcilable fact of our presence on Indigenous Land is acknowledged and wrestled with within racialized peoples' efforts towards dignified lives and liberation rather than ignored (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 35). Throughout this dissertation, I *emplace* settler colonial theoretical concepts in response to settler emplacement, examining them empirically, considering the specificity of the ways that they manifest in particular places. Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie (2015a) describe emplacement in the following:

The desire to emplace is a desire to resolve the experience of dis-location implicit in living on stolen land. A core strategy of emplacement is the discursive and literal replacement of the Native by the settler, evident in laws and policies of eminent domain, manifest destiny, property rights, and removals. (p. 67, drawing upon Morgenson, 2009, p. 157)

Here, to *emplace settler colonial theory* is to make the settler colonial replacement (both discursive and literal) of Indigenous peoples visible, denaturalized, and deneutralized, dissolving the illusions of emplaced settler life. This work is part of a commitment to a settler colonial studies framework that extends to this project's methodology (discussed in Chapter 2). Centrally, this theoretical framing allows for an empirical look at how efforts to ameliorate the tenuousness of racialized peoples' lives tend to produce ongoing settlement of Indigenous Land, particularly when normative notions of success are presented as the only way to thwart such vulnerabilities.

### **White Possessive Logics: Connections to the Nation-State**

In order to consider how settler relations became embedded within and are transmitted through the socialization processes of the Cedarville Bridge Program, I

begin with C.B. Macpherson's (1964) theory of possessive individualism which describes the underlying presuppositions and functioning of liberal societies laid out by classic social contract theorists. Macpherson explains that for social subjects to gain the rewards of liberal modernity, they must embody a version of rationality that he characterizes as "possessive individualism," or the competitive protection of one's own social status and possessive accumulation of modernity's rewards. This means that social recognition as a modern subject, that is, one who is, above all, rational, but also reliable, knowledgeable, and deserving, is dependent upon individualistic and dispossessive relations with Land and others. Such recognition is never a full-achieved, static status, but instead, requires ongoing (re)articulation of belonging via discursive and embodied practices. Central to this dissertation, the relations demanded for recognition as a rational, modern subject ensure practices that necessarily (re)create societal relations of competition, hierarchy, dispossession, and exploitation.

Macpherson's conception of possessive individualism implicitly privileges the white, modern, propertied subject striving to maintain his own rational status, and, following the liberal tradition, Macpherson himself remains hopeful for the amelioration of the liberal project's shortcomings. In the racially heterogeneous and hierarchical, U.S. settler society post-civil rights and power movements era, characterized as "post-racial and "colorblind" pre-Trump (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Leonardo, 2009), the workings of possessive individualism must be contextualized within current iterations of white supremacy and settler colonialism. Following Day (2015), who writes in critique of both Indigenous/settler and Black/non-Black binaries, this dissertation considers how the "vulnerability and disposability" of racialized peoples ensured by white supremacy secures their complicity in the settler colonial project of the United States (p. 107).

Writing of the Australian settler state, but in terms applicable to other settler states such as the U.S., Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2015) names the illegal state possession of Indigenous Land as the source of power for a regime that centrally "[manifests]" in the nation-state, but is also reproduced and maintained through "everyday cultural practices and spaces" (pp. 34-35). This regime is fashioned and secured by what Moreton-Robinson terms "white possessive logics,"

a mode of rationalization, rather than a set of positions that produce a more or less inevitable answer, that is underpinned by an excessive desire to invest in reproducing and reaffirming the nation-state's ownership, control, and domination. As such, white possessive logics are operationalized within discourses to circulate sets of meanings about ownership of the nation, as part of commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions. (2015, p. xii)



Importantly, while Macpherson's possessive individualism emphasizes the individual subject's drive towards possessive accumulation, Moreton-Robinson's white possessive logics underpins the white subject's role in maintaining not only his own rational, modern status, but the white settler state's status and dominion, and thus, relations of exploitation and dispossession on broad and local scales. As has been oft repeated, settler colonialism is "a structure, not an event" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Through describing white possessive logics as a state-supporting logic functioning through "discourses [...] commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions, (2015, p. xii) Moreton-Robinson provides means to study the ongoing, daily (re)iterations of settler colonial "ownership, control, and domination" (2015, p. xii), "invasion" and "elimination" (Wolfe, 2006, pp. 387–388), and, central to this study, the relations racialized youth are socialized into in order to achieve normative visions of success.

Furthermore, Moreton-Robinson's white possessive logics integrate the workings of race and whiteness within settler societies. Asserting, "racialization is the process by which whiteness operates possessively to define and construct itself as the pinnacle of its own racial hierarchy" (2015, pp. xx-xxi) she builds upon and contextualizes Cheryl Harris' (1992) discussion of whiteness as status property into a settler colonial framework. Speaking specifically of the continental United States, Day (2015), too, locates "racial dynamics [as] internal rather than external to the logic of settler colonialism," explaining that "race and colonialism form the matrix of the settler colonial state" (2015, p. 107, 113). Returning to Moreton-Robinson, to view racialization as a "process" for possessively maintaining whiteness, as a status that demarcates humanity, or, in other words, the status of the modern rational subject, is to control which racial groups may approximate whiteness, rationality, and modern status, and critically, the relations that they must engage with others and Land in order to obtain it.

Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012) consider the role of racialization for people of color in the settler colonial project in this way:

People of color who enter/are brought into the settler colonial nation-state also enter the triad of relations between settler-native-slave. We are referring here to the colonial pathways that are usually described as 'immigration' and how the refugee/immigrant/migrant is invited to be settler in some scenarios, given the appropriate investments in whiteness, or is made an illegal, criminal presence in other scenarios. (p. 17)

Here, Tuck and Yang differentiate between the possibility, or, the invitation, to "subordinate settler" status and the "[illegality, criminality]," "[imprisonability,

punishability, murderability],” and centrally, the “excess” of the “slave’s person” via their status as a “commodity” (2012, p. 18, 17, 6). In other words, the difference between humanity and inhumanity, subject or object-status. This “ascribed structural position” (Tuck and Yang, p. 7, FN) points to the racial structuring of settler society and the (non)options available to racialized people/s when “invited” to join the modern project, which necessarily (re)creates hierarchal social relations to maintain itself (Bauman & Briggs, 2003). For this reason, attaining subordinate settler status, which, as a given, is tentative and vulnerable, is dependent upon the “appropriate investments in whiteness” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 17), or adhering to relations that reify the white settler state, that is, relations of individualism, competition, exploitation, and dispossession.

In critical whiteness studies, investments in whiteness are described in terms of protecting the benefits and scope of whiteness (Harris, 1992; López, 1997; Lipsitz, 1998) and in terms of becoming white (Ignatiev, 1995; Roediger, 2006). Zeus Leonardo (2009) explains the active and intentional nature of investments in whiteness via the creation of laws, policies, and institutional practices that ensure ongoing white racial domination (pp. 75-90). Historian George Lipsitz (1998/2006) describes “possessive investments in whiteness,” especially in the contemporary context, as structurally created and maintained through education, housing, employment, financial, and medical institutions and the laws and policies that shape them. Lipsitz explains that “investment denotes time spent on a given end,” and details the “social and cultural forces [that] encourage white people” to invest in white supremacy as a system that protects their interests (1998/2006, p. viii). Like Macpherson (1964), Lipsitz describes the possessiveness of these investments as a form of individual possessive accumulation: “Whiteness is invested in, like property, but it is also a means of accumulating property and keeping it from others” (1998/2006, p. xiii). On the other hand, Moreton-Robinson’s (2015) emphasis on possessiveness is in the power gained by the settler nation-state through the possession of Indigenous Land. Similar to Moreton-Robinson’s explanation of “white possessive logics” as a “mode of rationalization,” Lipsitz argues that whites are “possessed” by their investment in whiteness, as they concoct rules and regulations and flex “discretionary” power (1998/2006, p. 212-215) to arrive at what Moreton-Robinson describes as the “inevitable answer” of white possession (2015, p. xii). Lipsitz describes how white people rationalize their possessions through cultural explanations for structural problems and a focus on individual rather than collective understandings of “rewards, resources, and opportunities” as reinforced by the “language of liberal individualism” (1998/2006, pp. vii-viii, 18, 20, 22). Where Lipsitz and Moreton-Robinson differ the most is in their treatment of colonialism. Whereas Lipsitz locates Indigenous dispossession primarily in the past (1998/2006, p. 231-233), foregrounding race as the

central explanatory system for dis/possession, Moreton-Robinson names Indigenous dispossession as ongoing, and like white supremacy, structured into the social, economic, and political institutions of settler states. Because of this foregrounding of race, Lipsitz treats Land as property and engages in a multicultural inclusion of Native Americans as one of many groups of racialized peoples dispossessed by whites. Lipsitz's analysis remains of great import for understanding the workings of whiteness and race in the U.S., and particularly for this project, the investments that whiteness requires. Yet, in order to understand how these systems coincide with the structuring of settler colonialism to maintain the white supremacist settler state, this project emplaces Moreton-Robinson's "white possessive logics" within the socialization processes of a specific place of schooling.

Further, Moreton-Robinson's consideration of the discipline of white subjects, "a means to [control] differently racialized populations enclosed within the borders of a given society" (2015, p. 35), provides a way to view socialization into settler logics. Importantly, as illustrated through Tuck and Yang's discussion of the "appropriate investments in whiteness for the "refugee/immigrant/migrant" of the U.S.'s "colonial pathways" (2012, p. 17),<sup>8</sup> racialized populations are also disciplined, or socialized, "to invest in the nation as their possession" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 35). This discipline, or the reiterative performativity of white possessive logics, "capillaries" white possession from the regime of the state into its institutions and public spaces via the white, and I add, white-aspiring, body<sup>9</sup> (2015, p. 35, drawing upon Butler, 1993). White (and white-aspiring) bodies are disciplined, (or socialized), in different ways and to different degrees. Their performances of white possessive logics are necessarily reiterative in order to ideologically and materially "[normalize and regulate]" white possession in the face of inerasable reminders of Indigenous sovereignty (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 46). The purpose of *Emplacing White Possessive Logics* is to examine how socialization into these "investments," or the "white possessive logics" that normalize and reproduce dispossessive and exploitative relations stemming from and supporting the white settler nation-state, seeps into the structures, places, and daily practices of a college preparation program for Latinx youth at the same time that the program aims to ameliorate the effects of white supremacy in the U.S. and its imperialism abroad.

---

<sup>8</sup> Also described as "arrivants" (Byrd, 2011, p. xix) and "migrants" (Veracini, 2010, p. 3) to differentiate from "voluntarism" assigned to settlers by Wolfe (2006) (Day, 2015, p. 105). Further addressed below.

<sup>9</sup> Moreton-Robinson locates this performative reiteration of white possession in white male bodies, specifically on Australian beaches (2015, pp. 33-46). Relocating these ideas in the context of the U.S., I do not include Moreton-Robinson's focus on white male bodies, as whiteness literature suggests that white women also assert and reinscribe whiteness corporeally (Frankenberg, 1993; Coloma, 2012; Leonardo & Boas, 2013).

## Latinx Youth

Schools have long been a site of the discipline, or socialization, of Native and racialized youth into relations and logics that support white possession of settler nation-states (Spring, 2001; Willinsky, 1999; Iyengar, 2014; Calderon, 2014b). At the same time, youth have always engaged tactics for navigating, appropriating, and rejecting such discipline (Lomawaima, 1995; Fine, 1991; Tuck & Yang, 2014b; Rosa, 2018). In its focus on the logics and relations of the U.S. settler colonial nation-state within a college preparation program for Latinx youth, this dissertation points to the ways that youth navigate unjust and complex social worlds, describing “other forms of survivance, decolonial possibilities, agnosticism with progress, and desires for dignity” than those connected to social movements and other more overt forms of resistance (Tuck & Yang, 2014b, p. 17). However, this work’s focus is not on such resistance, which remains an area of inquiry for future studies in relation to this topic. Rather, this research focuses on the program and structures that shape schooling processes for Latinx youth on college-going pathways.

Embedded within the construction of “youth,” especially in places of schooling, is the idea of the novice. In this dissertation, I refer to the high-school aged people in the Bridge Program as “youth,” a term that connotes the age of the participants, as well as the obligation to participate in public schooling as described below:

Usually youth connotes a social location: Youth are those who society regards as underdeveloped people not quite ready for self-determination. However, we are far more interested in *youth* as a structural (and historical, generational, political) location. Youth is a legally, materially, and always raced/gendered/classed/sexualized category around which social institutions are built, disciplinary sciences are created, and legal apparatuses mounted. ‘Youth’ has implications for identity and social life, of course, but its salience as a category is deeply connected to compulsory schooling (in the U.S. and Canada) or other legal apparatuses. (Tuck & Yang, 2014b, p. 4)

Above, Tuck and Yang describe the import of the structural location of youth in relation to compulsory schooling. I take up the obligation of this structural location as it is connected to the social location of the novice. Central to this project is the way that compulsory schooling positions youth as novices obligated to learn particular content, skills, and dispositions from teachers who evaluate them according to their competence in these areas. The field of language socialization describes the novice in

this way: "Socialization, broadly defined, is the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community" (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 339). In this sense, youth in schools are novices that are expected to become competent members of communities whose interests schools represent. What is expected of a competent member of white settler societies? In general, competence encompasses "all of the knowledge and practices that one needs in order to function as—and, crucially, to be regarded by others as—a competent member of (or participant in) a particular community or communities, however broadly or narrowly defined" (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 345). Centering Latinx youth within language socialization studies provides the opportunity for an expansion of the concept of "competence," which points to not only language acquisition, but also to the expression of socio-cultural meaning necessary for participants in particular communities (Baquedano-López, Arredondo, & Solís, 2009, p. 343). This dissertation highlights the ways that dispositions, or, as Moreton-Robinson (2015) describes, modes of rationalization about the white settler nation-state (p. xii), are embedded within a college preparation program, a site of socialization for college-going Latinx youth.

I take up the not unproblematic, umbrella term "Latinx" in order to capture a number of lines of thought surrounding the people of various races, classes, relations to Indigeneity, national origins, genders, (im)migration/refugee generations and legal statuses, languages, and dialects that the term covers. Firstly, the Cedarville Bridge Program and similar college preparation programs in California and nationwide make use of this term as a way to describe the young people the programs are aimed towards as well as the literature and culturally relevant pedagogy that they employ. Along these lines, the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are those that have been taken up by institutions as a recognizable demographic; political actors have likewise employed these terms in order to create a sizable political bloc (Oboler, 1995; Mora, 2014). Along another vein, I use this term to signal a rejection of the gender binary (Vidal-Ortiz & Martínez, 2018; Salinas Jr & Lozano, 2017), an acknowledgment of the racialized and gendered wounds of colonialism, settlement, and slavery (Lopez, 2018).

The heterogeneity of the peoples subsumed under "Latinx" and accompanying erasure that occurs is important to highlight, especially the ways that Latinx comes to mean Mexican and mestizo, particularly in California given its population and history as part of the Mexican nation-state. The term has largely ignored Central Americans, Afro-Latinx, and Indigenous peoples, leading to studies focused on the growing Indigenous Latinx migrations, diaspora, and interrogations of how indigeneity is constructed across borders (Machado-Casas, 2012; Blackwell, Lopez, & Urrieta Jr., 2017; Baquedano-López & Janetti, 2017). The complex racialization of Afro-Latinx in the U.S. point to the

contextual nature of race, its relationship to nation and language, and the ways that schooling plays a central role in these processes (Oboler & Dzidzienyo, 2005; Rosa, 2018). Considering Latinx within the tensions diaspora studies offer, Sophia Villenas (2007) explains, "Latinas/os are conscripted and participate in dominant narratives of immigrant nation and mestizo/creole nationalisms (nonindigenous/non-Black) from Latin American countries with particular relationships and histories to the United States" (p. 422), pointing to the layers of identity-(un)making that construct "Latinidad." The racial singularity associated with Latinidad is related to the ways that Latin American nation-states have sought to erase Indigenous and Black peoples from national identity (Gott, 2007). I discuss Mexico in particular for the scope of this project:

In Mexico, this nationalist ideal, also known as *mestizaje*, weakens other ethnic identities and subsumes the citizen within the Mexican nation. *Mestizaje* embodies pride in a legendary, static sense of Native identity. Indigenous people's claim to their identity in Mexico is completely ignored as part of the dominant narrative of *mestizaje*. To remain an Indigenous person means rejecting a powerful unifying force within the Mexican national identity that recognizes Indianness but not specific Indigenous peoples. (Ramirez, 2007, p. 132, drawing upon Ewen (1997))

These ideas have seeped into the ways that Chicanx in the U.S and California in particular have identified in relation to their own Indigenous roots and to other Native peoples. Renya Ramirez (2007) explains how this occurred through the Chicano nationalism of Chicano Studies:

By creating a sense of homeland, by reclaiming territory that once belonged to Mexico the story of Aztlán and Chicano nationalism were important challenges to dominant discourses in the United States that tried to assimilate Chicanos. [... However,] by claiming their Native roots through a mythic story of an Aztec Aztlán, Chicano nationalists omitted from their early work the historical presence of Indigenous tribes in the Southwest area. (p. 141, drawing upon Pérez (1999), Goeman (personal conversation), and Marez (2001))

These nationalist ideologies have served to reinscribe Indigenous erasure, both in normative and radical uptakes of Latinx, Chicanx, and Mexican identities. For example, Vasconcelos' (1979) ideas of a superior racial mixture have been used to promote pride and a recovery of identity, yet, that identity is rooted in Indigenous elimination: "The Indian has no other road but the road already cleared by Latin civilization. The white man, as well, will have to depose of his pride and look for progress and ulterior

redemption in the souls of his brothers from other castes" (Vasconcelos, 1979, p. 16). Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Chicana feminist icon, opens her final chapter, "La consciencia de la mestiza," featuring a description of Vasconcelos' ideas, describing the "racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollination" of his theory (1987, p. 99). While Chicana feminists, including Anzaldúa, rejected the imperialist and patriarchal creation of Aztlán, building a "Chicana mestiza identity (influenced by Native philosophies) using ideals of interdependency and collective consciousness" (Pérez, 1999 cited in Ramirez, 2007, p. 142), their "[culling]" of Native American philosophies, as it is described by Pérez (1999, p. 25), remains appropriative, despite desires to re-Indigenize/decolonize in the aftermath of colonization. It is only within these histories of erasure and elimination, even within Chicana radical thought, that the Latinx term and identity must be considered (for further discussion of Chicana's complex relation to indigeneity, see Pulido, 2017).<sup>10</sup>

Further, Latinx experience in the U.S. has been shaped by a bifurcation of narratives dependent upon broader political conditions, largely fueled by demand for or excess of exploitable workers. For example, the repatriation of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans occurred from 1929-1936 when they were targeted as scapegoats for the Great Depression (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006) while recruitment of Mexican workers via the Bracero Program started in 1942 during the production boom brought by World War II (Mize & Swords, 2011). In a "backlash" to Latinx population growth documented by the 2000 U.S. Census and perhaps their growing political presence, Latinx were named the U.S.'s greatest "challenge":

By the turn of the century, Latinos had been labeled as the country's greatest demographic, economic, social, and political 'challenge' (Huntington 2004; Santa Ana 2002). This 'challenge' often presented itself in contradictory terms: Latinos were alternatively derided as illegal aliens who siphoned off the nation's resources, while at the same time they earned praise for possessing a strong work ethic and contributing to a robust economy. (MacDonald et al., 2007, p. 476)<sup>11</sup>

In areas of the U.S. described as "new Latino diasporas," Latinx have been described as the "new model minority." Unlike the mythology of the Asian model minority (S. J. Lee, 1994) however, Latinx have been considered exemplary only as hard workers who

---

<sup>10</sup> The implications of the nationalism and erasure of Aztlán remain relevant, even for more recent migration generations and/or from Latin American countries other than Mexico, as they continue to shape the ways that Latinx youth in the U.S. are socialized into such identities by Chicano nationalisms through the present.

<sup>11</sup> See also Dávila (2008) on "Latino spin," and Chavez (2008) on "Latino threat" (cited in Rosa, 2018).

are non-disruptive to civic life (drawing upon the antiblack discourses), but not within the realm of education (Wortham et al., 2009). In recent public narratives of Latinx, driven by the nativist rhetoric of Donald Trump, Latinx, especially recent migrants and refugees, have been routinely dehumanized in racist and criminal terms (Huber, 2016). It is within these complex and shifting histories and politics that the Latinx youth in the Cedarville Bridge Program were socialized into college-going pathways.

### Exogenous Others and the "Competence" Required of Subordinate Settlers

In order to consider the relations that the Latinx youth in a college preparation program are socialized into through the lens of settler colonialism, I discuss their positioning within the settler colonial nation-state. This dissertation considers how participation within college-going pathways for young people who have entered the settler colonial nation-state via colonial pathways (or, their parents), fast-tracks them to the invitations to subordinate settler status described by Tuck and Yang (2012, p. 17). Unlike race, which is a social construction that defines the boundaries of exploitative relations (Omi & Winant, 1994; Mills, 1997), being a settler is not a social construction; it is a relation to Land that is dependent on one's presence on that Land, invested in and dependent upon Indigenous elimination. To clarify, we must ask, who are settlers? Being a settler is a structural location; our presence on Indigenous Land, as Wolfe unequivocally states, makes us settlers (Wolfe, 2006; Day, 2015, p. 107). However, as discussed above, the "colonial pathways" through which racialized peoples enter into settler colonial nation-states shapes our relations to it. Racialized peoples enter the relations of the U.S. settler colonial nation-state, the settler-native-slave triad (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 17). These pathways differ from those taken by settlers who bring their sovereignty with them rather than "lead[ing] diasporic lives" (Veracini, 2010, p. 3; Day, 2015, p. 105). Iyko Day (2015) critiques what she describes as Patrick Wolfe's (2006) "[evacuation of race and [projection] of voluntarism" onto "non-Indigenous but racialized peoples—such as slaves, refugees, or the undocumented" (p. 105). Similarly, Jodi Byrd's (2011) description of "arrivants" critiques the assignment of choice, as she uses it to "signify those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe" (p. xix).<sup>12</sup> However, as Day explains of her critique of Wolfe's position:

In the contemporary context, racialized vulnerability to deportation of undocumented, guest-worker, or other provisional migrant populations similarly exceed the conceptual boundaries that attend 'the immigrant.' The fact that I

---

<sup>12</sup> Byrd (2011) borrows this term from African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite.



am pointing this out doesn't absolve any of these groups from being willing or unwitting participants in a settler colonial structure that is driven to eliminate Indigenous people. However, folding them into a generalized settler position through voluntaristic assumptions constrains our ability to understand how their racialized vulnerability and disposability supports a settler colonial project. (2015, p. 107)

In order to consider further how racialized peoples, Latinx youth in particular, enter the settler-native-slave triad, I discuss Evelyn Nakano Glenn's (2015), description of "exogenous others." Describing the positioning of racialized, non-Indigenous people within the settler colonial project and the ways that race and gender are used to manage them, Glenn differentiates between "virtuous or potentially virtuous exogenous others (typically European immigrants) who may be selected for gradual inclusion" and "*undesirable exogenous others* (typically racialized immigrants) [who are] considered morally degraded, sometimes irredeemably so" (2015, p. 60, italics in original). Glenn continues, "Settler colonialism's response to undesirable exogenous others has often swung (and still does) between the poles of 'elimination' and coercive 'exploitation'" (2015, p. 60). Veracini points out,

the settler colonial situation is generally understood as an inherently dynamic circumstance where indigenous and exogenous Others progressively disappear in a variety of ways: extermination, expulsion, incarceration containment, and assimilation for indigenous peoples [...], restriction and selective assimilation for subaltern exogenous Others [...]. (2010, p. 17)

While Veracini (2010) describes "probationary" settlers, who "wait to be individually admitted into the settler body politic" (drawing upon Jacobson's (1998) work describing "honorary whiteness," p. 26), I use Tuck & Yang's term "subordinate settler," as it points to the continued significance of race and lower position within racial hierarchies that cannot be surpassed. While "probationary" points to the important quality of tenuousness within subordinate settler status, it connotes the possibility of attaining full settler status, which, within the white supremacist settler state, is never possible. It is here, always within the threat of elimination and exploitation that Latinx youth may be invited to the (non)option of subordinate settler status, a limited form of inclusion. It is within this invitation that I return to the notion of competence described by language socialization scholars, that is, the practices and knowledges required to be regarded a member by other members of a particular community. In this dissertation, I consider how the racialized vulnerabilities of Latinx youth shape the ways that they enter the settler-native-slave triad, and what

competencies they must demonstrate to be considered for the (non)option of subordinate settler.

### Project Goals & Research Questions

In broadest terms, I engage in this work to join in conversations that ask those of us who are settlers, especially detribalized, racialized, and displaced peoples, what that means for our strategies for resistance and resilience to present and ongoing exploitation, dispossession, and xenophobia within white settler nation-states. In particular, I consider how the white possessive logics of the local settler colonial state (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) seeped into a college preparation program aimed towards first generation college-going, Latinx youth, perpetuating logics of settler futurity on Muwekma Ohlone Land. I reflect upon how the program's need for recognition in order to sustain itself and how designations of competence situate the program's workings as incommensurable with decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Leigh Patel (2016) states, "If colonization is about ownership and territoriality for some at the expense of others, anticolonial stances must imagine still being in relation with each other but for survivance: in order to grow and to thrive from lived agency" (p. 8, drawing upon the work of Vizenor, 2008). To consider deeply how we learn to be in relation with one another as we aim for survivance is what *Emplacing White Possessive Logics* is ultimately about.

Its goals are threefold: 1) to determine the relations and logics embedded within a college preparation program's everyday practices and visions of success, 2) to examine how different institutions coalesce in their interactions with Latinx youth and their families' vulnerabilities, desired futures, and navigations of college pathways, and 3) to question how the local practices and everyday discourses of a college preparation program align with its aims of social change and the discourses of the local settler colonial state. This dissertation asks educational researchers and practitioners to consider how visions of normative success, such as college graduation, may not lend themselves wholly towards the social change goals that underlie college preparation programs. Further, through ethnographic and linguistic anthropological study of education (Wortham & Rymes, 2003), this dissertation aims to understand how institutions may coalesce to foreclose the desires, visions, relations, and logics necessary to enact collective, rather than individualistic, social change. It aims to serve as a research base to rethink the role of education in the creation of a more equitable society, especially education that takes place within places of public schooling, as well as to develop programmatic approaches that better imbricate such understandings and goals within college preparation programs' everyday practices and discourses.

This dissertation asks the following questions:

1. How do white possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) shape the educational pathways of Latinx youth in Cedarville?
2. How does the place of Cedarville, its histories, institutions, and connections to the broader settler colonial state, interact with the racialized and gendered vulnerabilities, desired futures, and navigations of college pathways by Latinx youth and their families?
3. What are the relations with Land, community, and success that Latinx youth in the Cedarville Bridge Program are socialized into?

### **Outline of *Emplacing White Possessive Logics***

Chapter 1 discussed the historical and political context in which college preparation programs for Latinx youth have emerged. It provided a brief review of literature that has focused on the success of racialized youth, and contends that academic success must be considered along with failure as a vehicle for social reproduction. Next, it contextualized my use of Moreton-Robinson's (2015) white possessive logics as a way to understand the socialization processes of Latinx youth into subordinate settler status in the U.S. Finally, it elaborated the terms "Latinx" and "youth," pointing to key considerations within these social identities and structural locations within the settler-native-slave triad of the U.S. settler state.

Chapter 2 discusses my epistemological and methodological choices within this dissertation project. I describe my positionality at length, using narratives to describe my own complicities with settler colonialism and how I came to this work. Next, it includes an explanation of the place that this project took place upon and a description of the Cedarville Bridge Program at the center of this project. I describe the people who took part in this project, the research design, along with the methods of assembling data within this ethnographic project—participant observation, pláticas and interviews, and a multi-sited place project. Finally, this chapter describes the sense-making methods that I employed.

Chapter 3 emplaces Moreton-Robinson's (2015) concept of white possessive logics within the city of Cedarville in relation to the Bridge Program's history there. It contends that white possessive logics are enacted through a series of classificatory technologies of control which shifted in response to efforts by local educators to employ educational structures and practices that would counter them. I argue that the flexibility of these classificatory technologies of control includes appropriating the

Cedarville Bridge Program into reproducing conditions for continued white possession of Indigenous Land.

Chapter 4 examines the navigation of the settler-native-slave triad by Latinx youth as their status as exogenous others position them as not-quite-yet determined within this structure. To do so, I examine how (most) youth in the Cedarville Bridge Program are given the (non)option of subordinate settler status as they navigate the racialized and gendered vulnerabilities that shape their experiences of college-going pathways. I expand upon Lyko Day's (2015) use of racialized vulnerabilities, defining these vulnerabilities directly in addition to drawing upon plática and interview data to illustrate the ways that life in Cedarville, though a respite from the difficulties *la vida recia*, retained, and in some cases, erased the depth of the terror associated with living there. I argue that the precarity and tenuousness of life shaped by such racialized and gendered vulnerabilities made aspiring towards normative notions of success a (non)option for those given the opportunity to do so. This chapter also describes the Cedarville Bridge Program as a protective space for mitigating these vulnerabilities.

Chapter 5 examines the relations with Land, community, and success that Cedarville Bridge Program youth were socialized into. It describes how practices of the Cedarville Bridge Program socialized Latinx youth into practices that supported what Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) describe as settler futurity. It draws upon the multi-sited place project that I carried out in order to consider the ways that white possessive logics seep from local history institutions into the schooling practices that Latinx youth in Cedarville were a part of. It describes the ways that local history narratives are part of collective identity making, examining three such instances, Cedarville's Annual Township Festival's parade and Bridge youth's participation in it, a historic walking tour of Cedarville, and a family day at a historic rancho. It then considers how the program's emphasis on "giving back to the community" constructed particular ideas about which community the youth were a part of and should give back to. Finally, it describes the complex and at times conflicting notions of success that Bridge Program youth worked towards, arguing that ultimately, the relations embedded therein limit the potential for significant changes to the white settler nation-state.

Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, discusses contributions to the field and the significance of this project. It includes implications for theory, classroom practice, and college preparation programs. It emphasizes that this work is not arguing for the elimination of college preparation programs, but rather a shift in the way that they are employed and viewed, as tactics to be made use of to the extent that they are useful rather than entire strategies for social change (following Chela Sandoval, 2000).

## Chapter Two

A theory in the flesh means one where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings—all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity. Here, we attempt to bridge the contradictions in our experience:

We are the colored in a white feminist movement.

We are the feminists among the people of our culture.

We are often the lesbians among the straight.

We do this bridging by naming our selves and by telling our own stories in our own words.

~Cherríe Moraga & Gloria Anzaldúa

*This Bridge Called My Back*

(1981/2015, p. 19)

Well, the Bay Area is very diverse, culturally diverse. [...] over here in the Bay, you'll find people of every race, every style, everything, and that's what I like the most. And our school is mostly Hispanic people, so I feel like, it's diverse in a lot of places. But Cedarville, Cedarville, actually, our school is mostly Mexican and Hispanic, and there are other races, of course. But I feel Cedarville itself is mostly a white community and most people at our school live like in [other cities]. But, if we're talking about overall the Bay, I feel like we're really diverse, we're good on that. We're comfortable in ourselves because there's a lot of—like in San Francisco, they do have a lot of movements representing all races. So I do feel like, the Bay is good on that.

~Victoria, Youth in 10<sup>th</sup> Grade Bridge

## Methodology: Ethnography of Schooling, Language Socialization & Critical Place Inquiry

### Epistemological Foundations

At heart, this dissertation, in its epistemological grounding, is rooted in a Xicana feminist approach to research and knowledge, drawing upon embodied and emplaced experiences (Anzaldúa, 1987; Cruz, 2001; Bernal, 1998; Bernal, Burciaga, & Carmona, 2012; E. Pérez, 1999). The choices that I have made during the process of carrying out this project are based on my embodied experiences, in action and response to other bodies, and in places, in relation to other, specific places (Anzaldúa, 1987; Calderon, 2014). The theory of the flesh Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga (2015/1981) articulate, quoted at the start of this chapter, illustrates the necessity of knowing ourselves through our embodied experiences, those of race, place, gender, and sexuality, in order to make sense of ourselves and bridge our contradictions, but also to collectively heal and join in a collective politic (p. 19). Cindy Cruz (2001) conveys the embodied theory given word through personal, familial, and community narratives that Chicana feminist educational researchers use to reclaim multiple, complex subjectivities and expose subjugating histories in order to “propel the brown body from a neocolonial past into the embodiments of radical subjectivities” (p. 658). As Calderon (2014a) describes, an anticolonial stance is central to my identity as a Xicana feminist researcher,<sup>13</sup> as part of my emplaced identities and in response to the nation-states that seek to engulf them into nationalistic allegiances. As such, I attend to the multiplicity and contradictory nature of my subjectivity in both theoretical and methodological considerations for *Emplacing White Possessive Logics*.

Further, as a scholar with family who came to this Land as undesirable exogenous others on one side and as settlers on the other, this project draws upon anticolonial and Indigenous perspectives, aiming to engage with the complexity of the ways that we strive for dignified lives within a settler colonial, white supremacist society. Tuck (2010) describes research that reflects such complexity:

---

<sup>13</sup> I identify as “Xicana,” specifically with an “X,” in acknowledgement of the colonial histories that detribalized my ancestors, and as a statement of opposition to settler colonial nation-states. However, “this term is continually called into question; suspended in its use and reflected on, as it means different things at different times politically and geographically and temporally. Most recently, for example, it has been called into question as a term and political identification that, while rejecting white settler colonialism, is still imbricated in antiblackness and Indigenous erasure” (Sanchez Loza, personal communication, June, 26, 2019; also, see Pulido, 2017).

A desire-based framework recognizes and actively seeks out complexity in lives and communities. It dismisses one-dimensional analyses of people, communities, and tribes as flattened, derelict, and ruined. Desire-based research frameworks appreciate that all of us possess a: 'complex and often contradictory humanity and subjectivity that is never adequately glimpsed by viewing [one another] as victims or, on the other hand, as superhuman agents' (Gordon, 1996, 4; Tuck, 2009). (pp. 638-639)

Tuck's use of "desire" here comes from a reading, or, rather, re-reading, of Deleuze (Deleuze & Guattari, 1990; 2003; Deleuze, 2004) that argues for desire as agentic rather than unconscious (2010, p. 645). Tuck builds upon theorizations of the production of desire as social production, in that desire produces reality, as opposed to false consciousness (2010, p. 642; Deleuze and Guattari, 1990, p. 30). However, Tuck inserts contradiction as central to desire: people desire in "contradiction, and in contradictory ways," "colluding" in our own oppression "'under a certain set of conditions'" (2010, p. 642; Deleuze & Guattari, 1990, p. 30, cited in Tuck, 2010, p. 642). Centrally, Tuck advocates for desire that is "purposeful, intentional," for desire that "can teach itself, craft itself, inform itself," and for desire "that can make decisions [and] strategize" (2010, p. 645). Drawing from Indigenous epistemologies, desire

accumulates wisdom, picking up flashes of self-understanding and world-understanding along the way of a life. This wisdom is assembled not just across a lifetime, but across generations, so that my desire is linked, rhizomatically, to my past and my future. (Tuck, 2010, p. 645)

Considering desire as agentic highlights the yearning for and living of dignified lives within and against the structural antiblackness and Indigenous erasure of settler colonialism. Further, and central to this dissertation, this conceptualization of desire allows for understandings of how racialized peoples participate in oppressive systems in ways that may ultimately (re)produce them, but at the same time, afford survivance in an active, rather than passive means of survival (Vizenor, 2008).

Writing from a framework of desire (Tuck, 2009, 2010), I ask this project's questions with assumptions of the wisdom, dignity, and agency bound within the intergenerational knowing that comes with the racialized and gendered vulnerabilities of the youth, their families, and the educators whose stories I share in this project (Tuck & Yang, 2014a, p. 231). Further, this dissertation reflects the methodologies and responsibilities within which I locate this research. I narrate myself as a subject of this work (Anzaldúa, 1987), considering my own role in socialization processes and

complicity with the white settler colonial state hand-in-hand with that of my project's participants. Further, I engage in both "[limiting and generative refusals]" in terms of which stories and what types of experiences I disclose in my writings surrounding this research, focusing on narrating structures and practices rather than reproducing decontextualized pain of Indigenous and racialized communities (Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2014a). In this way, this dissertation complicates visions of success and desired futures, as Latinx youth, their families and educators, at times, (un)settle their socialization into relations of Land, community, and success.

**Researcher positionality.** Due to the (acknowledged) political nature and goals of this project, close attention to my positionality as a researcher, not merely the intentions but the possible effects of this work, require reflexivity (Foley, 2002) and being in good relation with the people and places that make up this work (Wilson, 2008; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a, pp. 150–166). As a project considering relations with Land, community, and success, I center my own responsibility-bearing relation between myself, its author, and the people and places it enters into conversation with. In this sense, I ask, for whom is this work? Whom does it serve? Which stories must I tell and which must I refuse to tell? (Simpson, 2007; Tuck, 2009). As such, examination of the logics and relations that youth are socialized into highlights the responsibilities that I carry as an educational researcher, an approach that is fueled by a "relational ethics of accountability to people and place" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a, p. 19). With this in mind, I engage in the practice of accountability, starting by naming the people and places from which I come.

This work and the fact that I have the educational experiences and expertise to carry it out has much to do with when and how I came to live and work on Muwekma Ohlone Land in what is currently most commonly known as the San Francisco Bay Area. The following sections describe the people and places to which I owe the relative stability of my life, describing the economic precarity and exploitation that fueled my family's pursuit of education as a means to ameliorate such tenuousness. In what follows, I describe a series of times and places, stories and experiences, that illustrate how and why I have come to this work, and how, despite the educational success attained within the last two generations of my family, economic stability without deep sacrifice remains elusive.

***Migration, military, financial (in)stability, and schooling as opportunity.*** I have heard the story of my tata riding the bus to the coal mine near Patagonia, Arizona with other Mexican and Mexican-American men from both my nana and my mother.<sup>14</sup> They described how he stood out, sitting there with his school books, reading and studying

---

<sup>14</sup> Like many Mexican-American families in the American Southwest, my family uses the terms "tata" and "nana" for abuelo and abuela.



on his way to work in an effort to escape the dangerous and backbreaking labor of both the mines and the agricultural fields in California where he had worked with his father since he was a young boy. My nana told me the story of how her mother's family had been forced to leave their home in Santa Cruz, Sonora, Mexico by people she described as "Indians," as I imagine that they were described when the story was told to her, who had burned the church and town. Rodolfo Acuña (1972) documents the forced migration of Sonorans into Arizona by the U.S. army. Aiding the Apache people who desired to reclaim their land, the U.S. Army drove Mexicans as exploitable labor into the coal mines and other industries in southern Arizona during the decades preceding my family's migration (Acuña, 1972, p. 82-86). After leaving high school to serving in the U.S. Army in WWII, my tata eventually moved his family to Palmdale in the high desert north of Los Angeles in 1963 to work in the aerospace industry for companies such as Northam Grumman. There, he was able to buy a home and retire with a pension that supported my nana until her passing in May 2019 at the age of 96.

My father's parents, of English, Scots-Irish, and German descent, moved to California from Nebraska when my grandfather was stationed there during WWII. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) writes of the Scots-Irish's role as poor settlers who were used at the forefront of west-moving genocide and American expansion by wealthier whites, having gained expertise in such matters in Ireland in the interests of the English (pp. 51-54). In various locations throughout Southern California, my grandfather worked alternatively as owner and manager of a trailer park, co-owner and operator of a gas station, and as a prison clerk. My grandmother was a registered nurse, providing the majority of the family's income. Though my nana briefly attended nursing school before marrying my tata, she left when she became sick from the exhaustion of being forced to work instead of attend classes, labor that was not required of the white students.

My immediate family's status as lower middle class was solidified when, through the confluence of the Civil Rights Movement and GI Bill that led to the racial diversification and expansion of the middle class, both of my parents were able to graduate from Long Beach State University in 1970 after transferring from Antelope Valley College. My father was able to take advantage of the GI Bill after joining the Marine Reserves in an effort to not fight in the Vietnam War. Though my mother was told by a counselor at the community college she attended, "Why bother, you'll never transfer anyway," when she asked to re-enroll after briefly dropping out, she became one of the very few Mexican-American women of the time to do so. When my parents moved to Pittsburg, California and opened a small printing business there in 1976, they were, and remain to this day, some of the most educated and financially stable

residents of the small, working class city at the far end of the BART line.<sup>15</sup> These stories display the intergenerational efforts for a more stable life, as well as the way that my parents' ascension into higher education coincided with increased access on a national level. I point this out not to discount their personal efforts, but to contextualize them within broader histories.

***Competing for schooling success.*** Called into my high school counselor's office in the middle of class, I wondered why Mrs. Stewart wanted to talk to me. "Theresa," she began, "I wanted to let you know that we recently found out that Rebecca Richardson was changing your Spanish grades when she was a TA for Ms. Lopez last year." I remembered the day, two years earlier, when everyone in my freshman class went around asking each other's rankings after our first semester grades came out. I hadn't paid attention to the small notation at the bottom of the report card that read "1/627." "Who is it, who's number one?" they asked as we milled around campus during our morning break. I had slowly realized it was me. I thought back to Rebecca's angry reaction and her subsequent pressuring of our P.E. teacher to explain why I had an A+ and she didn't. Rebecca was number two.

Rebecca's obsession with the rankings was more than friendly competition or intellectual vanity; it was a measure of her future social and economic status. We grew up in Pittsburg, a smaller steel town at the end of the BART line in the San Francisco Bay Area on Bay Miwok Land. Though "disposability" (Day, 2015, p. 107)<sup>16</sup> marked what was a mostly Mexican, Black, Filipino and white (but proud to be Italian), working class city, youth's attempts to make it out of Pittsburg compelled them towards whiteness and settler status. The trajectories of youth marked for success were often framed in opposition to the typical characterizations of "[criminality, illegality]," and "punishability" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, pp. 18, 17) associated with our racialized city. A poor white girl who was teased by other youth for her perceived hygiene and old clothes, perhaps Rebecca saw those rankings as marking not our ability, but our worthiness for all that was promised by American schooling's meritocratic myths. Rankings, like other sorting systems in schools, control access to spaces that officialize designations of rationality and in turn, justify exploitation of those excluded.

---

<sup>15</sup> Bay Area Rapid Transit, the public transit system that spans the San Francisco Bay Area, connects city centers of San Francisco and Oakland to reaching outlying cities of Richmond, Antioch, Dublin/Pleasanton, Warm Springs/South Fremont, and Millbrae. The Pittsburg/Bay Point Station was the furthest east in Contra Costa County until May 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Chang (2000) describes the "indispensable" collectivity of migrant women workers in contrast to the "disposable" nature of their individual persons as shaped by globalized economics and government policies. Day's (2015) use of "disposability" aligns with Chang's theorization regarding migrants who become subordinate settlers (Tuck & Yang, 2012) on Indigenous Lands, but have a lesser status because of their racialized identities. I make use of the term "disposability" to indicate a racialized structural position that predisposes groups and individuals to social and economic exploitation and dispossession.

Relationally, they pit individuals and groups against one another as they fight for whatever scarce resources are available to them. How had Rebecca come to orient herself towards these rankings and me, her closer to middle class, light-skinned, mixed race, Xicana classmate, in this way? Why was undermining my grades to claim the top ranking the course of action she engaged? I include this story to highlight how I have been the beneficiary of schooling sorting systems, both in terms of educational attainment and in the (relative) stability of my income, housing, and expectations for (in)credibility within a white supremacist, settler nation state. In my hometown, where many were indeed, marked as disposable, I was a success story, despite already being amongst the most privileged and set for normative measures of success in that context.<sup>17</sup>

***Enduring tenuousness: life as a subordinate settler.*** In my eighth and final year as an English teacher, my son and I walked to the local park in the middle class, increasingly Asian and South Asian immigrant suburbia of Fremont at the end of another BART line. Dressed in warm-ups and hoodies for the early spring air, both of us dribbled a basketball as we followed the main path around the park's lake. My son told me about his day at school as a third grader reading Roald Dahl's *The BFG* in class after reading it at home on his own, and I told him about mine; my ninth grade students were reading Jimmy Santiago Baca's "It Started," and my eleventh grade AP Language students were working on autobiographical narratives in preparation for their college applications. Our conversation drifted off as our walk intensified to a jog. As we passed one of the many benches along the path, a white, late middle-aged man dressed in a collared shirt, pressed jeans, and all-white athletic shoes called out kindly to us, "Don't forget to read." The advice struck me; neither of us ever "forgot" to read. What made this man assume that we did? I'd just been accepted into a doctoral program at U.C. Berkeley. Through my academic accomplishments and professional expertise, it was clear enough that I read with regularity. Yet, none of this was known by this man who assumed that my son and I needed a reminder. Did he offer this advice to everyone who passed by? While superficially mundane, this man made an instantaneous link between how he interpreted our corporeal presence in that place and a lack of dedication to reading that seemed obvious to him. He was so certain of his assessment that he felt comfortable enough to comment on it, reproaching complete strangers.

Communicative practices (following Hanks, 1996) of the body and voice that point to places judged as irrational, places of racialized bodies, and/or non-modern knowledges, "locate" subjects as "vulnerable," "disposable," and "murderable" (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Day, 2015, p. 107; Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 17). Everyday

---

<sup>17</sup> This does not mean that I was always read and treated as rational or deserving, but to say that I was treated as though I had more potential than my classmates within this specific context.

actions justify exploitation and dispossession because they index, or point to, practices already classified within existing social hierarchies, such as the wearing of hoodies, which is similar to Hill's (2008, 1998) description of the indexed attributions associated with Mock Spanish. For example, the man my son and I encountered at the park seemed to have been responding to the practice we were engaged in, dribbling basketballs, as the impetus for his admonition, "Don't forget to read." Largely associated with poor, urban, Black bodies, a connection that our sportswear may have enforced, dribbling basketballs seemed to point him to an understanding of us that included a racialized assessment of who readers are and who they are not. Though Xicanxs are typically racialized, my son's and my phenotypes do not neatly fit into typical stereotypes, especially not in the racially diverse context of the San Francisco Bay Area. Thus, our communicative practices seem to have indexed racialized conceptions of us through the classification of our actions into existing place-based perceptions of readers and non-readers.

***Bridging what gap?*** As I described in the Preface to this dissertation and in the following chapters, this project is informed by my own experiences as a secondary English teacher for a college preparation program. In the last several years of eight total teaching, I worked as part of a Puente Program at a San Francisco Bay Area high school. Though the program offered academic support and cultural validation to the students that I worked with unparalleled to others at the school, I continued to wonder if such a program was the best that schooling could offer Latinx and other racialized youth, specifically, how the it affected their engagement with social inequities once they entered the next chapters of their lives. Central in my questioning of these broader social implications are the experiences of one of my former students, Rodolfo. Despite exceptional academic skills, Rodolfo's grades plummeted his sophomore year, and he later transferred to the continuation school to make up lost credits. Academic success in a university setting was well within his reach, but as I realized later, he was asking different questions than I was at the time. Before he left, I said hello to him in the quad one day. He said to me, "Hey, Ms. Stone, do you know Immortal Tech?"<sup>18</sup> "Yeah," I replied, "What do you think about him?" "He's dope," Rodolfo answered. Rodolfo told me about some of the songs he liked, about how he could relate to what the rapper was saying. When Rodolfo shared his admiration for Immortal Technique with me, I was excited for him, but more focused on getting him and his classmates to college than tuned into the radical alternatives Rodolfo may have desired.

As I've looked back, I've wondered who I was teaching my students that they could and needed to be in order to succeed in a university setting. I tried to teach

---

<sup>18</sup> Immortal Technique is a rapper whose lyrics depict a radical perspective, interrogating issues such as race, colonialism, and class oppression.

them that they could retain their cultural identities and language and use their university degrees to improve their communities. But, as my interactions with Rodolfo and his eventual transfer out of the school made me consider, did the program do enough to address the endemic inequities that necessitated interventions like it in the first place? My work as an educator, and now scholar, has always been to serve the youth and communities that schooling has been designed to fail. For Rodolfo, the efforts of a college preparation program were not enough to bridge the gap between his life and the university. However, for Enrique, another former student whose experiences I described in the Preface, even the attainment of such academic success could not bridge the gap between the daily vulnerabilities of being the child of undocumented migrants/refugees and the dignified life he strived for. Feeling bad at the end of the day for participating in predatory lending in order to ameliorate his and his family's vulnerabilities was not the life he had imagined. It is from these embodied and emplaced experiences that I engage in this work, questioning the logics and relations underlying the dispossession, exploitation, competition, tenuousness, and complicity that characterizes these stories. It is to the youth I have and will work with to which this scholarship is accountable.

### **Language Socialization and Critical Place Inquiry**

Due to these commitments, the design of this dissertation responds to recent calls by researchers in settler colonial and Indigenous studies who highlight the need for place-based research (Basso, 1996, p. xiv; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a). The specificity of place in relation to its history and politics, its relation to empire and other places, to broad and local constructions of race, and to its (dis)acknowledgement of Indigenous Land is often taken for granted in ethnographic and social science research (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a). This dissertation contributes theoretical and methodological attention to place and Land as central, rather than peripheral features of project composition and analysis via critical place inquiry (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a, 2015b). As a recently articulated approach to social science research based upon Indigenous thought and approaches to research (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015b), critical place inquiry considers place as "grounded and relational, [...] providing roots for politics that are deeply specific to place and yet connected to other places" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a, p. 29). Through engaging critical place inquiry alongside the linguistic anthropological language socialization approach, place in this project is a deeply co-constituting view of the social and place, focusing on "spatialized and place-based processes of [...] settler colonization" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015b, p. 19). As such, this study highlights

how the place of Cedarville,<sup>19</sup> its local history and institutions, coalesces with schooling practices to socialize youth into relations with Land, community, and success complicit with settler colonialism.

In this project, the concept of place is held as both Indigenous Land and the settler colonial structures and narratives that erase it, as well as real and imagined geographic locations that signify measures of humanity according to the racializing project of modernity (O'Brien, 2010; Bauman & Briggs, 2003). Further, following Tuck and McKenzie (2015a), I use the concept of "place" in reference to Cedarville due to its conflation with the "local, traditional, and nostalgic," and importantly, its "specificity." Central to the theoretical and epistemological framing of this research project, place is "the setting for social rootedness and landscape continuity" as opposed to space as narrated and "conflated with global, modern, progressive," which all contribute to the erasure of Native peoples (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015a, pp. 20-21, following Agnew, 2011; Jessop, Brenner, & Jones, 2008).

Methodologically, this dissertation builds upon the language socialization and linguistic anthropological traditions of embedding language analysis within ethnography more generally (Duranti, 1997; Ochs, 2004) and education research more particularly (Mangual Figueroa & Baquedano-López, 2017). Multi-layered and long-term ethnographic methods serve for both the "thick description" of ethnography (Geertz, 1973) and the close attention to communicative practices (Hanks, 1996) of language socialization methodologies (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Language socialization methodology provides means to connect the discursive to the structural, everyday interactions to the historical, and the ideological to the material world. Herein, the material world is one preoccupied with the politics of place, connecting the ways of being in relation that youth are socialized into with the physical places that shape and are shaped by these processes. Language socialization research has shown "how schooling institutions are locally structured and in turn, how these structuring processes shape and influence the dispositions and actions of individuals participating in those institutions (Giddens, 1984)" (Baquedano-López, Arredondo, & Solís, 2009, p. 338, considering the work of Rymes, 2001; Yang, 2004).

A language socialization perspective centers an understanding of how social actors become competent members of particular social groups, showing the ways that they are socialized through and to language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). This "set of densely interrelated processes" include acquisition of the "knowledge, orientations, and practices" that enable effective and appropriate participation within a community

---

<sup>19</sup> In this dissertation, I use the phrase, "the place of Cedarville," to foreground this co-constituting view of the social and place, in order to highlight the ways that Indigenous Land, specifically Muwekma Ohlone Land, is constantly (re)structured as a settler possession through the social worlds in and surrounding Cedarville (Wolfe, 2006; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015b, p. 19).

(Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 339). Elinor Ochs emphasizes that “it is important to situate interaction between more and less knowing participants in past and present cultural ideologies and social structures. [...] Stances and actions are organized by historically rooted norms and expectations about how to [...] negotiate [the social world]” (Ochs, 2002, p. 108).

In the context of this study, “to be socialized into” at times also means “to be disciplined into,” as the disciplining of racialized youth is central to American schooling processes. Language socialization studies in schools have demonstrated the connections between cultural knowledge acquired in “moment-to-moment interactions” and “[projections] of historically contingent dispositions” (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008, p. 161). I consider what “[stories] of practices within educational contexts and institutions” (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011, p. 207) may tell of the competence required of racialized youth on the verge of schooling success. This dissertation responds to calls within the field of language socialization for work that examines the relationship between language, race, and learning, “for it is precisely through language that we construct and enact ideologies and practices that racialize, and which affect the educational experiences of students and teachers [...]” (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011, p. 207).

In this case, I consider what effective and appropriate participation in a white settler society may require of racialized youth on the verge of normative visions of success. Importantly, the concept of “competence” includes demonstrating capacity (and perhaps desire) to participate or resist in ways of being in the world informed by “white possessive logics” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). This project centers the idea that “[...] socialization is never neutral” (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011, p. 207). Stories of schooling practices reflect and (re)create white supremacy and settler colonialism; this dissertation tells those stories, and, through engaging language socialization alongside the political clarity of critical place inquiry, critiques these stories in their telling.

### **Choice of Site: Muwekma Ohlone Land, Cedarville, SF Bay Area, California**

The choice of Cedarville, Cedarville High School, and the Cedarville Bridge Program as my dissertation research site comes from my experience teaching high school English for a total of eight years at three California high schools, one in Southern California, and two in the San Francisco Bay Area. Each school, reflective of the population trends of teachers and students in the state of California at large, was

comprised primarily of “socioeconomically disadvantaged,”<sup>20</sup> racialized youth who were primarily taught by white, middle class teachers. A reflection of the literature on the importance of teachers of color, most of the white teachers at these schools were not well-trained to work with racialized youth, did not have political commitments to their wellbeing, and were not from the same types of communities.<sup>21</sup> At one of the schools that I taught at, I had the opportunity to teach Puente English for the school’s Puente Program, so I was familiar with its design, curriculum, and impact. Teaching Puente English classes with a cohort of students during both their freshman and sophomore years and being part of the program leadership changed the ways that I was able to develop relationships with students and their families, as well as work towards my goals as an educator for racial justice. This experience shaped the questions that I entered my doctoral program with, as it was distinct from my other teaching experiences and those that I had as a youth in California public schools. When deciding upon a research site for this project, I looked for a school with a program similar to Puente in a city with demographic shifts that were similar to the state of California as a whole. These criteria were important, as I wished to draw upon my experiential knowledge as an educator and to understand how such a program was enacted in a particular place, but reflective of how such programs are taken up in a general sense statewide. I drew upon my networks from teaching in two different San Francisco Bay Area High Schools and the two years that I spent supervising student teachers in UC Berkeley’s Multicultural Urban Secondary English credential program to find a site and program that met this criteria,<sup>22</sup> here called the Cedarville High School Bridge Program.

I contacted the Cedarville Bridge Program counselor Marta Arroyo, who I knew from my teaching networks in the Bay Area, to talk about doing this dissertation with the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School. Marta was supportive from the start, and helped me with introductions and knowledge of the school and district personnel that I would need to contact in order to talk about doing the project in Cedarville. I spoke with the Cedarville Unified School District Superintendent, William Martínez; the Cedarville High School principal from 2016-2018, Helen Garcia; and the Cedarville High School principal from July-December 2018, Mike Klein. After receiving approvals,

---

<sup>20</sup> The language of School Accountability Report Cards (SARC) reports, as determined by the number of students eligible for free or reduced lunch according to the guidelines set by the National School Lunch Program.

<sup>21</sup> The second school that I worked at was my own alma mater which had many more exceptions to this description: there were far more teachers of color and more teachers who grew up in the same city, but educational inequity there was still pervasive, as the school reflected the race and class conditions in which it was located.

<sup>22</sup> MUSE now exists as the English Pathway in UC Berkeley’s BE3 Program.



Marta me put into contact with Bridge English teachers Araceli Fernández and Jeremy Johnson whose classes I observed. At the start of the 2018-19 school year, I stopped by the Chicano Studies class at Cedarville High School to introduce myself to Dra. Alicia Solis whose class I also observed. I met other faculty and staff at Cedarville High School at the 2018-2019 staff development day that I attended in August 2018, throughout the 2018-19 school year, as well as at events that I attended while the project was still in development such as the districtwide Stories of Success event in June 2017 and the Bridge Program Celebration Night in June 2018. Marta introduced me to former Bridge English teachers, as my queries led me to their experiences. Additionally, prior to the 2018-2019 school year in which I carried out the majority of the participant observations at Cedarville High School, I led a series of college application essay writing workshops for Cedarville High School students applying to college. These consisted of 4, hour-long sessions during the fall of 2017 as both an act of reciprocity and in order to get a sense of the youth in the college-going tracks at Cedarville High. I repeated this series of workshops in Fall 2018. A full list of the school and district events that I attended as a participant observer, in addition to the multi-sited place project events (described in more detail below) are listed in Appendix A.

**Emplacement.** This dissertation considers how narratives of racial progressivism in the state of California ultimately serve to muffle rather than eradicate racial hierarchy through socializing racialized others into settler colonial logics and relations. As described in Chapter 1, settler colonial emplacement naturalizes and neutralizes the “dis-location” of living on stolen land (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015a, p. 67); the emplacement work of this dissertation is to put (back) into place the white possessive logics that “[reproduce and reaffirm]” the settler nation-state (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii). The Muwekma Ohlone Land on which this study took place and was written upon remains under dispute as Muwekma Ohlone engage in a variety of efforts to decolonize their Land. For example, Muwekma Ohlones continue efforts to protect and protest the destruction of ancestral shellmounds, to engage in language revitalization efforts, to restore place names to their Land, and for federal recognition (Field, 2013; Ramirez, 2007, pp. 102–125). The work of this dissertation is anticolonial, it does not do the material work of decolonization described above (Patel, 2016, p. 7), but rather asks that racialized peoples on Indigenous Land engage deeply with their settlement here. In what follows, my purpose is to do that work, specifically in the place that is currently known as Cedarville, California, part of the San Francisco Bay Area.

Amongst ten states with more Latinx children than white as of the 2010 U.S. Census (Frey & Brookings Institute, 2011), California’s approach to racialized populations, and in particular, the statewide Puente Project that the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School was similar to in design, has become a national model for increasing the college-going rates of Latinx youth. In California, 54.3% of public school

children are Latinx, with Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala as the most common countries of origin for the Greater Metropolitan San Francisco (California Department of Education, 2019; Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project, 2016). Though California and the San Francisco Bay Area in particular are often viewed as sites of progressive thought and social movements, it is important to highlight the state's colonial and settler colonial histories and therefore how its current existence was wrought through missionization, genocide, the seizure of Indigenous Land, and continued settler presence and claims of ownership (Castillo, 1991; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, pp. 123–130; Hixson, 2013, pp. 123–126). Further, and in concert with settler relations, white supremacy in California has been foundational to historical and ongoing dispossession, exclusion, and hierarchy (Almaguer, 1994; Gilmore, 2007; HoSang, 2010; Cacho, 2012, pp. 35–60; Sojoyner, 2013). In his examination of racialized ballot initiatives in the state of California during the post-WWII era, Daniel HoSang poses the following questions in relation to the mythologies of the racial progressivism of California:

Could it be possible instead that white supremacy as an ideological formation has been nourished, rather than attenuated, by notions of progress and political development? What if we imagine racism as a dynamic and evolving force, progressive rather than anachronistic, generative and fluid rather than conservative or static? What if we understand racial hierarchies to be sustained by a broad array of political actors, liberal as well as conservative, and even, at times, by those placed outside of the fictive bounds of whiteness? And finally, what if the central narratives of postwar liberalism—celebrations of rights, freedom, opportunity, and equality—have ultimately sustained, rather than displaced, patterns of racial domination? (2010, p. 2)<sup>23</sup>

This dissertation responds to these questions at the nexus of settler colonialism and white supremacy.

Cedarville, located in the San Francisco Bay Area on Muwekma Ohlone Land, was incorporated as a city in the mid 1950s following white residents' battle to maintain Cedarville's independence and self-determination from larger cities nearby ("City of Cedarville History," 2019). Cedarville is within an hour's or so travel by car or public transit to the three major city centers of the San Francisco Bay Area: Oakland, San José, and San Francisco. Nearby, the mascot of California State University, East Bay is the Pioneer, one of the two NFL teams is called the 49ers, and Stanford University sports the color "cardinal" as a replacement for the "Indian" mascot it maintained from

---

<sup>23</sup> Also cited in Sojoyner (2013, p. 241).

the 1930s to 1972, each a marker of settlement and Indigenous replacement (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). Six of California's 21 missions are within two hours' travel. Like the state of California as a whole, the city of Cedarville has shifted from a white majority in the 1970s to a primarily people of color population, with 35% of the small city Latinx as of the 2010 U.S. Census. Global migration patterns caused by dispossessive policies such as NAFTA that led to increased migration to the San Francisco Bay Area as a whole has shaped Cedarville's population in the last several decades.

Most residents of Cedarville had working class jobs, although at the time of this writing, tech workers from nearby Silicon Valley were beginning to move to Cedarville. Still, working in construction or the service sector were more common amongst parents of Cedarville High youth than professions such as engineers, lawyers, or teachers, though they were not altogether absent. Many of the financially stable Latinx families in the city owned their own small businesses. In the three or four years leading up to this study, the poorest residents were leaving, as housing prices, following the trend set by more desirable areas of the San Francisco Bay Area real estate market, had skyrocketed with the tech boom. Teachers I spoke with described how many families were deciding to move to less expensive areas such as Stockton, the Salinas area, or Morgan Hill, areas located hours-long commutes away from Bay Area city centers. Some moved closer to areas such as Tracy, where rents were cheaper (J.J.: 13:51; A.F.: 22:27). Youth and teachers who lived in the city described the socioeconomic divisions in housing with the "lake" area populated by the most well-off residents, primarily white, as compared to the area "close to the railroad tracks" where the poorest, mostly Latinx residents, lived. A teacher told me that low income families were being evicted and apartments by the railroad tracks were being knocked down, as more people that worked in Silicon Valley moved into Cedarville (J.J.: 13:00). The district superintendent shared that the house across the street from the district office, a nondescript 1950s ranch style, cookie-cutter duplex with a second floor constructed over one side of the house's garage, had recently sold for over \$1 million dollars. He explained that district enrollment was falling as poorer families, mainly Latinx, left the area and people without children enrolled in the district, mainly Indian<sup>24</sup> and Chinese, moved in. Prior to Cedarville's recent influx of Silicon Valley workers, 28.8% of adults had a bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.).<sup>25</sup>

Cedarville High School was the only comprehensive high school in Cedarville. 52.2% of students were Latinx, 0.2% were American Indian or Alaska Native, 4.5% were Black, 13.5% were Asian, 9.9% were Filipino, 1.6% were Native Hawaiian or Pacific

---

<sup>24</sup> From India.

<sup>25</sup> This statistic is for adults ages 25 or older according to the 2010 US Census. Neighboring cities have rates of 52.7% and 35.4% of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher.

Islander, and 14.9% were white, 10.1% were English learners, and 48.1 were socioeconomically disadvantaged (Cedarville Unified School District, 2018). Cedarville High had a high rate of teacher turnover and an incredible number of principals, 10 in the last 15 years, from Fall 2004-Spring 2019. Teachers at the school were 43% white; 3% Black; 0% Filipino, American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander; 13% Asian; and 12% Latinx in the 2016-17 school year. In addition to the Bridge Program, the school offered programs and supports such as a career-focused academy that developed technical skills for jobs in media, arts, and entertainment industries; a program at the local community college that offered courses for both high school and college credits; Career Technical Education at a Regional Occupational Program (ROP) Center that served nearly 500 Cedarville High School students with coursework in career pathways such as building and construction trades, health science and medical technology, and transportation; ROP courses offered at the Cedarville High School campus included Culinary, Law Enforcement, and Business Marketing, in addition to an engineering pathway for “B”, “C”, and female students interested in pursuing STEM majors in the CSU/UC systems; APEX Learning virtual classes for students who needed credit recovery or the chance to raise low grades; and two 45-minute long, weekly tutorial periods during school hours when students could work and get help in any teacher’s classroom or the library.

During the 2016-17 school year, completion of A-G requirements were 37% overall, 31% for socioeconomic disadvantaged students, 1% for students designated as English Language Learners, 29% Latinx students, 26% Black students, and 21% students designated as within special education. Before the Bridge Program was brought to the school in 2008, Latinx youth made up less than 10% of youth in English honors and AP classes. The school offered a total of 17 AP classes and over 50 clubs. Parent and community organizations consisted of Padres Unidos, a group for Spanish-speaking parents that advised them how to advocate for their children’s success; a Parent Teacher Student Association; an English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC); a School Site Council; and Cedarville Educational Foundation, a non-profit organization that focused on music and science programming for young children to teens in Cedarville. The school offered social services such as the Unaccompanied Immigrant Youth Care Team which consisted of a case manager and mental health clinician; five mental health counselors; and Migrant Education Program Services.<sup>26</sup> For the 2018-2019 school year, there were three academic counselors for approximately 1800 students in grades 9-12.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Information in this and the preceding paragraph is from the Cedarville High School Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) Report (2018) and from conversations with Bridge Program counselor, Marta Arroyo.

<sup>27</sup> Based on population in 2017-18 SARC Report (Cedarville Unified School District, 2018).

Cedarville High School's school resource officer (SRO) described how in her return to the school in Fall 2018 she felt like she was at a different school as compared to her initial assignment there a decade earlier in Fall 2007. The SRO explained that "there was no longer a gang problem at the school, just wannabes" (Fieldnote: 8/21/18). Local youth gangs and violence brought about by limited economic and social opportunities that the SRO referred to were amplified by what Victor Rios (2011) describes as the "youth control complex," "a ubiquitous system of criminalization molded by the synchronized, systematic punishment meted out by socializing and social control institutions" in the school setting. The implementation of video surveillance and employment of an SRO connected the legal system directly to the interior workings of school discipline at Cedarville High School (Nolan, 2011). The police vehicle driven by the SRO, a member of the Cedarville Police Department who wore her full uniform on a nearly daily basis, was the first thing that anyone driving into the parking lot at the front of the school saw, as it was always parked at the front curb, a centerpiece of the view of the school's main office, entrance to the quad, and library. Like other factors influencing the lives of Cedarville's racialized populations, the ways that the murders of local youth in the decade before this study were taken up by the school and local news shaped and defined the racialized vulnerability and "criminality" of the city's youth (Day, 2015, p. 107; Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 18).

### **The Bridge Program in Cedarville**

In Cedarville, like in other places that had lost their white numerical majority, white residents fought to maintain social dominance and distinction from racialized residents in areas such as public education. The Bridge Program at Cedarville High School was started in response to this historic and ongoing exclusion of Latinx and other youth racialized as unfit for college-going pathways (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Similar to the statewide Puente Project's design, the Cedarville Bridge Program consisted of extra support from a dedicated program counselor, two years of culturally relevant English classes with the same Bridge English teacher for ninth and tenth grade English, field trips to various four-year colleges, information sessions for parents about college and related topics, and a club for youth to learn leadership skills through participating in community service such as park clean-ups, San Francisco Feed the Homeless, Spanish translating for Cedarville Unified events, and tutoring. Youth in the Bridge Club also fundraised for field trips, and planned cultural and community-building events for the program and school communities. Some of these events included Bridge Program game nights, a Día de los Muertos celebration co-planned with the MEChA and Ballet Folklorico clubs, and participation in the Cedarville Annual Township Festival parade.

The Cedarville Bridge Program began in Fall 2008 after program counselor, Marta Arroyo, and English teacher, Irene Brown, laid the ground work for the program in Spring 2008. To start the Bridge Program at Cedarville High, Marta led the recruitment efforts for an incoming freshman class, arranging for parent meetings, visiting eighth-grade English classes at the junior high, and cold-calling families to convince enough eighth-graders and their families to join the program and get it off the ground. Irene wrote the A-G approval documents for the program's culturally relevant curriculum in its ninth and tenth grade English classes, presented it to the school board, and attended meetings and cold-called families with Marta.

A major part of the work in developing the Cedarville Bridge Program was fighting for its very existence. The Cedarville Unified School Board and other educators largely resisted it; it was often misremembered as an English Language Development (ELD) program in the first six to seven years of its existence. Despite receiving monies from an outside funding agency to establish the program and augment the time Marta could dedicate to counseling the program's students, the school board threatened to cut the program after its first and second years as statewide education cuts led to massive layoffs and cuts in local education spending. Although Irene had more years of teaching experience than many of the other teachers in the English department, because she was the last one hired there, she received pink slips three years in a row, and was only able to continue working with the program by agreeing to take a reduced teaching schedule and pay for her last two years teaching at Cedarville High School.

In following years of the program, each spring, Marta and the Bridge English teachers recruited and interviewed eighth grade students for the program's incoming cohort. Marta planned and led events for Bridge families about the program, graduation and A-G requirements, and college applications. Marta also planned multiple college visits for the students each year to colleges near and far such as UC Berkeley, Cal State East Bay, UC Merced, UC Davis, Sonoma State, UCLA, Cal Poly Pomona, and Cal State San Diego. She organized fundraisers such as See's Candy sales, selling food at Cedarville High School's various food fairs and the snack bar at Cedarville High School soccer games. English teachers ran peer mentoring for students within the program, offered tutoring, held essay writing workshops for college applications, and helped with parent events. They also worked with Marta to plan and prepare students for a yearly celebration of program graduates in an event that showcased the year's outstanding student leaders and students who had achieved or improved academically.

A similar program previously existed at Cedarville High from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, but due to various setbacks and the large, uncompensated work load such programs require, when the educator leading the program left the school, the

program fizzled out.<sup>28</sup> The 2018-19 school year, the primary year of this study at Cedarville High School, the Bridge Program was in its eleventh year with over 300 graduates who had gone to two- and four-year colleges including all of the UC's, most of the CSU's, and private universities including Georgetown, St. John's, St. Mary's, USC, and the University of San Francisco. Marta had remained the counselor for the entirety of the program, acting as the program's anchor and holder of its institutional history. In the program's second year, another English teacher, Shirley Chen, joined the program in order to teach its second ninth-grade cohort. After Irene left Cedarville High because of the ongoing financial precarity she experienced working there, Becky Mitchell, another English teacher took her place for a year, but did not work out, as her approach to teaching and working with racialized youth did not align with the program's core belief that Latinx and other racialized youth could indeed go to college. Araceli Fernández, who had graduated from Cedarville High, became the next Bridge English teacher; the 2018-19 school year was her seventh year with the program and ninth year as a teacher. Araceli was the program's only fully Spanish-bilingual educator, as Marta and Irene were third and later generation Chicanas who described their lack of Spanish fluency as affected by U.S. English-only policies and rhetoric. As Shirley Chen transitioned to leadership roles at Cedarville High and then eventually left the school to be an administrator in another district, Jeremy Johnson started as a Bridge English teacher; the 2018-19 school year was his fifth year with the program and as a teacher.

As the Cedarville Bridge Program gained community support as it neared the ten-year mark, it was forced to expand its incoming grade level cohort from 60 to 90 freshman, diluting the resources available for the first-generation college-going youth it was intended for. This expansion included children from families who threatened to send their children to private school, which would have contributed to the district's dropping enrollment rates, as well as children of district personnel with advanced degrees such as the daughter of a white, former elementary school principal who worked in the district office during the 2018-19 school year. Only after these primarily white and Asian, non-first generation college-going youth started joining the Bridge Program was it acknowledged within the district as a college preparation, rather than an ELD, program (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

---

<sup>28</sup> One of the program's major setbacks was described by Bridge English teacher, Araceli Fernández (described in Chapter 3).

## Research Design & Approach

This ethnographic project draws upon three main approaches to assembling data: 1) participant observation in classrooms, Cedarville High School and Bridge Program events documented primarily by field notes (148 hours); 2) pláticas and interviews with Bridge Program youth and Cedarville educators documented by audio recordings and field notes (18 youth and 5 educators); and 3) a multi-sited place project based on participant observation and archival data at local history sites and events documented by field notes and researcher-generated photographs (23 hours). Participant observations at Cedarville High School took place primarily during the 2018-2019 school year. Pláticas and interviews were carried out in March and April 2019, and the place project was carried out from February 2018-April 2019. Below, I describe these three approaches in addition to the methods of sense-making that I engaged with these data.

**Participant observation.** I was a participant observer in three classrooms during the 2018-2019 school year at Cedarville High School, primarily during the months of September-March. The first was a ninth grade Bridge English class taught by Mr. Jeremy Johnson for ninth grade students in the Bridge program. The second was a tenth grade Bridge English class taught by Ms. Araceli Fernández for tenth grade students in the Bridge Program. The third was a Chicano Studies class offered at Cedarville High School by the local community college in which high school students could receive college credit for the course. It was taught by Dra. Alicia Solis in the fall semester and another instructor during the spring semester. The students in the Chicano Studies class were eleventh and twelfth graders, almost all Latinx, many of whom were in the Bridge Program. I chose to observe a Chicano Studies class in addition to the Bridge English classes, partly so that I could meet eleventh and twelfth grade youth in the Bridge Program in a common location, and partly because I wanted to see how Bridge youth took up the ideas of a Chicano Studies class. At the start of the school year, I attended all Bridge English classes (three at each grade level) and both Chicano Studies sections. Then, based partially on the class dynamics that I observed, and partially based on an observation schedule that made sense logistically, I chose Mr. Johnson's second period Bridge English 9 class, Dra. Solis' third period Chicano Studies class, and Ms. Fernández's fourth period Bridge English 10 class to observe for the rest of the school year. Overall, I observed over 60 hours of class time, 22 Bridge English 9 class periods, 21 Bridge English 10 class periods, and 17 Chicano Studies class periods. While most days I visited had a 6 classes per day schedule of 60 minutes each, in some of these instances, I observed during the block days that took place twice weekly, when class periods lasted 90 minutes.



I was to varying degrees “participant” and to varying degrees “observer” in these classrooms. This is to say that I actively participated at the school site, specifically in each class that I observed, to the degree that each teacher invited me to do so. For example, in the Chicano Studies class that I observed, I was invited by Dra. Solis to guest teach two lessons, one on writing compare and contrast essays and the second on Chicanas in the Chicano Movement. I taught these lessons to both Chicano Studies class periods. I also regularly participated in *Círculo* which Dra. Solis held at the beginning of class each Monday, a time when everyone sat in a circle, and shared about the happenings of their weekend. The other main way that I participated in the Chicano Studies class was when Dra. Solis asked my opinion about a topic or idea being discussed, and like the rest of the class, I shared my ideas. Dra. Solis invited me to sit at her desk which was situated at the front left of the classroom; she greeted me along with her students as we entered the classroom, and spoke with me each time that I observed, asking about my family and talking to me about her classes, students, and political events in the U.S. context. In Mr. Johnson’s Bridge English 9 class, I sat each day at a small desk located close to his own at the front left of the classroom. Mr. Johnson greeted me and the rest of the class as we entered, usually standing at the door during passing period. At times he talked with me briefly while students worked on group tasks, often telling me about a teaching strategy that he was working on such as the development of independent reading groups or about the whichever book the class was currently reading. Sometimes we spoke more extensively at the end of class, as it was right before the morning brunch period, a 10-minute break from classes in the school bell schedule. Mr. Johnson did not invite me to participate in class lessons in any way, so I acted as an observer during class time. In the Bridge English 10 class, Ms. Fernández suggested that I sit in student desks during class time, so I sat at the back or side of the room at different points in the school year, as Ms. Fernández rearranged the seating. Greetings between us were very brief as class started, as Ms. Fernández was usually working on her computer during passing period when students entered the classroom. I was not invited to take part in any of the class activities, though Ms. Fernández did talk to me about the lessons she was teaching from time to time. Since the class period that I observed was right before lunch, we sometimes engaged in conversation in her classroom or on our way to the English department break room after class, often discussing school politics that affected the Bridge Program.

Informal spaces in which I acted as a participant observer on campus included my time signing in as a visitor in the school’s main office each time I visited. This consisted of typing my name and the reason for my visit into a form on a Mac Desktop and then having my picture taken once I entered that information. Then I requested the name tag that this process generated from one of the women who worked as office staff. At times I saw or greeted the school principal, other office staff, the school SRO,

students and parents who worked or happened to be in the office at that time. On one of these occasions I witnessed Principal Klein, who was only at the school for a number of months, yelling at two Latino boys, a vein popping out of his neck, while the SRO, in full police uniform and gear, stood behind him (Field note, 9/17/18).

During my time at the school, I walked through the quad on my way from the main office to the building where the English classes and the Chicano Studies class were located, and though I said hello to students on occasion, I did not hang out or generally attempt to observe what happened in that space at length. Another informal space that I spent time in was the break room in the English Department building where there were tables and chairs, a coffee pot, refrigerator, microwaves, a toaster oven, kitchen sink, and dishes; there were also staff bathrooms nearby. Here, I often sat after or between class observations and talked with teachers and school monitors who came in to sit down at the tables or use the various amenities. The final informal space that I visited on a regular basis was the Counseling Office where I said hello to Marta and talked with her and the students who were often congregated there. Oftentimes, youth would sit in her office when they didn't feel well physically or emotionally or were waiting to speak with her about a specific academic or personal matter. Several students hung out there regularly during brunch and lunch, seated on the plush chair in the corner or swivel chairs surrounding a small, round conference table that sat apart from Marta's large desk where she was usually seated.

I chose to spend my time in these informal spaces as opposed to those that were for the youth given that at the time of the study, I was in my late thirties and had a high school-aged son and didn't want to impose my presence on the youth. Notably, while no high school-aged youth would have mistaken me to be one of them, I was, at least on one occasion, mis-read as a high school student by a school monitor. Though I had met most of the school staff early in the schoolyear, being that Cedarville High School was the city's only comprehensive high school, it was a large campus with many teachers and staff. A field note dated 11/2/18 describes the event:

*After observing the tenth grade Bridge English class, I walked across the quad towards the gated exit. It was lunchtime, and there were four boys throwing a football across the quad. One looked at me as I crossed, waiting to throw the football again until after I passed by. As I approached the exit doors by the front office, I saw that there was a security monitor posted there, eyeing kids who passed by into the office to be sure that they didn't leave campus for lunch. She was older and white, with sun spots showing on her face and hands, perhaps intensified by the long hours outside required by her job. As I approached the gate, she looked at me and asked, "Who are you? Are you a student here?" I told her that I used to be a teacher, but now I was doing a research project*

*there. She looked surprised and told me that I looked very young, and like I belonged there. I told her I was in high school 20 years ago, and that I'd take it as a compliment as I walked out the gate.*

*I interpreted her assumption that I was a student was a racialized reading of me as someone who couldn't be a teacher there, perhaps in combination with my dress for the day: dark wash, tight but not skin-tight, cuffed jeans with gray, high-top Chucks, and a light wash, denim shirt buttoned to the top button with the sleeves' cuffs open and popped up. I wore beaded, hoop earrings, two bracelets: one silver and one made of white plastic skulls for Día de los Muertos. I wore my long, wavy, dark brown hair down with my bangs pushed forward with bobby pins. I carried my gray Camelback backpack over my right shoulder.*

The security monitor's mis-reading of me reminded me of a time that I was told to leave the staff restroom in my early years as a teacher when it was also assumed that I was a student. Though I was in my early 20s that time, in both instances, older white women authoritatively decided where I did and did not belong on a school campus. In one of my informal conversations with Bridge counselor, Marta, we talked about what it was like to be Latina educators working as part of a primarily white teaching staff; we'd both experienced instances of being confused with one of the other two or three Latina educators by white teachers. While I didn't fit the ideal image of an educated adult, at least to one security monitor, my presence at Cedarville High School was taken up quite differently by Latinx educators. During Bridge Program events such as the CSU Application Workshop, Marta introduced me to parents and other staff members as a former teacher who was doing a research project at Cedarville High as a point of pride. In the Chicano Studies and Bridge English 10 classes, the Latina teachers both spoke of me as a Latina role model to the students. In this way, I participated in the school community as both proof and impossibility of Latinx educational attainment.

**Pláticas y interviews.** This dissertation's "interviews" consisted of both the more traditional research method of semi-structured interviews, as well pláticas as a culturally sustaining methodology (de la Torre, 2008; Paris & Alim, 2014). Pláticas, an ever-evolving and place- and participant-specific cultural practice, were taken up as a reciprocal research method in which I, as the researcher, engaged in the conversation as vulnerable and open, responsive to a Chicana feminist epistemology (Bernal, 1998). In pláticas as a research methodology, participants draw upon familiar conversational practices to engage in conversations that shift dynamics of genre, power, (in)formality, speaker(s) and listener(s), understandings of knowledge, vulnerability, and reciprocity from that of typical interviews. As such, "the researcher is not viewed as the expert, but rather the participants, through their stories and lived experiences, serve as the experts

of their own lives" (Aviña, 2016, p. 473). Pláticas are "'conversations that allow us to self-discover who we are in relationship to others—[they] are embedded within Latino culture'" (de la Torre, 2008, p. 44 qtd. in Aviña, 2016, p. 472). In this sense, I offered my life and knowledges as means for youth to grapple further with their own experiences. For the adults that I spoke with, this meant sharing reciprocally as a fellow educator. The degree to which I engaged in these conversations as a co-participant instead of an interviewer was determined by my understanding of our shared or dissimilar social locations, experiences, the relationship built prior to the time of the conversation, and the degree to which my interlocutors were willing to engage in the shifts between interview and plática described above. The more traditional interviews functioned as guided conversations in which I remained the questioner and my interlocutor the responder (Rubin, H.J. & Rubin, I.S., 1995); the semi-structured format provided enough guiding lines of questioning to address specific lines of inquiry without stifling the experiences of each participant.

***Learning how to respond.*** As a project focused on desire as "involved with the *not yet* and, at times, the *not anymore*. . . [as] longing, about a present that is enriched by both the past and the future" (Tuck, 2009, p. 417, emphasis in original), I aimed to center youth participants' desires and navigations of college pathways within my methodological approach. I did through honoring rather than ignoring the very real consequences of the choices that youth in this stage of their lives make and the logics that guided them. Following Charles Briggs (1984, 1986) and Sylvia Mendoza Aviña (2016), I engaged with the youth participants in particular in an effort to learn how to respond. Briggs urges researchers to "[learn] how to ask" through paying attention to the metacommunicative norms of the community in which one's research is based, specifically highlighting how traditional interview formats obstruct interlocutors from inhabiting the roles they normally occupy in order to become the "interviewer" and "interviewee" (1986, p. 2). Rather than nod my head, say, "Mmmmmhmmmm," and move on to my next question, there were moments that I was led to exercise my responsibility to these youth, purposefully rejecting the Western ideals of researcher neutrality and objectivity,<sup>29</sup> and shared experiences, questions, or observations meant as *consejos*, counterstories, validation, and/or critique.<sup>30</sup> Adela de la Torre (2008) explains that within pláticas, we "maintain important *confianzas* (confidences), listen intently, and reflect deeply before providing the guidance" others need (p. 44). This

---

<sup>29</sup> While Western research conventions demand the collection of research from a neutral position, objective in stance, "The problem is that objectivity is itself a value, a particularly strong one in our scientific tradition, and what it provides by way of supposedly neutral measures are in fact evaluations along one dimension" (Hanks, 1996, p. 203). For an Indigenous critique of Western research paradigms, see Smith (1999). For a Chicana feminist critique, see Bernal (1998).

<sup>30</sup> For more on *consejos* and counterstories, see Delgado-Gaitan (1994) and Bernal (2002).

meant that as I asked questions about youth's experiences, I also shared my own experiences and knowledges with them on topics ranging from family migration histories, gendered expectations, secondary schooling experiences, navigating college pathways, racial harassment, and language loss and reclamation. In doing so, I aimed to take up the call to "[ask] questions at the intersections of daily life and complex social systems [...] where people are enabled to engage and transform the injustices they collectively live" (M. E. Torre & Ayala, 2009, p. 391). In this sense, I responded in ways meant to offer alternative views of self, community, schooling, and futures than those carved out through normative and deficit frameworks. Aviña (2016) explains:

In sharing our own stories and making ourselves vulnerable with our participants, Chicana feminist researchers are engaging in reciprocity in that the research process is not one way, with the researcher extracting knowledge from the community. Through pláticas, knowledge production is an exchange [...]. (p. 473)

When I invited the youth to speak with me for this project, I invited them to do so in small groups if they preferred, following Aviña (2016), so as to help them feel more comfortable, and also as an invitation for them to co-construct their experiences with interlocutors besides myself. I spoke with 18 youth total, in 11 pláticas. I met with seven youth individually, and I met with two groups of two, one group of three, and one group of four. Most youth with whom I spoke presented as girls, 14 out of 18; one self-identified as LGBTQ+. I spoke with four 9<sup>th</sup> graders, ten 10<sup>th</sup> graders, two 11<sup>th</sup> graders, and two 12<sup>th</sup> graders. All but one youth, who I met in the Chicano Studies class, were in the Bridge Program. We met in locations of the youths' choosing, meant to be convenient and comfortable for them: in the school library, the counseling office, the English Department office, and at the Starbucks within walking distance of the school. When I made arrangements for the pláticas, I offered to bring participants a drink from Starbucks or milk tea of their choice. When picking up a drink beforehand was not practical, I gave \$5 Starbucks gift cards to participants; I described these drinks and gift cards as a small thank you. In each plática, I greeted the youth, thanking them for being there, asked if they had any questions, reminded them that they could decline to answer questions or end the plática early if they wished, explained that they could ask me questions too, and asked them if I could audio record our conversation. I asked them to fill out a piece of paper with questions about demographic information and gave them one filled out with my own answers as an example. Then I asked them questions in a semi-structured format, varying order, wording, and examples based on previous conversations with them, what I'd recently observed in their classes, and their answers thus far. I responded to their answers, platicando, when my experiences or

knowledges felt relevant. For example, a Latina senior in the Bridge Program who shared with me that she'd been accepted to the CSU's that she'd applied to, but not the UC's, told me she was considering joining one of the armed services instead. She explained that she couldn't see herself as a college student. I replied that I could see her as a college student, and shared ways that college can be about more than books and studies, connecting an idea she was interested in from the Chicano Studies class to what she could do as a college student. She shared how Dra. Solis, the Chicano Studies teacher, had also emphasized this aspect of college when she talked with her about her options. When I checked in with her later via the Remind App which I used to arrange the details of the pláticas with the youth participants,<sup>31</sup> she shared that she'd decided on going to the CSU closest to Cedarville. I told her that I was looking forward to telling her congratulations in person at the Bridge Program Celebration Night.

The conversations that I held with many of the adults that I interviewed were based on relationships that I developed with them during the course of the project in addition to my experiences as an educator who grew up and taught in the Bay Area. Some felt more free to talk about the program and politics of the district than others, depending upon their current employment and relationship with the district and program. For the adults, I did not name the genre of plática when I requested to speak with them, though I did preface our conversations with the offer to ask me questions and explained that the interview would be conversation-like. When I shifted into the genre of plática during the course of our conversations, sharing my experiences and insights, some participants, principally, two of the men whom I interviewed, interrupted me to different degrees, disallowing a sharing of knowledge and the mutual engagement of plática. On the other hand, with most of the women of color whom I interviewed, the mutual engagement and vulnerability of plática was largely taken up, as we shared from our experiences as educators and women of color working within the racist structures of public schooling. Nancy Huante-Tzintzun (2016) emphasizes that to engage in plática, "researchers need to understand how to practice being in relation to others and ourselves in research (Calderon, 2014a & b; Cruz, 2012; de la Torre, 2008)" (p. 4), pointing to the healing potential of such engagement.

**Multi-sited place project.** As a fourth-generation Xicana who grew up in California, I have many experiences in which the settler colonial state was naturalized, neutralized, and characterized as inevitable. I remember my younger sister and father building her fourth grade California mission project. Our school district had an "Indian trailer" that was filled with objects made and used by Indigenous peoples that situated their lives in some other time and place. When I was young, like many families, we

---

<sup>31</sup> The Remind App, a messaging app designed for communication between educators, youth, and parents, was already used by educators and programs at Cedarville High, as referenced in later chapters.

visited many museums, historic sites, and national parks that served as a multi-generational learning of our place in U.S. settler society and relations to Indigenous Land without ever naming it as such. The impetus for this methodological approach was the gradual confrontation of such relations as I learned the logics, relations, and practices of settler colonialism through Indigenous rather than settler perspectives through my doctoral work as part of a cohort of colleagues that has engaged settler colonial studies as a result of our commitments to racial justice and liberatory movements and imaginaries. My intuition that the local history sites and events surrounding the primary site of this project, the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School, would seep into its logics and practices was based on these experiences.

With these insights in mind, in order to emplace the white possessive logics of the settler state (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) operating in the college preparation program at the center of this project, as well as those operating throughout Cedarville High School and the place of Cedarville as a whole, I engaged a multi-sited place project to uncover the settler relations and logics embedded within the identity-making narratives surrounding Cedarville. I examined how local historical sites and events engaged in settler identity-making, telling stories about who residents were via explanations of who came before them, and how their places of living came to be. Like other emplaced narratives, local history sites provided stories about who 'we' are, in the sense of a local collective, connecting histories and identities to a particular place in the present, and in the process, shaping future possibilities of who we can be (Baquedano-López, 1997; Sarmiento, 2009). Using a multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus, 1995, p. 109), this place project followed the narratives of Cedarville's settler identity from a California mission, to a historic farm, to a local history museum, to the city's website, to a historic walking tour, to a family day at a historic rancho, to Cedarville's annual township festival and parade. The settler narratives that I followed around Cedarville were part of the flow of white possessive logics and relations from the nation-state and amongst sites and practices of local, collective identity-making. While at first glance, the relevance of settler identity-making narratives to the college-going pathways of Latinx youth may not be apparent, I used this approach to deeply imbricate places, discourses, relations, and logics local and broad into my larger examination of white settler colonial (re)production.

Research methods consisted of writing field notes and utilizing photography as means of documenting the events, sites, exhibits, and public documents on display. The coding of field notes, public documents, and photographs was paired with the writing of analytical memos that articulate specific meanings for codes and eventually, themes (Saldaña, 2009). Additionally, for several of these sites and events, my oldest child, Taylor, who was a high school junior during the main year of assembling data for this project, acted as my research assistant. Taylor has described his desire to teach

American history as a high school teacher, and has read and reread books such as Loewen's *Lies My Teacher Told Me* and *Lies Across America*, and Zinn's *A Young People's History of the United States* since he was in junior high. As such, he went to the historic farm, Cedarville's Annual Township Festival, and Family Day at the Rancho with me. Taylor shared background information on these places based on his childhood living in a city nearby, especially drawing from his schooling experiences, and trips to the historic farm with his father. I talked with him about what I saw and understood from my knowledges, and he shared his with me. As Renya Ramirez (2007) describes of her daughter taking part of the research process with her, I asked my son to examine the normalcy of settler colonial events, sites, and practices alongside me. My younger children, Elena and Eva, age 3 during the primary year of this project, also attended events with me, including the Annual Township Festival and parade, the Cedarville High School Día de los Muertos celebration, and the district's Latinx Education Summit. I included my children during this process for multiple reasons. At one level, their participation was practical: the very real logistical constraints of mothering make researching and writing possible only through many layers of support and compromise. On another level, however, I have engaged this work out of my commitments to moving through the world in particular ways, and attending to those commitments required including my children within my research processes in these and other instances.

## Participants

**Youth.** The youth who participated in my study were primarily those in the Bridge Program, although some of the students in the Chicano Studies class that I also observed were not. In the Bridge English 9 class, there were 28 students, the majority Latinx, primarily from Mexico with a few from Central America, in addition to 4 Asian/Pacific Islander/Filipino youth, 2 white youth, and several multiracial youth. The students in the Bridge English 10 class were similar demographically, majority Latinx primarily from Mexico with a few from Central America, 2 Black youth, 1 white youth, 3 Asian/Pacific Islander/Filipino youth, and several multiracial youth. The Chicano Studies class that I observed had 23 students, all but 1 Latinx, primarily from Mexico with a few from Central America, and one multiracial youth. Those who identified with multiple ethnoracial categories reported both general (e.g.: "Native American") and specific (e.g.: "Hopi/Navajo") Indigenous identities, and multiracial identities such as "Mexican and Indian"<sup>32</sup> or "Hawaiian, African American, and Mexican." The Chicano Studies class was almost all female-presenting students, with 3 male-presenting students. The other

---

<sup>32</sup> From India.



classes were more balanced between male and female-presenting, with no youth presenting as gender-nonconforming. The Bridge counselor estimated that overall, the Bridge Program was about 60% girls and 40% boys. Youth primarily identified as second and third generation in the U.S., with a few 1.5 and fourth generation; a very small number of youth identified solely as Native American. Importantly, because the Bridge Program aims for A-G eligibility and is based on placement within the ninth and tenth grade English classes, youth had to be in advanced level English Language Development (ELD) classes or reclassified as fluent English proficient from ELD supports altogether to be in the program. Marta, the Bridge counselor, estimated that in the eleven years of the program, there were probably only about 20 students in the program who were simultaneously in advanced ELD. Marta noted that Bridge English teacher Araceli, who was also an ELD teacher, tried to bring students into Bridge from her ELD classes once they were eligible. Most youth were part of working class families with blue collar jobs and rented houses or apartments, a few were lower middle class with families that owned their homes and worked white collar jobs or owned their own small businesses, and a few were part of non-working poor families who were supported through disability, welfare, and/or who were homeless or incarcerated. About two-thirds of the youth were bilingual or multilingual, most speakers of Spanish and English; the other third were monolingual English speakers, most of whom had parents who spoke multiple languages or languages other than English. See Appendix B for a chart detailing these demographics for those youth who participated in the pláticas.

**Bridge Program educators.** The Bridge Program was made possible through the work of three educators, two English teachers and a counselor. The Bridge Program counselor, Marta Arroyo, was a third-generation Chicana who grew up in Central California from a working class family; her father was an auto mechanic. Marta understood Spanish, but rarely spoke it, which she described as a result of growing up with Regan as president. Marta started working in Cedarville as a social studies teacher at the junior high in 1999. She lived in Cedarville and her children attended Cedarville public schools. In 2002, she became a counselor at Cedarville High School where she has worked through the year of this project. Araceli Fernández, one of the Bridge English teachers, identified as Mexican-American/Latina, was second-generation in the U.S., and grew up in Cedarville. Her parents were immigrants from Mexico in the 1970s, and her grandfather had been part of the Bracero Program. Her father completed his GED and some college in the U.S., and her mother completed schooling through sixth grade in Mexico. Araceli grew up speaking Spanish and English at home, and re-learned academic Spanish in high school. She taught elsewhere in the Bay Area for two years before starting at Cedarville High as an English, ELD, and Bridge Program teacher in 2012. Jeremy Johnson, the second Bridge English teacher, was white, and

described himself as a fifth generation Californian when I asked about his migration generation. He grew up lower middle class in a Bay Area city that was until recent decades, was a primarily white, rural suburb. His parents attended graduate school; his mother was a teacher. Jeremy lived in Cedarville; he spoke English and a little Spanish which he had learned from school, travel, and his students. Jeremy started as an English and Bridge Program teacher in Cedarville in 2014.

**Cedarville Unified educators.** Other educators who participated in this study include the district superintendent, a formal principal, two former Bridge English teachers, the Chicano Studies class teacher, and an AP English teacher. The district superintendent, William Martínez, a third generation Chicano, was a long-time educator who came from another state to start his position in 2016. He was recognized by national organizations for his focus on parent and community engagement. At Cedarville High School, however, many teachers were frustrated with the way that he led, especially in regard to how he had forced long-time Cedarville Unified educator Helen García to retire. Helen García was principal at Cedarville High School when I started speaking to educators in the district about doing my study there, but had spent nearly 30 years there in various position, first as a teacher, and then in various administrative positions at the junior high and high school. Helen was second generation Mexican-American, and grew up and lived in a racially diverse city in the Bay Area. Irene Brown, the first Bridge English teacher, was a Chicana who grew up in in a racially diverse city in the Bay Area. She had already taught for several years when she started teaching in Cedarville so that her son, Pedro, could attend a Spanish-English dual immersion elementary school. Shirley Chen, the second Bridge English teacher, was Chinese, and grew up in an upper middle class, largely Asian suburb in the South Bay. Dra. Alicia Solis, the Chicano Studies teacher, was a long-time educator who had taught bilingual elementary classes, led trainings, worked with pre-service teachers, wrote articles for practitioner publications, and taught classes at a Cal State University in the Bay Area. She taught at Cedarville High School for the first time in fall 2018 after being asked to do so by the local community college through which the course was offered. Finally, Kevin Miller was a white English teacher that had taught many of the AP and accelerated classes at Cedarville High for nearly two decades. He grew up in a white, middle class suburb on the East Coast, and was active in left-leaning local politics in a Bay Area suburb where he lived, approximately 40 minutes away from Cedarville. Kevin explained to me that he decided to teach in Cedarville because they paid better than the districts closer to his residence.

## Methods of Sense-Making

I wrote analytical memos throughout the research process, connecting specific research questions to the data that I assembled, commenting on emerging themes and findings, and discussing the possible implications of specific interactions to facilitate a reflexive approach (Villenas, 1996). Transcription and the written representations of audio-recorded pláticas and interviews included in this dissertation attend to Ochs's (1979) assertion that format is not neutral, but carries particular theoretical orientations and implications. First and second cycle coding of data sources was paired with the writing of additional analytical memos that articulated specific meanings for codes and eventually, themes (Saldaña, 2009) using the qualitative analysis software, Atlas.ti. Further, I reviewed additional data sources, websites' representations of organizations, documents on display at local historical sites, photographs, and classroom materials, for boundaries, patterns, and discontinuities in participant structures and activities that drew attention to the relations and logics youth are socialized into via schooling and local history practices and discourses. This work is not about attempting to get scientific, "neutral" conclusions, but rather evinces a social reading, a way to connect experiences to a broader socio-historical context. This dissertation brings research approaches into conversation with possibilities for social change. It challenges existing paradigms of success through its examination of how schooling categories and sorting mechanisms affect people's desires for dignified lives. In all, *Emplacing White Possessive Logics* highlights the complexities, complicities, desires, and dislocations wrought by settler colonialism and white supremacy in a specific place of schooling.

## Chapter Three

I mean, you go to the [general] English classes and there's all brown kids and boys. [...] And you just get angry. And then you go on the flip side, right, to the AP or honors and it wasn't that match. It was just very blatant, and then I thought, 'How can we be okay with this [laughter]? This is not okay. Why is this okay?' I mean, talking about institutional racism. The sad thing though is I'm not sure—I mean, Bridge's definitely helped. There's no doubt about it, but you still see it.

~Marta Arroyo, Bridge Program Counselor

I think it has to do with the way we were taught. I think it has to do with our model of education in this country which it has historically a sort of very authoritarian structure. And if we are people who go along with the status quo, that's what we think teaching should be. If we are people who have been exposed to ideas around social justice, we realize that the model is not working for all students and we look at a different approach. [...] And they were probably a good student or they had this notion of what a good student is and does, and a good student complies: 'A good student is quiet, and sits there, and takes his or her notes, and listens to my lecture.' That's how half of our teachers are still teaching. And that works for some kids, but not for a large majority of—especially our demographics here. And so I think a lot of it too is maybe the disconnect with the community. When you don't know the population you're serving, how can you really—how do you connect to them? How do you have empathy for them? When I started teaching Bridge, my nephew was going to be in my class. His friends were in my class. I was very close to that class. There were kids I had who had been at my house growing up. They were like my family. And I wish I could get teachers to see kids like that [...] But I feel a lot of people just come here from wherever. They come, and it's a job, and they leave.

~Araceli Fernández, Bridge English Teacher

## EmPlacing White Possessive Logics: Controlling Educational Resources in Cedarville

### Introduction

I am writing this chapter from the perspective of an educator-scholar who spent eight years in California high schools teaching English. I write it to honor the ways that we labor and do the best with what resources we have and can procure, the training and education that we have and are fortunate to get once we have started teaching. I also write this to honor the work of educators whose work in schools and communities mitigate the racial and linguistic hierarchies inherent in U.S. schooling. At the same time, possession of Land in what is currently referred to as the United States as both strategy and goal within visions of liberation for racialized peoples, for the most part, remains common sense. I name these identities in order to examine how ways of thinking about possession of Land, who owns and controls it, are related to and embedded within control of college-going pathways for Latinx youth in Cedarville. While their relation may seem unclear, the purpose of this chapter is to explain how white residents and decision-makers maintained control of who received the greatest benefits from city's central educational institution, its single comprehensive high school, Cedarville High, specifically during the decade and a half leading up to this study. That is, who had access to its college-going pathways and who did not, who would have the economic and political resources to possess and control Land in the future and who would not. I relay this history from the perspective of four educators who worked to counter the racial and linguistic hierarchies reproduced there just before, 2006-08, and during the eleven-year period that the Bridge Program has existed at Cedarville High School, from 2008-09 to 2018-19.

As I have described, the population of the San Francisco Bay Area city of Cedarville changed dramatically in the decades leading up to this study. From its time of incorporation as a city in the mid-1950s to 1970, Cedarville's demographics shifted only slightly, from 98% white in 1950 to 95% in 1970 (MTC-ABAG Library, n.d.). But, in the 1980s-2000s, the white population lost its numerical majority as the population of the city shifted to 73% people of color by 2010, mirroring the shifts in California as a whole. Its single comprehensive high school, Cedarville High, reflected these demographics with 52.2% Latinx students during the 2017-18 school year (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.; Cedarville Unified School District, 2018). This chapter considers one way in which, despite and also in reaction to these demographic shifts, the city of Cedarville remained a possession of its remaining white residents at the time of the writing of this dissertation in 2019.

Specifically, this chapter examines how “white possessive logics” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) (discussed in detail in Chapter 1) were “operationalized” within the “commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions” (p. xii) that defined the college-going pathways for Latinx youth at Cedarville High School. I describe how Latinx youth were initially excluded from and marginalized within college-going pathways, and how later, the educational resources available to them were appropriated by white and other already educated families within the district. I consider how, over the course of thirteen years, from 2006-07 to 2018-19, white possessive logics, as a “mode of rationalization,” continued to produce a “more or less inevitable answer,” that of the white settler state’s “ownership, control, and dominion” of Cedarville and its resources (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii).<sup>33</sup> It considers how, as the Latino Cedarville Unified School District superintendent named, a “white elite minority” worked to maintain dominance, or, white settler possession, through the use of what I describe as *classificatory technologies of control* at Cedarville High School in order to do so. This white elite minority responded to the changing population of Cedarville and the emergence of the Bridge Program by operating in new and responsive ways to continue to discipline, or socialize, Latinx youth either out of college-going pathways or into an appropriate subordinate settler status once the numerical power of a white population was lost. While such technologies of control operated throughout the entire school, I look specifically at how this occurred in the context of the English Department, which was the department most directly affected by the emergence of the Bridge Program in Fall 2008.

In this chapter, I draw upon interview data with four current and former English teachers and the Bridge Program counselor in order to emplace white possessive logics within the college-going pathways delimited by the English Department in addition to school and district administration. First, through drawing on Linda Smith’s (1999) description of the relationship between the distribution of knowledges to control over racialized bodies, I describe the ways that what I term classificatory technologies of control have been theorized as embedded within Western schooling systems. I suggest that these technologies of control are steeped in white possessive logics, put into practice in order to maintain possession of educational resources which provide access to control of the nation-state, locally and broadly. Next, I describe the specific classificatory technologies of control employed at Cedarville High School to delimit access to college-going pathways in this context : 1) exclusion, including ranking and partitioning; 2) assimilative inclusion, including the creation of functional sites of curricula, grading, and discipline; and 3) accommodative inclusion, including

---

<sup>33</sup> See Tuck and Gorlewski (2016) and Goodyear-Ka’ōpua (2013) for analysis of the settler logics of edTPA and NCLB.

marginalization, tenuousness, and denial; and 4) appropriation, including dilution and recognition. Lastly, I explain the last three technologies of control—appropriation, dilution, and recognition, as means to usurp the Bridge Program for already privileged youth. To do so, I draw upon the work of Jodi Melamed (2011), who names the appropriation of anti-racist practices by the state as “official anti-racisms.” Melamed describes official anti-racisms as a means to control and limit the efficacy of anti-racist thought and action. By examining how college-going pathways were controlled and managed at Cedarville High School, I demonstrate how the decision-making regarding these educational resources was always made in order to produce an inevitable answer: white possession.

### **Classificatory Technologies of Control**

In this section, I examine how what I describe as classificatory technologies of control are used to maintain valuable educational resources in the hands of the white elite minority of Cedarville, processes that reinscribe white settler dominion over Muwekma Ohlone Land. In doing so, I consider how success and failure are produced via schooling, and, more specifically, how the relations embedded within these classifications (re)inscribe a white supremacist settler society. Technologies of control may be formalized by law, policies, and practice, or they may operate discursively. In her discussion of the “microtechniques of dispossession,” Paige Raibmon (2008) traces policies that created the means of settler land accumulation, as well as how the practices that stem from, bend, and violate place-making policies, work in tandem to ensure settler possession. Glenn (2015) describes how white Americans sought to racialized peoples in the U.S.: “As undesirable exogenous others, Mexicans have been subjected to control by four main technologies: (a) containment (separation and segregation), (b) erasure (cultural assimilation), (c) terrorism (violence, lynching), and (d) removal (expulsion, deportation)” (p. 62). In the realm of education, Leonardo’s (2009) examination of *No Child Left Behind* as “an act of whiteness” illustrates how laws and policies “[create] U.S. nationhood through the educational construction of whiteness” (pp. 127, 128). Further, Hervé Varenne and Ray McDermott (1999) assert that not only are the measurements of success and failure inherent to American schooling, but rather, the function of American schooling is to produce success and failure in order to reproduce these systems. These scholarly works demonstrate the various ways that classification and systems of control are employed in order to (re)produce both racial hierarchies and control over Indigenous Land.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explains how the power and dominion gained from controlling knowledge through Western research’s classificatory processes are intertwined with the power and dominion advanced through the disciplining of bodies

(1999, pp. 68-69). Smith discusses the effects of such classification in schools, describing them as enclosures that serve to both distribute discipline to those on the inside, as well as separate through exclusion those who would remain on the outside. Partitioning facilitates supervision and the identification and classification of individuals according to fitness for particular roles and distinctions (1999, p. 68). For example, at the curriculum level, classification functioned “as a mechanism for selecting out ‘native’ children and girls for domestic and manual work. It works also at the assessment level, with the normative tests designed around the language and cultural capital of the white middle classes” (1999, p. 68).

Smith builds on Michel Foucault’s (1977) conception of discipline, or “formulas of domination,” to establish the connection between the classification of knowledge to the disciplining of bodies. Foucault locates these disciplinary techniques in secondary, primary, and technical schools, as well as hospitals and military organizations (1977, pp. 137-138). He suggests that this “‘political anatomy’” produces “‘docile’ bodies” to be increasingly useful and decreasingly rebellious (1977, p. 138). The usefulness of such bodies comes from, as Smith asserts, not just the control of bodies, but the control and careful distribution of particular knowledges within particular spaces. It must be emphasized that the “distribution of individuals in space” (Foucault, 1977, p. 141) enables relations of domination specifically because of the knowledges allowed or disallowed within those spaces. Adding to Foucault’s distribution techniques of “enclosure,” “partitioning,” the creation of “functional sites,” and classification by “rank” (1977, pp. 141, 143, 145), Smith explains that discipline is implemented through “exclusion, marginalization and denial” (1999, p. 68). Through this study, I have identified additional technologies of control: assimilative inclusion, accommodative inclusion, tenuousness, appropriation, dilution, and recognition. I draw upon the work of Valenzuela (1999) and Melamed (2011) to describe assimilative inclusion, accommodative inclusion, and appropriation, and Coulthard (2014) to describe recognition in the sections that follow.

The classificatory technologies of control in Cedarville take a number of forms, as particular contexts require varied means of separating and grouping for the maintenance of social hierarchies and their resulting benefits for white settlers. At Cedarville High School, these distribution techniques exist both structurally and discursively; their hegemonic utility is in functioning more or less repressively depending upon specific social contexts (Althusser, 1972). Such classificatory technologies act as the “common sense” (Gramsci, 1971) of schooling in white settler societies, as they both mirror, reproduce, and respond to existing hierarchies and shifts in the ways that counter-hegemonic forces define and fight against them. These technologies of control function as both literal and metaphorical spatial and place-



based disciplining of bodies and socialization into particular knowledges and logics, ways of knowing, and ways of being in relation.

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I told a personal narrative to describe the ways that class rankings, a specific type of classificatory technology of control used by white settler schooling systems, defined access to future educational, social, and economic resources for myself and my classmates. Importantly, classification by rank “distributes” bodies within a “network of relations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 146). Bridge English teacher Araceli Fernández, who served as a Bridge English teacher, an EL teacher, and the English department chair during the 2018-19 school year, also experienced class rankings as a secondary student in a way that illustrates how rankings naturalize hierarchy, but more centrally, how the intent of white possessive logics is to always produce a “more or less inevitable answer” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii). Araceli, who was a graduate of Cedarville High School and identified as Mexican-American/Latina, told me about her own experiences as a student at Cedarville High School during a Bridge Program field trip to Sonoma State University that I helped chaperone in October of 2018. Araceli explained how she was part of a college preparation program for Latinx youth similar to Bridge at Cedarville High School when she was a student there in the early 2000s.<sup>34</sup> When other students from the school were receiving their top 9% University of California admission letters,<sup>35</sup> Araceli, who’d had a 4.3 GPA, had asked, “Where’s mine? Why are none of the Latino students getting their letters?” She eventually learned that because the English classes for the program had not been A-G approved, an entire graduating class of college-bound Latinx youth were faced with attending community college before transferring to a UC although many had the GPA’s required for direct admission to the UC system. The school and district took the stance of, “Oh well, too late.” They said, “You’ll be okay, you can go to community college.” Araceli’s parents asserted, “She didn’t work so hard to do that.” Parents rallied to get the UC to accept them. Araceli explained, “It was mostly my parents, they called the UC every day until they agreed to extend offers of admission to us.” Araceli graduated from one of the top-ranked UC campuses, and in her career as an educator, also actively sought out ongoing professional development, attended the Bay Area-based Teachers for Social Justice conference each year, and was acknowledged by a number of local organizations for her excellence and dedication to teaching. Araceli’s experience illustrates the ways classificatory techniques of control are employed to the degree that they are useful for “reproducing and reaffirming the

---

<sup>34</sup> As noted in Chapter 2, this program ended when the educator running it left the school.

<sup>35</sup> The University of California offers admission to youth who are California residents in the top 9% of their graduating class at participating California high schools via the Eligibility in the Local Context guidelines (Regents of the University of California, n.d.).

nation-state's ownership, control, and domination" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii), but revoked and/or changed as various context necessitate.

The table below shows the classificatory technologies of control that were employed to produce the inevitable answer of white settler possession in relation to control over the college-going pathways at Cedarville High School for Latinx youth from 2006-2019. Ranking, described above and in Chapter 2, is not further discussed below. Also, note that "assimilative inclusion" and "accommodative inclusion" were strategies employed by school administration and Bridge Program educators in order to expand access for Latinx and other youth historically excluded from college-going pathways. The complexity of these approaches and the ways that alternative technologies of control were implemented are detailed in the sections in which they are described.

Classificatory Technologies of Control	Programmatic Strategies	Tactics
	Exclusion	Ranking Partitioning
	<i>Assimilative Inclusion</i>	Creation of Functional Sites: Curricula Grading Discipline
	<i>Accommodative Inclusion</i>	Marginalization Tenuousness Denial
	Appropriation	Dilution Recognition

In the following sections, I draw upon interview data with current and former educators at Cedarville High School to describe how these classificatory technologies of control were used to maintain possession of what is arguably the district's most valuable educational resource, pathways to college admission at four-year institutions, in the hands of Cedarville's white elite minority.

## Exclusion

Cedarville High School underwent several changes in its English Department and associated college-going pathways from the 2006-07 school year to the start of the Bridge Program there in 2008-09.<sup>36</sup> During the 2006-07 school year, Cedarville High had three tracks for freshman and sophomore English classes: general, college prep, and accelerated. While the college prep and accelerated English classes counted towards the University of California and California State University systems' A-G<sup>37</sup> requirements, the general track English classes did not. What this means in terms of college admission is that any student who took even just one semester of general track English during their high school career was automatically disqualified for admission to four-year colleges directly out of high school. While some other high schools and districts in California, including San José Unified, also in the San Francisco Bay Area, had already aligned their graduation requirements with the A-G requirements by 2000 (Ali & Jenkins, 2002), the persistence of this general track in Cedarville and the ensuing responses to the emergence of the Bridge Program as a college-going pathway for Latinx youth point to both persistent and evolving practices at the high school and within the district at large that reinforced the supremacy of a numerically declining white elite within the city.

**Partitioning.** The presence of three tracks for English classes at Cedarville High School served as a form of exclusion from college-going pathways for Latinx youth at the school, primarily boys, that naturalized already-existing social conditions, notions of "badness," and merit (Davila Jr, 2019; Akom, 2004). Further, the presence of the three tracks served to *partition* youth into three levels in which fitness for future academic attainment and vocational trajectories were made (in addition to the exclusions of youth in ELD and special education classes from college-going pathways). This classificatory technology of control was primarily structural, built into the offerings of English classes, naturalizing racial hierarchy through the automatic placement of racialized youth in lower tracks, both at Cedarville High School and as a common educational practice (Oakes, 1985). While other departments at the school had similarly exclusionary course offerings, it is important to reiterate that it only took one semester of an English class that was non-A-G approved to disqualify a student from college admission directly following high school, as the English A-G requirements span one's

---

<sup>36</sup> This history was relayed to me in my interviews/pláticas with current and former Bridge English teachers.

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix C for a chart detailing the A-G Requirements and the ways that the course offerings and graduation requirements at Cedarville High School during this period created excluded large numbers of youth at the school from college-going pathways by the time they finished their first semester of English freshman year.

entire high school career. For the English requirement, students must take eight semesters, or the entirety of their four years of high school, of A-G approved English classes to qualify for college admission directly out of high school.

Shirley Chen worked at Cedarville High School in the English Department from 2004 to 2017, starting as the Bridge Program's second English teacher in 2009-10. Shirley immigrated to the U.S. with her family, and attended high school in a largely Asian suburb in Silicon Valley. She attended a private research university in New York for her undergraduate studies and self-identified racially/ethnically as Chinese. Shirley actively sought out professional development from a number of national and local, well-reputed organizations and was recognized by various educational organizations for her excellence in teaching. In her last few years at Cedarville High School she returned to school and earned an administrative credential from a large, public research institution in the San Francisco Bay Area. At the time of my interview with her, she was working as an assistant principal at a different high school in the Bay Area. Shirley described the racial segregation that occurred via the three English tracks:

If they are Black and Latino, especially boys, I see them more in the general or the CP [college prep] classes, and then the Asian and white students are in the advanced English classes. And then the way teachers talk about them would be different than the expectations too, 'Oh, those students and their families don't care,' or 'Their families would take them to Mexico on vacation when it's school time,' in the deficit way, almost making assumptions that education is not valued, especially for our brown and Black students. But more brown students, especially students if their families didn't speak English. (6:23)

Importantly, Shirley connected the physical control of bodies via partitioning into these tracks to discursive categorizations of deficit in terms of familial value of education, especially as related to existing linguistic hierarchies. When I asked her further about these tracks, Shirley described how criteria for designation into the three tracks was not clearly delineated, though there was an underlying understanding that the general track was meant for segregating youth who were classified as behavior problems:

So when I first started there were three tracks in English. There's the general track which wouldn't meet the A-G requirements, and then there is the CP track, and then there's the accelerated track. I never really understood what criteria people used to place the students in those tracks. [...] The tracks existed starting ninth grade all the way to twelve. I only knew that after ninth grade it's really just teacher recommendation. So each year on the course registration sheet, English teachers would write down what they recommend for the students to move up

to, whether it's general, CP, or accelerated, and again we were not given any directions in terms of what to use to make those determinations. A lot of times it is the students who, they were not behaving well, that would be then staying in the general track or moved into the general track. (7:52)

Shirley's description suggests that the decisions about how youth were partitioned were made through teachers' reliance on indirectly spoken racial and linguistic categories, indexed through racialized discourses about "behavior" and "caring about school."

Marta Arroyo, the Bridge Program counselor and one of the two educators who started the Bridge Program at Cedarville High School in the 2008-09 school year, began working in Cedarville Unified as a social studies teacher at the junior high school in 1999-00. In 2002-03, she moved to the high school, and started as a counselor there. She grew up in a small farming town in California's Central Valley, and was the first in her family to graduate from college, attending one of the Ivy League institutions. Marta self-identified racially/ethnically as Chicana, and had lived in Cedarville for over 15 years. She described the ways that Latinx boys in particular were tracked away from college via the general English track:

And I was just so tired of seeing boys, brown boys, failing, and this is when we had English 1 General, the general classes. [...] I just got so tired and I really listened and categorized the conversations I would have with students, and it was like every other Latino boy would say, 'I want to be a mechanic.' And I'm like, 'There's got to be more than just a mechanic.' [...] My dad's a mechanic so I don't want to be dismissive of that. [...] But it was consistent. It was a lot. And I was like, 'Ugh. Things have got to change. These kids can't—why is it that they all want to be mechanics?' [...] And I mean, we've always had the ROP [Regional Occupational Programs], the auto body shops, but I was just like, 'This is beyond frustrating.' I mean, you go to the [general] English classes and there's all brown kids and boys. [...] And you just get angry. And then you go on the flip side, right, to the AP or honors and it wasn't that match. It was just very blatant, and then I thought, 'How can we be okay with this [laughter]? This is not okay. Why is this okay?' I mean, talking about institutional racism. The sad thing though is I'm not sure—I mean, Bridge's definitely helped. There's no doubt about it, but you still see it. (2:59)

Marta's observations of the mapping of partitioning onto race and "suitable" career trajectories over time at Cedarville High School reinforces her explicit naming of the "institutional racism" enacted there. As a counselor, Marta spent a great deal of time

guiding hundreds of youth each school year in determining which classes they would take; during the 2018-19 school year, her case load was 600 students. Importantly, her role gave her a view of how students were tracked into and away from college-going pathways school-wide. In her role as counselor, she went to the single junior high school that fed into Cedarville High School and recruited students for the incoming freshman Bridge Program English class each year, where she also saw racial classifications shaping the partitioning of the English tracks leading into the high school:

And I go to the junior high and I [...] make the presentation in the accelerated or advanced [...] ELA, advanced language arts classes there, and they definitely don't represent the school. Yeah. You see a lot more Asian, Indian,<sup>38</sup> white kids, and a token, five, maybe Latino kids, Filipino maybe a couple. (37:50)

As Marta pointed out, the classificatory technology of exclusion from the college-going pathway, the accelerated English classes, also existed at the junior high level, excluding youth from groups historically dispossessed of educational resources: Latinx and Filipino students, who were minimally represented, and Black and Native American students, who Marta did not note as even minimally represented.

This control of educational resources via exclusion from A-G approved English classes lasted until the end of the 2006-07 school year. Shirley explained how she tried to build support for the elimination of the general track, but was faced with a department chair, known for his curricular preference for literary classics, evaded hers and another teacher's efforts. She described how a change of leadership at Cedarville High School, a new administrative team, made the change seemingly out of the blue:

So when I started teaching I was bringing up a lot of questions to the department chair like, 'How do we know that the general track was successfully supporting our students?' And his answer was, 'You can look at the data yourself,' and another teacher at the time, Lillian and I, we kept on just talking to other teachers because we knew the department chair was a dead end, that he wasn't going to do anything, and just asking teachers about the general track and whether or not we really need to have that. But not having a principal for a long time, that didn't help because we didn't—I mean, the conversation would just stop at the department level and a lot of the veteran teachers—I don't know if it was out of fear that they didn't know how to manage students or just—I don't know. I don't know what reason, but it seemed to me that there was a lot

---

<sup>38</sup> From India.

of hesitation among the veteran teachers to even think about getting rid of general track. It wasn't until [Principal] George Lovato, when he came on board with [Assistant Principal] Caroline Lewis—I think Caroline was pushing for the general track to not be there anymore. And I just remember one day at the end of the school year I was making some copies and [...] George Lovato walked right by me and he was like, 'How would you feel about the general track not being there next year?' I'm like, 'Yeah, that would be great.' And then it just wasn't there next year. So I'm sure there's some behind the scenes talk that happened before he dropped that line by the copier. (11:12)

Though Shirley and Lillian, another English teacher, worked to build support for the termination of the general English track, it wasn't until a new administration decided to eliminate it, likely as it became a less acceptable educational practice statewide. This classificatory technology of control, a structural exclusion from college-going pathways, relied on offering a track of English classes that automatically disqualified youth from attending UC's and CSU's directly after high school. Within this phase of controlling college-going pathways, the tactic of partitioning was also employed. Partitioning functioned both structurally and discursively, as racial and linguistic hierarchies were re-mapped through assignment to particular tracks, and as youth were discussed as belonging within these tracks through language indexing these same hierarchies.

### Assimilative Inclusion

With the end of the general track, the control of educational resources at Cedarville High School took different forms, or in some cases, already-existing forms began to take more prominence. In the 2007-08 school year, students not in an ELD (English Language Development) or special education English class were divided between two tracks, College Prep (CP) and the Accelerated/Honors/AP track,<sup>39</sup> both of which were A-G approved, and therefore, the majority of students at the school would not be automatically ineligible to apply to the UC and CSU systems directly out of high school based on their English class placement. However, both tracks served assimilatory purposes as they socialized youth into white, middle class knowledge and values via curriculum, marking the programmatic strategy for control of college-going pathways as an *assimilative inclusion*. As Valenzuela (1999) describes, these two tracks engaged subtractive schooling practices in relation to Latinx and other historically educationally mis-served youth. While racialized youth could partake in the stated

---

<sup>39</sup> Accelerated English for 9th and 10th grades, Honors English for 11th grade, and AP Literature for 12th grade. AP Language & Composition wasn't offered at CHS until 2010-11, due to the former English Department chair's insistence that literature was to be the primary focus of all English classes.

expectations within these pathways, doing so required suppressing and discounting their already-present knowledges, experiences, and worldviews. Further, youth were also isolated from college-going pathways through control exerted via disciplinary and grading practices. Within each track, functional sites were created in these three areas, curricula, grading, and discipline, in order to control the district's college-going pathways. These functional sites were engaged as "useful space[s]" (Foucault, 1977, p. 144), carried out to simultaneously classify youth into additional rankings, for example, "A" students vs. "C" students, and exclusion through "earned" designations based on discipline issues and grades. Importantly, while other programmatic strategies are described below, assimilative inclusion remained the predominant pathway, as the alternative offered was only available to a small percentage of the school's students, illustrating how classificatory technologies of control can be engaged simultaneously, and often overlap.

**Functional site: curricula.** The first and all-encompassing functional site was that of *curricula*. In this case, curricula included the specificities of reading lists, as well as the "hidden curriculum" of epistemologies embedded within classroom pedagogical practices (Giroux & Purpel, 1983). Shirley explained how English teachers at Cedarville High shaped their classes as places of socialization into white, middle class values. She highlighted the incongruence between how teachers viewed this socializing force as necessary and important, while for racialized youth, when teachers centered such values, it pushed them towards disengagement:

I think there's a lot of—I don't know if just inherently that a lot of English teachers feel protective of the middle class cultures and this need to prepare—quote-unquote—prepare students for what they consider common cultural knowledge that students should graduate with. And then because of that—and, of course, the common cultural knowledge is always the white, middle class knowledge. And then from there then it's always the canonical works of literature that students need to read and appreciate, that a lot of students of color including myself—I remember hating, Holden Caulfield. Just thought he was a prick. I hated that book, but because that's considered a canon, that's a book that you have to read and those works of literature already created a lot of distance and resentment. And our students, who don't see themselves in the classroom, but because teachers think that they're doing students a service and because teachers maybe enjoyed those works when they were going through their literature major or when they were in high school, that it became this personal thing that they took offense to and that they have to comfort our students into loving [laughter] these works; that there's always a lot of conflict between the teachers trying to, from their mind, instill this love of literature in



the students who, in teachers' minds, are refusing to love these works that the students don't connect to. And then the teachers are left wondering why students are not writing essays and are copying from different online sources and are not reading [laughter] the assigned pages that they have to read. (14:39)

English teachers' preoccupation with "preparation" for the "common cultural knowledge" that Shirley described illustrates the ways that white possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) were mapped onto subject matter and considered as markers of "competence" in college-going pathways. Shirley points out how teachers were "protective" of white, middle class culture and knowledge, emphasizing how connections that they personally felt with canonical literature such as Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* were "universalized" (Grosfoguel, 2013) and then expected of their students whose own critiques of adult life often encompassed very different concerns. The unacknowledged universalization of white, middle class knowledge functioned as a "mode of rationalization" that (re)produces the "commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii) that serve to reify the white, settler nation-state.

**Functional site: grading.** The second functional site created was that of grading. While grading is theoretically meant to assess students' acquisition of skills and subject matter knowledge, in this case, grading was used as another point of control. Specifically, grades were used to punish youth whose behavior did not satisfy their teachers' expectations, a functional site that served to socialize youth into very specific visions of what good students should be. Bridge English teacher Araceli described how, in her role as English Department chair, she saw how some teachers used grading to teach youth a lesson, acting punitively in attempt to get them to adhere to how they believed youth should act. She described one such instance below, in which a teacher refused to give a student the grade they had earned for their course work, and instead tried to punish them for being tardy by giving them a failing grade for the class:

If the kid has earned work-wise and skill-wise a grade of an A or B and then they're failing the course, and not getting their credits, and not getting their A-G status, having to take APEX because of attendance,<sup>40</sup> what is the purpose of that? It's not about knowledge; it's about teaching the kid a lesson. Teaching them not to be tardy. And that's important, but is that really something that is so important that a kid needs to now be behind as a student. And that's not the only instance of that. And that's not the only teacher who does things like that.

---

<sup>40</sup> APEX is a credit-recovery program that many students at Cedarville High School make use of in order to graduate.

[...] thus far the policy on that has been basically, 'It's up to teacher discretion,' right. And so when anytime it's up to teacher discretion, I think you really get into issues with equity because a teacher can choose, 'Okay, well, this kid I like a little bit better so I'm going to give him a chance. Whereas this kid, for whatever reason, he rubs me the wrong way so I'm going to fail him,' where they may have similar tardy issues. (4:28)

In this excerpt, Araceli described a huge discrepancy between a student's grade according to their "work" and "skills" in contrast to a failing grade issued by the teacher because they wanted to teach the student a lesson about being tardy. As the department chair, Araceli saw how multiple teachers engaged in such practices, and pointed to the subjective nature of their use of grading to punish youth in this way. Despite youth completing classwork and homework and demonstrating their skill level on assessments, their grades were still subject to "teacher discretion," demonstrating the "inevitable answer" of the state always ultimately being in control (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii). When she pointed out how such decisions are left up to teacher discretion, Araceli framed this practice as an equity issue. I asked Araceli why she thought some people teach like this. She responded,

I think it has to do with the way we were taught. I think it has to do with our model of education in this country which it has historically a sort of very authoritarian structure. And if we are people who go along with the status quo, that's what we think teaching should be. If we are people who have been exposed to ideas around social justice, we realize that the model is not working for all students and we look at a different approach. [...] And they were probably a good student or they had this notion of what a good student is and does, and a good student complies: 'A good student is quiet, and sits there, and takes his or her notes, and listens to my lecture.' That's how half of our teachers are still teaching. (8:40)

Araceli pointed out the drive towards conformity and assimilation in her description as she named the expectation for students to be "compliant" and "quiet" in the classroom, a passive, unquestioning receptacle for what the teacher deemed as valuable knowledge, just as Shirley pointed out above, and just as Paulo Freire (1970) has described as an educational model for maintaining an oppressed class of people. Araceli also described the "authoritarian structure" of public education in the U.S., which, as an extension of the nation-state, points to the ways that partial assimilation to white, settler expectations is never enough, and as the functional site of grading

indicates, receiving the benefits of compliance is not guaranteed, but rather always under discretion.

**Functional site: discipline.** The third functional site created was that of discipline, both more formally recognized disciplinary practices in classroom management plans as well as the ways that behavior was interpreted and framed as “misbehavior,” not unlike Charles Goodwin’s (1994) description of the “professional vision” used to acquit police in one of the first and most broadly recognized instances of a video recording of police brutality. Racialized and socioeconomic-based partitioning continued within the new configuration of tracks, and whilst students deemed to be disciplinary problems had previously been relegated to the general track, the college prep track began to serve as a new functional site for discipline. Jeremy Johnson, one of the two Bridge English teachers during the 2018-2019 school year, grew up and attended high school in a San Francisco Bay Area city close to Cedarville, and attended a California State University nearby; Jeremy also sought out ongoing professional development and regularly looked for ways to improve his instruction. Jeremy identified as white and explained that he lived in Cedarville, describing how living in the same city as his students was an important way of relating to them and building relationships. He discussed his own approach to discipline as opposed to some teachers who “wanted to get kids in trouble.” He said that he wasn’t interested in that type of relationship with his students, explaining that it didn’t build trust and was counterproductive for learning and community building. Instead, he had learned to talk with them about what was behind their “misbehavior”:

And a lot of times, when I have those talks with students, they'll tell me, 'Oh, something's going on.' And usually there's an underlying reason for stuff, for things, why they're acting up in class. Or sometimes I just like to give students the opportunity to just own it and just, 'Oh, yeah. I'm sorry, Mr. Johnson.' I mean, students have told me some teachers will just call home to just try to get them in trouble. Because they know if they call home, that kid's going to get in trouble. And there's a number of teachers who want to send kids to the office and want to see them get in trouble because they feel like students shouldn't act that way rather than trying to build the relationship or rather than try to guide them or teach them or work with the students on how they're supposed to behave. And I was more like that when I first started because I was a new teacher, and I just was running around not knowing what to do. But then over time—I think it just kind of developed over time. And I also had a lot of experience. I've done Saturday school. I've done summer school. And I've just had more experience working with students who generally struggle in school, and so from what I learned, it's just building good relationships with those

students goes a lot farther than trying to get them in trouble [laughter].  
Shocking, I know. (46:15)

Here, Jeremy repeatedly described the idea that teachers actively try to get kids “in trouble,” and described his own complicity with such practices early in his career, as that was the standard approach. What both Araceli and Jeremy described is what is framed as typical in lessons about classroom management: teachers are taught that they need to maintain control of their classrooms, and do so in ways from the standpoint of a state needing to control disruptive, disorderly bodies. Youth’s smallest (re)actions, are perceived as signaling obedience or disrespect, and in need of discipline given by the teacher or the state. Anne Ferguson (2001) describes the treatment of 11- and 12-year-old Black boys once they were marked as “unsalvageable” by their teachers, and Goodwin (1994) describes the “socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular social group” (p. 606) employed by the state in the acquittal of the police who beat Mr. Rodney King. Araceli pointed out an important aspect of this disciplining at Cedarville High School, that the rules in the classroom are always at the teacher’s discretion. She described how everyone needed their own autonomy or control, which hails back to narratives of the autonomy of the city of Cedarville in its incorporation as a city separate from other cities that it borders (“City of Cedarville History,” 2019). Each teacher becomes a disciplinarian, ruler of their own space, the determiner of what is acceptable and what is disruptive. It is no wonder that in the Chicano Studies class, when the youth engaged in the Step Forward, Step Back activity that helps participants understand how racial and socioeconomic privilege builds to create very staggered starting points in the “race” of life, all of the students stepped backwards when asked if they liked their school.

### **Accommodative Inclusion**

While assimilative inclusion remained the primary structure of college-going pathways at Cedarville High School through the writing of this dissertation, in Fall 2008, an alternative pathway was opened up in the form of *accommodative inclusion*. Whereas the force of assimilative inclusion is to ensure that youth who are successful have demonstrated acceptable compliance with dominant ways of being, accommodative inclusion makes room for racialized peoples within larger structures, providing more suitable, or relevant, pathways. However, it does so without inconveniencing or changing the structure as a whole (Melamed, 2011). In 2008-09, Marta and Irene, a Chicana English teacher who worked at Cedarville High in the late 2000s, started the Bridge Program in its present form at Cedarville High School. With

the introduction of the program, an alternative college-going pathway was created for Latinx and other first generation college-going youth. Shirley described how the program served as a contrast to the general track, which had ended just a year prior to the program's start, as well as how it served as an intervention to the way that classifications associated with college and career pathways were thought about at the school:

I think the higher expectations for especially our Latino students, the belief that they can go to higher education and the encouragement for them to—explicit encouragement to go to higher education that wasn't there before. Especially with the general track, I feel like the belief before Bridge, especially when we had the general track, was that brown and Black students really should be more career-focused and the career, meaning more blue collar jobs, that don't require a college degree. I think that was really the design behind the general track; that they don't need to be thinking about college and that it wouldn't do them any favor by encouraging them to, so then we place them in those general tracks. But with Bridge there's more of a belief to provide more services and be more mindful in our impact in terms of our explicit encouragement and our higher expectations and what that does to students. I think that encourages other teachers who maybe already believe that, but they weren't vocal or didn't know how to join in and be a part of the team. I know that a couple of social science teachers especially talked to Marta, our counselor, and they wanted to be a part of the Bridge team from the social science side. So I think it just—it raises the teachers' expectations for students and belief, too, that our students can do it, and it also makes teachers think more about having curriculum that students can connect to, curriculum that empowers students. (20:18)

As Shirley pointed out, control over who was part of a college-going track was deeply connected to ideas about who should have what kinds of jobs in the future. Further, Bridge English classes served as an alternative to other English classes in general, and to the main college-going pathway in particular, the Accelerated/Honors/AP English track. While the program provided support through more focused counseling services, field trips to colleges, and informational meetings, the knowledges and ways that knowledges were framed served a stark contrast, as Shirley described, below:

Being in the Bridge classroom, it honors what the students bring to the table and what the students already know. So that first person narrative is their foundation and their strength that they shine from, that it acknowledges that students already have those strengths and a lot of cultural knowledge. And the

AP or advanced or CP class is the deficit view of, 'Students don't know these things so let's make sure that they know.' And more in the accelerated or AP classes, students are almost pitted against each other. It's very competitive and very individualistic. So I remember having a student who transferred from accelerated into Bridge and he would talk about how in accelerated class people wouldn't talk. There's that fear of being wrong or looking stupid in front of other people whereas in Bridge because of the familia culture that students support each other to rise up and there's less of a fear of—or the thought of being stupid. There's less of that fear, I think. And just the classroom practices are so collaborative anyway that the students are doing so many different things in and out of the classroom that there is less of that competition of, 'I have to outshine you' or 'I have to come up with a smarter answer that makes me look better,' that would be typical of a typical AP or accelerated class. (23:18)

**Marginalization.** However, because the Bridge Program acted on two premises that deeply countered the commonsense knowledge in Cedarville and ability to control who accessed college-going pathways, it faced a number of technologies of control from its inception. Marta explained that from the beginning of the Bridge Program in Cedarville in Fall 2008, many of the other educators at CHS and at the junior high consistently mis-remembered the program as one for ELD students. Rather than being centered with other programs at the school at the time, AVID,<sup>41</sup> a media communications program, and a marine biology program, because it was meant for the school's largely underserved Latinx population, it was assumed to be associated with an educational need framed in the deficit (the lack of fluency in English) rather than an educational goal framed positively (Latinx youth can go to college). The technology of control, *marginalization*, describes how the program was pushed to the edges of college-going pathways, insignificant enough to the goals of the school at large to not even be remembered correctly as such a program. Marta described how as she and Irene started the Cedarville Bridge Program, she viewed it as a way to legitimize her goal for racial justice at the school:

Around that time that I thought, 'Oh, then we can—I can hide—, not hide but do what I wanted to do under the umbrella of Bridge,' right. There's safety in that to say, 'Oh, I'm doing it because of this,' other than it just being my soapbox issue of getting students of color, or at this school mostly Latino students, and finding

---

<sup>41</sup> Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID): another alternative college-going pathway for first-generation college-going youth that focuses on study skills and organization as a means to increase college-going rates. While this program was present at Cedarville High School the year the Bridge Program started, its lack of efficacy and popularity with students led to its termination a few years later.

something that would justify, right, a program. And there was money attached to it at that point from an outside funding agency. But also having the support of [the principal] to know, 'Okay. Well, if we have his support, then what could go wrong [laughter]?' Right? What could be so bad? (3:23)

**Tenuousness.** Marta's closing words point to the ongoing tenuousness of the program. In the spring of both 2008 and 2009, with statewide budget cuts looming, the Cedarville School Board considered cutting the Bridge Program despite the funding available those early years from an outside funding agency to offset the costs of reducing the counselor's caseload and taking field trips to colleges. Irene and Shirley organized students to speak at school board meetings and attend a district-wide protest against the budget cuts in general. Irene, as the last English teacher hired at the high school, despite having more years teaching experience overall than other teachers in the department, received pink slips three years in a row, and in her last two years, was only offered 80% and 60% employment. Though she received an offer to work full-time at the junior high in her last year, the third year of the program, she worried that if she left so early on, it would hurt the program, so she stayed that year. The instability of her employment and the financial loss and insecurity it caused ultimately caused led her to leave the district.

During the 2017-18 school year, the district again faced the need for budget cuts, and considered eliminating the third counselor at the high school as one of the line items. When I spoke with Marta early in Spring 2018, she was unsure if the program would continue, because her counseling position at the high school was threatened, and if she wasn't there, the program wouldn't function. Though this cut did not occur, as before, the program's tenuousness caused a great deal of stress and concern for the educators who made it happen. During my interviews with Araceli and Marta in the spring of 2019, both discussed how the district continued to underfund the program's counselor position, though at times it provided funding for its other components. Araceli pointed out that Marta's caseload was larger than any other counselor supporting similar programs that she knew of in the area. Marta told me that her caseload was over 600 students in the 2018-19 school year, and pointed to the inconsistency of leadership at Cedarville High School (there were 10 principals over the last 15 years) as one reason she believed no one advocated for the reduced caseload her extensive role in the Bridge Program required. Afterwards, she discussed the inconsistency of funding for the program at the district level, pointing to the fundraising that she and the teachers in the program had to take up when funding wasn't available:

I mean, the good thing is with funding this year we've been very blessed. Someone at the district office, Ed Services, has given us funding. And I even said it. I mean, I'm like, 'Wait, wait. We're going to SoCal. That's like a \$6,000 bus.' And [they said], 'Yeah.' 'Oh, okay. Game on [laughter].' [...] Yeah. So the fundraising piece is not as hectic or demanding. Yeah. That part has been really nice this year. But I don't hold my breath, right because next year is different.

As a whole, the ongoing *tenuousness* of the program's very existence and its educators' ability to sustain themselves both in financial and work load related terms points to the ways that various forms of instability affected the program's efficacy.

In addition to the marginalization of Bridge within Cedarville schools as a program for youth designated as English Learners instead of Latinx college-going youth and the tenuousness of the program financially due to statewide budget cuts and the priorities of the district, youth in the program experienced marginalization when they transitioned out of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade Bridge English classes and into AP English. Shirley described what her students told her about how AP teachers made them feel stupid on the first day of class by talking above them:

I mean, talking over them. So one example I heard was to talk about transcendentalism the first week of school and then just a one-hour lecture that who knows if anyone got from the room, but that immediately made the students feel like they missed out on years of education because they didn't understand the teacher. The student already was questioning like, 'Oh, I'm not going to do well in this class because I already don't understand what the teacher is talking about.' Or the teacher hanging onto, 'If you're not MLA formatted I'm already going to take 10 points off of your paper.' These things that are really not about writing ability or quality of ideas. Just seems to me that the teachers is being difficult for no reason or just not being available to help either when the students need help and not giving feedback with essays being passed back so the students really didn't understand what they needed to work on, and just overall, being unapproachable in their demeanors. I mean, already the students feel fearful to approach them in the first place because they look mad all the time or the way they talk is hard to understand for students because they use big words that are confusing for adults to hear to over complicate things. (35:33)

**Denial.** One of the tactics employed in relation to the Bridge Program was *denial*, a selective consideration of facts or contexts used to cast doubt about the validity and fairness of the program. One of the ways that denial was employed was to



disregard the sociohistorical context that made such a program necessary in order to question whether it was equitable, a tactic often used in regard to affirmative action measures. Denial is a form of erasure. It ignores existing inequity to deny the validity of programs and actions taken to ameliorate it, and redirects calls of “unfairness” onto the intervening measure. Araceli described how the principal who worked at the school for the first part of the 2018-19 school year, a white, former Marine who pushed for the school to bring back saying the Pledge of Allegiance every day during announcements ignored the impact of historic and ongoing inequities on the building of relationships with youth:

When we shifted to working with our last principal who's not here anymore, he was all about relationships. But he also didn't really want to acknowledge culture, or ethnicity I guess. And he would, a few times, refer to—not directly, but it seemed like he was implying, that Bridge was a pet program, and he really wanted to be sure that it wasn't just serving Latino students. It was really weird. [...] I think he was concerned that it was somehow favoring a particular demographic or something, giving an advantage to a demographic over the rest of the school. (12:12)

Similarly, Mr. Miller, one of the school’s AP English teachers, pointed to the idea that having a college-going program geared towards Latinx youth was unfair:

Okay, that's a perception that I have over the Bridge class. I mean, just even in the [curriculum] that is geared toward Latino students, and then, but what happens to the other people who are sort of didn't have parents who didn't go to college? And I think they can get in that class, right? (17:32)

Both of these educators focused on the idea that education should be equal, but in ways that denied long histories of unequal access. Instead of promoting equity, they called for equality in ways that reinforced the status quo, by saying that a program meant to address existing inequities was unfair because it wasn’t for everyone (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Brayboy, Castagno, & Maughan, 2007). Mr. Miller’s critique, that Latinos aren’t the only ones who have parents that haven’t gone to college, is based in a misconception about the program itself, which always served students from various groups at Cedarville High. When truest to its stated goals, these youth were also first generation college-going. While Mr. Miller worked at Cedarville High since before the program started, he still questioned its validity at a school that served more than 50% Latinx youth.

Another denial tactic that was engaged was the accusation that Bridge was not rigorous, which lingered in how other teachers in the English Department spoke about it, according to Shirley and Araceli. When I spoke to Mr. Miller about when Bridge students entered his class after being in Bridge English classes their first two years, his first reaction was to tell me that he didn't believe that Bridge was as rigorous as the accelerated track. He explained that the students from the accelerated track often talked about how much of a workload they had and how busy they were in their ninth and tenth grade accelerated English classes. I pushed back on his assumption that the Bridge classes weren't as rigorous, and pointed out how the discourse of being busy was very much a part of the accelerated track, but that it didn't necessarily point to rigor. After a moment, he mused, "Maybe the Bridge classes are rigorous, because I don't really notice that they're not prepared when it comes to their actual work in my classes."

Finally, one of the premises of the Bridge Program is that students don't have to be what is typically thought of as college-going material to actually go to college. In its interview process, students are evaluated based on a scale that considers past academic performance and current motivation to go to college and be part of the program in order to try and create a heterogeneous grouping of students in terms of these factors, including students who do not have high grades and do not express a strong desire to go to college. Marta described how after finally convincing the educators at the junior high that the program was not an English Language Development program,<sup>42</sup> but actually is rigorous enough to prepare youth for college, they now have the opposite problem, and think that only kids from the accelerated track at the junior high should be recommended for the program (8:39). Embedded within this denial is the idea that college-going can only look a certain way, a denial that has functioned to exclude Latinx youth either way that the program was imagined.

### **Official Antiracisms: The Usurpation of Anti-Racist Thought & Projects**

Ongoing pressures and political battles stemming from accusations of bias or favoring minority groups pervade the very foundations of programs such as Bridge (HoSang, 2010, pp. 201–242; Lipsitz, 1998, pp. 225–235). It was from the passing of Proposition 209 that such programs became the central vehicle for racialized youth, Latinx in particular as a target population due to population trends, to reach four-year institutions. On the institutional side, such programs were a way to maintain the desired

---

<sup>42</sup> Importantly, designation as an English Language Learner should not signal to educators that youth are incapable of college-going, though it often does, as English-centric language ideologies and their indexing of whiteness often associate English proficiency with intelligence (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Leonardo & Broderick, 2011).

diversity that had existed pre-Proposition 209 (Gándara, 2005). For example, the statewide Puente Project similar to the Bridge Program in design was funded by the University of California and had offices housed at UC Berkeley at the time of this project. Within this social context, although the Puente Project drew upon Latino literature and culture in its curriculum and pedagogy, it did not explicitly say that it was meant for Latinx youth. Instead, it made the following disclaimer, “PUENTE is open to all students” (Puente Website, 2019, emphasis in the original). In Cedarville, as described above, educators not associated with the program made the implication of unfairness, engaging the technology of control of denial. Though calls for equality when resources are allocated specifically for racialized groups in order to achieve equity have been critiqued by educational researchers and the argument that what “achievement gaps” really indicate are “educational debts” have been made (Brayboy et al., 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2006), conservative cries of favoritism continue to take up space in discussions about the distribution of educational resources.

However, more insidious are the ways that antiracist thought and action have been folded into the (re)production of existing social hierarchies by what Jodi Melamed (2011) describes as a “formally antiracist liberal capitalist modernity.” In Chapter 1, I discussed the ways that bilingual education as a vehicle for liberation from white supremacy, capitalism, and U.S. imperialism was subsumed under the liberal multicultural, asset-based model of assimilatory educational practice (Flores, 2016). Here, I further describe Melamed’s (2011) comparison between “race radical” and “liberal multicultural” approaches to social change, contextualizing the politics of the Cedarville Bridge Program into its framing. Centrally, within Cedarville, as demonstrated above, the idea of Latinx youth going to college was unthinkable, a violation of racial hierarchies and their intertwined language ideologies, or “raciolinguistics ideologies” as described by Flores and Rosa (2015). In Cedarville, the work of getting Latinx youth to college, or even college-going pathways, was radical in the sense that it defied deep-seated ideologies and practices. However, this was in the context of the conservative views and racial isolationism of Cedarville which had only recently experienced numeric decline of its white population.

While Cedarville may have been late in experiencing this shift, Melamed describes how post-World War II, the white supremacist modernity that defined the previous racial order became a “formally antiracist liberal capitalist modernity” (2011, p. 1). Centrally, as exclusion was no longer an option without a break in the nation-state, controlled incorporation became the central strategy for maintaining racial power. Melamed describes the role of U.S. universities within this shift:

For this new dispensation U.S. universities needed to produce knowledge about racial difference, but not for the same ends as the student movements. Rather,

the essential function of the university in this period was to make minoritized difference work for post-Keynesian times—to produce, validate, certify, and affirm racial difference in ways that augmented, enhanced, and developed state-capital hegemony rather than disrupted it. To this end, English departments and discourses of literary multiculturalism did the lion's share of the work, socializing students as multicultural subjects, commodifying racialized culture, setting terms of social solidarity, and generating knowledges about racial difference within a liberal-multicultural framework, framing race as a matter of identity, recognition, and representation. (2011, p. 95)

In this way, racial difference was incorporated into the central narrative of the nation-state, but in a way that devolved acknowledgements of structural inequity and histories of exploitation. Further, it fueled desires for increased diversity while avoiding structural changes necessary to address the actual material inequities that made privileged spaces inaccessible for racialized and Indigenous peoples in the first place. This occurred as the “material cultural activism of radical antiracisms” were “foreclosed” by liberal multiculturalism’s “[reduction] of culture to aesthetics” (Melamed, 2011, p. 96). As such, aesthetic culture was “[overvalorized],” and imagined as agential in place of the materiality of political and economic forces (Melamed, 2011, p. 96). As mentioned above, programs such as Bridge were funded and expanded when the racial diversity desired by the UC system was lost with the passage of Proposition 209 (Gándara, 2005). Considered as a technology of control, this *appropriation* of material activist culture into an aesthetic points to the ways that white possessive logics remain wedded to an inevitable answer of white settler possession of Indigenous Land rather than any particular strategy or tactic. Therefore, while such programs, with their central mission to increase the number of “educationally disadvantaged students who enroll in four-year colleges and universities,”<sup>43</sup> may facilitate access to higher education for populations that have historically been excluded, Melamed’s theorization of strategies of incorporation within a “formally antiracist liberal capitalist modernity” suggests that without the “material cultural activism of radical antiracisms,” the inclusion of racialized populations may function as more of an aesthetic shift than significant transfer of material resources.

---

<sup>43</sup> The statewide Puente Project’s mission is described in the following: “Its mission is to increase the number of educationally disadvantaged students who enroll in four-year colleges and universities, earn college degrees and return to the community as mentors and leaders to future generations” (“The Puente Project,” 2019). The final aspect of this mission statement, the development of leaders who return to their communities, is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

## Appropriation

The technology of control of *appropriation*, or the usurpation of others' resources, projects, or thought for other purposes, may be engaged in order to gain access to such resources or, as described above, for neutralizing their efficacy. The appropriation of educational resources meant for youth with the least access to such resources began in Cedarville once it became clear that the Bridge Program could not be marginalized, denied, or under-resourced out of existence. School board members and a former principal of one of the elementary schools who had moved up to the district office asked that their children be placed in the program, despite the fact that they were some of the least in need of the services offered, as they already possessed higher education, and were solidly middle class within the context of Cedarville. In the following, Bridge English teacher Jeremy Johnson described the ways that savvy parents, often college-educated and relatively well-off for Cedarville, used the resources of the Bridge Program for their children. He explained how the quality of the English teachers and extra attention of the Bridge counselor, Marta, was not only guaranteed, but comparable in their minds to that of a private school that they did not have to pay for when they placed their children in the program:

I think what's happening is that they're finding out that they can have more—the more savvy parents are finding out that they can have more control over what teachers their students get. Or they know that they get part of the Bridge Program, they're going to actually have people looking after them and paying attention to them. Whereas if they don't get into the Bridge Program, they don't know what teachers their students are going to get. They might not get very good teachers. And so I think they're just realizing like, 'Oh, well, if I sign up for Bridge, I'm going to get Ms. Fernández or Mr. Johnson, and I'm going to get Ms. Arroyo as my counselor.' And I think there's a sense that they can rely on us. And we build enough credibility so that they can rely on us. So savvy families are using that to their advantage, and they're like, 'Okay. Well, I'll just rely on them.' And I think they're also using it as, 'I don't want to pay for private school, but I can do this. And I'm getting extra help from these teachers.' And stuff like that, the kind of attention you might get at a private school. And so I think they're kind of using the system to their advantage. So I think that's why. I'm not 100% sure. I mean, Marta and I have talked about this, that parents are catching onto it [...] But I also think the demographics in Cedarville are probably changing too. I think we're getting more and more high income people. And so then they hear about Bridge, and they hear, 'Oh, it's a good program.' And so they want to

make sure their kids get in too. So I think there's a little bit of that going on too. (10:09)

A case in point, at the end of my interview with Marta, a parent walked into the counseling office, a professionally dressed, blonde, white woman. Marta introduced us, and told me that the woman worked at the district office, a former elementary school principal in the district. Marta had a parent meeting scheduled with her regarding her daughter who was in the Bridge Program. While like any other parent, she should have been able to meet with her child's counselor about her education, the dearth of resources at the school meant that when parents such as her were given priority, particularly through her daughter's participation in the Bridge Program, youth who did not have similarly educated parents were kept from them. Araceli described the complexities of educated, powerful parents placing their children in the Bridge Program. While the parent she described served as an advocate for the program, the breadth of the services offered were intended to support youth who do not have access to them otherwise:

And now they're seeing that there's these good effects, good outcomes of the program, and they're trying to think of how do we expand that to the whole school. And it's funny too because our current director of professional projects is also a Bridge parent. And so it was really powerful at that meeting, because she was on that committee as well, where she was sharing her experience with her daughter in Bridge. And we're talking about how every child really needs a team of people here kind of looking out for them, right: the teacher, and the counselor, and communicating with the family. And I shared how when we were doing recruiting how we had a lot of Indian families. I don't know if you noticed with the interviews. But when I was looking at just the last names—and there were about half that were Hispanic-sounding last names, but we had a lot of different—you can look around. There's various cultures. When we would ask them, 'Why do you want your child to be in Bridge?', the parents were honest, they were saying how they feel like if their kid comes to this school that they feel concerned that their kid's not going to be looked out for unless they're in a program like Bridge. (13:49)

**Dilution.** When I asked Shirley about how the Bridge cohort at each grade level was being expanded from 60 students to 90, she explained, "At the end of the day there are only so many resources, and they need to go to the kids who need them. Marta doesn't have 72 hours a day to counsel everyone. Adding those kids in dilutes the resources from the kids who really need them." As Shirley described, *dilution* is a

technology of control that in this case, affected available resources by lessening their availability for those for whom they were intended. In my interview with the district superintendent, a Latino who moved from another state to take the job in Cedarville, he told me about his plans to expand the Bridge Program to the entire high school. He showed me data that demonstrated how the Bridge Program, more than any other intervention, kept youth from credit deficiency (89.94% on-track in Bridge; 72.49% on-track not in Bridge). When I asked him how he would expand the program considering the way that the majority of the staff at the school had resisted it, he told me that he would get training for the rest of the staff, assuring me that they would be on board. In my conversations with other educators about the expansion of the program, however, each expressed very strong doubt about the possibility of the majority of the teachers taking up the core beliefs of the program earnestly. When I asked Shirley about it, she drew on her experience as an administrator to respond:

I'm not sure if they—to talk about in terms of philosophy or in terms of the structure of looping students together? I think structure is easy. It's just technical and you can loop students together and that could be done tomorrow, but philosophy requires people to be on board and that's the hardest thing. So without the staff, the teachers, being trained and continue to be trained like how the Bridge teachers [seek out training], without that support looking at the research of Latino students and what they need and the historical injustices and disadvantages and all that training that the Bridge teachers get, without that it would be just surface level and it wouldn't be the true Bridge model of running things like a familia and supporting students like you are their tía or tío. (26:14)

As a technology of control, dilution can also function in terms of ideas, just as it functioned above in terms of material resources. As this chapter pointed to earlier, the ways that white possessive logics structure who is granted unobstructed access to college-going pathways is a battle over how knowledge is viewed and who is considered to hold it. Shirley returned to this idea later in the interview:

Just like anything, there's no one thing that will work on its own and Bridge is not going to work on its own without more teachers really believing in the philosophy behind Bridge. In that meaning, when students walk into our class, they already have a lot of knowledge that need to be honored and it's really unfortunate if we don't we use that to help them hook on to new knowledge and become more knowledgeable and become more—and be more community minded. That if we don't see value in that, we're almost killing off a lifeline and then nothing's really going to work because we're not letting them thrive. And

people outside of Bridge need to believe in that, otherwise it's just a small program, and the students are going to thrive in that program, but the program is not the school. (38:22)

In this case, the dilution that she described is about the philosophy of the program; if it is diluted, just as if the resources are diluted, it does not work. It is not something that can just be instituted without educators who understand and are committed to its philosophy. This was demonstrated when English teacher Becky Mitchell taught in the program for a year before Araceli was hired, and also through the ongoing confusion of the Bridge Program as an ELD program. It is something that requires an altered worldview, one that does not refuse to see Latinx youth as intelligent and deserving without their acquiescence to white, middle class norms, as the technology of control of assimilative inclusion demanded.

**Recognition.** When Marta started the Bridge Program, she knew that it would take time to build the reputation of the program within the community of Cedarville, particularly to gain the trust of Latinx families and youth that the program would be a place in which they could engage with school differently. However, it was the ongoing resistance towards the program from other educators in the district that posed the biggest ongoing difficulties. As Sean Coulthard (2014) describes of Indigenous peoples, specifically, First Nations' assertions of sovereignty in the Canadian settler state, liberal recognition still "reproduces the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend" (p. 3). In line with the incorporation strategies of Melamed's official antiracisms, *recognition* as a technology of control gives credence only to what is ultimately unthreatening to governing powers' own existence. Marta talked about the time it took to gain recognition from school and district staff, as she reflected on the program being in its eleventh year:

But this has only been in the recent five years, four or five years. And I knew it would take a long time, but I was like, 'God, it's still taking time [laughter].' Around year four or five I'm like, 'Why am I still battling?' Things that I didn't think we did, I guess in my head, just being naive thinking, 'Oh, man. Are we still going to have to battle? Have these stupid conversations with adults in education?' Because the parents seem to get it.

However, Jeremy described how the Bridge Program's reputation shifted due to rise in white and Asian middle class youth in the program. He discussed how the program was viewed as illegitimate when it served primarily Latinx and first generation college-going



youth, mirroring the ideas Mr. Miller discussed. The idea of illegitimacy, reading into Jeremy's description, was located in the Latinx youth it was intended to serve:

Honestly, I think the diversity is actually improving the Bridge program. I think it's changing the reputation because for the first few years of Bridge, even when I started because I started [...] like three years or four years into the program, there was the reputation that it was an EL program because it was mostly Hispanic students in it. And so now I think, it seems like the diversity has actually—now people are like, 'Oh, it's not an EL program. It's a legitimate program not just for Hispanic students.' So I think people are starting to understand what it is more. Because the first few years, I don't think people really knew and it was all word-of-mouth. But now it is spreading. And this does seem improve our reputation. It seems like I'm hearing that less and less that it's an EL program or it's just for Hispanic students. Because even a lot of teachers at this school didn't even know what Bridge was. But now, I think, more and more teachers are more comfortable and understanding what it is and not trying to knock it down as much. (15:21)

Important in the understanding of this long-delayed recognition of the Bridge Program as a college preparation program, is that its eventual acceptance and legitimacy was based on the growing numbers of white and Asian students within it. Recognition of the Cedarville Bridge Program was still not given to the core premise of the program, that Latinx youth can and should be going to college, reifying the normative view of white and Asian students as appropriately college-going, and Latinx youth as destined for other futures.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I described how the intent of white possessive logics, or "excessive desire to invest in reproducing and reaffirming the nation-state's ownership, control, and domination" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii) was carried out through classificatory technologies of control within the college-going pathways of Cedarville High School. I highlighted how these techniques of control were flexible and responsive to the various changes in access to college-going pathways, primarily the implementation of the Bridge Program. In doing so, I pointed to the ways that white possessive logics, as a "mode of rationalization," were enacted through "commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions" that shaped Cedarville High School's college-going pathways in order to produce the "more or less inevitable answer" of white possession of those pathways and the

resources associated with them (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii). Further, I emplaced Melamed's (2011) "official antiracisms" within the context of the Cedarville High School college-going pathways, describing how college preparation programs such as the statewide Puente Project and Bridge, while increasing access to college-going pathways for Latinx youth, were limited in their antiracist scope by their primary commitment to college admissions. This liberal multicultural approach to social change allowed for a shift in the aesthetics of admitted undergraduates, aligning with universities' desires for such diversity. However, as was evident in the ways that the Cedarville Bridge Program was marginalized until its appropriation allowed for white, educated youth and families to benefit from it, its recognition signaled its status as an "official antiracism" within the district. As I describe further in Chapter 5, this worked hand in hand with the Bridge Program's curricular emphasis on cultural recognition and representation as opposed to the "material cultural activism of radical antiracisms" (Melamed, 2011, p. 96; Flores, 2016). Finally, I detailed how the Bridge Program became another college-going resource that white and other educationally-advantaged youth and their families appropriated for their own advancement, diluting the resources available for the Latinx youth the program was meant to serve.

## Chapter Four

Well, personally, for me, I don't have so much of a say. I've been, we've been here since I was two, we moved down, we moved up from LA. So I was born in LA. And for my parents, they really like it, they think it's really tranquil, and you know. We, for them, Cedarville meets all the standards that they expect of living here in the United States. Um, you know, like, the condi-, you know, it's like, how I said, really tranquil, there isn't a lot of like, they use the word, la vida recia, like Oakland, LA, that's why they moved out of there. They like it here cause it's calm, everything is like, walking distance, we don't have to travel a lot. [...] I agree with them, I really like living in Cedarville, there isn't anything really dangerous, well, dangerous for me.

~Ximena, Youth in 12<sup>th</sup> Grade Bridge

## Exogenous Others Navigating the Settler-Native-Slave Triad: Latinx Youth's Racialized & Gendered Vulnerabilities in Cedarville, California

### Introduction

In this chapter, I consider how Latinx youth and their families navigated the racialized and gendered vulnerabilities that they experienced living in the midst of the racialized terror of Trump America in a blue state and county part of the San Francisco Bay Area, often imagined as a liberal oasis, free of overt racism. Emerging literature on what the U.S. as a nation-state looks and feels like at this time points to the ways that the 2016 presidential election signaled both “rupture and continuity” within the history of the U.S. as well as heightened vulnerability for those marked as “targeted populations” (Nygreen, Lazdowski, & Bialostok, 2017; Shirazi, 2017). While the backlash to a Black president unleashed by the rise, popularity, and rhetoric of Trump and those who support the ideologies he represents encapsulate a particular kind of racialized terror, this terror is part of the long tradition of the United States’ workings rather than an aberration. To encompass a full view of the racialized and gendered violences experienced by racialized peoples in California, Latinx in particular, long past and recent histories of dispossession, terror, and forced migrations must be taken into account:

- the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, a reflection of two periods of stolen Land;
- the economic exploitation of farm workers and day laborers and the interconnected tenuousness of citizenship including repatriation to Mexico in the 1930s, the Bracero Program, and the second-class status of DACA recipients;
- federally-funded, forced sterilization of poor women, largely Spanish-speaking (im)migrants in California, throughout the 1900s;
- the creation of refugees by economic and military imperialism such as NAFTA and U.S. complicity and support of the atrocities of the civil war in El Salvador;
- the xenophobia and nativism of California’s Propositions 187, 209, and 227 in the 1990s;
- the racialized and gendered policing and imprisonment intensified by California’s three strikes law and gang enhancement policies; and,

- the most recent iterations of anti-immigrant rhetoric, deportations, and detentions intensified by Trump, but not altogether absent in the Obama presidency.

I point to these histories as a way to consider this moment as part of the long *durée* of such moments, as embedded within the white possessive logics of the nation-state (Moreton-Robinson, 2015), and how they shape the lives of racialized peoples in the place of Cedarville.

In particular, I describe how what I call the *racialized and gendered vulnerabilities* of Latinx youth and their families shape how they enter and respond to the triad of relations of settler-native-slave in the settler colonial nation-state as “undesirable exogenous others” (Glenn, 2015) (also discussed in Chapter 1). Expanding upon the work of Lyko Day (2015), my use of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities is meant specifically to understand how the “vulnerability and disposability” of racialized peoples ensured by white supremacy, specifically antiblackness, secures their complicity in the settler colonial project of the United States (p. 107). Day explains that the “legacy of slavery and antiblack racism” serves as the “paradigmatic signifier of white supremacy” in the continental U.S. (2015, p. 103). As such, it is therefore the combined threat and avoidance of being located as a slave within the settler-native-slave triad that recruits exogenous others into the settler project. Undesirable exogenous others, “typically racialized immigrants” considered as “morally degraded, sometimes irredeemably so,” are incorporated into the settler state “between the poles of ‘elimination’ and coercive ‘exploitation’” (Glenn, 2015, p. 60). They may be racialized as Black, or seen as pathological as the structure of the settler-native-slave triad renders Black people. The concept of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities describes this threat and its material and relational consequences.

*Racialized vulnerabilities* refer to those associated with implications of sub-humanity: how bodies are racialized, how language is heard, how migration status is exploited, and how being marked by punitive social institutions permeates one’s life (i.e.: having a record or not having papers). *Gendered vulnerabilities* refer to how bodies are gendered, also in relation to sub-humanity as measured by cis-normative standards, how heteronormative notions of appropriate sexualities for those bodies are policed, and how procreative possibility is controlled. These vulnerabilities always work in concert, at their intersections (Crenshaw, 1989). In particular, the concept of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities serves to complicate the ways that agency is theorized for undesirable exogenous others, who in some cases, become potential “subordinate settlers” (Tuck & Yang, 2012) who may or may not be invited to subordinate settler status and who may or may not maintain such status should it be ob-/at-tained. Given the constant threats of these vulnerabilities and the promise of

relative stability of subordinate settler status, undesirable exogenous others may respond by participating in a respectability politic specific to avoiding the disposability of being located as a slave within the settler-native-slave triad. Most of all, my theorization of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities is meant to help us think through the ways that white supremacy, in particular, antiblackness, works to maintain white settler domination over Native Land by creating (non)options for undesirable exogenous others to support the settler nation-state. While no one wants to be a slave, and most would say that they disagree with slavery, the U.S. settler nation-state cannot exist without structuring such disposability into the hierarchy of its relations. Though perhaps not in these terms, undesirable exogenous others understand that the U.S. is structured in this way, and this knowledge shapes their desires as they navigate its practices and institutions.

This chapter draws upon pláticas and interviews with Cedarville youth and educators, at times conducted in groups and in others as one-on-one conversations. It describes 1) how families chose life in Cedarville because of how it was positively viewed in contrast to *la vida recia*, highlighting the various ways that it proved otherwise; 2) how the Bridge Program and Chicano Studies functioned as means to navigate racialized and gendered vulnerabilities; and 3) the ways that gendered vulnerabilities shape imagined futures in relation to jobs, patriarchal traditions, and local state terror and control. My goal is to demonstrate how normative visions of success become necessary, (non)options for those who were given the invitation to access them. Life that is so precarious, so tenuous, so constantly at the edge of utter upheaval and loss makes choosing a more stable option, despite its embeddedness within settler logics, practically inevitable when racialized youth are socialized into the idea that life as settler or slave are the only two options. As Derrika Hunt (personal communication, May 2, 2019) points out, who wouldn't yearn for stability, often most readily available through home/Land ownership, under these conditions? This chapter offers a picture showing why this stability is desirable within Cedarville, as well as some of the ways that it remains unobtainable, a false sense of security.

### **Stories of Migration, Terror, and Making a Life**

**Life in Cedarville vs. *la vida recia*.** For many of the mostly second-generation Latinx youth with roots in what is currently known as Mexico, living in Cedarville was a respite from bigger, grimmer, cities such as Oakland and L.A. While those cities, may have more Latinx presence, social services, and politics, they may also be perceived as having more need, more poverty, more extra-legal spaces for living and surviving, "*la vida recia*," as Ximena's parents described it as she related it in the epigraph above. Notably, they also may be perceived as more Black or brown, or, in other words, places

that were pathologized due to their associations with racialized peoples. Cedarville, as a whiter alternative, as several of the youth in the Bridge Program described it, seemed to be a place protective from *la vida recia*. However, in the same ways that life was easier in the small city of Cedarville, the socializing forces of such a place also made for a particular set of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities for the Latinx families that chose to live there.

Youth who I interviewed described the city as “just a good town,” “pretty safe,” “peaceful,” “friendly,” “a safer environment,” “quiet and pleasant,” “not much crime or anything,” “no one’s racist here,” at the same time that they contrasted it with Bay Area cities known for their poor, racialized populations such as East Palo Alto, Oakland, and San José.<sup>44</sup> In this way, Cedarville retained its image of peacefulness and safety despite experiences of unstable housing, hostile schooling spaces, and harassment by the police that youth also described as part of living in Cedarville. The epigraph at the beginning of this chapter captures many of the sentiments expressed by youth in the Bridge Program about why their families chose to live in Cedarville. While *la vida recia* that Ximena’s parents referred to may have described a hard, fast, and perhaps even extra-legal life and living, surviving, and possibly thriving outside of white American middle class notions of success and respectability, Cedarville seemed to offer the opposite of this as a place with access to peace and calm, the good life sought after by Latinx migrant parents who came to the U.S. for a better life for their families.

Luciana, a twelfth grader that I met in the Chicano Studies class, described her experiences living in Cedarville in ways that mirrored what Ximena’s parents looked for, though she shared one experience that pointed to the life that many Latinx families who moved to Cedarville had hoped to avoid:

I mean, it’s been calm, but it hasn’t been any sort of disruption in any way. It’s been easy apart from— no, it’s been pretty easy. It hasn’t been bad, nothing since there is no crime either. It’s not like there’s gangs so much around us. (2:15)

I asked her, “As compared to other areas perhaps?” Luciana replied,

No. I have a neighbor. He’s in front of us and—I don’t know if he’s in a gang or not, but you could tell he does some sort of illegal business there. [...] Well, actually, there was a time when I think that same guy, since he is involved in that illegal business, he had someone come to his house. And they were trying to—I don’t know if they were trying to threaten him or actually shoot him, but they

---

<sup>44</sup> It is important to note how the displacement of gentrification throughout the San Francisco Bay Area has affected the racialized populations of these cities, and how despite these forced shifts in demographics, these cities remain racialized within popular imagination.

went to his house with a gun. And his mother was there and— I don't know what happened, but he ended up running away from their house quickly, and they ended up start banging on our neighbor's door, because it's kind of like a complex [...]. And we were like, 'Oh, what's happening?' And then, all of a sudden, on our door all you hear is just banging, banging, and banging. And we're like, 'Oh, my goodness, what's going on?' In all of our usual living there, that's never happened to us. And we quickly called the police. We were shaking, and it was just— it's an experience you can never forget about. I think that's the only thing that's ever happened to us. (2:43)

In this excerpt, Luciana presents a contrast between the image of Cedarville that she begins with, a calm city without crime, and an instance in which her family's neighbor, who she suspected was involved in "some sort of illegal business," was pursued by another person with a gun, bringing loud banging to their front door. Although Lucia initially described Cedarville as a place where this kind of thing didn't happen, her actual proximity to such an event stood in stark juxtaposition.

In my plática with Lucia and Monserrat, juniors in the Bridge Program that I'd met in the Chicano Studies class, I asked what it was like to grow up in Cedarville. Both shared about their families' financial situations. Lucia, who described herself as Spanish and Hopi/Navajo, began,

So for my family, they've been here probably since the '70s, so they've kind of been here for a long time. I wouldn't say we are poor but we're not rich, so. We just have a two-story house. So we have a bunch of people living there, so it's not really a struggle for money, I guess, because everyone's kind of off and has jobs and help to pay rent, I guess, and everything, so that's kind of how it is.

Lucia, like in the previous example, provides a façade of niceness but reveals hard working conditions inside: everyone worked and lived with a high housing density to make it possible to pay the rent. In the next example, Monserrat described her family's life in Cedarville and financial status in relation to both her mother's health and government support:

I didn't actually grow up here. I grew up in [a city nearby], so I moved here during the fourth grade. [...] And I've been here ever since. My family doesn't have a lot of money. We are on social security because my mom has kidney failure. [...] So we live off the government and we can't afford rent sometimes or my sister has to help, and it's really difficult because the money I get has to go towards whatever we can have. So I can't go to all the things. I can't go to prom.



I can't do that because the money I get goes towards rent or food or bills or whatever we can. But growing up here has made it a lot easier. I grew up with a lot of people I've known since I was little. And it makes it fun to know that I can leave here and I still have the memories or I have friendships that still last.

Montserrat framed living in Cedarville as bearable, primarily because of her family's ability to stay in Cedarville over a period of time, allowing her friendships to last. This excerpt also reveals daily struggles imposed by the large scale inequities decried in this chapter's introduction, evident in the sacrifices that Monserrat made as a young person to help support her family. Also notable in this excerpt is the negative way that Monserrat framed her family in relation to receiving government aid, a reflection of conservative discourses that placed blame on Latinx families such as Monserrat's (Brown, 2016). Later in our conversation after asking about how different places shape if we're perceived as successful or not, Monserrat spoke more about the difference between Cedarville and other parts of the Bay Area:

For me, it's more like it is because my sister does live in Oakland, and so around her house there's always trash and there's always homeless people. And all the people when they go through it they don't feel safe because it's a lot of the ghetto. But here, where I live with my mom, it's quiet. You don't see a lot of neighbors but you see a lot of cats and dogs. And it's more quieter. So it's like different seen as the ghetto, and-- what's it called? Oh, god.

I suggested, "Like the suburbs?" Monserrat continued,

Yeah. So it's like seen differently because you can have a person living in the south side of Chicago and another person living in Hollywood. They're seen as more rich compared the other person living in the south side. I don't know where that came from [laughter].

Monserrat's comments frame Cedarville in stark contrast to other cities that are racialized as Black and brown cities, in her comparison of Cedarville to Oakland, in the example that she gives of the south side of Chicago as compared to Hollywood, and in her description of racialized, urban cities as "ghetto."

While living in Cedarville may have provided respite from some of the conditions that Monserrat described surrounding her sister's home in Oakland, some youth experienced resistance to the increasing Latinx presence in Cedarville. I asked Victoria, a Bridge Program sophomore whose dad was Mexican and mom was Italian,

what it was like for people of color to live in Cedarville and the Bay Area. She responded,

Well, the Bay Area is very diverse, culturally diverse. [...] over here in the Bay, you'll find people of every race, every style, everything, and that's what I like the most. And our school is mostly Hispanic people, so I feel like, it's diverse in a lot of places. But Cedarville, Cedarville, actually, our school is mostly Mexican and Hispanic, and there are other races, of course. But I feel Cedarville itself is mostly a white community and most people at our school live like in [other cities]. But, if we're talking about overall the Bay, I feel like we're really diverse, we're good on that. We're comfortable in ourselves because there's a lot of— like in San Francisco, they do have a lot of movements representing all races. So I do feel like, the Bay is good on that.

“Diversity” was a prominent descriptor in Victoria’s characterization of both the Bay Area and Cedarville High School, a quality that she situated as desirable, a reflection of the liberal multiculturalism described by Melamed (2011), particularly in this region (HoSang, 2010). As a whole, Victoria positioned the greater San Francisco Bay Area within its reputation for racial diversity and understanding, but pointed out how Cedarville was mainly a white city, and said that the largely Mexican and Hispanic youth at Cedarville High School actually came from other nearby cities, positioning them as outsiders to Cedarville’s broader white identity. The next excerpt points to the ways that not everyone in Cedarville, was happy with the Latinx families that “diversified” their neighborhoods. When I asked Victoria what she meant by Cedarville being a mostly white community, she highlighted the area by the lake where she lived, often described by students and teachers alike as the white, wealthy part of the city. Notable is her concern with maintaining quiet, which many of the youth referenced as a sign of Cedarville being a good place to live.

Victoria: I mean, there are a lot of older people in the part of Cedarville I live in. Because I live by the lake, so it's mostly white people, retired people, and white people. So I don't really have conflicts with them because I'm the only child, so I'm kind of quiet [laughter]. I don't make a lot of noise in my backyard, or anything. So I'm cool with everyone around me. But if we were in— oh, well my next door neighbor, he doesn't really like me and my dad because we're Mexican, and sometimes he'll yell over the fence because he's drunk, and he's white. And so he'll yell over the fence.

Theresa: Why does he yell over the fence?

Victoria: For my dogs to shut up if they bark. He's super, he's just too much, and he throws beer bottles and stuff.

Theresa: Into your yard?

Victoria: Uh-huh. We fixed that, but he still gets mad=

Theresa: =Oh wow=

Victoria: =but he just still gets mad, but whatever. But sometimes we face people who don't like us, but they don't know us. He doesn't know us, but he doesn't like us because my dad is Mexican, and that's the reason. Because he likes my mom, he doesn't like my dad=

Theresa: =Oh wow=

Victoria: =and he doesn't like me, he doesn't like my brothers. I mean, there's that. But other than that, my neighborhood is friendly. They're good people. So I'm comfortable [laughter]. Other than my neighbor [laughter].

Victoria's description of living in Cedarville maintained a positive outlook, despite the verbal and physical harassment by a white neighbor. She described how she and her family had "fixed" the neighbor's practice of throwing "beer bottles and stuff" into their yard, and laughed as she told of what sounded like an ongoing situation. She framed the situation as part of a larger pattern of racial stereotyping, explaining that "he doesn't know us," and repeating that it was because they were Mexican, but as a whole, positioning her next door neighbor's actions as a small nuisance in place that was primarily, a good place to live. Victoria maintained her own participation in the desired quiet of the lake area, explaining that as one of the few children, she didn't make a lot of noise. Tellingly, the white neighbor's yelling over the fence was not interpreted as a disruption of the "white public space" of the neighborhood; rather, this white man's interpretation of "disorder" was attached to his Mexican neighbors' mere presence there instead of his own yelling (Hill, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996). Incredibly, he considered the private space of his neighbors' yard to also belong to him, both sonically,<sup>45</sup> and as a receptacle to dispose of his trash. The compromise Victoria's family made to live in this otherwise "friendly" neighborhood was thus to endure a neighbor

---

<sup>45</sup> For a detailed analysis of the "sonic color line," see Stoeber (2016).

whose racial hostilities led Victoria to defend her actions within her own backyard. Victoria's defense of her own presence signals an uptake of the pathology of disorder that her white neighbor inscribed on her family's existence within a white place that he expected dominion over. Further, within this instance, it is notable that this white neighbor feels that the entitlement of ownership of his own property extends to that of his Mexican neighbors. Thus, while they may have had property that signaled status within a settler colonial society, their status is subordinated as the neighbor expected to exercise dominion over them.

**Migrational vulnerability.** I spoke with Ximena, a Bridge senior who I met in the Chicano Studies class, about the biggest issues facing Latinx students and peoples. Ximena pointed out the vulnerability and privileges that she associated with being a child born in the U.S. of undocumented parents. When I asked her about how the current political climate and the president affected people, Ximena talked about the constant fear and threat of the abrupt upheaval brought by deportation and the limited job opportunities undocumented migrants had:

It scares people honestly. I know for a fact my family, and like any family friends too. It's like, 'What can we do about it?' One they can't change it cause obviously they don't have-- they're not privileged like I said to change it. To have to be stuck with it, if it happens—if they get deported, for example then they get deported and you know, that's it. [...] my mom's friend, a close friend that she met here, just got—her husband got deported some- last year I think. And life changed this quick. She sold some things and that's how they left to Mexico. She wasn't a citizen. So she didn't have her citizenship and he couldn't get out. So now they're in Mexico and [...] they have three children. [...] So [undocumented migrants are] always with, that like, scare. That anything can happen and your life can change really quick. And you don't know it until it happens. So I think that's the main thing that I see people struggling with or like family friends that they struggle with, like being scared or having a really bad job. Because that's basically the end of it. Like, not having a good job where you can financially support yourself and emotionally support yourself too because a job—I feel like a job should be like where you can have at least some motivation to go [...] Not just because you have to get that money and that's how many people struggle with because they can't have another job. (54:58)

Within the settler colonial triad, lack of citizenship has its roots in the subjugation of slavery and the settler practice of bringing their own sovereignty with them (Veracini, 2010), denying the existing sovereignty of Indigenous peoples. The power of exclusion from citizenship that Ximena described, particularly of peoples whose migrations are

caused by economic and military imperialism, maintains a steady flow of exploitable and deportable labor. Ximena identified these two issues as the greatest problems that Latinx peoples face, pointing to the ways that migration and the vulnerabilities associated with it maintain the structural power of the settler-native-slave triad. In that vulnerable position, the security brought about by citizenship within the settler state becomes the desired goal.

**MAGA hats on campus.** Late in October 2018, I walked towards a group of youth standing in a dirt area next to the Counseling Office with a bench and a few large, concrete planters from across the quad where I'd been in the English building on my way to the Counseling Office. I noticed that a group of brown youth was facing a white youth wearing a MAGA hat as he spoke to them. The white youth had tousled, longish mousey-brown hair; a bright red, brand new-looking MAGA hat; a camouflage t-shirt that looked worn, slightly big for him and stretched-out; and wore khaki shorts and boots. A second white youth stood slightly behind the first, was blonde and slimmer with more nondescript clothing; he didn't say anything while I was there. The white youth appeared to be sophomores or juniors. This was an area of the school where I often saw this group of youth of color, Latinx and Asian freshman and sophomores; one was in Mr. Johnson's freshman Bridge English class. There never seemed to be white youth in this area. The youth of color were mostly silent, or talking quietly to one another, looking around at one another and at me, their postures drawn back, wearing looks of disinterest. As I approached, I heard the white youth wearing the MAGA hat say, "I understand that in some ways President Trump is unlikeable, but he is our president, your president." He continued, "I support Trump, and that you should too, and if he wants to build a wall, you should support him because all of the successful countries like China and Israel have walls. I support President Trump because he has really good ideas that I agree with, even though I don't like how he acts sometimes." One brown boy said in response, "I like Obama." The white youth wearing the MAGA hat turned and walked away soon after, his friend following him. As he walked away, one of the brown boys asked me, "Do you support Trump?" I said, "Hell no," in response. Although the entire group was intensely focused on the MAGA hat-wearer, youth in other parts of the quad seemed to carry on as usual.

Afterwards, I made eye contact with a slim, Latino boy named Luis, who took his Apple wireless headphones out of his ears, as we started talking. I introduced myself and told him that I was doing a study on race at their school. Luis smiled and raised his head as if in recognition as to why I wanted to know what was going on. He said, "I was wondering because I haven't seen you around before." I asked him what happened, and Luis said, "One of us had said something about the MAGA hat, so the kid had come over to us." I asked, "Do a lot of kids wear those hats?" He replied, "No." Luis explained that at a private high school nearby that he'd previously attended, a kid had

handed out racist literature to Black and brown kids, “so he’d gotten his ass beat.” I asked Luis if he knew the kid wearing the MAGA hat today. He said, “No, but I’ve seen him before, usually wearing a military or camouflage hat, but not the MAGA hat. Wearing that hat here is looking for attention.” Luis explained that high schoolers don’t care about politics, so he didn’t know what the kid was thinking. He also stated that he felt that everyone’s entitled to their opinion (Field note: 10/29/18). The wearing of military and camouflage clothing by white, right-wing men and teens has appeared on news cycles involving mass shootings, armed militia standoffs, and brazen displays of automatic weapons in open-carry states. In Cedarville, the percentage of people who voted for Trump in the 2016 election was nearly 21%, a notable difference within a county where under 15% voted for him.<sup>46</sup> Around Cedarville, it was not uncommon to see homes displaying the American flag in their front yards, as opposed to other cities in the Bay Area where such exhibitions of patriotism were uncommon.

Several months later, during the plática with Bridge Program sophomores Bryan, Mercedes, Jessamy, and Oscar, I asked them about seeing the white youth wearing a MAGA hat. Together, they described a group of kids they’d seen around campus. Afterwards, they explained how youth of color don’t beat the white Trump supporters up because that would be stereotypical of them:

Bryan: There's this one-- or this group. They were three people who wear Trump stuff around.

Mercedes: Boots

Bryan: Boots

Mercedes: Red hat with glasses.

Bryan: Has the whole camo everything, wears the hat that says ‘Make America Great Again.’

Mercedes: We just laugh at them. Even though it may hit us, a soft spot, we don't really pay attention.

Jessamy: Nobody goes up to them and beats them up or does anything harsh because you're stupid.

---

<sup>46</sup> In the state of California, 31.62% voted for Trump; nationwide, he received 46.1% of the popular vote (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.).

Mercedes: Because that would be stereotypical.

Jessamy: Yeah. I just don't mind. I'm just like, 'that's so stupid.' And I just, I walk away.

Mercedes: This generation, I would say, is more lenient. They don't really care about what anyone has to say.

Theresa: The people of color or the white people?

Jessamy: I would say people of color. We let more things slide. If I see somebody disrespecting my race or something, I just walk away. I don't get into a-- I'm not trying to fight that person or anything.

Mercedes: They're ignorant. They're ignorant.

Considering the alignment of the Trump-supporting youths' clothing with militant white supremacists' clothing choices, Jessamy's assertion that people of color in their generation "let more things slide" may reflect something other than "[leniency.]" A generation that was born years after the terrorist shooting at Columbine High, these youth have grown up with active shooter drills in their classrooms, as national debates marched steadily to the right, and mass shootings by white supremacists, such as the July 2019 shooting at the Gilroy Garlic festival, just hours south of Cedarville, were seemingly on the rise. At the same time, although reports have shown that right wing, including white supremacist, terror occurs on a far greater scope in terms of the number of incidents and the fatalities caused (Neiwert & The Investigative Fund, 2017), anti-Islamic, anti-Black, and anti-Mexican rhetoric has been just one of many demonizing approaches that shapes public perception of racialized peoples, particularly in relation to Blackness, and the ways that they are pathologized as violent (DeLeon, 2012).

In my plática with Itzel, Adelina, and Laura, also Bridge sophomores, when I asked about the political climate and the MAGA hat-wearer on campus, they described persistence in the face of racist discourses and policies, as well as fear and a sense of surprise that such ideas were being expressed in the Bay Area. Itzel began,

I feel sad that people think that way. But I feel super proud for my people who actually stand up for themselves, and they don't really care what other people say about them. And they're going to do what they can to succeed in this country. (24:57)

I asked them about if they had seen the kid wearing the MAGA hat, to which Adelina replied,

I was kind of scared, to be honest. And I know I felt that way here because it's like, it's the Bay Area, they're cool with everything. That was kind of weird. But I never seen it since. So I feel like somebody told him. (26:33)

I replied, "What do you think someone told him? What do you wish they told him?" Adelina said, "I think that-- I don't know. I mean, it was a white guy, so yeah." Adelina's response hinted at the power wielded by white males to express violent and racist views, as she declined to respond to my questions, instead describing the MAGA hat wearer, stating "it was a white guy, so yeah." I then asked them if they knew any people of color who supported Trump. Itzel replied,

Yeah. Oh, I know someone in our grade who supports Trump. And I'm not mean or anything or biased or anything, just don't like him when she talks about it. Just being a Mexican and all, I don't really like it when she talks about Trump or talks about building a wall. So I'm just like, 'Don't talk about that in front of me because it makes me very uncomfortable.' So— I mean, she can believe what she wants. Again, it's a free country. So I won't say anything to her. She can believe what she wants and I can believe what I want. [...] She's Vietnamese and Indian. (27:09)

In these excerpts, despite emphasizing that she felt "super proud for my people who actually stand up for themselves," Itzel also repeatedly stated that the Vietnamese and Indian girl in their grade who supported Trump could believe what she wanted, describing the U.S. as a "free country," and equated her schoolmate's beliefs with her own: "She can believe what she wants and I can believe what I want."

Notable in the plática with Itzel, Adelina, and Laura and in my conversation with Luis is the way that Latinx youth emphasized that people can believe whatever they want. These comments reflect the popular gross distortion of discourses meant to validate the perspectives and experiences of marginalized peoples, as applied to racist, exclusionary, and violent speech and ideas. Similarly, Mercedes' comment that it would be stereotypical of youth of color to respond with violence to the embodied stances of white right wing terror by the Trump supporters on their school campus reflects the popular denial of the violence that is already there (Leonardo & Porter, 2010).



Alternatively, for Alyssa, a freshman in the Bridge Program who described herself as Mexican and Columbian, it was important to recognize white settlement on Native Land in order to point out the scapegoating and hypocrisy of Trump's anti-Mexican (im)migrant stances. Alyssa told me, "I do not like the Make American Great Again thing" (26:28). I asked her why not. Alyssa explained,

I don't think that's the correct words he should be using because it's like he's trying to say that since people started— especially Mexicans, since they started immigrating here America's a mess now. It's like, 'No. America's always been a mess.' And then he doesn't realize that there's a lot of white people that immigrated here too. If anything, there's a lot of Native Americans and stuff that were from here before you [...] So it's like, 'What are you trying to say?' (27:22)

Alyssa pointed out the inconsistencies of anti-immigrant stances from white Americans, as well as the racialized blame inherent in the "Make America Great Again" slogan. For Alyssa, recognizing the primacy of Native Americans was a way to counter the racist regime and rhetoric of the current president.

**Liberal responses to right wing terror.** When I asked Mr. Johnson about the youth on campus who I'd seen wearing a MAGA hat, his response focused on what he saw as the importance of tolerance for all points of view. He explained that since we were in the Bay Area, such views weren't very common, and downplayed the implications of the displays of such views at Cedarville High:

The campus, in general, I've never really gotten a sense that there's been any sort of tension. I mean, we've had a couple instances where kids— I remember a couple years ago, there was kids wearing American flag stuff, and then a bunch of kids wearing Mexican stuff, and they were being like, 'America.' And then it was like, 'Mexico.' But it was kind of fun and games. So there's been some of that. There's been a couple instances of students wearing— I don't think I've really seen any MAGA hats, so it must have been one instance. And I don't know. I mean, I haven't really got the sense that anybody's being really racist or anything on campus. I mean, from my experience at Cedarville, most people are pretty understanding. And I mean, we're such a diverse campus, it would be very uncomfortable if anybody was like that because it's just such a huge diversity at this campus. So most people are pretty understanding. I mean, and I think it's just part of being in the Bay area, there's just—the actual number of people who are [...] really taking that side of the political spectrum is probably pretty low. And so I think just the diversity in the Bay Area kind of mitigates a lot of that.

Mr. Johnson began by equating “kids wearing American flag stuff” with a “bunch of kids wearing Mexican stuff,” as if the ideologies represented by both were the same within the context of the U.S. He then discounted the possibility that kids had worn MAGA hats more than once, explaining the example that I saw as an unrepresentative anomaly, repeating that “most people are pretty understanding.” Like Victoria, he used the idea of “diversity” on campus as a positive sign of being “understanding,” a reflection of the ways that “identity, recognition, and representation” have come to signify antiracism (Melamed, 2011, p.95). Finally, Mr. Johnson emphasized, again, how “diversity,” this time attributed to Bay Area in general, “[mitigated]” the number of people who agreed with right wing political stances. He continued,

But I know there are a lot of students who are pretty conservative and their families are. And so I try to make sure I remind students of that. And even with my Articles of the Week, I always try to get a variety of perspectives with my class because I try to remind them. I always say—last year—this came up during the whole, what was it, the school shooting walk-out. I don't know if you remember that. That was last year in March after Parkland. But I try to remind students. I was like, ‘Yeah. There's also a number of students whose family owns guns and are supporters of gun rights. And there's a lot of conservative families in Cedarville.’ And so I try to remind students, ‘You need to be respectful of both sides.’

Mr. Johnson explained how a central part of his instruction, the Article of the Week activity, was a tool that he used to teach students what he described as being respectful of both sides. What this application of the liberal principle of respect for all misses, is that some views, including those of MAGA-hat wearers and gun rights supporters, are systematically used to terrorize racialized peoples by both the state and by individual vigilante, right-wing terrorists (Huber, 2016). This liberal response, rather than ensuring safer spaces for Latinx and other racialized peoples, instead asked youth to respect views that routinely place them in the line of terror. The youths’ responses largely reflected this ideal, that they should ignore those who spread right-wing terror, or understand that everyone was entitled to their own opinions.

Mr. Miller, a white AP English teacher who grew up on the East Coast and considered himself politically to the left, engaged in a greater violation of youth’s readings of their social world. When I asked him about what policies concerned students, he talked about how they had a greater awareness of politics since the 2016 election. Here, he explained how he integrated political themes into his instruction:

Well, they care about immigration issues for sure. So many people, either themselves or have parents who come from different countries. And then friends too, so they care about those things. They feel like [Trump's] racist so the impact of-- I do this good fact and opinion test with them. Because they, kids don't know facts from opinions as much as you would think that they would by the time they're in 11th grade, and I'm like, 'Donald Trump is a racist, fact or opinion?' And they're like, 'FACT.' And I'm like, 'Okay, it's a well-supported opinion, maybe, but it's not quite-- maybe if he comes out and says it then, then, then but he hasn't exactly come out and said that exact thing so it's just a well-supported opinion.' (5:03)

Schools often work to encourage debate and deeper understandings of social life, yet the political stances from which these practices are taught must be interrogated. The liberal stances of open-mindedness and equality that frame the ways that Mr. Johnson expected his students to take up serve to perpetuate tolerance for views that threaten their safety and wellbeing. This instance illustrates how the controlled incorporation of racial others is not meant to protect them, but rather, to protect the nation-state (Melamed, 2011). Mr. Johnson's admonition to his students, "'You need to be respectful of both sides,'" equates racism with antiracism, as two viable ways of seeing the world, reducing antiracist thought to respect for all ideas, no matter how dangerous they may be to one's being. Mr. Miller's definition of a fact, as necessarily verified by the perpetrator of racist, misogynistic, transphobic, xenophobic, and classist rhetoric and policy, negates youths' understanding of politics and the social world as they experience and navigate it. A political and intellectual gaslighting, he used his instruction to call into question their reading of Trump and how it had affected the lives of those they care about. These violent practices embedded within the state-sponsored institution of schooling serve to produce a new "citizenry" that is tolerant and blind to racism. Antiblackness, a logic that is necessary to maintain the settler-native-slave triad, is central to these practices. In these instances, youth are schooled to be settlers, taught to deny the violences of white supremacy perpetuated against themselves and others. The uptake of "official antiracisms" is also evident in these practices, as "diversity" is waved as a flag signaling the impossibility of anyone being "really racist." This points to the ways that the incorporation of undesirable exogenous others into the nation-state is an exploitation of their presence: they are taught to tolerate and deny racism, so they may serve as a sign that it doesn't exist.

## Bridge & Chicano Studies as Means to Navigate Racist Schooling

The Bridge Program, and the potential of good-paying jobs that would follow a college degree allowed Latinx youth at the school to see themselves with secure futures for themselves and their families, outside of the back-breaking work many saw their parents doing. For some, whose lives were more precarious, Bridge was a safety net not just in the future, but also in the present. A freshman in the Bridge Program, Carina spoke of her mother who was in jail, police who harassed her and her family, and other adults around her who couldn't get jobs because of their records. Carina, who identified as white, Mexican, and Native American, didn't want to go to college, but spoke of Bridge as a class that she liked and Mr. Johnson as one of the few teachers who was understanding and in whom she had confided about her living situation, which she described as hopping from place to place. As such, the care and relationships important within the Bridge Program at Cedarville provided, to a small degree, what dispossessive and punitive social institutions had stripped from Carina's life. However, as schools in general are not equipped to provide the social services that exploitative social relations necessitate, the Bridge Program's role as a safety net in this manner was limited, as its focus was on academic achievement and college.

**Bridge as an academically protective place.** For many, although not all, youth in the Bridge Program, Bridge provided a protective space within the larger academic setting of Cedarville High School. It provided a pathway towards the financially secure futures promised by college degrees at the same time it attempted to protect youth from the violence of other academic spaces. In a sense, the Bridge Program was, like the city of Cedarville for Latinx families, a quiet place that Latinx youth would (mostly) be shielded from widespread hostilities and violences. As a whole, the push-out rates for Latinx youth in the U.S. are staggering, and without surprise, considering the ways that hostile and violent schooling and classroom environments are normalized (Fine, 1991; Huber & Cueva, 2012; Allen, Scott, & Lewis, 2013). Through instances of adults engaging in physical and/or verbal violence against youth in public school classrooms have increasingly been recorded with widespread access to cell phones, even with such evidence in hand, blame is shifted and racist narratives are engaged to dismiss or minimize such instances. For example, Robert, a ninth grade Bridge youth, shared with me how at in the winter of 2019, a science teacher who was yelling at her freshman class grabbed a student's hands and slapped them onto his desk when she realized he was recording her tirade. She returned to the classroom after two weeks' administrative leave.

Low college acceptance rates for Latinx, Black, and Native youth are deeply shaped by how much hostility such youth must endure to meet the requirements necessary in order to even apply. Educators and students alike described how being

part of the Bridge Program provided resources and assurance to families who were unfamiliar with the educational system in the U.S. In this way, the program served as an important way to build confidence and draw upon ongoing support to both navigate the hostile nature of other classes and access meaningful practices in terms of academic scaffolding and culturally relevant instruction and support. For families whose children would be the first to go to college, Bridge provided a feeling of safety based on the reputation the educators within it built. As with similar programs such as the statewide Puente Project which in recent years had begun to serve as a national model for college preparation programs designed for racialized youth, the Cedarville Bridge Program addressed an overwhelming need for the youth and families who were able to take part (Gándara & Moreno, 2002; Laden, 1999). Marta Arroyo, the Bridge counselor, explained,

I think there's a level of comfort from parents or safety in saying , 'I don't know what I don't know, but I know that you're going to help me.' [...] it builds a reputation that there is safety within the program in whether it's Mr. Johnson, Irene, Shirley, myself, or Araceli, that they're going to be okay, that they trust you, and that Bridge really has built that. [...] the parents come in and that they know that they're going to be okay. (6:39)

Unlike the school at large, the Bridge Program, along with a few other spaces carved out for parents such as ELAC and Padres Unidos,<sup>47</sup> provided more culturally and linguistically responsive formats and resources for Latinx and Spanish-speaking families. In this way, the Bridge Program made college-going pathways more accessible to youth and families that were otherwise alienated from such resources.

When I spoke with Bridge sophomores Adelina, Laura, and Itzel, all three shared that they'd had older siblings who were in the program which shaped their choice to join. They emphasized how important it was to have the added support and interaction with Marta, the Bridge counselor, both through her visits to the Bridge English classes and in the appointments they were able to make with her to check in regarding their progress. Adelina explained,

Well, my sister really emphasized that Bridge helps you learn about college and it teaches English but with other cultures combined. [...] So, Mrs. Arroyo comes into her classroom and she tells us what to do. She tells us directly. And I feel like, I don't think in other English classes, they do that. I think you have to find out yourself. (38:16)

---

<sup>47</sup> These groups are described in more detail in Chapter 2.

Laura emphasized the supportive nature of the program, as well as how Marta's support of her siblings easily transitioned to support for her own trajectory:

The reason I chose Bridge over accelerated was because when I was going to become a freshman, my brother was a senior [...]. So, my mom would visit Mrs. Arroyo to make sure that my brother was doing good and we started making appointments to see what classes I needed. (38:51)

Itzel echoed their sentiments:

For me, it was kinda given that I was gonna be in Bridge because my mom really liked the program and so did my siblings, but when I went to the meeting in eighth grade, I realized how good of a program it was because of how the teachers are involved and how the counselor is involved. (39:28)

While Bridge counselor Marta explained the way that Bridge educators created a sense of safety for parents of Bridge Program youth above, here, Itzel, as a student in the Cedarville Bridge Program, emphasized the deep involvement of these educators. Indeed, research on the counselor role within the similar Puente Project also emphasized the impact of such involvement on youths' decisions to go to college, future goals, and how hard they worked in school (Gándara, 2002, pp. 482–483).

Despite the safety within and trust of the Bridge Program, however, many spaces throughout the rest of the school, as discussed in Chapter 3, were hostile for Latinx youth. Former Bridge English teacher Shirley described how the confidence youth gained through their participation in Bridge was one tool that they gained to navigate those spaces, along with the ways that the counselor provided ongoing support:

I think the protection ends when they step out of the Bridge teacher's class and then that's when, hopefully, the confidence that they've gained still stays with them to keep fighting. [...] Because sometimes I saw that too, as soon as they left the Bridge program and enter an AP class with a teacher who implicitly or explicitly shows them that they're not welcomed. And at least they still have a counselor to go and confide in and get the pep talk and stay. (32:45)

Part of gaining confidence that supported them in their other classes, Bridge English classes provided academic instruction that was culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995; C. D. Lee, 1995; Gay, 2000), drawing from the design of the statewide Puente Project (Pérez & Ceja, 2010; Laden, 1999; Cazden, 2002). In addition to the

incorporation of Latinx literature into the curriculum, part of this was the way that Bridge English classes provided communal approaches to learning and knowledge, scaffolding for difficult tasks, and multimodal approaches and activities such as gallery walks. Youth pointed out that in Bridge English, learning was more meaningful, more communal, serving as more than just compliance with regulatory directives, and instead, was a place that youth wanted to be. For example, when I asked Monserrat and Lucia about their English classes as juniors, their first year out of Bridge English classes, Lucia described how the lack of scaffolded instruction in her non-Bridge English class made it a struggle. On the other hand, Monserrat described how the cohort model continued as a protective space, as many members of her Bridge cohort moved into AP English together, making the class better. Many youth that I spoke with shared that the Bridge English classes offered instructional support that accelerated and AP English classes at Cedarville High didn't include. Noteworthy here are the epistemological shifts in classroom structures, for example, communal learning and knowledge creation, supported relations of mutuality and interconnectedness, also part of the culturally sustaining curricular moments described below.

**Culturally sustaining moments.** Although the incorporation of culture within the Bridge English classes was largely aesthetic or celebratory in the sense of accepting Latinx cultural and linguistic practices into the classroom in order to access mainstream curricula, in some instances, a material culture reminiscent of race radical movements seeped into the classroom. These moments shifted instruction from cultural relevancy ultimately engaged for the purpose of college admissions to culturally sustaining practices (Paris & Alim, 2014). For many of the students, reading Luis Valdez's *Zoot Suit* in the tenth grade Bridge English class that I observed was a chance to connect to histories ignored in the typical high school history class, take pride in their racial/cultural identity, and expand upon subtle understandings of racism in the U.S. When I asked Bridge sophomore Victoria what she thought about *Zoot Suit*, she described how her dad used the same pachuco Spanish, or *caló*, that Valdez included in the play, and was excited to talk to him about her family's history:

Oh gosh. I want to watch the play [laughter], like 'Skip all the reading, let's watch the play.' I mean, yeah. But I think it's kind of cool because some of the words that we saw on the paper today,<sup>48</sup> like the slang, my dad says that stuff. So I kind of connected, and I'm wondering if my dad's parents or someone was a zoot-suiter or something. So I'm kind of like interested, so I'm going to definitely talk to my dad about it. [...] Yeah. It's getting me involved. (6:52)

---

<sup>48</sup> Ms. Fernández used a worksheet to teach and/or review *caló* with the class before starting to read *Zoot Suit*. She asked the class to read the words aloud with her, and then asked them to create a mini-dialogue incorporating *caló* words.

Victoria connected her father's speech to the speech of the play and wanted to find out more about her family's history due to this connection, taking pride in the possibility. Rather than the lessons of "appropriateness" that often framed discussions of language in the Bridge English classes (Flores & Rosa, 2015), here, learning *caló* served to deepen Bridge youths' understandings of the historical and political meanings of the play in relation to their own language use and identities. Reading *Zoot Suit* not only connected youth in the Bridge Program to familial practices, but to Chicano culture as a politic rather than an aesthetic (Melamed, 2011). For example, when I followed up and asked Victoria what she thought of the historical moment of the play, she responded:

I think it's crazy because it's a lot like—it's not but it is like nowadays because there was a lot of racism between the white Americans and the Mexicans, and nowadays, we're seeing it a lot, like with Donald Trump and Mexicans, and a lot of other white people voicing their opinion against Mexicans. So I feel like no, we're not wearing like a certain outfit that they're trying to take from us, but it's like a constant riot and it's not getting fixed. (7:34)

For Victoria, reading the play also provided her historical perspective on the ongoing nature of the racism directed towards Mexicans in the U.S. Her insightful response points to an understanding of the way that racism has persisted but also looks different in different historical moments.

When I asked Bridge sophomores Itzel, Laura, and Adelina about what they liked about the Bridge Program, Itzel responded:

I like the books we read because the books are so interesting and some of the books that we read are very into our culture, so I really enjoy that. [...] Like right now we're going to start reading *Zoot Suit*, which is exciting because I want to learn more about that. Because it's like, Chicanos.

Laura added, "*Rain of Gold* was a good book—" and immediately, Itzel and Adelina added, "*Rain of Gold* was such a good book," "*Rain* was so good [laughter]" (6:51). All three youth became animated and enthusiastic when they talked about reading these texts, Itzel pointing to how *Zoot Suit* being about Chicanos was what made it exciting for her. Here, the ways that the youth described the readings mixed the validation of culture as aesthetic and culture as political. I followed up later in the interview, asking them about how *Zoot Suit* might related to today and ideas about education. Adelina replied,



I mean, like sometimes going through an American school could also mean you become assimilated. So I feel like that zoot suiters were looked down upon because they had their own cultural identity. And maybe like the white people felt threatened, so yeah. (15:05)

After Adelina talked about how going to college is an assimilating experience, and the three youth talked about ways to avoid that assimilation, I followed up with another question about Zoot Suit: “What do you like about [*Zoot Suit*]? What's interesting?” (21:50). Itzel responded, “The zoots [laughter].” Then she explained, “When you see pictures of people wearing them, they just look so confident and so good to be themselves, and I really like that. I really enjoy seeing that on them, and so, I'm excited [laughter]” (22:02). The youths’ admiration of the pride expressed in face of assimilating forces and curiosity about the zoot-suitors’ motivations reflect how reading this play in Bridge English opened up spaces of possibility and pride for them that spanned into political critique and an understanding of an aesthetic, the zoot suits, as a politic of affirmation and resistance.

In moments that might be described as closer to revitalizing than sustaining, Dra. Solis, the Chicano Studies teacher, recounted histories and knowledges that challenged and expanded youths’ commonsense notions of Mexican culture. Though largely absent or contextualized as unrelated to their own identities in Bridge English classes, there were instances in the Chicano Studies class that invited Latinx youth to rethink their nation-oriented identities. Ximena, who’d been encouraged by Marta, the Bridge counselor, to take Chicano Studies as an elective because it was both fun and came with college credits, described how she’d learned about her Indigenous Mexican roots in that class:

Well, at the beginning of the year, you can say, I never really put too much thought about what it was to be Mexican. It was just always like, ‘Oh, yeah, I'm Mexican.’ But now it's like more like, ‘I'm Mexican.’ I know what my roots— I don't really know-know but I know where I come really come from and what I really like and what I really don't about my culture. Yeah that's basically with Dra. Solis, she was the teacher first semester. We talked a lot about ourselves and really focusing on ourselves and our culture together. And I really learned how to identify myself in my culture.

Later in our conversation I asked Ximena what she meant by learning about her roots. Ximena explained,

I meant we explored many— kind of you think like the floor of everything. [...] I want to know where my parents come from like my great-grandparents. But I can't. But I'm not going to figure out because of the class. Now I'm okay because we studied the different Indigenous cultures in the state, in the country of Mexico. So now it's my job to go more in depth. [...] And so every day was an interesting topic. I go back home I'm like, 'Oh yeah, we talked about this,' and my parents were like, 'Oh yeah, really? What'd you find out?' And I talk to them about it and they'd be like, 'Oh yeah.' And I'll ask them questions too. 'Oh, did you know this, and this, and that?' And, 'no, well, now you know' [laughter]. I told my friend and she's like, 'Wow, I should have taken that class too.' Because she was seeing the projects like, they were fun. They were more about you. And I think that's how school should be. More about how would you think and how you think you'd make it better. More than do this and that. (45:07)

Ximena explained how taking the Chicano Studies class helped her understand the basics of Indigenous Mexican roots while also pushing her to learn more specifics about those roots on her own. She characterized the conversations in which she shared about this class with her parents as substantial, in the end, declaring that this is what school should be like. For Ximena, learning about the Indigenous roots of Mexican peoples signified learning “the floor of everything,” leading to the expansion of her understandings of a Mexican identity. When within such pedagogical shifts into political, culturally sustaining and revitalizing education, the desires voiced by Bridge youth shifted as well. These educational approaches challenged, rather than affirmed the threat of the settler-native-slave triad, as for brief moments, youth could imagine themselves outside of the (non)options of settler or slave.

### **Latinx Gendered Vulnerabilities & Imagining Futures**

As a demographic identified as the “linchpin of the next generation” in their role as mothers of the swiftly growing Latino population, Chicanas/Latinas have been described as a focal group for improving the wellbeing of the entire nation-state (Gándara & The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, 2015, p. 6). Latino boys on the other hand, are often described as at-risk, assumed to be gang members, and as a whole, viewed as less redeemable than Latina youth (Cammarota, 2004). Research on LGBTQ+ and gender-expansive Latinx youth describes the ways that radical, affirming curricula are crucial to countering the imminent precarity brought by marginalization within schools and U.S. society at large (Cruz, 2013), pointing to the ways that hetero-cis-normativity dominates places of schooling (Pascoe, 2007; Woolley, 2012). The visions of success and associated visions

of home and family that they are socialized into via the local settler state is therefore central to how a “browning” population will be incorporated into the existing nation-state. This section examines how the racialized and gendered socialization of Latinx youth who took part in the Bridge Program may serve “the heteropaternal organization of citizens into nuclear families, each expressing a ‘proper’ modern sexuality, [as] a cornerstone in the production of citizenry that will support and bolster the nation-state” (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 14). Further, it points to the threat and dangerous (non)options for youth who exist outside of the bounds of respectable/state-sanctioned living. It points to how racialized, classed bodies are (almost) always of potential use to the disciplining and imperial arms of the nation-state. As Glenn (2015) argues, examining race and gender formation through a settler colonial lens deepens understandings of how specific raced and gendered identities are constructed in the support of the U.S. as a racist, settler state.

**Gendered vulnerabilities at work and at home: consejos and rejecting tradition.**

One of the central ways that Latinx youth at Cedarville High discussed the gendered vulnerabilities they faced was in terms of the racialized and gendered work that Latinx, working class peoples have available to them. Luciana, a senior who had received several college acceptance letters, and was considering attending a community college the following fall to save money connected the way that she thought about her future in relation to her mother’s job: “They told me that they wanted me to do something better than they were. So that’s kind of what I’m striving to do, just to make them proud for what they want me to do, in a way” (39:22). I asked Luciana what she meant by better, and she replied,

My dad’s a gardener and then my mom, she does housekeeping for Macy’s. I don’t know. They just always told us that they came here for that reason and they want to give us a better life rather than them. And my mom has just told me, ‘I just want you to get a good job where they pay you well,’ and ‘I don’t want you to end up working this kind of job that I am because—’ She tells me that she loves her job, but, she doesn’t want me to end up like her in a way. She wants something better. (40:35)

Here, Luciana’s parents’ low-wage jobs point to the intergenerational sacrifices of migration and the ways that such jobs and youths’ navigations of college-going pathways were intertwined. Though Luciana had acceptance letters to several four-year colleges, because her older brother had not graduated and found a job that paid well, Luciana felt pressure to save money on her educational pathway in a way that her brother had not.

Oscar and Bryan, sophomores in the Bridge Program, described a similar desire from their families to avoid the types of jobs that their fathers and uncles worked: "They just want me to work in an office and not work like them because they do vocational things where they were outside and work—" Oscar began. Bryan added, "They want us to have a good job." Oscar explained, "My dad does air conditioning. He's like, 'Yeah. You better go to school, so you don't end up like us.' My uncles are cooks, so like, they say that." Bryan later continued, "I mean, my family says that they want me to do the best I can but not to— don't follow in their footsteps [...]" (8:32). The consejos for future work given to Luciana, Oscar, and Bryan were similar in content, to avoid getting jobs similar to those of their parents and uncles, physically tolling and in some instances, dangerous jobs that did not pay well or provide necessary health benefits. However, it is important to note that for Luciana, working a job like her mother's would ensure dependence on another person or the state, as labor related to care and associated with the domestic sphere, such as cleaning, are paid unsustainable wages. Latinas, who often fill such roles as cleaners and caregivers of children and elderly people, earn significantly lower wages than any other group that is documented by labor surveys that break down wages by race and gender (Patten & Pew Research Center, 2016). Such structured inequity in pay simultaneously maintains the "heteropaternal organization of citizens into nuclear families," which reflects the composition of the nation-state, normalizing it as opposed to other governance and kinship structures (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, pp. 14-15).

For some Latinas in the Bridge Program such as Monserrat, going to college and the pathway that Bridge offered to get there were traversed out of a desire to escape gendered expectations:

In my house, how my mom was raised and how my grandparents were raised, it was practically like the women do one thing, the men do another. So, with my cousins, a lot of them stay home for college and that's not what I want to do. I would want to leave because I want to be the first to break the tradition that a woman stays home and the men leave. So it's practically saying like a woman can't leave the house until she's married. And I want to be the first out of my sisters to break that and just leave. (25:58)

Breaking the tradition that Monserrat described by going to college was one that would give Latina youth a better chance at financial independence and allow future lives outside of heteropaternal organization, a new sense of mobility and possibility. Yet, at the same time, leaving for college in order to break patriarchal traditions also has the potential effect of breaking other cultural ties that youth may desire to maintain, but not have the support to do so. For example, Monserrat also described a

cousin who had gone to school far away, in Oregon, and had “forgotten where she came from.”

**Local state terror & Latinos trying to get by.** Relationships to the state and its controlling arms also related to not just racialized, but also gendered vulnerabilities in Cedarville as in other Bay Area cities (Rios, 2011). A telling instance of how local state terror functioned in the place of Cedarville was relayed to me during the annual township festival parade. As I walked with Marta, Jeremy, and Araceli along the parade route through central Cedarville, they started to talk about Francesco, one of Araceli’s Bridge students, a senior. He, like many youth whose families struggled financially, worked in order to support basic needs such as the payment of rent, electricity, food, and clothing. Francesco worked as a street vendor, selling elotes out of a small cart around the city of Cedarville. Like many Latinx street vendors, he was harassed by the local police. Francesco had been selling elotes just the day before when approached by Cedarville police who overturned his cart, made all of the elotes fall to the ground, and took the \$40 he had earned that day as “evidence.” Jeremy said that Francesco had gotten arrested for getting into a fight in junior high, so he’d had a parole officer for a while, and even served some time for it. Jeremy said that it wasn’t in Francesco’s nature, but because that was the response, he’d had a hard time with the ongoing probation. Jeremy thought that it had also affected Francesco being able to get a permit to sell the elotes. Marta said she wasn’t surprised by the Cedarville Police, though Jeremy said that he was at first, not that cops did it, but that Cedarville cops had. Jeremy said that that Francesco had posted about the incident on Instagram in an effort to raise support, following the example of another vendor who had recently been harassed while selling hot dogs in elsewhere in the Bay Area. The three Bridge educators discussed how upset they were about this harassment and theft, and talked about what might be done to help him recover his money (Field note: 9/22/18).

Months later, when I asked Jeremy about the event when I formally interviewed him and whether it was connected to the way that many of the teachers seemed to have a desire to “get kids into trouble,” as he’d described it (discussed in Chapter 3), Jeremy said that it made sense given the school’s demographics. He said that the police in the city were known to engage in such harassment, a shift in his view of them from the time of the parade. He said that Francesco hadn’t wanted the educators to intervene, that it wasn’t worth it. Jeremy explained,

I don't think it's coincidental that we're at a pretty low income, high Hispanic school, and then—and I've heard students say that they've been hassled by police. [...] There's something to be said that some of these kids are—they're just trying to get by, and they're getting hassled by people. Or maybe they just don't have the support system at home, and that there's this perception that

they're trouble makers or they're going to cause problems. And I think that—I've heard some of the police in Cedarville kind of have that same mentality of, 'Oh, well, they're up to no good. Right?' They might be at the park, and police just automatically assume they're misbehaving or doing something. I don't know. Some of the students are loud or, I mean, things like that, people just assume that they're not acting right or they're up to no good. So I've heard that about some Cedarville police officers, that they will hassle students, and they felt like they were targeted because of their skin color and how they looked or even how they dressed. (1:09:13)

Mr. Johnson connecting this type of harassment to the desire for control and punishment that happened at the high school. Further, this instance demonstrates the ways that poor youth, especially Black and Latino males, are criminalized in school settings, and from those entry points into what Rios (2011) describes as the “youth control complex,” based on his ethnography in the nearby Bay Area city of Oakland, are marked and monitored for further harassment and control by policing institutions. For Francesco, the threat of social death (Cacho, 2012) loomed over him. Arrested over a schoolyard fight and harassed for taking part in the informal economy of street vending, the promises offered by a college education were countered by his gendered and racialized vulnerability to becoming permanently trapped within the prison industrial complex.

**Police & Military Recruitment of Independent Latinas.** At the same time, for some Latinx youth, joining the police force or one of the armed services was viewed as a potential option for reliable employment. Later during the annual township festival parade, Jeremy pointed out one of his former students amongst three Latinx youth, two boys and a girl, who were police in training in the Explorers Program. They wore a beige uniform shirt, black pants and yellow traffic vests over their shirts. They stood at the sides of the parade route, seemingly to keep people from passing onto the route. Jeremy said hello to one youth and asked him about how he was doing and the training program was going for him (Field note: 9/22/18).

For young Latinas who wanted to be able to support themselves and be independent financially, joining the police or military may have seemed like a viable option. Ximena, a senior Bridge student who I met in the Chicano Studies class described her participation in the Explorers Program, her decision-making process between joining one of the armed services or going to one of the four CSU's she'd been accepted to, and the ways that her family members counseled her in thinking about her future. She relayed to me how her parents felt and advised her about the futures she was considering:

My dad, he says that as long as I have a career where I'm happy and I can sustain myself and don't need help from a man, he says, or from someone else, then he's happy for me too, as long as I'm happy. And then my mom, she's kind of scared of me to join the service. She told me she's scared. (7:24)

At the beginning of our conversation, I asked Ximena about the results of her college applications. I conducted a college application essay writing workshop in the fall of 2018, and Ximena had attended two of the sessions. She explained to me that while she'd gotten into the CSU's, she hadn't gotten into any of the UC's. Then she shared with me what she was considering early in April through a story that showed how issues of race, class, and gender merged in the ways she thought about her future:

But I still don't know which I want to go into right now. So right now, I'm just meeting a recruiter for the Army. But I've been told that the Navy offers a really good medical schooling type of thing, and that's what I really want to go into if I join the service, the medical. [...] But at the same time, I don't see myself as a college student. [...] I don't see myself as a college student. That's why I'm leaning more towards the service. I see myself more in a uniform.

When I asked her why, Ximena explained,

That's always just been the idea. I remember mom tells me that when I was younger, when we'd go to the flea market and stuff, we'd see the police officers and they'd always ask me—they always make fun of me because they—so my mom's side is really light, their color. And my dad's is dark. So, they always tell me the story that, when we were walking into the flea market. I was five, four. And they were like, "Oh, Xima," Ximena, because the call me Xima. And they're like, 'Tú que vas a hacer cuando seas grande,' Y que les dije, 'Voy a ser taquera' because I really like tacos [laughter], so, 'Voy a ser taquera' and then, no, just kidding. In went the other way around. But they were like, 'Que vas a ser,' and I was like, 'Voy a ser policia,' and then my tía was like, 'Pero no hay policias negras' cause they were making fun of me, but my tía's the same, but I'm still darker. In my family, I'm one of the dark ones. But not meaning to insult me or anything, but just to make me think as a little kid.<sup>49</sup> And then I looked around and I saw that there was only white male officers, and then I was like, 'Oh, right, then voy a ser taquera' [laughter]. [...] So I joined the law enforcement class, but

---

<sup>49</sup> Here, Ximena views the way that her tía pointed to her race and gender as part of a consejo, though through drawing attention to the comment, she points to the ways that youth are socialized into colorism and antiblackness within familial interactions.

I kind of don't, didn't like the law enforcement type of police officer type of job. So that's why I looked more into the army, or into one of the services. I still don't know which one, but I feel like I still have time. But from here to May, I have to figure out which service I'm going to join. (4:00)

While Ximena had not completely ruled out joining the police, she also believed that the police was a corrupt system. Ximena described various recruitment tools and how they played into her decision-making:

Well, to be quite honest, it doesn't—it sounds really bad because like, 'Oh yeah. They say it's not a corrupt system.' But I believe it kind of is. [...] I don't know. I mean, the idea's still there. I'm not going to lie. I really like- Because I got to do a ride-along with the officer [...] I had two.

When I asked Ximena about what the ROP class taught the police officer who was the school resource officer (SRO) at the time was like, she replied,

Law enforcement. That's the classes I was telling you about. And then from there he introduced us to the Explorers Program. It was just about teenagers, basically. We get together every Thursday. [...] I don't go anymore. I only went for a month. And they talk about police topics, police brutality. And they do activities that make you realize what it is to become an officer. [...] So it's different topics. [...] So when I would go it's a group discussion. [...] they brought up I remember—because I attended that one, it was about the, uh, Eric, Gar-, Garner, something like that. And they just went over the video and they talked about what would you do? They asked different students [inaudible], cause there were different students, what they would do. They go over the video and they're like, 'Hey. Is this just-, justified or not? And if it's not why? And if it is, why?' And they admitted that sometimes there's good officers and there's bad officers. So they said that we can't blame everyone for just one person's act. I mean that's true. But if you're like, here to protect everyone else, that's kind of like the corrupt part that I thought about wasn't okay.<sup>50</sup> (14:21)

Despite Ximena's description of the police as at least partly corrupt and naming the racism and discrimination within the U.S., she felt grateful for living in the U.S. She

---

<sup>50</sup> There is much more to be said about the ways that Ximena and other Latinx youth were recruited and socialized into normative, pro-police, and by default, antiblack, positions from this plática. While I do not have space in this particular document, it is essential for thinking through how racialized youth are socialized into supporting and becoming agents of white supremacy.



expressed frustration at those who did not share her perspective in her description of those who did not stand up for the school's daily recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance. She also described how she felt that she was courageous enough to join the service, highlighting how being part of the armed services meant that she would be protecting her parents and helping to maintain their good life in the U.S.:

I feel that I have the courage enough to go into the service and protect the country, maybe not the country itself, but the people. Because I know my parents are going to be living here. Maybe not in the best conditions but they'll be safe. So that's why I want to join the service. [...] Life's not fair but it's good. (58:28)

Youth such as Ximena grappled with the difficulty of surviving and living a dignified life within the U.S. as a racist settler state. Ximena recognized what she described as corruption and unfairness, and yet also sought to find and maintain stability both for herself and her parents. The combined desire for stability and effects of nationalistic, wartime, and military propaganda, recruiters for the armed service, the ROP Law Enforcement class, the police ride-alongs, and the after school police Youth Explorers program in which Ximena participated are apparent in the ways that she discussed what it meant to join the service and why she chose to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance. Crucially, Ximena, despite having received acceptance letters from four CSU's, was very seriously considering joining the military as a way to support herself as she finished up her senior year. The effects of forced migrations, exploitative labor markets, and mixed-status families' ongoing fear of deportation for undocumented family members heighten the vulnerability and tenuousness of Latinx youth in the Bridge Program. Herein, racialized and gendered vulnerabilities prime exogenous others to desire entrance into the settler-native-slave triad as subordinate settlers, as the threat of disposability loomed constantly.

## Conclusion

This chapter illustrates the many ways that Latinx youth in the Cedarville Bridge Program were positioned precariously between college pathways and the threats, instability, and material suffering that accompanied their racialized and gendered vulnerabilities. Latinx youth navigated the settler-native-slave triad in their day-to-day lives: within their families, with neighbors, at school—in classrooms with teachers and classmates, through after-school jobs, in extracurricular activities, and in run-ins with the police. The precarity of their positioning as undesirable exogenous others was evident in the disposability assigned them when they, their families, and friends experienced

the threat of deportation, police harassment, and economic exploitation in jobs that are underpaid, hard on the body, and/or dangerous. The promised stability of college-going pathways were accompanied by the threat of assimilation, cultural and linguistic loss, especially outside of the protective spaces of the Bridge Program and Chicano Studies class. The most visible and default political ideologies of conservatism and liberalism terrorized Latinx peoples on the one hand and asked that they respect all opinions on the other. Other ways of being in the world were invisibilized as the primary means for understanding inequities in the U.S. were within the binary of master-slave; Indigenous pasts and futures were occluded. In this context, accepting an invitation to subordinate settler status through college-going pathways became an understandably attractive (non)option.

## Chapter Five

In Bridge when we read, I think it was in *Of Mice and Men*, the definition of success in that book was to have a house and a family and money. Oh yeah, and land. Oh, yeah. And I feel like, yeah, it could be that too, but also having education and have a job.

~Laura, Youth in 10<sup>th</sup> Grade Bridge

For me, buying a house and land either here or in Mexico would be me succeeding because I would buy it for my parents because that's been their dream. And I feel like if I do that for them and for me, not just for them, it'd be great.

~Itzel, Youth in 10<sup>th</sup> Grade Bridge

### **Relations with Land, Community, & Success**

In order to consider the potential for broader social change within and through a program such as Bridge from the perspective of settler colonial studies in education, in this chapter, I bring together an analysis of the relations with Land, community, and success into which Bridge Program youth were socialized. Earlier in this dissertation, I described relation as inter-/in-dependencies, inter-/dis-connections, or the lack of/mutuality with people, Land, non-human others, and the cosmos (Wilson, 2008, pp. 80-96) (see Chapter 1). Interdependency, interconnection, and mutuality, as opposed to independence, disconnection, and the lack of mutuality, may be thought of as “living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 13). Such ways of living are antithetical to settler societies which structure dominating and exploitative relations in order to exist. In Chapter 3, I considered the ways that white possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) shaped college-going pathways in Cedarville and in Chapter 4 I described Latinx youths’ racialized and gendered vulnerabilities within the U.S. nation-state as means to think about how these logics and vulnerabilities produced responses, resistance, and/or complicity with the ongoing dominating, exploitative, and dispossessive structuring of the settler state (Wolfe, 2006). In this chapter, I consider how the relations of settler society became part of Bridge youth’s socialization into college-going pathways through the settler state-supporting “mode of rationalization” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) that circulated via the settler colonial narratives of the place of Cedarville and Bridge Program practices.

First, I include analyses of local history events from the multi-sited place project in and surrounding Cedarville and their relations to Land. These analyses focus on the ways that local history narratives are conveyed, and particularly, how Cedarville residents, including Bridge Program youth, participated in those tellings by taking part in local history events. Next, drawing upon ideas shared in pláticas and interviews with youth and educator participants, I discuss the relations to Land, community, and success within the Bridge Program as a means to understand the limitations of such a program for broader social change, despite its import to the immediate lives of the youth within it.

#### **Learning Settler Relations: The Socializing Force of Local History Narratives**

The first section of this chapter draws upon a multi-sited place project that follows Cedarville’s settler narratives and practices around various local history sites

and events. These include a family day at a historic rancho, a historic walking tour, and Cedarville's annual township festival parade in which youth from the college preparation program at the center of this project participated (Marcus, 1995, p. 109). The settler narratives in and surrounding Cedarville are part of the flow of white possessive logics from the nation-state and amongst sites and practices of local, collective identity-making that serve ongoing settler interests (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Sarmiento, 2009). Notably, these settler narratives are located in close proximity to Silicon Valley, which is ever-present, a product and producer of neoliberal capitalism.

To begin, I describe how local history narratives served to tell who recently arrived residents were through asking participants to co-construct mythologies about how their places of living had come to be. Embedded within these narratives were the relations and logics that produce ongoing settler practices. Like other emplaced narratives, local history events provide stories about who 'we' are, in the sense of a local collective, connecting histories and identities to a particular place in the present, and in the process, shaping possibilities of who a community can be in the future (Baquedano-López, 1997; Sarmiento, 2009). The purpose here is not to imagine that settlers can become otherwise. Rather, it is to consider how a specific group of involuntary, exogenous others, potential subordinate settlers (Day, 2015; Glenn, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2012), may seek means to address their own racialized and gendered vulnerabilities (discussed in detail in Chapter 4) through logics and relations that challenge rather than accept "settler futurity" (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013) on Indigenous Land.

In a study of local history texts written by amateur historians in Southern New England from 1820 to 1880, Jean O'Brien (2010) describes the relationship between national and local narratives and settler identity:

[...] while the emergent national literature that [...] luminaries produced certainly gave shape to an understanding of American history, culture, and identity, local texts grounded those stories in the concrete. Local narrators took up the histories of the exact places their audiences lived, and they rooted stories about Indians in those places. [...] They both served as entertainment and they inscribed meanings in particular places. More specifically [...], these scripts inculcated particular stories about the Indian past, present, and future into their audiences. (p. xiii)

O'Brien argues that it is specifically in the proliferation of these stories in and about specific, local places that made the strategies of erasure employed there so powerful. Continuing, O'Brien states, "it was there that people made the boldest claims to

'firsting,' [which] in essence asserts that non-Indians were the first people to erect the proper institutions of a social order worthy of notice" (2010, p. xiii). The settler origin stories of California are more layered, with Spanish colonization and the destruction wrought by missionization, the rule of the Mexican nation-state and its land grants to Californios, European-American settlement, annexation, the Gold Rush, and American statehood shaping narratives of identity and rightful possession (Castillo, 1991; Almaguer, 1994; Ramirez, 2002). Cedarville's story, as documented on its website and in various local history organizations, almost exclusively begins with white settlement. While the narrative told within the nearby California mission includes Muwekma Ohlone people, in all but two displays, past tense marks them as only part of the distant past, rather than as the people rightfully on their ancestors' and descendants' Land. Similar to O'Brien's discussion of "firsting," Tuck and Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) describe this as "replacement," a settler colonial project of "elaborate track-covering [...] needed to achieve the settler's ultimate aim, which is to resolve the uncomfortable and precarious dis-location as usurper, and replace the Indigenous people as the natural, historical, rightful, and righteous owners of the land" (p. 77). In this section, I draw from the multi-sited place project to examine the ways that the settler colonial project of replacement was carried out by local history events and taught to exogenous others in Cedarville in the process.

As such, the settler narratives of local history events and celebrations that Cedarville youth and adults participated in have an important socializing force. In the following, I view the narratives that instilled settler logics through the lens of language. I draw upon language socialization approaches (described in Chapter 2) to attend to the nature of local history events for racialized youth and their families. I do so centering language as central to the constitution self, and to the social and racial politics that it articulates. While socialization processes can be liberating, they can also be reproductive: here, I consider how the socializing force of local history narratives reinscribed relations that necessitated a program such as Bridge in the first place. In general, narratives are embedded within the realm of accepted, everyday ways of understanding the world:

Stories are surely not innocent: they always have a message, most often so well concealed that even the teller knows not what axe he may be grinding. For example, stories typically begin by taking for granted (and asking the hearer or reader to take for granted) the ordinariness or normality of a given state of things in the world [...]. (Bruner, 2003, pp. 5–6)

Local history sites and events play a seemingly innocuous role in producing collective identities that reinforce such "taken-for-granted-ness" of the conditions of the present,

even while erasing discomfoting historic memories (Sarmiento, 2009, p. 524). While narratives may be situated within the purview of the individual storyteller, Patricia Baquedano-López (1997) describes the ways that narratives constructed within social collectives create common understandings of the world through her examination of *doctrina* narratives co-constructed with Latinx children in a Los Angeles parish. Of these narratives, she explains, “Collective narratives, which tell the experiences of a group, organize diversity in the collectivity [...] tend[ing] to normalize the existing status quo” (1997, p. 28). This study offers a number of insights into the ways that the narratives conveyed through local history events may construct not only settler pasts, but also settler futures. Crucially, narratives embedded within collective experiences and events shape the sense-making and relations that we take up, as “stances and dispositions” to events are also conveyed through narrative (Baquedano-López, 1997, p. 27, drawing upon Labov & Waletzky, 1968). Further, narratives hold the potential to situate listeners within multilayered “temporal blends” and “spatial continuums,” at times using “affiliative activities” to locate them within “both time and place” (Baquedano-López, 1997, pp. 40, 42). Centrally, Baquedano-López’s analysis suggests that the “[creation] of a collective version of [a] narrative [...] may] legitimize the experiences of the *then* and *now*—both the experiences narrated” in the past and in participants’ present lives (1997, p. 42, emphasis in the original).

Within settler colonial studies, the narratives of settler nation-states, necessary for the perpetuation of such societies, are “fantasy,” necessarily “disavow[ing] foundational violence” (Veracini, 2010, p. 75). These narratives socialize settlers into dispositions of entitlement to the Lands they occupy. This “recurrent need to disavow produces a circumstance where the actual operation of settler colonialism practices is concealed behind other occurrences” (Veracini, 2010, p. 14). Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) describe the settler colonial state’s “circulation of its creation story” which “involve[s] signs-turned mythologies that conceal the teleology of violence and domination that characterize settlement” (p. 74, drawing upon Donald, 2012 a & b). This chapter begins by examining how participation in local history events serves as ongoing socialization into complicity with such fantasy, legitimizing settler relations with the Land in both the past and present. It offers the institutional narratives of Cedarville from the point of view of white settlers, but instead of normalizing and neutralizing these narratives, I recast them as projects of settler replacement and futurity (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013).

## Logics and Practices of Settler Replacement & Futurity in Cedarville

**Embodying Californio land owners at the rancho.** In this section I describe how a local history event, Rancho Family Day, invited community members in attendance, in

particular, children from Cedarville's ballet folklórico group, to embody Spanish-Mexican Californio land owners from the rancho period. Melding together the layers of colonial settlement on Ohlone Land, Rancho Family Day brought together the Spanish Mission period, the parceling of land to Californios, the rush and proliferation of white settlers such as the historical society members/volunteers, and at the time of this writing, the wealthy Chinese and Indian<sup>51</sup> immigrants brought by tech jobs in the expansive influence of Silicon Valley represented by the city's Asian mayor. In this site of "colonial cacophony" (Byrd, 2011), the ways that time and place fused connected Latinx youth and families to the landowning Californios who built and lived on the ranchos during the Mexican nation-state's ownership of California from 1821-1848. In Spring of 2019, the local history organization encompassing Cedarville and the cities surrounding it held this event for families at a restored adobe and rancho from the Californio period in California which followed secularization of the California missions by Mexico as it gained independence from Spain. While Mexican law had declared that half of the Land held by the Spanish missions would be returned to Native peoples, practically all went to "local families of Spanish-Mexican decent, known as Californios" (Arrellano, Leventhal, Cambra, Schmidt, & Gomez, 2014, pp. 31–32). Arellano, et al. explain, "Most Indians left the missions to become manual laborers, domestics and vaqueros on neighboring Californio-owned ranchos" (2014, p. 32), jobs similar to those of Bridge youth's families upon arrival to the U.S. in modern equivalency.

Considering the ways that working class Latinx youth enter the U.S. as undesirable exogenous others alongside this colonial history points to the complex ways that layers of identity "unravel colonial logics that are dependent on binary constructions of settler/native, black/white, and master/slave" (Byrd, 2011, p. xxxvi). Byrd (2011) describes this layering as "colonial cacophony," or "discordant and competing representations of diasporic arrivals and native lived experiences" (p. xiii). For Latinx youth with origins primarily in Mexico and families recently displaced through the destruction of communal lands, socialization into settler logics within the U.S. acts upon the already existing distance from indigeneity embedded within narratives of mestizaje employed by the Mexican nation-state and extended to Chicanxs in the U.S. via the uptake of racial amalgamation as racial progress (Ramirez, 2002; Vasconcelos, 1979). The history of Spanish and Mexican colonization and settlement in California in particular, reflected in the "Hispanification" of place names (Field, 2013, pp. 290–301), emphasizes recent Mexican and other Latinx migrants' connections to colonial, rather than Indigenous histories. Byrd explains,

---

<sup>51</sup> From India.



Through this simultaneity, [...], we can see the complex dynamics of colonial discourses that exist horizontally among histories of oppression and inform continued complicities as historical narratives vie for ascendancy as the primary and originally oppression within lands shaped by competing histories of slavery, colonialism, arrival, and indigeneity. (2011, p. xxxvi)

In response to those complex dynamics, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera and Korinta Maldonado (2017) describe how celebrations reflecting California's liberal multicultural inclusion, even of displaced Indigenous peoples from other nation-states, serves to perpetuate erasure and dispossession of peoples native to the Land that settler nation-states currently occupy (pp. 813-815).

Rancho Family Day's flyer boasted the following attractions: music and folklorico dancing, rancho games and activities, food for purchase, adobe tours, piñatas for children, and Rattlesnake Wayne's western collection. Pictured on the flyer were two folklorico dancers, one wearing a long, ruffled, ribboned dress and the other, a traje de charro, both of the Mexican region of Jalisco. Notable, folklorico during the Californio era of California included dances such as cuadrillas, polkas, waltzes, and schotises (G. Sandoval, 2012) more similar to the folklorico dances del Norte which included markedly different styles of dress. Arriving at the event, which was located in a city near Cedarville, Loma Linda, required driving through a neighborhood where single family homes sold for \$2.4 million dollars and more. There, primarily Chinese and Indian immigrant families bought homes in order to attend a public school that boasted over 70% acceptance rate to the University of California for enrolled seniors for the Fall 2018 semester (Cedarville High's UC acceptance rate for the same year was just over 11% (The Regents of the University of California, n.d.)). At this nearby school, Loma Linda High, less than 2% of students were Latinx and only 0.1% were American Indian or Alaska Native in the 2017-18 school year (*Loma Vista High School Accountability Report Card for 2017-18*, 2018). Tutoring and SAT test prep centers abounded in the strip malls nearby. At the event was Loma Linda's conservative Asian mayor who could be seen talking with older, white attendees, many of whom wore historical society t-shirts or who seemingly participated regularly in the historical society events (I recognized one older, white man in a pith hat decorated with commemorative pins from the historic walking tour of Cedarville, described below).

The rancho games and activities at the event included information about cattle branding and how to design one's own brand; a 20-minute informational video describing the history of the rancho shown in the central room of the adobe; self-guided adobe tours; adobe brick information and brick-making; information about candle-making and a station to make candles; looking at and speaking with Rattlesnake Wayne about his collection of Mexican and U.S. spurs, guns, and other Western

paraphernalia; and a display of items and reading materials about historic Muwekma Ohlone life including uses of soaproot, the staves game, how to prepare acorns for porridge, and implements such as a digging stick, loop stirring stick, leather pouch, berry basket, and tulle mat. Stationed at the entrance to the rancho, located at the base of an unpaved road where the local history organization's signs described the rancho's history, were two Latina young women from the local community college's transfer preparation program for Latinx youth. At the candle-making and branding exhibits, were three Latino young men from the program, who like the young women, wore t-shirts with the name of their program emblazoned on them. None of the activity-based exhibits included activities carried out by Ohlone people; the activity exhibits were strictly based on the activities carried out by Californio settlers. Though, as noted above, after the disintegration of the mission, Muwekma Ohlone people worked at such ranchos, this was not acknowledged in this event's recounting of this historical period.

As my son and I arrived at the event, we came to the information and donation-collection table stationed at the crest of the unpaved road leading up to the rancho, just past a Latino man in his late 40s examining the leaves of a large fig tree. There, volunteers from the local historical society distributed a program with the event's schedule featuring clipart of maracas, a musical instrument often associated with stereotypes of Latinx not relevant to the history of ranchos of the Californio era. The program listed two separate ballet folklorico performances at 12 noon and 2pm, which would keep the dancers and families at the event for the majority of its duration. Performing ballet folklorico at the event was Grupo Folklorico de Pence Elementary of Cedarville. Of all of the elementary schools in Cedarville, Pence had the highest rates of children designated as economically disadvantaged (77%), English language learners (52.8%), and Latinx (75.1%) students (*Pence Elementary School Accountability Report Card for 2017-18, 2018*). These children were the ideal future participants in the Bridge Program. The older brother of one of the dancers was in the sophomore Bridge class. I'd seen him earlier that day at the community service event organizing donated canned foods for a locally-based social services organization in Cedarville that I'd participated in with the sophomore Bridge teacher and 10 of her students.

On the Pence Elementary School's website, the ballet folklorico group was described in the following:

Ballet Folklorico is a student dance program for both boys and girls and is a major sense of pride at our school. This program is run by talented and dedicated volunteer instructors (high school students!) from Cedarville High School. /Aside from fostering positive attitudes and improving physical health, Mexican folk movements require practice, discipline, and focus. All these skills

transfer to the classroom. Studies show that students who regularly participate in dance lessons perform better academically than their nonparticipating peers. All are welcome at our performances! ("Pence Elementary School Ballet Folklorico," 2019)

Notable in this description is the way that the folklorico group is connected to what is described as "skills [that] transfer to the classroom," those of "practice, discipline, and focus." Latinx youth are often assumed to be without such "skills," as white Americans have a long history of associating Mexicans and Chicanxs in particular with laziness and lack via their use of terms such as "siestas," "unskilled labor," and, in terms of schooling "unmotivated," indexed by racializing discourses that saturate talk about Latinx (Hill, 1999, 2008; Roth-Gordon, 2011; Godinez, R. personal communication, 2019). During the performances at Rancho Family Day, early elementary-aged children performed dances associated with Jalisco, dressed similarly to the dancers pictured on the event flyer. Older elementary-aged girls wearing white, calf-height, lace-up boots; full, knee-length skirts; and white blouses with poufy sleeves performed dances associated with el Norte as their family members watched and cheered, making up the majority of the crowd and overall attendees at the event.

The Latinx youth from Cedarville who were, in a sense, imported into the event to perform ballet folklorico, served as stand-ins for the Mexican, colonial era Californios of "Spanish-Mexican descent" who seized land ignoring both Spanish law and Ohlone sovereignty (Arrellano et al., 2014, p. 32; Field, 2013). It could be said that recreating popular dances of the place and era (at least in terms of the dances del Norte) was more representative of the rancho's workers than the landowners. Many of these workers were the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone people whose land was stolen, the "ecological basis for the indigenous economy" destroyed despite their frequent desertion of the missions and the "indigenous guerrilla armies" that engaged in armed resistance at multiple Bay Area missions (Arrellano et al., 2014, p. 31). The similarities to the effects of NAFTA on communal land ownership and corn sustenance with its passage in 1994 and throughout the early 2000s which has led to increased Mexican migration to the U.S. and into exploitative labor conditions should not be ignored.

However, the event as a whole conveyed Muwekma Ohlone people as only existing pre-rancho era, losing their traditional way of life through missionization and disappearing after being forced to labor in the building of the mission and other structures, a reconstruction of anthropologist Alfred Kroeber's 1925 pronouncement of extinction "'for all practical purposes'" (Field, 2003, pp. 87–88), which shapes Muwekma Ohlone life to the present (Field, 2013; Ramirez, 2007, pp. 102-125). This was evident in the language of the permanent display signs at the base of the road to the rancho. However, this erasure also occurred in the embodied ways that rancho life

was recreated by attendees through activities such as candle-making and cattle brand-designing while Ohlone life was displayed only through artifacts from the past. In this way, this event served an important socializing function, as low-income and first generation Latinx families in the area were invited to literally embody Californios, participating in further erasure of Muwekma Ohlone peoples who still reside on their Land today.

**Historic walking tour: reimagining the bay.** Similarly, a historic walking tour of the city of Cedarville, illustrates the ways that constructions of the past and present reinforce settler futurity, towards which the settler project of replacement aims (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 80). Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) describe settler futurity as “the continued and complete eradication of the original inhabitants of contested land” (p. 80), or, “the ways in which, ‘the future is rendered knowable through specific practices’” (Baldwin, 2012, p. 173 qtd. in Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 80). The local history society offered historic walking tours of Cedarville and the other historic townships nearby, featuring one per month April through November, in addition to hosting numerous other talks and events celebrating and commemorating local history. The following field note excerpt from July 2018 describes how the historic walking tour perpetuated settler futurity in Cedarville:

*Next the tour guide stopped at a site of an old railroad switchyard. The approximately 50 people in attendance, including a retired Spanish teacher from Cedarville High School, gathered around the tour guide, and listened as he explained that the area had been imagined as the central switchyard on this side of the bay, but instead the current switchyard located 30 miles away had won out. He asked those in attendance to imagine what Cedarville might have been like had the switchyard thrived instead of become more or less abandoned. People looked around at the empty space, the few isolated remnants of the tracks and platform, and nodded and chuckled. One person said, ‘Sure would be different around here.’*

The temporal unit created by the tour was that of an old town past, featuring structures such as homes and saloons built in the late 1900s. In the case of those still standing, these buildings served as “living” artifacts of the capitalist development and settler colonial land grabs of that period. This era was glorified as a starting point of the area, the beginning of time as O’Brien (2010) describes. Time prior to this era was not acknowledged. The temporal shift made use of by the tour guide described in the field note above, a reimagining of the past into an alternative present, allowed only for a different settler present. Reimagining the past differently, which might have meant

imagining an Indigenous present, was not an option. Throughout the tour, the city's history remained attached to settler development on *terra nullis*. Blanton (2011), drawing upon Bakhtin (1981), describes how chronotopes as "fusions of time and space [... create] representations of how individuals and groups negotiate meaning within the social worlds that they occupy" (p. E78). In this way, the narratives of the historic walking tour perpetuated settler futurity, the logic that a settler present (and therefore a settler future) was the only possibility within that place. The logic of white possession was never at stake. Veracini notes that "the narrative generally associated with settler colonial enterprises [...] resembles an Aeneid, where the settler colonizer moves forward along a story line that cannot be turned back [...]" (2010, pp. 97-98). The walking tour, even in imagining an alternative present, remained firmly rooted in a settler colonial future, refusing to turn back, even in the imagination.

**The annual township festival parade: walking the land.** In becoming part of the Bridge Program, Latinx youth were also asked to become part of the broader Cedarville community in ways that depoliticized one of its central goals, that youth in the program give back to their community. At the first Bridge Club meeting of the year, students were urged to march in Cedarville's Annual Township Festival's parade. Bridge Club was the service and community-oriented organization that youth in the Bridge Program were encouraged to participate in to develop leadership skills, fundraise, and engage in community events, both within the program, at the school, and within the larger community of Cedarville. A field note dated September 11, 2018 describes a portion of the announcement regarding the parade at the first Bridge Club meeting:

*The Bridge Club president, a senior, stood at the front of the library. She said to the 100 or so Bridge students in attendance, 'The club has marched in the parade for the last two years. We want to make a good impression on the community, so we want everyone show up for it.'*

The Remind App message sent out to Bridge Club members the night before the parade by the club president stated:

*Bridge Members! If you are in the parade tomorrow morning meet at the overpass on Westland blvd [pseudonym]. Be there @8:30! Wear Bridge or college gear! P.S you get community service hours for walking in the parade! Hope to see you there!*

The incentive offered for participating in the parade suggests that the program's goal of giving back to one's community is subverted into two normative logics. The first is to "make a good impression on the community," which in this case is the community of

Cedarville at large, shaped by white residents who continued to run and maintain control of the city's institutions. Through marching in the parade, Bridge gained recognition as an official educational group along with the elementary, junior high, and high schools represented at the event. Announced via loudspeaker on the parade route as "*a program that helps students get to competitive four-year colleges,*" the Bridge Program became friendly, deracialized, a point of local pride. Secondly, the community service hours associated with marching in the parade were used as an incentive for youth to participate. This served to shift the motivation for participating from a benefit to the community to a benefit to the individual. At Cedarville High School and other schools nearby, accumulation of service hours and leadership positions is seen as necessary for getting into top colleges, a type of competence (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). The Bridge program required that youth get a certain number of hours each semester and shared profiles of program graduates who got into top schools that included how many service hours they accrued. Rather than learning to participate in community organizations and events out of a desire to give back to one's community, Bridge youth were socialized into a logic of individual accumulation related to college acceptance. In this construction of giving back, there was only one community with which Bridge youth were socialized to identify with.

Further, the logic embedded within the Bridge Program's participation in the parade was also an acceptance of a declaration of the non-Indigenous residents of Cedarville as the rightful owners of Muwekma Ohlone Land. A multi-day event, the township festival included the parade, carnival rides, food and game booths, children's activities, a mile-long race, and a birthday celebration for the city, complete with cake and the "Happy Birthday" song. The festival was attended and led by long-time city leaders and residents, some of which Marta, the Bridge Program counselor, identified as consistently engaging in practices that restricted Latinx access to resources over the two decades that she'd been part of the district through their roles as school board members, for example (see Chapter 3 for detailed description of some of these practices). Like the local history narratives O'Brien (2010) analyzed, the annual township festival and parade simultaneously served to entertain and to assert the validity of white settler possession of the Land in a specific, local place within the settler nation-state. Serving as a practice that ensures an inevitable settler future (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 80), this event, the annual township festival parade, not only celebrated a settler present, but also normalized the logic of a settler future. Attended by over 100,000 people each year over the course of four days, and made possible by the work of over 200 volunteers (City of Cedarville, n.d.), many of who were youth from Cedarville High School, the celebration of Cedarville's "birthday" has "taken place annually since incorporation" in the mid-1950s in a move towards "settler nativism" (City of Cedarville, n.d.; Tuck & Yang, 2012). While sometimes acknowledged

by a handful San Francisco Bay Area organizations and institutions, Indigenous peoples and Land were erased from Cedarville's past and present as residents of Cedarville, including Bridge Program youth, marched two miles in celebration of the city's founding, as though it was all that ever had been, and all that would continue to be.

In the same way that white possessive logics pervaded the school board and district's responses to the Bridge Program, participation in the township festival parade signaled the ways that such pressures for existence forced the program into demonstrations of belonging within racist and settler structures. It was these same pressures that led program leaders to participate in events such as the annual township parade in search of validity and recognition (Coulthard, 2014). While these practices served to help maintain the existence of the program in the district, they also socialized youth into logics that underpin the systems that necessitate such programs in the first place. Further, the particular types of competence required to be recognizable as college-going material, specifically, participating in a community service to accumulate hours for documentation on college applications, rather than, perhaps, community work or political action, further embedded a program meant to ameliorate Latinx youths' vulnerabilities as incommensurable (Tuck & Yang, 2012) with Indigenous futures. Latinx youth in California specifically, and in the U.S. more generally, continue to be a focus for educational intervention for a variety of reasons that we must interrogate carefully.

### **Giving Back to Which Community?**

As the above analysis of the Bridge Club's participation at the Cedarville Annual Township Festival parade indicates, the community/ies that Bridge youth are socialized into giving back to may not always center Latinx and other historically educationally underserved communities that programs like it aim to serve. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, with the 1996 passage of California's Proposition 209 eliminating race-based considerations for college admissions, college preparation programs aimed at Latinx youth such as Bridge and the Puente Project were expanded statewide. Additionally, as a rapidly growing demographic within the state of California and throughout the U.S., Latinx youth have been identified as a focal group for educational interventions and concern (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Álvarez, 2000; Gándara & Contreras, 2009), at times, in language focused on investment and economic growth (Gándara & The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, 2015; The Education Trust-West, 2017). Such concern has made room for the statewide Puente Project to be launched as a national model ("The Puente Project," 2019). The way that Latinx youth in such college preparation programs conceptualize and engage with the idea of "giving back to one's community" will indeed have lasting impacts on broad swathes of

society. Building from the analysis above, in this section, I continue to ask the following questions: What conceptions of community engagement are youth in one such program socialized into? What are the relations with community that youth are socialized into?

Important to considering schooling as a socializing force is continuing to think about which communities youth are compelled to belong to along the way. For example, in September 2018, the principal of Cedarville High School (who was there for less than a year), sent the following message to school staff and students who subscribed to his Remind App group, "CHS Pride": "Honor the rituals and traditions of homecoming week. It's your connection to the past; you are part of something bigger than yourself" (9/24/18). Just as this message compelled youth into belonging to Cedarville High School traditions through participation in homecoming week rituals, and just as walking in the Cedarville Annual Township Festival parade socialized belonging to Cedarville at large, the Bridge Program's emphasis on leadership and giving back also socialized youth into particular relations with specific community/ies.

Similar to the statewide Puente Project after which the Cedarville Bridge Program was modeled, one of its three components was leadership (the other two are English and counseling)<sup>52</sup> (Gándara & Moreno, 2002, pp. 466–469). The statewide Puente Project described its commitment to creating leaders in the following: "Its mission is to increase the number of educationally disadvantaged students who enroll in four-year colleges and universities, earn college degrees and return to the community as mentors and leaders to future generations" ("The Puente Project," 2019). Important to note within the discourse of the Puente Project and Bridge Program is the idea of college as leaving, or separating from the community, as indexed by the idea of a "return" as leaders and mentors. Significant in this construction is that youth must, or perhaps, preferably, leave their community in order to go to a four-year college. This idea contrasts with Indigenous perspectives of being in relation with community (Wilson, 2008), in a sense that one doesn't leave, but carries those relations. Or, as Stan Wilson says, "we are the relationships that we hold and are part of" (Wilson, 2008, p. 80; drawing from Wilson (2001), emphasis in original).

In order to further examine the relation with community that the Cedarville Bridge Program youth were socialized into, I first discuss community from Bridge English teacher Mr. Johnson's perspective, and then the ways that youth engaged with these ideas. Mr. Johnson described the Bridge Program and its emphasis on community in this way:

---

<sup>52</sup> The Puente Project for high schools originally followed the community college model with a mentoring component (as described in Gándara & Moreno (2002), but this shifted to leadership, as matching high school youth with adult community members proved difficult given high schoolers' status as minors.



I mean, so in my experience in the last five years and as a student teacher, the goal that I see it as is building community for students who aren't normally kind of part of a community at the high school or at the school and giving them a sense of community and belonging and making them feel that they have some value and that the school cares about them and providing that space. And then also, to me, it's also about making sure they're ready for college, and they're aware of what it takes to get into college, especially for a lot of Bridge students because they don't have parents that can really tell them how to get into college or what it's going to take.

Mr. Johnson describes the community within the program as a way to make students “feel that they have some value and that the school cares about them,” which, in this construction, implies that the school in general does care about the youth in the program. Nel Noddings' assertion that caring must be received by the “cared-for” (1992, p. 15; 1984, p. 19-21) in a particular manner suggests that caring is not a one-sided feeling or act, but rather evaluated for its authenticity through its reception, which points again to the ways that youths' own readings of schooling ought to be honored rather than ignored or subverted (see Chapter 4). Noddings explains, “caring is a way to be in relation, not a set of specific behaviors” (1992, p. 17). However, as Valenzuela and Rosalie Rolón-Dow (2005) attest, sociohistorical contexts and racial relations are foundational to the reception and relations of care. These are absent from both much of the literature on caring and most white teachers' perceptions and acts of “care” in relation to racialized youth. In Valenzuela's (1999) *Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*, she describes the frame of reference from which racialized youth must be cared for: “Students' cultural world and their structural position must also be fully apprehended, with school-based adults deliberately bringing issues of race, difference, and power into central focus” (1999, p. 109). The “political clarity” (1999, p. 110) that Valenzuela describes requires that caring be guided by a political analysis of schooling as shaped by structural and historical race, class, migrational, and, I add, settler colonial relations. As both scholarly literature on these topics and the analysis of these relations in Chapters 3 and 4 suggest, the school does not “care” about them with the political clarity for which Valenzuela calls. Rather, as Rolón-Dow describes, to pretend that it does is to engage in a form of “racist care” (2005, pp. 97-98) or, as I have described, a *hegemonic care* (Burrue Stone, 2014, 2018). While “racist care” is often attached to overtly deficit discourses, hegemonic care looks differently, but still carries echoes of such discourses, often enacted within white, liberal, officialized anti-racisms (Melamed, 2011). While well-intended and often standing in stark contrast against overtly racist schooling practices,

hegemonic care still subverts and discredits racialized youths' reading of their social worlds and relations with their communities.

This disruption and distancing from racialized communities often found in hegemonic care is described in the following. Here, Mr. Johnson assumes that youth are not aware of the communities that they come from:

And it's also about community service and being active in the community and making sure-- taking what they learn and taking all the things that have been given to them and then return it to other students or to the community or their siblings or cousins, and making sure they help their cousins or their siblings with getting into college. And also being active and taking-- doing the community service projects that we do and making sure that they understand that there's more. There's more than just them that they need to be aware of, that they need to be aware of the communities they come from, especially since, I mean, a lot of the students in Cedarville are coming from lower income families or more disadvantaged families and realizing that in order to help the Cedarville community out, that they need to give back and help and actually care about the community. (3:24)

The way that Mr. Johnson talks about the way that youth "need to be aware of the communities that they come from" positions the his students as unaware or in need of being taught that they need to give back, locating the program as the source of this knowledge/practice, rather than their families, cultures, and communities outside of the program. Further, his invocation of distance from their communities makes youth appear unaware of material conditions that in reality, they experience on a first-hand basis. Significantly, white teachers are often unaware of what racialized communities are actually like and teacher preparation programs often describe racialized communities from this viewpoint. When asked Mr. Johnson how he encourages the mindset of giving back to one's community. He responded,

We usually do those community service projects as a club. So some of the things we've done is we've gone to San Francisco to feed the homeless people. We've also done fundraisers to adopt a family at Christmas time. I mean, we also do the fundraisers just for the club itself so that we have money to go on field trips. And so I think students see the value in putting in those volunteer hours so that they can help out the community as a whole because the field trips benefit the whole Bridge club. So doing that. We've also gone to parks and helped with cleanup. We've also-- what else have we done? Those are usually our big ones. But also-- a lot of times, we do stuff with elementary schools. We'll do

translating, or they'll help out babysitting and stuff, watching kids at the elementary school or even working at the snack shack and stuff. (25:30)

Notably, these projects fall along the lines of common conceptions of community service. Even when Mr. Johnson referenced giving back to the "community as a whole," he indexed the small scope of the Bridge Program, "the whole Bridge club," indicating that the Bridge Program was the primary community that youth needed to give back to.

Other communities that youth ought to give back to, other than through translating and advocating for their own program, were those who are generally positioned as "in need," to be helped by benevolent people who are better off than them. Anna Szorenyi (2009) describes how, without seeing themselves as structured within the relations of white supremacy, white people act as spectators to the suffering of others who are at will to act or walk away. They are, in effect, interpellated by their orienting whiteness as people who exist outside of suffering through their social distance from racialized peoples (Szorenyi, 2009, p. 97, drawing upon Althusser, 1972 and Ahmed, 2007). Centrally, "distance" refers to "the structure of the world instituted and maintained by colonialism and its accompanying racial discourses" (Szorenyi, 2009, p. 97). Through their participation in such normative conceptions of community service and giving back, Bridge Program youth were also interpellated, or socialized, into distanced relations with their own communities.

Youths' conceptions of practices that constituted giving back to their community were similar to those described by Mr. Johnson. Centrally, the ways that several of them described community service were in terms that indicated that the more hours, the better, and that those hours were a sign of success. Bridge sophomore Victoria explained her take on giving back to the community:

I want to do volunteering, stuff like that, like hours, because I do that at my church and stuff, and soup kitchens. But I feel like I shouldn't play a role in protests and stuff like that, that's not my place. Even though they say the generation should speak up, I don't think I would—" I asked her, "Why not?" She replied, "Because it doesn't really affect me. I mean, some protests I would definitely speak out for, but there are some that don't affect me directly. I might feel passionate about the issue, but if it doesn't affect me, it's not affecting my life, then I don't feel the need to go out of my way to fix it because the world is going to stay the same. I mean, slowly it'll change, but it's been like this for a while. (11:17)

Victoria's response is complex, as she rejected the idea of speaking up if an issue didn't affect her, stating that she felt that she "shouldn't play a role in protests and stuff like that, that's not my place," at the same time as declaring she would support Black Lives Matter and "gay pride" because her best friend was Black, and "because everyone should be accepted." Although Victoria is aware of various youth-led social movements and has a sense that "the generation should speak up," her assertion that such movements wouldn't affect her seems to be in contradiction to her description of her white neighbor terrorizing her family because they were Mexican (see Chapter 4).

While for the most part, Bridge Program youth agreed that giving back to the community was important, at least in the sense of community service, the appropriation of the program by Cedarville families who did not fit the criterion of first generation college-going and/or historically educationally underserved affected the way that youth took up this programmatic ideal. Joanna, a Bridge sophomore who identified as Filipino and described her family as wealthy, talked about the Bridge Program as if she wasn't a part of it. When I asked her about what it meant to her to return to one's community and give back she talked about Bridge in the third person, "they," rather than in second person, "we":

Oh, yeah. They do a lot of community things. They were cleaning up the park. And I haven't been to a meeting in a while, but I know they talk about a lot of stuff to fund raise for our school, I'm pretty sure, or just Bridge. But, yeah. They do a lot of activities that they do on their own [...]. (11:36)

This response was likely reflective of being a student whose savvy parents made sure that she took advantage of the resources of the Bridge Program as described by Bridge Program educators (see Chapter 3). Joanna indicated that she was not committed to the idea of giving back, nor to the communities that Bridge was meant to serve.

On the other hand, when I spoke with sophomores Itzel, Adelina, and Laura who were each part of the first generation in their families to go to college, they each emphasized the necessity of returning to one's community to support others whose journeys were taking longer. Itzel's response is representative of the group's:

Well, I would love to come back to the school one day and just look back on everything that I've done, and then help others. I'll just tell them what to do, what not to do, and tell them it's okay to make mistakes. (35:17)

Adelina, Itzel, and Laura agreed that returning and demonstrating gratitude by supporting others on the same college-going journey was an important obligation.

However, when asked about what it meant to give back to their communities, their dedication to giving back and description of which community/ies to give back to only included those on pathways to higher education.

These uptakes of "giving back" and definitions of community were also described in my plática with Bridge sophomores Jessamy, Bryan, Mercedes, and Oscar:

Theresa: So Bridge talks a lot about the mission of giving back to your community, right? Being a leader. What does that mean to you? What do you imagine-- what do you do now? What do you imagine yourself doing in the future along those lines, or do you?

Jessamy: More community service. Before Bridge, I didn't really know anywhere I could volunteer or do anything like that. When I started doing Bridge, they give you all these options to help out your community. So it's easier to help out or go to - I don't know - the fair or something and work at the parking lot or go to a shelter or something like-- I never thought about doing those things before. And then Bridge just gives you all these lists and options.

Noting the normative types of community service that Jessamy described, I reframed the question several times.

Theresa: Anything else? [Pause] No? Are there other ways of being leaders and being involved other than volunteering? [Pause] Other ways you hear about or you learned about? [Pause] No?

Jessamy: Not really.

Theresa: No? Like when you think about, I mean, Cesar Chavez, right? He's kind of an icon, right? Lots of people know about him. Do you think the way that he gives back to-- or gave back to the community is similar or different from volunteering?

Jessamy: Oh, I would say different.

Mercedes: I think it's different also, because he wanted something for everyone. And volunteering is like, you could do it so many times, but what would be the outcome of the whole general system? So, he pushed the whole Latino people=

Bryan: =Community=

Mercedes:=yeah, to fight for something. So I think this Bridge class is similar to that rather than volunteering because it pushes all the students to do better and to succeed rather than being in any other class with other kids, which doesn't really push you the way Bridge does.

Jessamy: Bridge really wants everybody to make it to college. That's the main goal is to go to college, even if it is a community college. They just want you to make it to the college mark. And that's just the main goal. And they make sure-- they don't leave anybody behind. Even if a student is struggling really hard, Ms. Fernández will go out of her way to help that student. And she'll sit down with them. And she's made homework clubs and all these things to help you if you're failing or you're doing bad in the course. She tries her hardest to make you succeed.

While Mercedes pointed out the difference between volunteering and affecting "the whole general system" as Cesar Chavez did, the change in the system was imagined as everyone in the Bridge Program successfully making it to college.

As a whole, the idea of giving back to one's community was channeled into normative conceptions of community service, often one-off events to "help" others deal with the blaring need caused by the economic instability inherent in capitalism. At times, the volunteer work that youth performed consisted of providing free labor for school or city events. As a whole, the vision of giving back to one's community that the youth learned through the program was that of dropping in as "band aid" help for endemic problems. Notably, this work was engaged outside of historic understandings of race and class hierarchies and positioned Bridge youth as in a place to give, as benevolent, but not as invested in the wellbeing of the groups that they "helped." As Mercedes recognized, the type of community service work that they were encouraged to do would not affect the whole system. In effect, this approach to giving back and returning as leaders, especially when considered as potentially part of the similar, statewide Puente Project, serves to recreate current relations of inequity, as youth are socialized into "giving back" in ways that do not get at the roots of the problems that make these programs necessary in the first place.

Literature on the Puente Project emphasizes how it specifically recruits youth who view education as a means for social change:

Puente tries to focus its efforts on students who demonstrate a sincere desire to improve or excel in school and who 'buy into' a college-preparatory ideology.

That is, students should be able to articulate not only that they want to go to college, but they should also see college as a vehicle for personal and social change. (Gándara & Moreno, 2002, p. 469)

What this analysis of “giving back” within the Cedarville Bridge Program suggests, however, is that the social change imagined by such programs is limited to increasing the number of Latinx college graduates who value community service as normatively conceived. The discourse that at least one teacher in such a program engaged suggested that in the process, they learned to exist outside of their communities of origin, “returning” as educationally privileged people who would encourage others to follow in their footsteps.

### **Taking Up & Pushing Back Against Normative Visions of Success**

While youth in the Bridge Program conceptualized success differently from typical, mainstream American definitions of success, for some, the individualizing blame crouched in American schooling’s meritocratic myths persisted. For others, success meant mitigating their racialized and gendered vulnerabilities. Finally, some youth in the Bridge Program included ownership of Land within the desires that they connected to conceptualizations of success. In all, Bridge Program youth both took up and pushed back against normative visions of success typical in the U.S. settler nation-state.

Youth both conceptualized success as a means to address racialized and gendered vulnerabilities and drew upon discourses that pathologize means of coping with these vulnerabilities in relation to what is often considered the ultimate schooling failure, dropping out. In my plática with Bridge sophomores Lucia and Monserrat, they expressed ideas of success focused on wellbeing and safety. Lucia actively countered normative visions of success such as having lots of money, describing how this wasn’t what motivated her. Instead, both she and Monserrat described economic stability in terms of having a good place to live, not stressing about rent, not worrying about violence, and having a job that was fulfilling as their measure of success. In the plática with Bridge sophomore, Victoria, she described how educational success may lead people to look down on one another. She pointed to the distance that is at times attributed to educated people of color, perhaps as a result of the interpellation to superior viewing positions of one’s community as described in the last section. Victoria explained,

I feel like sometimes if I'm— okay, for example, a Mexican person, if there's a really well-educated one, might look down upon, like a chola or like one from

the hood, like a Mexican from the hood, when really, we're all the same race, we're all the same [...] We should stick together. (8:59)

Here, Victoria emphasizes that Mexicans who are successful should “stick together” with cholas or Mexicans from the hood, pushing against the individualistic nature of normative visions of success, and emphasizing racial solidarity. However, later in our plática, she invoked a number of the individualistic, blame-filled narratives often used within deficit framings of racialized peoples to justify inequity (Brayboy et al., 2007; Bauman & Briggs, 2003). When Victoria brought up the idea of dropping out, I asked her why she thought that some people drop out. She explained,

Probably like drugs, and stuff. They're not focused. Their family life is bad. There's different reasons for everyone, but if they drop out, it's probably something they're doing that is causing them to drop out, like gangs or something. That's on them. That's their lives. (22:42)

In this instance, Victoria situated success as attained via an individual's efforts or choices. She named social situations often used to pathologize racialized people and used an individualistic lens stating, “That's on them.” Alternatively, Jessica Ruglis (2011) theorizes school drop out as a form of biopower, a “biopolitical youth resistance” actively carried out in order “to preserve one's humanity, elevate one's self to a higher level of life and go further away from death (physical, mental, spiritual, and psychic, etc.) in an act of critical resistance against educational injustice and miseducation by education policy” (p. 635). However, because schooling success is generally viewed as the only option for access to wellbeing and a life without struggle, as other Bridge youth described, such resistance is rendered inconceivable.

Bridge youth also grappled with the dynamics of individualism and collectivism in the ways that they conceptualized success. Sophomores Mercedes, Bryan, and Oscar each emphasized the collective nature of success within the Bridge Program as opposed to in AP classes at Cedarville High, that of not only viewing success as collectively obtained, but also describing supporting one another as part of the very nature of success. While Mercedes and Bryan stated that they wanted to go to college to have a life that was “sufficient” and “without struggle,” Jessamy, whose father had a college degree and parents emphasized a career in the medical field, explained that for her, going to college was in response to the competitiveness involved in getting a good job and a “nice life.” For Oscar, the competitiveness of society spurred him to work harder, like Jessamy, but for him, working harder in the face of a competitive society was informed by a moral commitment to help out his community.



When I asked sophomores Laura, Itzel, and Adelina about their conceptions of success, their responses, while including ideas about jobs and college, largely focused on family, home, and Land. Laura replied,

Well like, in Bridge when we read, I think it was in *Of Mice and Men*, the definition of success in that book was to have a house and a family and money. Oh yeah, and land. Oh, yeah. And I feel like, yeah, it could be that too, but also having education and have a job, yeah. (32:09)

Itzel said,

For me, buying a house and land either here or in Mexico would be me succeeding because I would buy it for my parents because that's been their dream. And I feel like if I do that for them and for me, not just for them, it'd be great. In Spanish, we were doing this project where we described our dream house and we drew it. And it has a lot of aspects of my family because I wanted to include a soccer field because my cousins love play soccer. I want to include a swimming pool because I like to swim. I want to include mango trees because that's our favorite fruit. So I kind of feel succeeding for me is to have a good family life. And getting a job [laughter]. (32:34)

Adelina shared,

I think succeeding is— I don't know. Completing college, probably. Getting a career. I can help us all. And probably to make my parents truly realize the reason that they came here, it worked, and it's all good. It was worth it. (33:47)

Laura added,

My dad always says that he already reached success because of all the land he has, but he's always, 'You guys have to be like me. Reach what you guys think is your goal.' Because his goal was to own land in Mexico and to own land here. And providing money for his family, which is us. And he does do that, to give us our needs. (34:25)

For both Laura and Itzel, part of success was buying Land, an ideal that Laura connected to Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* which they'd read in Bridge English. Both youth described owning Land as part of their own and part of their parents' goals and dreams. Notably, both families desire to own land in the U.S. and/or in Mexico, which

points both to the ways that land ownership was both a key signifier of success as well as a practical way to ensure economic stability within settler colonial nation-states. For Laura, the potential for future success had come at the cost of leaving a particular place, Mexico, and she desired to show her parents that their sacrifice to come to the U.S. in exchange for completing college and getting a job had worked.

For the youth in the Bridge Program, success came at a number of costs. The first cost in many was for Bridge youth's families to leave their home countries. For many, especially the second generation youth whose parents had made that sacrifice to come to the U.S., the conceptualizations of success largely encompassed a view of life without day-to-day struggle, safety, a home, and financial stability. In some cases, this came with the ideal of owning Land, a key feature of settler futurity, in which Land is privately held, possessed. The pressure to succeed was built into what was seen as success, as several youth described worrying about rent, living in dangerous areas, being harassed or scared by neighbors, and holding jobs that were backbreaking. Costs associated with success also included the threat of assimilation including no longer speaking Spanish and of being out of touch with one's culture. These costs were described as being made more likely when youth went to college far from their families, but could be avoided with finding supportive communities such as the Bridge Program in the university setting. For many youth, success was not about being rich or obtaining a particular job or degree, but rather to improve the stability of their families' lives and to do so collectively within the program. Thus, while the normative visions of success, "to be the best," and "have the most" did not motivate most of the youth in the Bridge Program, the pathways through which they imagined less vulnerable futures were structured to maintain precarity for the majority of society, particularly racialized peoples.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the ways that current and future Bridge youths' participation in local history events reified settler futurity, as they naturalized and neutralized settler possession of Indigenous Land. In the second section, I examined how the Bridge Program's goal of teaching youth to give back to their communities was undermined by the conceptions of giving back they engaged in and which communities were to be given back to, which though not entirely individualistic, were focused on the Bridge Program itself, and others who also wanted to attain higher education. I highlighted how giving back were only imagined as possible through normative volunteering activities, pointing to the ways that these positioned youth as benevolent, superiors helping needy others. Desires for social change were limited to the desire for all of the program students to make it to college. Finally, I discussed

Bridge Program youth's conceptions of success, highlighting the desire to mitigate the economic precarity of their racialized and gendered vulnerabilities in addition to improving the wellbeing of the family and program-based collectivity that most youth viewed success as necessarily part of. These visions of success were to be achieved through pathways that came with risks of cultural assimilation, but centrally, required political assimilation in the sense of complicity with structures that ensure settler futurity.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion: Engaging Tactics vs. Strategies: UnSettling the Logics & Relations of Our Imaginaries

*Emplacing White Possessive Logics* presents a way to think about settler colonial (re)production within a specific place of schooling. It asks those of us engaged in educational research and practice to look more closely at the ways that we access educational resources and position such access within our broader goals for liberation. Specifically, this dissertation emphasizes that college-going pathways and the attainment of higher education are always embedded within the white supremacist settler colonial nation-state, and cannot be primary strategies for racialized peoples' liberation, despite its championing by liberal multicultural approaches to social change. As Chela Sandoval (2000) demonstrates, adopting strategies that white possessive logics' mode of rationalization will always find a way around leaves social movements stagnant and fallible. Her work suggests instead that we pick up and put down tactics that are appropriate for particular moments, but that do not define who we are, nor who we wish to become by our engagement with them.

Further, this project illustrates the ways that youth are socialized into the limited options presented by settler capitalism: either one accepts and joins the productive class or they will end up being consumed as a member of the disposable underclass. Native resurgence movements show us that there are other options (S. Chase, personal communication, May 2, 2019). Youth must learn of these alternative imaginaries as part of bigger projects towards liberation that would accompany any educational efforts to ameliorate racialized and gendered vulnerabilities that shape their lives. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's (2013) *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of Native Hawaiian Charter School* describes one such educational effort, recounting a public charter school based on Native Hawaiian culture that took up the tensions of settler colonialism rather than ignore them. However, and of direct import, Goodyear-Ka'ōpua ultimately concludes that even these epistemological shifts are not enough for the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples and Lands when implemented from within the unending techniques of control mandated by the settler state (2013, p. 245). This dissertation similarly argues that incorporation of even the race radical material culture for racialized youth within settler schooling structures will never be enough for our ultimate wellbeing. Centrally, *Emplacing White Possessive Logics* urges Latinx and other racialized peoples, particularly exogenous others, to engage in an ethic of incommensurability (Tuck & Yang, 2012), taking seriously the ways that most liberation efforts ignore their implications for decolonization of Indigenous Land. It urges us to

shift our liberation work towards Indigenous futurity rather than a subordinate settler future.

This dissertation described the ways that the mode of rationalization of white possessive logics forged the inevitable answer of white settler possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xii) of the college-going pathways at Cedarville High School in Chapter 3. This chapter introduced classificatory technologies of control as a way to understand the practices through which white possession was maintained. As an emplaced, denaturalized example of the way that everyday decision making reifies the settler colonial nation-state, this chapter emphasized the ways that working within a liberal multicultural framework will always be limited to what is permissible within the flexibility of “formally antiracist liberal capitalist [settler] modernity” (Melamed, 2011).

Further, this dissertation demonstrated how the place of Cedarville, including its histories, institutions, and connections to the broader settler colonial state, affected the racialized and gendered vulnerabilities, desired futures, and navigations of college pathways of Latinx youth and their families in Chapter 4. It introduced the concept of racialized and gendered vulnerabilities in order to highlight the tenuousness and ongoing instability inherent in the lives of the Latinx youth and their families in the Cedarville Bridge Program. It highlighted that while right wing politics denied Latinx youth’s humanity, liberal politics denied their understandings of right wing terror, disregarding their reading of their own social worlds. In terms of institutions of schooling, this chapter, along with Chapter 3, demonstrated the ordinary violence of such places, and the brief moments of affirmation that the Bridge Program and Chicano Studies class provided. Herein, it differentiated empirically between culturally relevant and culturally sustaining and revitalizing practice, and pointed to how the latter allowed for imagining alternatives to the threat of either slave or subordinate settler futures. Finally, it asserted the ways that racialized and gendered vulnerabilities compel youth’s lives to reify the white settler colonial nation-state through describing how youth experienced local state terror and recruitment to the state’s disciplinary and imperial arms. Herein, the (non)option of subordinate settler status was emphasized as a means to ameliorate the constant threat structured by the settler-native-slave triad.

Finally, this dissertation examined the relations with Land, community, and success that Latinx youth in the Cedarville Bridge Program were socialized into in Chapter 5. This chapter described the ways that youth in the Bridge Program were socialized into the logic of settler futurity embedded within local history events, reifying a relation of possession to Land. The relations to community that youth were socialized into via the program focused primarily on the wellbeing of the Bridge Program itself, and did not extend to long-term, sustained relationality with other people/s’ material wellbeing. The relations embedded within the visions of success conveyed in the program both pushed back against and took up normative conceptions of success, as

youth expressed the importance of collective wellbeing, but limited those constructions to helping others also attain higher education. Together, these chapters illustrate the (non)options of working towards academic success while simultaneously demonstrating that the changes evinced by this strategy will be only in the color and expansion of the subordinate settler class, which speaks to the ways that white supremacy/antiblackness and settler colonialism work hand-in-hand.

Contributions to the field of education include 1) emplacing theoretical concepts such as white possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015), official antiracisms (Melamed, 2011), and settler futurity (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013) within an ethnographic project; 2) expanding schooling ethnographies of social reproduction to the analysis of settler colonialism; and 3) centering place within an ethnography of schooling. Centering “place” as a primary element in an ethnography of schooling, as a methodological intervention, offers insights into the ways that settler colonialism is perpetuated in a specific, local place, and through analysis of the logics and relations embedded within that place, connected to the reproduction of the nation-state. Further methodological contributions include an expansion of the method of *plática*, specifically my invitation that we continue to learn how to respond to youth that share their lives with us as researchers, breaking the mythology of neutrality and taking up an ethic of responsibility in the ways that we engage in “interviews.” Additionally, this work expands conceptualizations of “competence” within the field of language socialization. Competence required by communities for adequate participation, just as socialization itself (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011), is never neutral, but rather, carries within it the logics and relations expected by the experts and broader community members not merely for participation, but for acceptance as a community member. This is particularly essential when considering how settler and white supremacist/antiblack societies socialize children and youth in general within home, schooling, and community contexts, as well as racialized and exogenous others of all ages via schooling, community, and other public and/or institutional contexts.

This work’s significance lies in its implications for the types of social change college access and other diversity programs are capable of. While this dissertation focuses on high school youth, its implications for diversity initiatives in general, whether within the academy, for undergraduate or secondary education, are pertinent both in terms of how such programs are constructed and for considering carefully the visions of success conveyed. This dissertation continues examinations of the ways that radical desires are subsumed into liberal politics as tactics for liberation have been appropriated into “official antiracisms” (Melamed, 2011; Flores, 2016), and in the process of being rendered viable, legible, fundable, and of greater impact, lose their potential for collective liberation, which speaks to how grassroots movements proceed with options to officialize their strategies, tactics, and programs.

With the caveat that college preparation programs are always only a partial answer, a way to ameliorate the suffering of racialized individuals, a means to access a certain set of resources, I also point to the ways that these programs remain an important tactic for racialized and Indigenous peoples within the white supremacist settler state. Having said this, this dissertation suggests the following implications for college preparation and other “diversity” supporting programs: 1) Programs that work from frameworks engaging racialized and Indigenous peoples’ cultures must engage not only in honoring culture as set of practices or aesthetics, but prioritize the material cultural activism of race radicalisms that require a politic that rejects culture and language as assets or stepping stones towards subordinate settler status in the liberal multicultural nation-state (Melamed, 2011; Flores and Rosa, 2015). This requires taking seriously the difference between culturally relevant and culturally sustaining pedagogies (Paris & Alim, 2014), as difference within liberal modernity is only tolerated or appropriated, not respected in its sovereignty. 2) Program educators must be educated in the knowledges, epistemological, methodological, and in terms of content in order to carry out this work. For example, as Bridge English teacher Araceli Fernández pointed out, English teachers are typically English majors, which means that they often do not have the knowledge of Latinx/Chicanx thought, literatures, and histories to fully engage these bodies of thought within classes such as Bridge English. Further, as Melamed’s (2011) work points out, the uptake of liberal multiculturalism in literature departments must be interrogated in general, and in direct relation to this study, particularly as it becomes embedded within how race and difference are taken up in secondary English classrooms and college preparation programs for racialized youth. 3) These programs must examine closely the ways that they urge youth to give back to or engage with community. Taking up normative forms of volunteerism and community service reproduces the inequitable, removed, and superior viewing point and relations of charity rather than remaining in and maintaining good relations with community.

In closing, college preparation programs are structured as reaction, rather than action, to white supremacist and settler colonial systems, grounding efforts at social change in counterstances instead of stances (Anzaldúa, 1987). Rather than react, attempting to access the rewards of the white settler nation-state, we must act, opting out of searches for recognition (Coulthard, 2014), creating futures on our own terms while honoring the sovereignty of the Lands we have come to occupy. Unsettling the logics and relations that constitute our imagined futures is an initial step towards doing so.



## References

- Acuña, R. (1972). *Occupied America: The Chicano's struggle toward liberation*. San Francisco, CA: Canfield Press.
- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Aguirre, A., & Martinez, R. O. (1993). *Chicanos in higher education: Issues and dilemmas for the 21st century*. Retrieved from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED365207>
- Akom, A. A. (2003). Reexamining resistance as oppositional behavior: The Nation of Islam and the creation of a Black achievement ideology. *Sociology of Education*, 76(4), 305–325.
- Akom, A. A. (2004). *Ameritocracy: The racing of our nation's children*. Retrieved from Proquest, AAI3137973.
- Ali, R., & Jenkins, G. (2002). *The high school diploma: Making it more than an empty promise*. Retrieved from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED474405>
- Allen, A., Scott, L. M., & Lewis, C. W. (2013). Racial microaggressions and African American and Hispanic students in urban schools: A call for culturally affirming education. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 3(2), 117–129.
- Almaguer, T. (1994). *Racial fault lines: The historical origins of white supremacy in California*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Althusser, L. (1972). *Lenin and philosophy, and other essays*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: The new mestiza = La frontera* (1st ed.). San Francisco, CA: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Arrellano, M. A., Leventhal, A., Cambra, R., Schmidt, S. G., & Gomez, G. A. (2014). *An Ethnohistory of Santa Clara Valley and Adjacent Regions; Historic Ties of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area and the Tribal Stewardship Over the Tupiun Táareštak [Place of the Fox Man] Site: CA-SCL-894*.
- Arvin, M., Tuck, E., & Morrill, A. (2013). Decolonizing feminism: Challenging connections between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy. *Feminist Formations*, 25(1), 8–34.
- Aviña, S. M. (2016). "That's ratchet": A Chicana feminist rasquache pedagogy as entryway to understanding the material realities of contemporary Latinx elementary-aged youth. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 49(4), 468–479.
- Bakhtin, M. M., & Holquist, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

- Balderrama, F. E., & Rodriguez, R. (2006). *Decade of betrayal: Mexican repatriation in the 1930s*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Baquedano-López, P. (1997). Creating social identities through "doctrina" narratives. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 8(1), 27–45.
- Baquedano-López, P., Arredondo, G., & Solís, J. (2009). Language socialization among Latinos. In E. G. Murillo (Ed.), *Handbook of Latinos and education: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 329–349). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Baquedano-López, P., & Hernandez, S. J. (2011). Language socialization across educational settings. In B. A. U. Levinson & M. Pollock (Eds.), *A Companion to the Anthropology of Education* (pp. 197–211). Chichester, England; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Baquedano-López, P., & Janetti, G. B. (2017). The Maya diaspora Yucatan-San Francisco. In S. Salas & P. R. Portes (Eds.), *US Latinization: Education and the new Latino south* (pp. 161–183). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Baquedano-López, P., & Kattan, S. (2008). Language socialization in schools. In P. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (pp. 2729–2741). New York, NY: Springer.
- Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bauman, R., & Briggs, C. L. (2003). *Voices of modernity: Language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge, England; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bernal, D. D. (1998). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(4), 555–583.
- Bernal, D. D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105–126.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800107>
- Bernal, D. D., Burciaga, R., & Carmona, J. F. (2012). Chicana/Latina testimonios: Mapping the methodological, pedagogical, and political. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 45(3), 363–372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2012.698149>
- Blackwell, M., Lopez, F. B., & Urrieta Jr., L. (2017). Special issue: Critical Latinx Indigeneities. *Latino Studies*, 15, 126–137.
- Blanton, R. (2011). Chronotopic landscapes of environmental racism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 21, E76–E93. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1395.2011.01098.x>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). E pluribus unum or the same old perfume in a new bottle? On the future of racial stratification in the United States. In *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (3rd ed., pp. 177–205). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brayboy, B. M. J., Castagno, A. E., & Maughan, E. (2007). Chapter 6: Equality and justice for all? Examining race in education scholarship. *Review of Research in Education*, 31(1), 159–194.
- Briggs, C. L. (1984). Learning how to ask: Native metacommunicative competence and the incompetence of fieldworkers. *Language in Society*, 13(1), 1–28.
- Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, J. A. (2016). The new “southern strategy:” Immigration, race and “welfare dependency” in contemporary US Republican political discourse. *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, 8(2), 22–41.
- Bruner, J. S. (2003). The narrative creation of self. In *Making stories: Law, literature, life* (pp. 63–87). Cambridge, MA; London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Burrue Stone, T. (2014). Teachers’ use of hegemonic caring relations to depoliticize student resistance. *Social Contexts of Education, Division G*. Presented at the American Educational Research Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Burrue Stone, T. (2018). *Self-defeating or self-sustaining? Resistance to the enclosures of hegemonic care*. Presented at the Critical Race Studies in Education Association, Albuquerque, NM.
- Byrd, J. A. (2011). *The transit of empire: Indigenous critiques of colonialism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cacho, L. M. (2012). *Social death: Racialized rightlessness and the criminalization of the unprotected*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Calderon, D. (2014a). Anticolonial methodologies in education: Embodying land and Indigeneity in Chicana feminisms. *Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies*, 6(2), 81–96. <https://doi.org/10.18085/llas.6.2.96wkl5357125j70x>
- Calderon, D. (2014b). Uncovering settler grammars in curriculum. *Educational Studies*, 50(4), 313–338.
- California Department of Education. (2019). Fingertip Facts on Education in California-CalEdFacts [Website]. Retrieved from <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp>
- Cammarota, J. (2004). The gendered and racialized pathways of Latina and Latino youth: Different struggles, different resistances in the urban context. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 35(1), 53–74. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2004.35.1.53>

- Carter, P. L. (2007). *Keepin' It Real: School Success Beyond Black and White*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Castillo, E. D. (Ed.). (1991). *Native American perspectives on the Hispanic colonization of Alta California*. New York, NY; London, England: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Cazden, C. B. (2002). A descriptive study of six high school Puente classrooms. *Educational Policy*, 16(4), 496–521.
- Cedarville High School. (2018). *Cedarville High School Western Association of Schools and Colleges Report [WASC Self Study]*. Cedarville, CA.
- Cedarville Unified School District. (2018). *Cedarville High School Accountability Report Card for 2017-18 [SARC]*. Cedarville, CA.
- City of Cedarville. (n.d.). Cedarville Annual Township Festival [Website].
- City of Cedarville History [Website]. (2019).
- Conchas, G. Q. (2006). *The color of success: Race and high-achieving urban youth*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Contreras, A. R. (2004). Epilogue: Latinos at the portal of the 21st century. *Education and Urban Society*, 36(2), 223–234.
- Cooper, C. R. (2002). Five bridges along students' pathways to college: A developmental blueprint of families, teachers, counselors, mentors, and peers in the Puente Project. *Educational Policy*, 16(4), 607–622.
- Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red skin, white masks*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, 139.
- Cruz, C. (2001). Toward an epistemology of a brown body. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 14(5), 657–669.
- Cruz, C. (2013). LGBTQ youth of color video making as radical curriculum: A brother mourning his brother and a theory in the flesh. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43(4), 441–460.
- Davila Jr, O. (2019). The broken lens: Equating badness with blackness renders Latino males absent. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1–12.
- Day, I. (2015). Being or nothingness: Indigeneity, antiblackness, and settler colonial critique. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 1(2), 102–121.
- de la Torre, A. (2008). Countering the pain that never heals: Pláticas that mend the soul. In A. Chabram-Dernersesian & A. de la Torre (Eds.), *Speaking from the body: Latinas on health and culture* (pp. 44–56). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- DeLeon, A. P. (2012). "A perverse kind of sense": Urban spaces, ghetto places and the discourse of school shootings. *The Urban Review*, 44(1), 152–169.

- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1994). Consejos: The power of cultural narratives. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 25(3), 298–316.
- Dumas, M. J. (2014). 'Losing an arm': Schooling as a site of Black suffering. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 17(1), 1–29.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An Indigenous peoples' history of the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Field, L. W. (2003). Unacknowledged tribes, dangerous knowledge. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 79–94.
- Field, L. W. (2013). Mapping erasure: The power of normative cartography in the past and present of the Muwekma Ohlones of the San Francisco Bay Area. In A. E. D. Ouden & J. M. O'Brien (Eds.), *Recognition, sovereignty, struggles, & Indigenous rights in the United States* (pp. 287–309). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts: Notes on the politics of an urban high school*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Flores, N. (2016). A tale of two visions: Hegemonic whiteness and bilingual education. *Education Policy*, 30(1), 13–38.
- Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85(2), 149–171.
- Foley, D. E. (2002). Critical ethnography: The reflexive turn. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(4), 469–490.
- Fordham, S. (1996). *Blacked out: Dilemmas of race, identity, and success at capital high*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Fordham, S. (2008). Beyond Capital High: On dual citizenship and the strange career of "acting white." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 39(3), 227–246.
- Fordham, S. (2014). What does an umbrella do for the rain? On the efficacy and limitations of resistance. In E. Tuck & W. Yang (Eds.), *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change* (pp. 97–106). New York, NY; London, England: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Frey, W. H., & Brookings Institute. (2011). America's Diverse Future: Initial Glimpses at the U.S. Child Population from the 2010 Census. Retrieved September 27, 2018, from <https://www.brookings.edu/research/americas-diverse-future-initial-glimpses-at-the-u-s-child-population-from-the-2010-census/>

- Fujikane, C., & Okamura, J. Y. (Eds.). (2008). *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gándara, P. (2002). A study of high school Puente: What we have learned about preparing Latino youth for postsecondary education. *Educational Policy*, 16(4), 474–495.
- Gándara, P. (2005). Addressing educational inequities for Latino students: The politics of "forgetting." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 295–313.
- Gándara, P., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino education crisis: The consequences of failed social policies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gándara, P., & Moreno, J. F. (2002). Introduction: The Puente Project: Issues and perspectives on preparing Latino youth for higher education. *Educational Policy*, 16(4), 463–473.
- Gándara, P., & The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics. (2015). *Fulfilling America's future: Latinas in the U.S.*
- García-Sánchez, I. M. (2014). *Language and Muslim immigrant childhoods: The politics of belonging*. Chichester, England; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Garrett, P. B., & Baquedano-López, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 339–361.
- Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. Teachers College Press.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Gibson, M. A., & Hidalgo, N. (2009). Bridges to success in high school for migrant youth. *Teachers College Record*, 111(3), 683–711.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2007). *Golden gulag: Prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Giroux, H. A., & Purpel, D. E. (Eds.). (1983). *The hidden curriculum and moral education: Deception or discovery?* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Pub. Corp.
- Glenn, E. N. (2015). Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of US race and gender formation. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 52–72.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1993). *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Oxford, England; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Goodwin, C. (1994). Professional vision. *American Anthropologist*, 96(3), 606–633.
- Gott, R. (2007). Latin America as a White Settler Society. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 26(2), 269–289.

- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith, Eds.). New York, NY: International Publishers Co.
- Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy: Native American social and political thought*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2013). The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 11(1).
- Guerrero, P. M. (2017). *Nuevo South: Latinas/os, Asians, and the remaking of place*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Gutiérrez, K., Baquedano-López, P., & Álvarez, H. H. (2000). The crisis in Latino education: The norming of America. In C. Tejeda, C. Martínez, & Z. Leonardo (Eds.), *Charting new terrains of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) education* (pp. 213–232). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Hanks, W. F. (1996). *Language and communicative practices*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Haro, R. (2004). Programs and strategies to increase Latino students' educational attainment. *Education and Urban Society*, 36(2), 205–222.
- Harris, C. I. (1992). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106, 1707.
- Hernandez, K. L., Dupuy, D., Bryan, I., & Allen, T. (n.d.). The Million Dollar Hoods Project. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from Million Dollar Hoods website: <http://milliondollarhoods.org/>
- Hill, J. (1998). Language, race, and white public space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 680–689.
- Hill, J. (1999). Language, Race, and White Public Space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 680–689.
- Hill, J. (2008). *The everyday language of white racism*. Chichester, England; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hixson, W. L. (2013). *American settler colonialism: A history*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HoSang, D. (2010). *Racial propositions: Ballot initiatives and the making of postwar California*. Berkeley, CA; London, England: University of California Press.
- Huber, L. P. (2016). Make America great again: Donald Trump, racist nativism and the virulent adherence to white supremacy amid U.S. demographic change. *Charleston Law Review*, 10, 215–250.
- Huber, L. P., & Cueva, B. M. (2012). Chicana/Latina testimonios on effects and responses to microaggressions. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 45(3), 392–410.
- Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish became White*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Iyengar, M. M. (2014). Not mere abstractions: Language policies and language ideologies in U.S. settler colonialism. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3(2).
- Jones, N. (2009). *Between good and ghetto: African American girls and inner city violence*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Laden, B. V. (1998). An organizational response to welcoming students of color. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 1998(102), 31–41.
- Laden, B. V. (1999). Socializing and mentoring college students of color: The Puente Project as an exemplary celebratory socialization model. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 72(2), 55–74.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). But that's just good teaching! The case for culturally relevant pedagogy. *Theory Into Practice*, 34(3), 159–165.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in U.S. schools. *Educational Researcher*, 35(7), 3–12.
- Lee, C. D. (1995). Signifying as a Scaffold for Literary Interpretation. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21(4), 357–381.
- Lee, S. J. (1994). Behind the model-minority stereotype: Voices of high- and low-achieving Asian American students. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 25(4), 413–429.
- Leonardo, Z. (2002). The Souls of White Folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 5(1), 29–50.
- Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Leonardo, Z., & Broderick, A. A. (2011). Smartness as property: A critical exploration of intersections between whiteness and disability studies. *Teachers College Record*, 113(10), 2206–2232.
- Leonardo, Z., & Porter, R. K. (2010). Pedagogy of fear: Toward a Fanonian theory of 'safety' in race dialogue. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 13(2), 139–157.
- Lewis, A. E. (2003). *Race in the schoolyard: Negotiating the color line in classrooms and communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lipsitz, G. (1998). *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Loma Vista High School Accountability Report Card for 2017-18 [SARC]. (2018). Loma Vista, CA.
- Lomawaima, K. T. (1995). *They called it prairie light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Lopez, A. P. (2018). The X in Latinx is a wound, not a trend. *EFNIKS.Com*. Retrieved from <http://efniks.com/the-deep-dive-pages/2018/9/11/the-x-in-latinx-is-a-wound-not-a-trend>



- López, I. (1997). *White by law: The legal construction of race*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Macdonald, V., Botti, J., & Clark, L. H. (2007). From visibility to autonomy: Latinos and higher education in the U.S., 1965–2005. *Harvard Educational Review, 77*(4), 474–504.
- Machado-Casas, M. (2012). Pedagogías del camaleón/pedagogies of the chameleon: Identity and strategies of survival for transnational Indigenous Latino immigrants in the US South. *The Urban Review, 44*(5), 534–550.
- MacLeod, J. (1987). *Ain't no makin' it: Leveled aspirations in a low-income neighborhood*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Macpherson, C. B. (1964). *The political theory of possessive individualism: Hobbes to Locke*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.
- Mangual Figueroa, A., & Baquedano-López, P. (2017). Language socialization and schooling. In P. Duff & S. May (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Language socialization* (pp. 141–153). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 95–117.
- Marquez, B. J. (2019). *Settler Pedagogy: The Hampton Institute and Schooling in Indian Country, the Black South, and Colonial Hawaii, 1840-1923* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- Melamed, J. (2011). *Represent and destroy: Rationalizing violence in the new racial capitalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls: Language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mills, C. (1997). *The racial contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mize, R. L., & Swords, A. C. S. (2011). *Consuming Mexican labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Mora, G. C. (2014). *Making Hispanics: How activists, bureaucrats, and media constructed a new American*. Chicago, IL; London, England: University of Chicago Press.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (1981/2015). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (4th ed.). SUNY Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015). *The white possessive: Property, power, and Indigenous sovereignty*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- MTC-ABAG Library. (n.d.). Bay Area Census [Website]. Retrieved from Cities and Towns website: bayareacensus.ca.gov
- Nájera, L. G., & Maldonado, K. (2017). Transnational settler colonial formations and global capital: A consideration of Indigenous Mexican migrants. *American Quarterly, 69*(4), 809–821.

- Neiwert, D., & The Investigative Fund. (2017, June 22). Far-right extremists have hatched far more terror plots than anyone else in recent years. Retrieved July 20, 2019, from Reveal website: <https://www.revealnews.org/article/home-is-where-the-hate-is/>
- Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua. (2013). *The seeds we planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian charter school*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nolan, K. (2011). *Police in the hallways: Discipline in an urban high school*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nygreen, K., Lazdowski, K. A., & Bialostok, S. (2017). Educational anthropologists respond to the 2016 U.S. presidential election: Rupture, continuity, and resistance. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 48(4), 339–348.
- Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Oboler, S. (1995). Hispanics? That's what they call us. In *Ethnic labels, Latino lives: Identity and the politics of (re)presentation in the United States* (pp. 1–16). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Oboler, S., & Dzidzienyo, A. (2005). Flows and counterflows: Latinas/os, Blackness, and racialization in hemispheric perspective. In *Neither enemies nor friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos* (pp. 3–35). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- O'Brien, J. M. (2010). *Firsting and lasting: Writing Indians out of existence in New England*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs & B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics* (pp. 43–72). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Ochs, E. (2002). Becoming a speaker of culture. In C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives* (pp. 99–120). London, England; New York, NY: Continuum.
- Ochs, E. (2004). Becoming a speaker of culture. In C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization: Ecological Perspectives*. London: Continuum.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States* (Second edition). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Orellana, M. F., Dorner, L., & Pulido, L. (2003). Accessing assets: Immigrant youth's work as family translators or "para-phrasers." *Social Problems*, 50(4), 505–524.
- Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (2014). What are we seeking to sustain through culturally sustaining pedagogy? A loving critique forward. *Harvard Educational Review*, 84(1), 85–100.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Patel, L. (2016). *Decolonizing educational research: From ownership to answerability*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Patten, E., & Pew Research Center. (2016). Racial, gender wage gaps persist in U.S. despite some progress. Retrieved June 29, 2019, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/>
- Pence Elementary School Accountability Report Card for 2017-18 [SARC]. (2018). Cedarville, CA.
- Pence Elementary School Ballet Folklorico [Website]. (2019).
- Pérez, E. (1999). *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pérez, P. A., & Ceja, M. (2010). Building a Latina/o student transfer culture: Best practices and outcomes in transfer to universities. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 9(1), 6–21.
- Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project. (2016, September 6). Hispanic Population and Origin in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2014. Retrieved March 30, 2018, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/interactives/hispanic-population-in-select-u-s-metropolitan-areas/>
- Pulido, L. (2017). Geographies of race and ethnicity III: Settler colonialism and nonnative people of color. *Progress in Human Geography*, 42(2), 309–318.
- Raibmon, P. (2008). *The power of promises: Rethinking Indian treaties in the Pacific Northwest*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Ramirez, R. (2002). Julia Sanchez's story: An Indigenous woman between nations. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23(2), 65–83.
- Ramirez, R. (2007). *Native hubs: Culture, community, and belonging in Silicon Valley and beyond*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.
- Regents of the University of California. (n.d.). Admissions index instructions [Website]. Retrieved from Admissions website: <http://admission.universityofcalifornia.edu/freshman/california-residents/admissions-index/instructions.html>
- Rios, V. M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of Black and Latino boys*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Roediger, D. R. (2006). *Working toward whiteness: How America's immigrants became white*. London, England: Basic Books.
- Rolón-Dow, R. (2005). Critical care: A color(full) analysis of care narratives in the schooling experiences of Puerto Rican girls. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(1), 77–111.

- Rosa, J. (2018). *Looking like a language, sounding like a race: Raciolinguistic ideologies and the learning of Latinidad*. Oxford, England; New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Roth-Gordon, J. (2011). Discipline and disorder in the whiteness of mock Spanish. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 21(2), 211–229.
- Rubin, H.J., & Rubin, I.S. (1995). Interviews as guided conversations. In *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (pp. 122–144). London, England: Sage.
- Ruglis, J. (2011). Mapping the biopolitics of school dropout and youth resistance. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 24(5), 627–637. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2011.600268>
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London, England: Sage.
- Salinas Jr, C., & Lozano, A. (2017). Mapping and recontextualizing the evolution of the term Latinx: An environmental scanning in higher education. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1–14.
- Sanchez Loza, D. (n.d.). *Reading, writing, and right-wing (re)production: The teaching and learning of settler-citizenship in Ohio* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- Sandoval, C. (2000). *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sandoval, G. (2012, May 16). A history of Mexican folklorico in Southern California. Retrieved June 28, 2019, from The dance history project of Southern California website: <http://www.dancehistoryproject.org/articles/culture-and-context/world-arts-culture-context/a-history-of-mexican-folorico-in-southern-california/>
- Saranillio, D. I. (2013). Why Asian settler colonialism matters: A thought piece on critiques, debates, and Indigenous difference. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3(3–04), 280–294.
- Sarmiento, J. (2009). A sweet and amnesic present: The postcolonial landscape and memory makings in Cape Verde. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(5), 523–544.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 163–191.
- Shirazi, R. (2017). How much of this is new? Thoughts on how we got here, solidarity, and research in the current moment. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 48(4), 354–361.
- Simpson, A. (2007). On ethnographic refusal: Indigeneity, “voice,” and colonial citizenship. *Junctures*, 9, 67–80.
- Sojoyner, D. M. (2013). Black radicals make for bad citizens: Undoing the myth of the school to prison pipeline. *Berkeley Review of Education*, 4(2).

- Spring, J. H. (2001). *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States* (3rd ed). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Stoeber, J. L. (2016). *The sonic color line: Race and the cultural politics of listening*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Szorenyi, A. (2009). Distanced suffering: Photographed suffering and the construction of white in/vulnerability. *Social Semiotics*, 19(2), 93–109.
- The Education Trust-West. (2017, November). *The majority report: Supporting the educational success of Latino students in California*.
- The Puente Project [Website]. (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.thepuenteproject.org/>
- The Regents of the University of California. (n.d.). Admissions by source school [Website]. Retrieved from <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/infocenter/admissions-source-school>
- Torre, M. E., & Ayala, J. (2009). Envisioning participatory action research entremundos. *Feminism & Psychology*, 19(3), 387–393.
- Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(3), 409–428.
- Tuck, E. (2010). Breaking up with Deleuze: Desire and valuing the irreconcilable. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23(5), 635–650.
- Tuck, E., & Gaztambide-Fernández, R. A. (2013). Curriculum, replacement, and settler futurity. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 29(1), 72–89.
- Tuck, E., & Gorlewski, J. (2016). Racist ordering, settler colonialism, and edTPA: A participatory policy analysis. *Educational Policy*, 30(1), 197–217.
- Tuck, E., & McKenzie, M. (2015a). *Place in research: Theory, methodology, and methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tuck, E., & McKenzie, M. (2015b). Relational validity and the “where” of inquiry: Place and land in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1–6.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society*, 1(1), 1–40.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014a). R-words: Refusing research. In D. Paris & M. T. Winn (Eds.), *Humanizing research: Decolonizing inquiry with youth and communities* (pp. 223–248). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (Eds.). (2014b). *Youth resistance research and theories of change*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Urciuoli, B. (1996). *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- U.S. Department of Commerce. (n.d.). QuickFacts United States [Website]. Retrieved from United States Census Bureau website:  
<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045218>
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Varenne, H., & McDermott, R. (1999). *Successful failure: The school America builds*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Vasconcelos, J. (1979). *The cosmic race = La raza cósmica*. Los Angeles, CA: Centro de Publicaciones, Dept. of Chicano Studies, California State University, Los Angeles.
- Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler colonialism: A theoretical overview*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vidal-Ortiz, S., & Martínez, J. (2018). Latinx thoughts: Latinidad with an X. *Latino Studies, 16*(3), 384–395.
- Villenas, S. (1996). The colonizer/colonized Chicana ethnographer: Identity, marginalization, and co-optation in the field. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(4), 711–731.
- Villenas, S. (2007). Diaspora and the anthropology of Latino education: Challenges, affinities, and intersections. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 38*(4), 419–425.
- Vizenor, G. R. (2008). *Survivance: Narratives of Native presence*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Willinsky, J. (1999). *Learning to divide the world*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Willis, P. E. (1981). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs* (Columbia University Press Morningside ed). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research Is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Halifax & Winnipeg, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.
- Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8*(4), 387–409.
- Woodson, C. G. (1972). *The mis-education of the Negro* (1st AMS ed.). New York, NY: AMS Press.
- Woolley, S. W. (2012). "The silence itself is enough of a statement": The Day of Silence and LGBTQ awareness raising. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 43*(3), 271–288.
- Wortham, S., Mortimer, K., & Allard, E. (2009). Mexicans as model minorities in the new Latino diaspora. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 40*(4), 388–404.

## Appendix A

## Project Events Participant Observed

**June 2017**

Stories of Success: District Event at Cedarville High School (CHS)

**October 2017**

Led College Application Essay Writing Workshops (4 hour-long sessions)

**Feb 2018**

Place Project: California Mission

**June 2018**

Bridge Program Celebration Night

**July 2018**

Place Project: Historic Walking Tour of Cedarville

Place Project: Local History Museum

Place Project: Historic Farm

**August 2018**

CHS Staff Development Day

**September 2018**

Bridge Club Meeting

Place Project/Bridge Community Service:

Cedarville Annual Township Festival, Birthday Celebration, & Parade

Taught Lesson, "Compare & Contrast Essays" to Chicano Studies Classes

CHS Spirit Week Assembly: Class Skits

**October 2018**

Bridge Club Meeting

Bridge Field trip to Sonoma State University

CSU Information Parent Meeting at CHS

Financial Aid Workshop for Parents at CHS

Taught Lesson, "Chicanas in the Chicano Movement" to Chicano Studies Classes

Led College Application Essay Writing Workshops (4 hour-long sessions)

**November 2018**

Día de los Muertos Celebration & Fundraiser  
Chicano Studies Field trip to Movies: *The Hate U Give*

**February 2019**

District Latinx Education Summit for Spanish-Speaking Parents  
Interviews for Incoming Bridge Program Students

**March 2019**

Bridge Game Night for Current & Incoming Students

**April 2019**

Bridge 10 Community Service: Sorting Canned Foods at Local Social Services Center  
Place Project: Rancho Family Day

**June 2019**

Bridge Program Celebration Night



## Appendix B: Youth Plática Participants

Name & Grade	Racial/ethnic Identity	Class	Gender	Parents' Education	Language(s)	Migration Generation
<b>Plática 1:</b>						
Montserrat 11	Mexican	middle class	female	GED	Spanish and English. Grew up with Spanish. Learned English in school	Second gen & because of work and a better life
Lucia 11	Spanish and Hopi/ Navajo	not poor but not rich, middle class	female	my dad's is junior high level, never graduate HS. My mom's highest is business college.	english	n/a
<b>Plática 2:</b>						
Alyssa 9	I identify as Mexican and Columbian.	I would identify as around middle class.	female	college (4 year)	English: home and school; Spanish: my parents	My grandparents came to the U.S. when they were young to find jobs and start their own business. They ended up staying and growing their families.

Plática 3:						
Bryan 10	Latino or Latin American	Middle class	male	graduated high school	English and Spanish	2nd from mom & dad's side
Oscar 10	Latino	middle class	male	4-year	Spanish and English; learned both at home, but Spanish mainly present in household or with cousins	grandparents on mom's side and my father, for a better life, achieve the American Dream
Jessamy 10	Mexican/ Indian [from India]	middle class	female	college for dad, hs for mom	English and Spanish	1st gen my dad and mom migrated to the U.S. for a better life and to make money, my mom migrated from mexico/ and my dad migrated from India
Mercedes 10	Hawaiian, African American , and Mexican	middle class	female	some college	English, mostly around family and schooling	4th generation, (moms family), 4th generation came from Native Hawaiian
Plática 4:						
Carina 9	White, Mexican, Native American	It's a struggle most of the time	female	high school	english	great grandpa came from Mexico; great grandma came from Italy
Plática 5:						
Rebecca 9	Mexican	struggling middle class	female	master's	english and Thai, grow up with both	I'm 4th generation on my mom's side. My great grandma immigrated from Mexico to New Mexico.

Plática 6:						
Joanna 10	Pacific Islander (Filipino)	wealthy	female	graduating college	English	My grandmother moved here to start a new life.
Logan 10	Mexican- American, Indian [from India]	strugglin g middle class	male	4 years of college, teacher	English	for work
Plática 7:						
Luciana 12 (not in Bridge)	Hispanic	middle class	female	elementary school	Spanish/English; Spanish from parents, English from School	2nd generation; wanted to get money & build a family
Plática 8:						
Robert 9	My mom and dad are Mexican. I'm fully mexican.	My dad is able to maintain a middle class.	male	My dad had 2-years of college and my mom finished high school.	english, only english, I used to speak Spanish but forgot most of it. I do understand it though.	My mom was born in the US and my dad was born in Mexico. I think I am 2nd or 3rd generation.
Plática 9:						
Adelina 10	Mexican- American	lower- middle class	female	7th grade	English-Spanish. English-school; Spanish-family	first generation. My family moved for job opportunities/life comfort.
Laura 10	Mexican/ American	middle class	female	both 6th grade	English (school/home) and Spanish (school/home)	Maybe migrate and immigrate because they came to the US without papers but now have their papers.
Itzel 10	Mexican- American	middle class?	female	high school	English and Spanish. I learned Spanish at home and English in School.	My dad migrated to the U.S. for work and my mom was born here.

**Plática 10:**

Victoria 10	Mexican (dad), Italian (mom), American	Middle class	female	dad- high school/jr high; mom- associate	Spanish, calabressi, Italian, english	3rd generation- mom; 2nd generation- Dad
----------------	--	-----------------	--------	---	---	---

**Plática 11:**

Ximena 12	Chicana; both parents are Mexican	struggling middle class	woman	high school degree (both)	Spanish & English; learned Spanish first (parents)	parents migrated; 2nd generation; both from the state of Nayarit, Mexico
--------------	---	-------------------------------	-------	------------------------------	---	--

## Appendix C

## The University of California and the California State University A-G Requirements

High School Course Requirements ("a-g" courses)<sup>i</sup>

Area	Subject	Years
a.	<b>History and Social Science</b> (including 1 year of U.S. history or 1 semester of U.S. history and 1 semester of civics or American government AND 1 year of social science)	2
b.	<b>English</b> (4 years of college preparatory English composition and literature)	4
c.	<b>Math</b> (4 years recommended) including Algebra I, Geometry, Algebra II, or higher mathematics (take one each year)	3
d.	<b>Laboratory Science</b> (including 1 biological science and 1 physical science)	2
e.	<b>Language Other Than English</b> (2 years of the same language; American Sign Language is applicable - See below about a possible waiver of this requirement)	2
f.	<b>Visual and Performing Arts</b> (dance, drama or theater, music, or visual art)	1
g.	<b>College Preparatory Elective</b> (additional year chosen from the University of California "a-g" list)	1
Total Required Courses		15

---

<sup>i</sup> CSU's Freshman Admission Requirements. Retrieved from:  
[https://www2.calstate.edu/apply/freshman/getting\\_into\\_the\\_csu/pages/admission-requirements.aspx#agCoursesScroll](https://www2.calstate.edu/apply/freshman/getting_into_the_csu/pages/admission-requirements.aspx#agCoursesScroll)