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**“Lucky” Mexicans and White Hispanics:
Latina/o Teachers and Racial Identity**

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**“Lucky” Mexicans and White Hispanics:
Latina/o Teachers and Racial Identity**

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Bruce and Irma Ruiz Bybee, who taught me about being a teacher through their examples of hard work and compassion. I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to my intelligent, strong and kind partner, Elisse Newey, and our daughter Nora for their love and for choosing each day to support me.

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**“Lucky” Mexicans and White Hispanics:
Latina/o Teachers and Racial Identity**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

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My dissertation is study is a two-year critical ethnography of the racial identity productions of a cohort of Latina/o teachers in the bilingual education program at a large, public university. The goals of this project are 1) to explore how Latina/o preservice teachers of varying racial self-identifications and cultural backgrounds author identities as bilingual educators; 2) to investigate how distinct racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds are used to construct intra-ethnic identity differences in the bilingual cohort; and 3) to explore how and why some Latina/o bilingual cohort members produce white racial identities. To this end, I ask preservice teacher participants to narrate how family, K-12 schooling, and university bilingual teacher education experiences have shaped their notions of racial identity and whiteness, while paying particular attention to changes in teacher education and the broader cultural history of Latino whiteness in the United States. The aim of exploring these issues is to present a broad picture of the role of schooling and society in producing white racial identities for Latinas/os. My theoretical framework draws upon theories of figured worlds and racial formation as entry points for understanding the complex socio-historical and everyday processes that

produce Latina/o racial identities and whiteness. I use methods such as participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and life history to construct vignettes of the identities of each participant. The data sources include preservice teacher interviews, classroom observations, and educational autobiographies submitted by the Latina/o bilingual preservice teachers. The findings of the study are presented in two chapters. Chapter 5 presents the ways that socialization in family and schooling contexts produced whiteness in various settings and also investigates how participants thought about Hispanic, Latina/o, and Mexicana/o identities. Chapter 6 discusses the role of the bilingual program producing and creating distinctions between Latina/o, Hispanic, Mexicana/o and White participants. I argue that the bilingual program inverted the dominant social capital relationships by creating a figured world that emphasized Latina/o linguistic and cultural knowledge. Implications for this research include creating spaces where the dominant linguistic and social capital of mainstream schooling is challenged in order to develop reflective and empathic bilingual educators.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xiv
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
Autobiographical Preface.....	1
Problem Statement	6
Purpose of Study	7
Theoretical Frameworks	8
Research Questions	9
Research Overview and Methods	10
Data Gathering and Analysis	13
Data Interpretation	14
Significance of Study	14
CHAPTER 2	18
A CULTURAL HISTORY OF LATINO WHITENESS	18
Latino Racial Formation in The United States	19
The Spanish Colonial Racial Regime	19
Mexican Incorporation and the U.S. Racial Regime	21
Litigating Latino Whiteness for Equal Schooling	30
Latino Whites in the Post-Racial Present.....	36
CHAPTER 3	41
REVIEW OF LITERTURE	41
The Study of Whiteness in Education.....	42
Critical Whiteness Studies in Education.....	43
Teacher Education and Whiteness Studies	48
Teachers of Color and Latina/o Teacher Education	55

Latina/o Teacher Recruitment and Retention: From Chicano Alternative Schools to “The Demographic Imperative”	55
Educational and Professional Socialization	61
Special Skills, Beliefs, and Attitudes	65
Critical Frameworks to Resist Oppressive Schooling	68
Racial, Ethnic, and Linguistic Identities	72
Theories of Cultural Identity Formation	76
Developmental Models of Cultural Identity Formation.....	77
Discursive Models of Cultural Identity Production	81
Relational Models of Cultural Identity Formation.....	83
CHAPTER 4	86
METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND METHODS.....	86
Introduction: A Qualitative Research Rationale	86
Primary Research Questions and Chapter Overview	86
Decolonizing Epistemologies: Broadening Western Research Paradigms...88	
The Relationship Between Epistemology, Ontology, and Axiology	91
Theoretical Perspectives: Figured Worlds and Critical Race Theory	94
Methodology: Critical Ethnography	95
Methods.....	97
Research Site.....	97
Sampling: Participant Selection, Criteria, and Rationale.....	100
Sources of Data	102
Participant Observation.....	102
Ethnographic Interviews	104
Oral and Written Life Histories	105
Data Collection	107
Data Analysis	108
Coding.....	109
Validity and Reliability	111

CHAPTER 5	113
LATINA/O RACIAL IDENTITY AND WHITENESS.....	113
Introduction	113
Racial Formation and Identity Theory	114
Self-Authoring	114
Relational identities and Figured Worlds	115
Positional and Discursive Identities.....	116
Latina/o Teacher Education Students	118
Alejandra.....	120
Blanca	121
Irene	121
Lorenzo	122
Manuela.....	124
Maria Luisa	125
Martina	125
Michelle	126
Sofía	126
Veronica	128
Constructing Whiteness Through Family and K-12 Schooling Experiences	129
Family and Home Background	130
K-12 Schooling Experiences.....	133
Bubbling Identities.....	135
“Good” “Ghetto” and “Lucky” Mexicans.....	137
Latina/o, Hispanic, or Mexican? Identity and the Politics of Labeling	143
<i>Mexicana/o</i> Teachers	146
Conclusion	149
CHAPTER 6	150
RACIAL IDENTITY IN THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM	150
Bilingual Program Overview	151

Bilingual Cohort Groupings: “Americanized” Latinas and “ <i>La Clika</i> ”	159
A Figured World of <i>Nombres</i> , <i>Dichos</i> , and <i>Canciones</i>	163
<i>Nombres</i>	164
<i>Dichos and Canciones</i>	166
Inverting Linguistic and Cultural Capital	170
Agency and Self-Authoring in Schooling Spaces.....	176
Marginalization and Resistance in the Campus Space	177
Misrecognition and the Self-Authoring of Latina/o Identities.....	183
Conclusion	190
CHAPTER 7	191
DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION	191
APPENDICES	199
Appendix 1: Bilingual Preservice Teacher Consent Form	199
Appendix 2: Bilingual Preservice Teacher Consent Survey	202
Appendix 3: Bilingual Preservice Teacher Class Announcement	203
Appendix 4: Bilingual Preservice Teacher Interview Questionnaire	206
References.....	209

List of Tables

Table 1: Cohort Survey Data	12
Table 2: Latino Race and Whiteness in Official Government Documents.....	30
Table 3: Latino Race and Whiteness in Legal Decisions	36
Table 4: Themes and Critiques the Research on Teacher Education and Whiteness	54
Table 5: Themes in the Research on Latina/o and Minority Teachers	75
Table 6: Cohort Language and Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions	99
Table 7: Sampling Strategies, Rationale, and Literature	100
Table 8: Data Collection Timeline.....	107
Table 9: Interview Descriptive Codes and Supporting Literature	110
Table 10: Focal Participant Initial Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions	129
Table 11: Focal Participant Initial Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions	143
Table 12: Misrecognition and Agency in the Michelle and Manuela’s Identity Productions	188

List of Figures

Figure 1: <i>Casta</i> Painting Detail.....	20
Figure 2: 1920 Census Detail—Isaac Buentello Ruiz Family	24
Figure 3: 1930 Census Detail—Isaac Buentello Ruiz Family	24
Figure 4: Traditional Relationship between Epistemology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology, and Methods	89
Figure 5: The Author’s Approach to Epistemology, Ontology, Axiology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology, and Methods.....	92
Figure 6: Word Cloud of Cohort Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions*	101
Figure 7: Diagram of Self-Authoring	115
Figure 8: Diagram of Relational Identities and Figured Worlds	116
Figure 9: Positional and Discursive Identities	117
Figure 10: Journey Boxes on Lydia Mendoza and Dolores Huerta.....	171
Figure 11: Positional and Discursive Identities	174
Figure 12: Agency and Self-Authoring.....	188

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE

"Hey teacher!"

I looked up just in time to see an elementary-aged boy swerve as he passed me on his bike. It was my first afternoon in Washington Heights and I was trying to find the address for a school where I would eventually be hired as a middle school bilingual special education teacher. Although I didn't know it at the time, my school was one of two "small schools" sharing a red brick building that wrapped like a U around one end of a city block in the northern Manhattan neighborhood. Located close to a park and surrounded by pre-war apartment buildings, small businesses, and ubiquitous corner *bodegas*, the school building was an important hub of community life. During the school year, the building was often open until 10 pm each weeknight with various after-school, adult-education, and sports programs that kept students and their families buzzing around the building long after the school day had ended. On that muggy summer day I was so intent on finding the building that I only noticed the boy just as he whizzed by me on the sidewalk and I remember briefly wondering, "How did he know I am a teacher?" "Is it that obvious that I am an outsider in this new neighborhood?"

Over the next several years I had many opportunities to reflect on what it meant to be an "outsider" at a school where the majority of students were either Dominican-American or Nuyorican¹ and raised in Washington Heights. Usually, this reflection would happen after a particularly difficult day when I felt like I wasn't meeting the many

¹ "Nuyorican" is a designation that combines the terms "New York" and "Puerto Rican" and makes reference to members of the Puerto Rican diaspora living in and around New York City.

needs of my students, many of whom had been "removed" from the general population of the school and placed in my class for any one of a range of behavioral or learning needs. After a particularly trying day during my difficult first year I simply wrote: "I am failing every day." Part of the reason was certainly due to the inadequate training that I received through my alternative teacher certification program, but there also seemed to be deeper cultural issues at play as well.

When I left the main office the summer afternoon after my job interview there was little to indicate that I might have difficulty relating to my future students. The interview was conducted in a mix of English and Spanish by my principal—a large, animated Peruvian American man—and one of his assistant principals—a well-dressed Latina professional. When I saw the way that they joked playfully with the front-office secretaries in Spanish I recall thinking, “These people are like a lot of my teachers. This school feels comfortable and seems like a good fit for me.”²

Despite some obvious differences, my new school community felt a lot like the place where I was raised. I grew up in a small farming town in central California where the great majority of students were Latinos, like me. We lived just outside of town, and the bus I rode to and from school would pass by endless vineyards, orchards, and fruit packing sheds where many of my schoolmates’ parents worked, and where some of my schoolmates joined them to work in the summer. My siblings and I also spent time working in fruit packing sheds, on neighboring farms, and in the four and a half acres of grape vineyards behind our house. We also all attended the local elementary, middle, and high school where the majority of students qualified for free lunch.

² My only other interview that summer was at The Ross Global Academy, a charter school (now closed) run by the wealthy widow of the former CEO of Time Warner. The school was located on the bottom floor of the Tweed Courthouse—a large, columned building in the Financial District that is the headquarters of the NYC Department of Education. Needless to say, I felt a lot less comfortable in that interview and wasn’t disappointed when I didn’t get the job.

However, describing myself as a Latino who grew up working in the fields and attending Title 1 schools creates an incomplete impression about my upbringing. Although my mother was born in Mexico, most of her family was already living in Texas at the time and my *abuelito* had US citizenship. My mother and my father (who is white) have both been to college and made a conscious decision to buy a house that included a small vineyard attached to it in order to instill a work ethic in me and my siblings. The work that I did in our vineyard and on neighboring farms was not for family survival, but rather to be able to buy things that I wanted like school clothes or to fund summer camp experiences. Although I saw men and women filing out of vans and into the surrounding fields each morning on the way to school, and sat next to some of their children in the cafeteria, the reality is that their collective experiences were in many ways invisible to me. Similarly, although I attended Title 1 schools, my socioeconomic class made me the beneficiary of a number of formal and informal systems within those spaces that enabled my academic success and foregrounded the development of a “smart,” “white” identity (See Bybee, 2015).

When I found out that I would be able to teach bilingual education through an alternative certification program after college, I was thrilled because I thought my own experiences attending Title 1 schools would be akin to the experiences of my bilingual students. It sounds naïve now, but I had no idea then how different the experience of being a middle-class Mexican American from California’s Central Valley was from being a working-class Dominican American in New York City. Although I built relationships with my students and figured out how to apply local community knowledge to my practice, the questions I had about Latina/o identity and educational experiences stayed with me. Working and learning with colleagues from the surrounding neighborhood added a whole different set of questions as I saw how they were able to use culturally

relevant approaches³ and identify student “funds of knowledge”⁴ that were hard for me to recognize as an outsider. (See Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995)

In many ways, the issues of race and racial identity that I wondered about as a teacher in Washington Heights were rooted in my own schooling experiences. My first notions of social difference based on race occurred in the third and fourth grade when I was placed in an “honors” class at my school that drew students from all around our district. Though I was not sure how these honors classes would be different from “regular” classes I knew that they were desirable because my older siblings had been through them. Though many aspects of the honors program were indeed desirable, notions of difference with the other two regular classes often translated into competition and racialized conflict on the playground. Whenever a soccer or football game would get heated the kids in the “regular” classes would call the “honors” kids “white boys” or “stuck up” and insults like “immigrant” and “wetback” were sometimes hurled back by my classmates. I remember having the vague perception that the students in the regular classes seemed more “Mexican” than I was and being confused that there were white students in the regular classes. Although the majority of students at my school were Mexican American, it is clear that the “honors” class was ascribed with the characteristics of whiteness because of perceived differences in intelligence, language, and socioeconomic class. Lewis (2003, p. 134) describes racial ascription as, “a collection of factors [that] provides information for making racial identifications” which includes

³ In her early work, Gloria Ladson-Billings defines culturally relevant pedagogy as, “effective pedagogical practice...that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate” (1995, p. 469).

⁴ Luis Moll, Cathy Amanti, Deborah Neff, and Norma Gonzalez use the term “funds of knowledge” to refer to “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being” (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992 p. 133).

elements like language, skin color, socioeconomic status, name, and culture. This racial ascription was also based on an apparent discrepancy between the demographic distribution of my community, which is 77% Hispanic or Latino (Census Data, 2011), and the Anglo majority in the elementary honors classes at my school.

As a bilingual middle-school teacher I was surprised at the way that issues of racial and ethnic difference played out in my own classroom as well. As mostly immigrants from countries that were part of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora, my students in New York possessed a wide range of coloring, and could be brutal to those at the darker end of the spectrum. I can still remember when one of my female students, a sweet and kind seventh grader, was reduced to tears after she was called “*prieta*” and “monkey black” by some of the lighter-skinned boys in my class. Similarly, although the majority of teachers and staff were bilingual Latinas/os, I was the only person of Mexican ancestry at my school the year that I was hired. Throughout my four years as a classroom teacher I noted that those who were part of Dominican and Puerto-Rican majority sometimes viewed the gradual increase in Mexican American students at my school with hostility.

These Mexican-origin students were often perceived to be unsophisticated “*campesinos*” by their adolescent peers with deeper networks in Washington Heights and New York. Like the Puerto-Ricans from Chicago that De Genova and Ramos-Zayas document in their (2003) *Latino Crossings*, my Dominican and Puerto Rican students often racialized their Mexican peers as *indios* whose relative lack of mainstream social and cultural capital signified a type of backward “brownness.” These experiences, along with many others, have raised difficult questions about the role that whiteness plays in Latina/o racial identities and the impact of these differences on schooling.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

My dissertation study examines Latina/o racial identity and whiteness in a bilingual teacher preparation program, and is situated within the long and complex history of Latinas/os in the United States. For many Latinas/os, the struggle for educational equity has also been a struggle with and against whiteness (Donato & Hanson, 2012; Menchaca, 1993). Historically, Mexican American and Latino elites sought citizenship and educational rights by claiming that they were white (I. H. Lopez, 1997; Rochmes, 2007). When this approach failed, and even light-skinned Latinos continued to be marginalized in segregated schools, legal and civil rights organizations adopted the opposite strategy and fought to be recognized and protected as a minority group through key court cases (Valencia & San Miguel, 1998).

Recent changes in the U.S. Census have allowed more than half of the 50.5 million people who identify as Hispanic or Latino⁵ to also identify as racially white (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; Pimentel & Balzhiser, 2012). Indeed, 2010 Census reports indicate that Hispanics accounted for three-fourths of overall white population growth over the last decade (Census Office, 2011). Although increasing numbers of Latinas/os are adopting white, middle-class norms (Vallejo, 2012), their educational attainment still lags far behind their Anglo peers. Rates of school completion for Hispanic high school and college students are less than half that of White students (Lopez & Fry, 2013).

Recently, researchers and policy makers focused on “reforming” teacher education as a way to create greater equity and achievement for students of color in public schools. Unfortunately, many of these initial interventions into teacher education

⁵ The 2010 Census defines a Hispanic or Latino as “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin.”

are based on a top-down, punitive, and market-based vision of schooling (Kumashiro, 2015). Rather than reproducing the dominant perspectives of “education reformers,” my study follows scholarship that frames teaching as a sociocultural activity that is also fundamentally relational. Scholars working from this perspective have attributed gaps in educational attainment to a cultural mismatch between students of color and their White teachers (C. E. Sleeter, 2008) and indicate that a more diverse teaching force will lead to greater equity for students (Villegas & Davis, 2008; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). However, these much-needed calls for a more racially diverse body of teachers fail to consider both the historic and ongoing role of whiteness in shaping the identities and experiences of Latina/o educators in our current “colorblind,” “post-racial” context (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Boyle & Antrop-González, 2013). While researchers have documented different aspects of identity production for Latina/o inservice teachers (Ochoa, 2007; Luis Urrieta, 2010), less is known about the way that preservice Latina/o educators form racial identities in the context of bilingual teacher education.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

In order to understand issues of racial identity production at the start of the teacher pipeline, this study focuses on a cohort of twenty-five Latina/o preservice teachers in a bilingual teacher education program and has three interrelated goals. First, it broadly examines the interplay among ideology, experience, and education in the formation of bilingual teacher identities for a cohort of Latina/o preservice teachers. Second, it explores the factors that influence the development of a white racial identity for a sub-group of Latina/o cohort members who identify as white. Third, it seeks to investigate how intra-ethnic difference is constructed among Latina/o cohort members of various racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds. The ethnographic study

will be conducted at Southwestern University⁶, a large public university with a bilingual teaching program that emphasizes oral and written Spanish proficiency and a critical, social justice approach to teaching. More details about the research site and project are included in the “Methods” section of chapter 4.

This project is significant because it provides a more nuanced perspective than is currently available about Latinos/as as a historically-marginalized group. Much of the research on racial identity and preservice teachers is based on the assumptions that 1) White preservice and Latina/o teachers are distinct racial groups with different cultural practices and 2) That the racial and cultural experiences of Latina/o teachers foster dispositions that will benefit minoritized student populations, especially Latina/o children. This research problematizes these prevailing assumptions by examining the experiences, ideologies, and practices of Latina/o prospective teachers who identify as white within a larger cohort of bilingual educators.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In this study I use complementary theoretical frameworks to meet my research objectives. Much of the research on Latinas/os in education is based on the implicit assumption that we are a relatively homogenous group that possesses distinct cultural traits. To counter this essentialist perspective, I use Gutiérrez and Rogoff’s (2003) concept of “repertoires of practices” to highlight practices (as opposed to fundamental cultural traits) that construct whiteness and intra-ethnic difference among the cohort studied as a whole. I argue that these practices are part of a *figured world* (D. C. Holland, Lachiocotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998) of teacher education where undergraduates author identities based on personal and collective histories (Urrieta, 2007).

⁶ Pseudonym

As with identity, this study also frames language as a set of social and cultural practices rather than an independent system (Pierre Bourdieu, 1991; O. Garcia, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005). According to Gee (2013), our collective histories are framed within classroom and societal discourses and are expressed in the “social languages” of groups. Social reproduction theorists (Anyon, 1997; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Oakes, 2005) remind us that these discursive practices are not neutral and are always embedded within relations of power. Accordingly, Latina/o preservice teachers of different racial backgrounds form separate groups with distinct social languages. These groupings distribute alternative kinds of linguistic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977) unevenly in the cohort and are a key factor in the production of racial identities. Although whiteness is privileged, spaces also exist for individuals to use alternative forms of capital in the form of “community cultural wealth” (Yosso, 2005). Taken together, these frames allow me to examine the complex ways that cohort members orchestrate their own identities through cultural and linguistic practices.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions guide this ethnographic study of a cohort of Latina/o undergraduate teachers:

1. How do Latina/o preservice teachers of varying racial self-identifications and cultural backgrounds author identities as bilingual educators?
2. How are distinct racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds used to construct intra-ethnic identity difference in the bilingual cohort?
3. How and why do some Latina/o bilingual cohort members produce white racial identities?

Due to the bilingual preparation program's unique emphasis on academic Spanish, the initial focus of the study was on language and identity development. However, an initial survey (See Table 1) revealed a range of racial and ethnic identifications and the research project focus shifted to highlight racial identity and whiteness. Question #1 on bilingual teacher identity was the principal question that guided the project with Questions #2 and #3 on intra-ethnic difference and whiteness emerging as sub-questions after one semester of observation.

RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND METHODS

To answer these questions, my research uses an ethnographic approach (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). As a preservice teacher ethnography, this study entailed prolonged observation in teacher education classes, in depth interviews, and the collection of written and visual artifacts for limited forms of discourse analysis (Gee, 2013). Participants were treated as "experts" who actively collaborated in the research process (Creswell & Miller, 2000), and their autobiographical and life histories formed the epistemological foundation of the study (Crotty, 1998). Two sub-groups of the Latina/o preservice teacher cohort were observed and interviewed for further depth:

A. A subgroup within the cohort of Latina/o preservice teachers who primarily identify as racially white.

B. A subgroup within the cohort of Latina/o preservice teachers who primarily identify as racial minorities.⁷

An initial open-ended survey allowed students to indicate racial/ethnic identity, language preference, and gender (See Table 1). Additional characteristics such as class

⁷ "Racial minorities" refers to participants who self-identify as person(s) of color who are not white. Participants' racial designations were drawn from open-ended survey questions and from in-depth ethnographic interviews.

and immigration backgrounds were explored through ethnographic interviews and written autobiographies with focal participants and are described in later chapters. Out of a cohort of 25 participants, 14 agreed to participate in initial interviews. From this initial group, 10 focal participants were identified for inclusion in the focal sub-group with a broad range of self-identifications including “Latina/o,” “Hispanic,” “Mexicana/o,” and “White.”

Table 1: Cohort Survey Data

Participants	Gender	Communicates in:	Racial/Ethnic Identity Description
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Latina/Mexicana
Cohort Member	M	English	I am of full Mexican descent. I have grown up bilingual
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mexican-American
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Mexican American
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Latina (Mexican American)
Cohort Member	F	English	Mexican American
Cohort Member	F	English	White-Peruvian
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mixed racial identity--Mexican American & German
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Salvadoran American, Latina
Focal Participant	M	English	I am a white Hispanic. My father is from Spain, and my mother is from St. Louis, MO.
Cohort Member	F	Spanish	Latino/Mexican
Cohort Member	F	Spanish	Mexican American
Focal Participant	F	English	blank
Focal Participant	F	English	I am hispanic. My family comes from Mexico, but I was born in the U.S.
Focal Participant	F	English	I am a Latina
Cohort Member	F	English	Hispanic
Cohort Member	F	English	Mexican American
Cohort Member	F	English	White
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Hispanic
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mexican American (Mostly Mexican)
Focal Participant	F	English,Spanish,Mix	My family was born in Mexico. I consider myself Mexican/Latino/Hispanic
Focal Participant	F	English	Mother is Mexican, Father is American/White
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Although, I was born in the U.S.A, My family comes from Mexico, and I feel identified with both cultures
Cohort Member	F	English	I am hispanic, but my parents were born and raised in South America (Peru, Colombia)
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Mexican American. I am was born in the United States, both my parents were born in Mexico.

DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

In survey responses, interviews, and written autobiographies participants variously identified as Latina/o, Chicana/o, Mexicana/o, Mexican American, Hispanic, Salvadoran American, and Peruvian American and were born and raised either in the U.S., Mexico, Central/South America, or the U.S./Mexico borderlands region. Membership in the bilingual preservice teacher cohort was the main criteria for participation in the study. Ongoing weekly and semi-weekly participant observation with the bilingual cohort started during the first semester of upper-level coursework, and continued over four semesters through the end of student teaching (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Regular observation in multiple university and K-12 school sites allowed for a contextual analysis of teacher identity productions (Urrieta, 2010). Initial interviews gauged cohort members' experiences in the bilingual program and in the university setting. Additionally, participants were asked to submit two documents: a written educational autobiography and journal entries detailing their student teaching experiences. Follow-up interviews included in-depth autobiographical histories of focal participants (Kincheloe, 2002) and pseudonyms were assigned to ensure anonymity. Gathering data from a variety of sources allowed me to triangulate and develop a nuanced analysis of cohort members' K-12 schooling and bilingual program experiences.

The primary method of data interpretation is group and cross-group analysis. Cross group or cross-case analysis, "facilitates the comparison of commonalities and difference in the events, activities, and processes that are the units of analysis in case studies" (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008 p. 1). I used a constant comparative method based in grounded theory methodology for my data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Constant comparison involves "the constant iteration between data gathering and

analysis...moving upward from concrete data toward more abstract concept and theories” (Bryant, 2012 p. 109). In my study, this mean continually returning to my data to develop new analysis as the research project progressed. My approach to classroom participant observation was also grounded in the notion of “thick description” as both a process orientation (Geertz, 1977) and method for capturing the details and context of my research setting in “thick” detail (Carspecken, 1996 p. 47). Interview transcripts, field notes, classroom observation transcripts and documents were used to develop categories for coding. Larger domains of data were grouped according to the themes identified from the research questions.

DATA INTERPRETATION

To interpret my data I expanded upon the previously mentioned critical theoretical and sociocultural practice theories of identity and language in my literature review and methods sections. My project comprised eight successive data analysis cycles (two per semester) and included self-reflexive and analytic memoing about my own researcher positionality and emerging themes in the data. Methods for ensuring internal validity like “triangulating” my research findings with multiple data sources and “member checking” with participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) will also be expanded upon in my methods section.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

By examining the cultural practices and identity development of Latina/o teachers who identify as white, my work provides a nuanced perspective of an important group in teacher education that is heretofore unexamined. Investigating the experiences, ideologies, and dispositions of this group has the potential to problematize the common assumption that a shared minority group membership between teacher and student

ensures a culturally relevant approach in the classroom. Developing a more nuanced perspective on the inter-group identification and diversity of Latina/o teachers highlights the creative ways that participants author their own identities in educational settings and will ultimately allow teacher educators to create better tools for our teacher education programs. This research will enhance our understanding of educational pathways, pedagogy, and give us better insight into the role of teacher education in fostering different kinds of teacher identities and the potential impacts of these identities in the classroom.

Applying practice theories of culture, identity, and language to the bilingual cohort experience has the potential to reveal important disjunctions that are absent from research that assumes Latina/os are a culturally and racially homogenous group. Scholars like Gloria Ladson-Billings (2012), and Zeus Leonardo (2009) have argued powerfully that whiteness continues to be a powerful force for structuring access and equity in U.S. public education. The vast majority of education research on whiteness and white teachers focuses on educators that are part of the Anglo majority, adopts a homogenizing “individual trait” perspective of culture, and has traditionally located whites and Latinas/os in separate groups with distinct, “essential” characteristics. Indeed, part of the historic white supremacist project of school segregation has been to reaffirm essentialist understandings of social practices as either “socially white” or non-white and “socially Mexican” (Donato & Hanson, 2012). Embracing an approach that examines cultural “repertoires of practice” (K. D. Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003) allows us to account for intra-ethnic racial and sociocultural difference. An extensive review of the literature and relevant online databases reveals only a small amount of literature on Latina/o teachers and white racial identity. This work typically focuses on Latinas/os who can “pass” for white and has traditionally framed their relationship to whiteness in oppositional or

mutually exclusive terms (See Bettez, 2011; Boyle & Antrop-González, 2013; Hayes & Hartlep, 2013). My study adds depth to existing research by providing historical context for the relationship between Latinas/os and whiteness and by exploring the identities of Latina/o teachers who affirm white identities. In the contemporary U.S. context, I hope to provide insight into the growing subset of Latinas/os who claim whiteness through official government designations (Census Office, 2011; Sanchez, 2011), through adopting traditionally “white” middle-class norms (Vallejo, 2012), and by reframing the borders of whiteness to include themselves (Dowling, 2014). Finally, my research also responds to recent calls to “colorize” educational research by investigating how intra-racial color classifications frame pathways for communities of color (Monroe, 2013) and to examine whiteness from within communities of color (Twine & Gallagher, 2008).

In the following chapter I make the case for Latino whiteness as a sociocultural and historical phenomenon. Contrary to recent media reports⁸ that imply that “White Latinos” are recent occurrence, I argue that whiteness has played a key role in the racialization of Latinos since the colonial era and played an especially important role in the historic fight for equal schooling in the United States. In chapter 3 I further contextualize my study by examining related scholarly literature in critical whiteness studies, research on Latino teachers, and models of cultural identity development. I show how my work adds to these three areas and reveals important gaps in the way that researchers conceptualize whiteness and cultural identity production(s) of Latino teachers.

⁸ Two recent reports that typify this trend include a (5/21/14) piece on The New York Times’ “Upshot” blog which declared “More Hispanics Declaring Themselves White” (Cohn, 2014) and article published (4/15/14) in the online magazine *Slate* which asked, “Will Today’s Hispanics Be Tomorrow’s Whites?” (Bouie, 2014).

By cultural identity “production” I draw on Hall’s (1996) notion of identity as never unified but negotiated among competing discourses, practices, and positions (p. 4). The idea that identities are continually “becoming” (in production) counters the common-sense assumption that people have a stable core or “essence” and provides a framework for understanding how the Latina/o teachers in my study were able to articulate multiple, shifting, and fragmented identities in different contexts.

In chapter 4 I discuss my research design, methodology, and methods, which are informed by critical race and postcolonial indigenous epistemologies. In chapter 5, I explore the ways that Latina/o preservice teachers described themselves as White and/or Hispanic, Latina/o, and Mexicana/o and I investigate the role of family and K-12 schooling experiences in producing these racial identities. Finally, in chapter 6, I explore the role that the bilingual teacher preparation program as a space where the distinctions between Latina/o, Hispanic, *Mexicana/o* and White identities became very apparent. I argue that the bilingual program inverted the dominant social capital relationships and decentered whiteness by creating a *figured world* that emphasized fluency in Spanish and Latina/o cultural norms.

CHAPTER 2

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF LATINO WHITENESS

In this chapter, I provide context for my study by sketching a broad outline of the history of Latino racialization in the United States. I begin by examining the *casta* system of the Spanish colonial era that became the blueprint for the racial hierarchy in Latin America. Next, I discuss the extension of citizenship and a nominal white identity to incorporated Mexican Americans through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and demonstrate how Mexican⁹ whiteness was then contested through proxy battles over the right to citizenship and schooling in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this period, whiteness functioned as a “double-edged sword” for Mexican American communities (Donato & Hanson, 2012). Though Mexicans were able to strategically claim whiteness to win some legal rights, at other times they found their legal whiteness used against them to dismiss claims of racial discrimination. The contested identity of U.S. Mexicans was reflected in changing census and legal designations that alternately defined them as part of a specific “Mexican race” and, later, as white but “a class apart.” When Anglo officials continued segregate ostensibly “white” Latina/o students based on racial proxies like language and national origin, these communities eventually rejected strategic whiteness and claimed legal protections as “an identifiable ethnic-minority group.” At the same time, Chicano activists during the 1960s and 1970s engaged in a cultural struggle over Latina/o racial identity and actively rejected whiteness as part of a broader movement for *raza* autonomy and cultural nationalism. Finally, I discuss the contemporary white supremacist discourses of “colorblindness” and “post-racism,” and

⁹ Throughout this chapter, terms like “Mexican American,” “U.S. Mexican,” and “Mexican” are used interchangeably to describe Mexican-origin individuals and communities who primarily reside in the United States.

show how broad demographic shifts continue to make whiteness a salient identity for many Latinas/os.

LATINO RACIAL FORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES

My study relies on Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (1986) theory of racial formation to situate my ethnographic research within the larger social and historical framework of Latina/o racial identity in the United States. Racial formation theory challenges the view that race is a fixed, immutable aspect of human identity determined primarily by physical attributes like skin color, facial features, and hair texture. Rather, Omi and Winant argue that race is a "socio-historical process, by which racial categories are formed, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (1994 p. 55). Omi and Winant's work on racial formation emerged as a critique of dominant ethnicity-based, class-based, and nation-based theories of race and focuses on the post-1960's civil-rights era in the United States. However, their conceptualization of race as continually "in formation" can also help to illuminate the way that socio-historical factors have shaped Latina/o racialization and whiteness from the colonial era to the present. This background is significant because social and historical discourses about Latinas/os and race inform the identity productions of the Latina/o preservice teachers in my study.

The Spanish Colonial Racial Regime

The roots of the current Latina/o racial order first developed in the *casta* system of the Spanish colonial era. Colonial leaders limited the proliferation of *castas*, or racially mixed people, by establishing restrictions on housing and intermarriage and through commissioning *casta* paintings to highlight the new racial order. This government-commissioned artwork typically featured images of individuals and mixed families with a range of coloring and inventive names (like "*mulato*," "*mestizo*," and "*zambo*") to

describe an invented taxonomy with the white *peninsulares* and *criollos* at the top of the racial hierarchy (See also Menchaca, 2002). Katzew (2005) asserts that the colonial racial order was established as a means of social and economic control because the Spanish were keen on the notion of blood purity and saw racial mixing as inevitable in the New World (p. 39-40).

The *casta* system emphasis on blood purity produced a colonial *pigementocracy*—a political and social system that afforded rights to individuals on the basis of skin tone Katzew (2005). Furthermore, because race is a variable social construct and phenotype is not a faithful indicator of lineage, *castas* were encouraged to ascend the racial ladder toward whiteness. Individuals would typically rise up through the racial order through a process of “blood mending” that involved making one’s blood “whiter” through intermarriage with light-skinned partners or through moving up the class hierarchy (Katzew, 2005 p.51; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014)

Figure 1: *Casta* Painting Detail



Source: Las castas. Anonymous, 18th century, oil on canvas, 148x104 cm, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico.

As the descendent of an indigenous *P'urhépecha* community, Chicano scholar Luis Urrieta Jr. (2003) points out that the colonial racial legacy continues to marginalize brown indigenous bodies by foregrounding the “mestizo” Latina/o identity and its proximity to whiteness. Though the notion of Hispanic/Latino racial mixture or *mestizaje* has been empowering for Latina/o Chicana/o scholars, Urrieta asserts that *mestizaje* also embodies a historical location of racism and indigenous erasure (2003, p. 150). Similarly, Almaguer (2012) argues that remnants of the colonial racial regime have persisted in Latin America and continue to impact the racial identifications of U.S. Latinas/os. For example, on Census 2000 many Latinas/os racially identified themselves through their country of origin (e.g. “Cuban” or “Dominican”), which led to over 40 percent of Latinas/os being defined in the “some other race” category. Others explicitly defined themselves using *casta* terminology by writing “*mestizo*,” “*mulato*,” “*trigueño*,” or “*moreno*” in the space provided to indicate race (2012, p. 149, See also Rumbaut, 2011).

Mexican Incorporation and the U.S. Racial Regime

The colonial Latin American racial regime came into contact with the U.S. racial system through immigration and conquest—the foremost example of the latter being the territorial incorporation of Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Although the treaty categorized Mexicans as white in order to grant them citizenship, Donato and Hanson (2012), Gross (2009) and others have pointed out that the “Caucasian cloak”¹⁰ extended to Mexican Americans became a “double-edged sword.” Over the

¹⁰ Gross (2009) draws this term from lawyers arguing on behalf of accused murderer Pete Hernandez in the (1954) *Hernandez v. Texas* case. When the plaintiff’s lawyers argued that the exclusion of Mexican Americans on the jury violated the Fourteenth Amendment the court responded, as it had done many times before, by pointing out that white people were on the jury. To this Hernandez’s lawyers responded pointedly, “for all practical purposes, about the only time that so-called Mexicans—many of them Texans for seven generations—are covered with the Caucasian cloak is when the use of that protective mantle services the ends of those who would shamelessly deny to this large segment of the Texas population the fundamental right to serve as jury commissioners, grand jurors, or petit jurors” (p. 287-289).

course of the next century the conflicted “white” status of U.S. Mexicans was used to challenge the legality of racial discrimination and at other times, to justify it.

In the early period around the time of Mexican incorporation in 1848, external factors like phenotype, geography, and class were the chief factors in determining racial identity. Part of the argument for the annexation of Texas by Anglo settlers was that Mexicans were an inferior “mongrel race” on account of their mestizo heritage and brown phenotype. Correspondingly, wealthier Tejano landowners used their class status to whiten themselves (much like the *castas*) and often distinguished their white “Spanish” heritage from the poorer “Mexican” laborers who worked on their lands. Typically, in areas where Mexican Americans were landowners they were more likely to be viewed in terms of nationality rather than as a racialized “other” and had more access to schooling¹¹ and other public accommodations (Gross, 2009 p. 157, See also Montejano, 1987).

The first legal challenge to Mexican “whiteness” occurred in the *In re Rodriguez* case in 1897 when plaintiff Ricardo Rodriguez’s petition for citizenship was denied in part because he was, “copper-colored...with dark eyes, straight black hair, and high cheek bones” (Donato & Hanson, 2012; Gross, 2006; Menchaca, 2002, 2011). As was often the case in legal challenges to Mexican whiteness, lawyers emphasized the indigenous roots of Rodriguez’s Mexican ancestry by connecting him to the “Aztec race” or “the aborigines or original races of Mexico.” Rodriguez resisted this characterization as an “Indian” and the court ended up deciding in his favor on the basis of the Treaty of

¹¹ One early example of wealthy and middle-class Mexicans and Mexican Americans using their class status to expand educational opportunities was the establishment of the *Colegio Altamirano* in Hebronville, Texas in 1897. According to Salinas (2001) the *Escuelita* as it was nicknamed was open to all students and recognized the value of Spanish language and Mexican heritage. To resist the dominant deficit views of Mexicans that characterized schooling during this period, *Escuelita* parents invested significant resources to import teachers and textbooks from Mexico until the school closed in 1958 (p. 82-83).

Guadalupe Hidalgo. However, that legally white Mexicans were nonetheless “socially colored” at this time was evident in one interpretation of the naturalization statute by Floyd McGown, a member of the bar who advised the judge in the case. He affirmed that, as a mestizo, Rodriguez is “not a white person. He certainly is not in the sense in which these words are commonly used and understood in the every-day life of our [white] people” (Donato & Hanson, 2012 p. 210). McGown’s statement made explicit the “common sense”¹² of many Anglos at the time—that despite the legal pronouncements of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the courts, for all social purposes Mexicans were not considered white.

In spite of the contested social understanding of Mexican racial identity, the decennial U.S. Census corresponded with the legal definition of Mexican Americans as white in the decades after annexation. Between 1850 and 1920 U.S. Mexicans were counted as “White” on the census but were abruptly moved to a newly created and separate racial category of “Mexican” in 1930. This was the first and only time that the U.S. census used the term “Mexican” to racialize entire families of Mexican Americans, regardless of whether they were born in the U.S. or Mexico. One such family was that of my *abuelito* Raul Ruiz Rangel who was born in Corpus Christi, TX in 1920. A three-month-old at the time of the 1920 census, my *abuelito* (incorrectly recorded in Figure 2 as a “daughter” named “Reiul”) and his family are marked with a “W” for “White” in the “Color or race” category. My great grandfather, Isaac Buentello Ruiz, was born in

¹² In *White By Law*, López (2006) outlines several examples of people of color who went to court to claim citizenship rights by asserting that they were white. He argues that initially, claims were argued on the basis of pseudo-scientific arguments from anthropologists about defendants’ place in the racial hierarchy. For example, Franz Boas, whom many regard as the founder of modern anthropology, testified as an expert witness for an Armenian defendant who claimed he was white. When it became too difficult to police whiteness through scientific arguments, judges turned to “common knowledge” social understandings of whiteness to determine the outcome of the cases until the racial prerequisite to citizenship was removed in 1952.

Mexico but the 1930 Census lists his entire family (including my *abuelito*) as “Mx” for “Mexican” in the “Color or race” category. Tellingly, when Isaac died in 1934 of pneumonia his death record again listed his “Color or race” as “White.”

Figure 2: 1920 Census Detail—Isaac Buentello Ruiz Family

Street, apt. or farm, etc. (See instructions.)	dwelling house in order of vic. of vic. nation.	ser of family in order of vic. nation.	Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any. Include every person living on January 1, 1920. Omit children born since January 1, 1920.	Relationship of this person to the head of the family.	Home owned, rented, or mortgaged.	If owned, in mortgage.	Sex.	Color or race.	Age at last birthday.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		79	85	Isaac Buentello Ruiz	Head	R	M	Mx	33
				Victoria	Wife		F	Mx	32
				Edmundo	Daughter		F	Mx	19
				Richard	Son		M	Mx	9
				Bertie	Daughter		F	Mx	9 1/2
		80	86	Isaac Buentello Ruiz	Head	R	M	Mx	52
				Victoria	Wife		F	Mx	51
				Isaac Jr	Son		M	Mx	2
				Josephine	Daughter		F	Mx	7
				Rebecca	Daughter		F	Mx	5
				Rene	Daughter		F	Mx	3 1/2
				Castillo America	Mother law		F	Mx	58

Source: 1920 U.S. Census

Figure 3: 1930 Census Detail—Isaac Buentello Ruiz Family

80	1819510876	Jenaro Albert	Head	R	10 00		M	Mx	50
90		Margarita	Wife				F	Mx	59
91		Loreocita	Daughter				F	Mx	9
92		Alejo	Daughter				F	Mx	8
93	1815511857	Isaac Buentello Ruiz	Head	R	14		M	Mx	38
94		Victoria	Wife				F	Mx	40
95		Josefa	Daughter				F	Mx	16
96		Rebecca	Daughter				F	Mx	14
97		Rene	Son				M	Mx	12
98		Rene	Son				M	Mx	10
99	1814512453	Antonio Lopez	Head	R	4		M	Mx	53
100		Marcela	Wife				F	Mx	24

Source: 1930 U.S. Census

During this time period academic, religious, and government institutions promulgated ideologies of Anglo-Saxon superiority (Menchaca & Valencia, 1990) and many Mexicans felt compelled to argue that they should be treated as Caucasians to gain their full legal rights (Menchaca, 1990, 2002). Almaguer (2012) argues that this new

“Mexican” racial category emerged from anti-immigrant xenophobia directed toward “job-stealing” Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the Great Depression. This figurative expulsion from whiteness was accompanied by the literal expulsion of approximately one million U.S. citizens and non-citizens of Mexican descent from the United States (See also Johnson, 2005).

In response to increasing hostility, Mexican Americans in the 1930s and 1940s began to organize into advocacy groups like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and, much later, the American G.I. Forum (AGIF). LULAC opposed the racialization of Mexicans on the 1930 census and, along with the Mexican government, fought to have Mexicans again reclassified on the 1940 census as

“whites” that spoke the “Spanish mother tongue” unless “definitely Indian or some race other than white” (Gross, 2009 p. 268). Although LULAC promoted pride in “the Mexican Race,” they simultaneously distanced themselves from Mexican nationals and undocumented “wetbacks” and advanced Mexican American civil rights primarily through legal claims to whiteness.¹³ Because their social justice strategy centered whiteness, LULAC and AGIF also struggled with the question of how to work with black civil rights organizations whose members were experiencing similar kinds of discrimination.¹⁴

13 The personal writings of schoolteacher and LULAC co-founder José de la Luz Sáenz make it clear that organizational claims to whiteness were probably strategic for many Mexican Americans during this period. In a diary written during WWI he described himself as “an Aztec through and through” and referred to Mexican Americans as “the Indians from Texas” (Sáenz, 2014 pp. 98, 395).

14 Educational psychologist and civil rights pioneer George I. Sanchez captured this ambivalence in a 1967 letter to civil rights lawyer Pete Tijerina that commended his efforts to form MALDEF (the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund) but indicated that he was “lukewarm” about “contacts with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.” To clarify his position to Tijerina he stated: “Though we should make common cause with the Negroes from time to time, we should not blend their issues with ours. Don’t misunderstand, I was a pioneer among the champions for Negro rights—and I am still on their side. However, while the effects of discrimination against Negro and “Mexican” are essentially the same, the causes, the history and the remedies differ broadly. Put bluntly, the Negro is mistreated because he is black and was a slave. The basis

The strategy of pursuing civil rights through claims to whiteness persisted into the 1950's and 1960's—a time when U.S. Latinos were often referred to simply as “Mexicans” and defined on the census as “white persons of Spanish surname” (Almaguer, 2012, p. 146). However, a key change occurred with the Immigration Act of 1965, which was based on the principle of family reunification. The law's passage shifted the focus from Western Europe, and led to extensive and sustained immigration from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central America (Gutiérrez, 2006; Reimers, 1992). During the mid-1960's, African American civil rights movements influenced Puerto Rican and Mexican American communities who also began to mobilize to demand equal rights in citizenship and schooling. However, the students and activists who organized the Chicano movement in the Southwest did so, in part, based on a rejection of whiteness and the assimilationist rhetoric of the Mexican American leaders in predecessor organizations like LULAC (Oboler, 1995 p. 51).

Through groups like *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA), young activists adopted the term “Chicano” to affirm their Latin American and indigenous roots. The 1969 *Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* celebrated the mestizo roots of Chicanos/as and openly rejected the government classification of Mexican Americans as “white.” Where Ricardo Rodriguez had resisted the connection to his “Indian” and “Aztec” roots in 1897, the *Plan* characterized Chicanos as “a Bronze People with a Bronze Culture” (Gonzales & Urista, 1969).

The notion of a new cultural and pan-Latin American *raza* identity played an important role in battles for Mexican American civil rights in the Southwest. For example, in Del Rio, Texas—an early battleground in the fight for school

for mistreatment of the *Mexicano* are much more varied and very different. Their blanket cases are based on “race,” ours on “class apart.” (Gross, 2009 p. 289, emphasis added)

desegregation—activists wrote the Del Rio-Mexican American Manifesto, which proclaimed *La Raza* as “the affirmation of the most basic ingredient of our personality, the brownhood of our Aztec and Mayan heritage....As children of *La Raza* we are heirs of a spiritual and biological miracle wherein family blood ties united the darkest and the fairest” (Gross, 2009 p. 291, emphasis added). The foregrounding of a pan-Latino brown cultural and racial identity would have a large impact in ongoing legal fights and in the shifting politics of official government designations.

In 1970 the federal census employed the term “Hispanic” to capture the growing internal diversity that stemmed from a wide range of Latin American nationalities. For an ethnically diverse U.S. Latino population, this new designation highlighted a shared linguistic and cultural background rooted in the Spanish (“Hispanic”) language and the Catholic religion (Almaguer, 2012 p. 146). In her (2014) book *Making Hispanics*, Mora argues that the invention of the “Hispanic” category resulted from the combined efforts of Civil Rights-era activists, government officials, and media executives who each had different motivations for institutionalizing the notion of Latino pan-ethnicity (See also Foley, 2005). In terms of official designations, Rumbaut (2011) points out that in 1977 the Office and Management and Budget’s Statistical Policy Division issued new definitions for race and ethnicity in the U.S. It named four major races: “American Indian or Alaska Native,” “Asian or Pacific Islander,” “Black” and “White” and two ethnic groups: “Hispanic origin” and “not of Hispanic origin.” In response to criticism the code was again revised in 1997 to disaggregate “Pacific Islander” from “Asian” and to create five “racial” categories with the caveat that “Hispanics may be of any race” (2011, p. 9-10).

After the 1997 change, Census 2000 offered respondents the option of selecting one or more of the five “racial” designations and rephrased the two “ethnic” categories as

“Hispanic or Latino” and “not Hispanic or Latino.” In the year 2000, 47.8 % of the 35.3 million people in the “Hispanic/Latino” category identified as “White” with another 42.6% identifying as “Other race,” 6.4% identifying as “Two or more races” and less than 3% identifying as “Black,” “Asian,” or “Indigenous¹⁵” (Rumbaut, 2011 p. 12). In the latest 2010 census the total number in the “Hispanic or Latino” category increased to over 50.4 million with 53% identifying as “White,” 36.7% identifying as “Some Other Race,” 6% identifying as “Two or More Race,” 2.5% identifying as “Black or African-American” and less than 3% identifying as “American Indian and Alaska Native,” “Asian,” or “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander” (Humes et al., 2011). Given that Hispanics who hail from Latin America are largely racially-mixed *mestizos*, it is significant that between 75 and 90 percent of us would identify as either “White” or “Some Other Race” on the 2000 and 2010 census and that less than 5 percent of us would identify as “Black or African-American” or “Indigenous.”

While additional Census and other data reveal significant racial variation by region, nationality, and generation¹⁶, some broad themes emerge from the numbers above that are relevant to my study. The first and most important is that the explosive growth of the overall Latino population (from 35.3 to 50.4 million) meant that the growth

15 In his 2000 U.S. Census analysis, Rumbaut (2011) combines American Indians, Alaskan and Hawaiian natives and other indigenous Pacific Islanders into one “Indigenous” group.

16 On Census 2010 Cubans were most likely to identify as “white” (85.4%) while Dominicans were the least likely (29.6%). On Census 2000 Rumbaut (2011) also highlights significant racial variation among heavily Latino-populated states with many more Latinos identifying as white in Florida (75%) and Texas (58%) than in New York-New Jersey (43.3%) and California (39.7%). Interestingly, a Texas state-level analysis of Census 2010 data by Dowling (2014) on Latino racial identity by county reveals that 80% of Latinos in most Texas border counties identify as racially “white” with a much higher percentage identifying as “other race” the farther one moves from the border. Similarly, using the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2005). Rumbaut (2011) shows that the 41 percent of children of Latino immigrants were much like to identify as “Hispanic” or “Latino” versus only 6 percent of Latino immigrant parents, who were much more likely to identify according to their country of origin. With regard to race, about three-fifths of Latin-American-origin parents labeled themselves “white” compared to only one-fifth of their children.

in the percentage of “White” Latinos (from 47.8 to 53.0%) had a large impact on the overall U.S. population. Indeed, on the same day that Census researchers released the 2010 census brief, *The White Population: 2010*, the Census Public Information Office also issued a news release that proclaimed: “2010 Census Shows White Population Growth Was Fueled By Hispanics” Among other things, the brief reported that whites of Hispanic origin increased by 56 percent between 2000 and 2010 and that Hispanics/Latinos accounted for three-fourths of overall white population growth. From a critical perspective, these figures also point to what Pimentel and Balzhiser (2012) have called “the double occupancy” of Hispanics: that the current construction of origin and race questions serve to monitor Latino population growth and to artificially inflate the white count through Hispanic numerical incorporation. They argue that this method of double-counting Latinos skews the data in favor of political agendas that support ongoing racial inequities. (2012, p. 2-4).

Table 2: Latino Race and Whiteness in Official Government Documents

Date	Government Entity or Document	Key Change or Development	US Latino Population (~Approximate)
1848	The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo	Mexicans given U.S. citizenship and defacto “White” status	
1850	U.S. Census	Mexican Americans are included in “White” category	100,000
1930	U.S. Census	First and only time Mexican Americans are classified as “Mexican race”	1.4 million
1940	U.S. Census	Mexican Americans are again included in the “White” category	2.1 million
1970	U.S. Census	The term “Hispanic” is used to group together people of “Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin”	9.6 million
1977	U.S. Office of Management and Budget Statistical Policy Division	Names four racial categories and two ethnic categories: “Hispanic origin” and “not of Hispanic origin.”	~14 million (1980 Census)
1997	U.S. Office of Management and Budget Statistical Policy Division	Names five racial categories and indicates that “Hispanics may be of any race”	
2000	U.S. Census	Allows respondents to select <i>one or more</i> of the five racial categories and two ethnic categories: “Hispanic or Latino” and “not Hispanic or Latino.”	35.3 million
2010	U.S. Census	Three-fourths of white population growth attributed to Hispanics.	50.4 million

Sources: Gross (2008), Almaguer (2012), Rumbaut (2011), Census (2011)

Litigating Latino Whiteness for Equal Schooling

Alongside the history of racial designations on official government documents are a series of important legal decisions that also racialized Latinos relative to whiteness. In the context of schooling, Mexicans used their white status to challenge school segregation, but found that their “whiteness” was also used against them to nullify claims of racial discrimination. One way that communities achieved racial segregation for Spanish speaking Latino students who were legally “white” was through gradually outlawing Spanish as a language of instruction. Valencia and San Miguel (1998) have

pointed out that the initial subtraction of Spanish from U.S. schools transpired in two phases. While the first phase in the 1850s simply prohibited Spanish as a medium of instruction, the second phase from the 1870s to early 1890s completely outlawed the use of Spanish in schools. Although Spanish continued to be used in classrooms even after these initial English-only laws, Valencia and San Miguel point out that they laid the legal groundwork for the successful removal of the Spanish language over the next several decades (1998, p. 361). The outlawing of Spanish in schools also established a framework for the use of Spanish as a proxy for race in the segregation of Latino students—a move that Mexican American communities vigorously opposed in several key court cases.

The first of these battles, *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930), was the landmark desegregation case that would inspire Chicano activists to issue the aforementioned Del-Rio Mexican American Manifesto of a “bronze” Mexican *raza* in 1969. In 1930 the appellate court initially sided with the plaintiffs, ruling that, as members of the “other White race,” Mexican American students could not be assigned to separate schools or “excluded from schools maintained for children of other white races, merely or solely because they are Mexicans” (Donato & Hanson, 2012 p. 212). Although the court ruled that the Mexican students could not be segregated by race, the appellate court eventually reversed its decision, based on testimony from school leaders who indicated that segregation provided, “better opportunities because of the fact that their teachers are specialized in the matter of teaching them English and American citizenship” (Donato & Hanson, 2012 p. 213). Ultimately, the *Salvatierra* ruling legitimated the notion that “legally white” Mexican students could be segregated from other white

students for instructional purposes (including English instruction) according to the discretion of local school administrators.¹⁷

Although the plaintiffs and lawyers from the newly formed LULAC lost the *Salvatierra* case, Mexican American families in California fared better in *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (1931). The key conflict of the case centered around the decision of the Lemon Grove School District (located near San Diego) to build a separate, inferior grammar school for Mexican American children that the students called *La Caballeriza* (the stable) (San Miguel & Valencia 1998, p. 375). When the families went to court the judge ruled that the segregation of Mexican American students into separate facilities was not conducive to English language instruction for Spanish speaking students or their “Americanization.”¹⁸ However, even though *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (1931) was the earliest successful legal challenge to school segregation it failed to set precedent in the state of California or nationally.

The first federal precedent-setting decision regarding school segregation came fifteen years later in *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946)—another California case that would lay the groundwork for the historic *Brown v Board of Education* (1954). Five Mexican American families brought the suit and, as had occurred in previous cases, school leaders

17 In her comparison of the *Salvatierra* case to a 1931 jury discrimination suit, *Ramirez v State*, Gross (2009) provides another important example of the way that language was used as a proxy to discriminate against Mexican Americans. In *Ramirez* the plaintiff argued that he had been discriminated against and unjustly convicted of murder because his jury contained no one “of the Mexican race and Mexican descent known as Mexican.” The county attorney responded that he and other officials weren’t discriminating by race but rather because Mexicans “do not know the English Language well enough and are otherwise [too] ignorant” for jury service. The suit eventually failed and Gross cites this along with *Salvatierra* as examples of the courts willingness to “accept almost any justification for exclusion or differentiation [of Mexicans] that did not explicitly refer to ‘race or color’” (p. 276-277).

18 According to Valencia and San Miguel (1998) in historical literature the term “Americanization” usually refers to an organized national political movement that compelled immigrants during the second decade of the twentieth century to adopt Anglo American language and values while remaining at the bottom of the socioeconomic strata of U.S. society. They further argue that the process of Americanization could be characterized as “subtractive” or “additive” based on whether or not the school community encouraged the maintenance of immigrant languages and minority group culture (p. 358-359).

indicated that the segregation of Mexican students was not motivated by race but by the English language needs of the children. However, this time the court rejected the “instructional purposes” argument and found that the segregation of Mexican American students was harmful to learning and had been “determined largely by the Latinized or Mexican name of the child” (Donato & Hanson, 2012 p. 216). That the politics of race and whiteness (rather than pedagogy) were at the heart of the case was evident in the events that led up to Mexican families filing suit against the district. While the children of Gonzalo and Felicitas Mendez were denied admittance to Westminster based on their brown, “Latinized” appearance, the children of their Aunt, Soledad Vidaurri, were admitted because “of their light complexions and their last name, Vidaurri, which was thought to be French” (Gonzalez, 2013 p. 150). Even though they were counted “white” on the Census and other official documents, the *Mendez* case showed that racial discrimination continued to be part of schooling for Mexican American communities.¹⁹

The *Mendez* decision set the stage for a similar victory in *Delago v. Bastrop ISD* (1948), which found that the segregation of Spanish speaking students was contrary to the Texas constitution and the 14th amendment (San Miguel, 1987). However, even as the *Mendez* and *Delgado* decisions ended de jure segregation of Mexican American students in California and Texas, segregation remained the practice in most schools both immediately before and after the historic *Brown* decision in 1954. As Orfield (2001) and others have pointed out, the real catalyst for desegregation in the South and across the

¹⁹ Citing the *Mendez* court transcript, Gross (2009) points out that several Mexican American witnesses referred to themselves as “Mexicans” but were corrected by the court whenever they differentiated between themselves and their white, Anglo peers. The plaintiff’s lawyers made a similar distinction but were unable to make the case for racial discrimination based on the legal precedent that Mexicans were indeed “white.” For Gross, *Mendez* is an example of how Mexican American activists during this period were “trying to have it both ways”—citing racial discrimination and the need for fourteenth amendment protections even as they reluctantly acknowledged the nominal whiteness that was their claim to the full rights of citizenship (p. 285-286).

country came when President Lyndon Johnson (who formerly taught in a “Mexican” school in Cotulla, Texas) and Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and segregated schools suddenly found themselves vulnerable to Justice Department lawsuits and the loss of federal funding.²⁰

Following the *Mendez* and *Delgado* decisions, another key case was the aforementioned *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), filed in the U.S. Supreme Court during the same year as the historic *Brown v Board of Education*. The plaintiffs argued that the exclusion of Mexicans from juries in Jackson County, Texas was a violation of the fourteenth amendment, and the high court agreed. For the first time, plaintiffs were able to argue that, although they were legally white, “persons of Mexican descent were actually treated as a ‘race,’ class, or group apart from all other persons.” (Gross, 2009 p. 288). Although the contradictory nature of Mexican American racial identity had long been apparent in official government documents, *Hernandez* marked the first time that U.S. Mexicans were able to successfully claim that they were white *and* experienced racial discrimination. For activists and organizations like LULAC, the Mexican American status as both “white” and “a class apart” differentiated their civil rights struggle from the parallel fight being waged by African Americans but it remained successful as a legal strategy for many years (Gross, 2009 p. 288).

The racial politics of the post-*Brown* Civil Rights era changed the way that Mexican American activists approached the legal struggle for equal schooling. As previously indicated, the nationalism and brown pride of the Chicano movement in the

²⁰ In a recent (2014) report on the 60th anniversary of *Brown*, Orfield and colleagues highlight that, after achieving peak desegregation in 1970, many regions have resegregated mostly poor Black and Latino students, particularly in cities and large metropolitan areas. Contrary to the popular association between segregated schooling and African Americans, Orfield and colleagues also assert that the growing resegregation has been most dramatic for Latino students—a majority-minority that outnumbers black students even in the South (Orfield, Frankenberg, Ee, & Kuscera, 2014).

late 1960's informed the official adoption of a pan-Latino "Hispanic" category on the 1970 Census (Mora, 2014). At the same time, Mexican American activists noted that some school districts in the Southwest were responding to the federal desegregation mandate by pairing African Americans with Mexican students, who were legally considered "other white" thus avoiding integrating African Americans with Anglo whites (Valencia & San Miguel, 1998 p. 385). In response to this ongoing, persistent segregation, plaintiffs in a series of cases adopted a new strategy of seeking protection under the *Brown* ruling through claiming minority group membership. The first of these cases, *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi ISD* (1970), found that Mexican Americans were an "identifiable ethnic-minority group" and that school officials in Corpus Christi sought to "maintain and promote a dual system" through manipulating school boundaries, school locations, teacher assignments, and transfer policies (Donato & Hanson 2012, p. 220). However, the success of the *Cisneros* decision was offset by a contradictory decision in *Ross v Eckels* (1970), a case in Houston, Texas that also involved the mixing of African Americans and Mexicans for desegregation purposes. As San Miguel and Valencia (1998) point out, the same Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals who decided the *Cisneros* case came to the opposite conclusion in *Ross v Eckels* (1970), and ruled that Mexican Americans were *not* an identifiable minority group for purposes of desegregation. This confusion was finally settled by the U.S. Supreme court in *Keyes v School District Number One* (1973)—a desegregation case in Denver, Colorado. Compelled to make a decision, the Court found that Mexican American were an identifiable minority group and could not be paired with African American students to meet the requirements of desegregation (San Miguel, 1987 p. 179-180).

Table 3: Latino Race and Whiteness in Legal Decisions

Date	Court Case	Key Change or Development
1897	<i>In re Rodriguez</i>	“White” status of Ricardo Rodriguez is challenged but upheld based on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
1930	<i>Independent School District v Salvatierra</i>	Court rules that “Other White” Mexican students may not be segregated by race but can be segregated for instructional purposes such as English language instruction and “Americanization”
1931	<i>Alvarez v Lemon Grove School District</i>	Court finds that segregation for curricular or pedagogical purposes was harmful to students and contrary to California law
1946	<i>Mendez v. Westminster</i>	Court finds that school officials were segregating according to “Latinized or Mexican name” of students in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment
1948	<i>Delgado et al. v Bastrop Independent School District of Bastrop County et al.</i>	Court rules that the segregation of Spanish speaking students violates the Texas constitutions and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment
1954	<i>Hernandez v. Texas</i>	Court finds that Mexicans, though legally white, are “treated as a ‘race,’ class, or group apart from all other persons”
1970	<i>Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District</i>	Fifth Circuit Court finds that Mexicans are an “identifiable ethnic-minority group” and may not be paired with African Americans for desegregation purposes
1973	<i>Keyes v. School District No 1</i>	U.S. Supreme Court rules definitively that Mexican Americans are and identifiable minority group and could not be paired with African Americans to desegregate schools

Sources: San Miguel & Valencia (1998) Gross (2008), Donato & Hanson (2012) Menchaca (2011)

Latino Whites in the Post-Racial Present

Examining the history of official designations and key court decisions that racialized Mexican Americans provides insight into the complicated relationship that Latinos have with whiteness. In the colonial era, whiteness played a key role in a broader pigmentocracy that allowed a small number of fair-skinned elites to maintain economic, social, religious, and political control. Nominally extended to incorporated Mexicans in the U.S.-appropriated territories, the benefits of whiteness and citizenship were mostly reserved for landowners who could claim “Spanish” descent. Although Mexican access to

legal whiteness survived some initial challenges, the immigration waves of the early twentieth century caused prompted the literal expulsion of nearly a million Mexican Americans from the U.S. and an accompanying figurative expulsion from whiteness. Subsequently, pressure from activist groups, Mexican government officials, and the geopolitical uncertainty 21 of the 1940s brought back an official recognition of U.S. Mexican whiteness—even as communities engaged in racialized legal struggles for equal schooling and other civic rights. Finally, the immigration boom, civil rights victories, and cultural nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s fundamentally shifted the racial parameters by which Latinos could pursue claims for social justice. Where whiteness had been an indispensable part of Mexican American claims to full citizenship for a century or more, the post-*Brown*, post-civil rights era brought the ability to claim many of these privileges on the basis of being part of “an identifiable ethnic-minority group” alone.

Recently, the U.S. has witnessed unprecedented growth in the Latino population—a large segment of whom are identifying as “white” on official forms like the Census. Situated within a historical narrative, this phenomenon raises an interesting question: why would U.S. Latinos continue to identify as white in a current context that (supposedly) no longer requires whiteness to claim the full rights to citizenship and schooling? Or, to put the question differently, what are the social factors that continue to make a white identity meaningful for Latinos in the absence of a requirement to legally claim it for strategic benefit?

One answer, of course, is that whiteness and white supremacy continue to be a dominant force in U.S. society—though not quite in the same way that they were for

21 As Zamora (2008) points out, during the 1940s Mexican diplomats, activists, and government officials addressed the issue of discrimination against Mexican Americans and Mexican citizens laboring in the U.S. by “continually equating racial prejudice in the United States with claims of racial superiority in Germany” (p. 66).

Latinos in the pre-civil rights era. Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla Silva has provocatively argued that the current racial system continues to be defined by a new form of “colorblind” racism that is characterized by “a focus on culture rather than biology as well as the abstract extension of elements of liberalism to justify racial inequality” (2001 p. 194). Where older forms of racism emphasized and institutionalized racial difference, this “new racism” adopts a colorblind, ahistorical perspective to perpetuate white supremacy to explain racial inequity and focuses on the “cultural” deficits or defects of individuals in a minority group (See also Valencia, 1997, 2010). Thus, under this new colorblind perspective, Latino and Black families experience poverty and residential segregation not because of historic, institutional practices like redlining and unequal schooling, but rather because of presumed individual decisions that arise from cultural deficiencies. Likewise, white families who do not act in overtly racist ways still benefit from this newer “colorblind racism” because it allows them to claim that the better neighborhoods and schools they enjoy are the result of individualized (and “raceless”) merit rather than ongoing systemic advantages (See also Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Colorblind ideology appeals across the political spectrum to both conservatives and liberals, and Wise (2010) has similarly argued that the election of Barack Obama is the latest instantiation of what he terms “post racial liberalism,”--a left-of-center, post-civil rights political movement that combines “race-neutral rhetoric” with “colorblind public policy compromise[s]” (p. 16).

More recently, Bonilla-Silva has updated his thesis on colorblind racism to include a theoretical outline of the future of racial stratification in the United States. In his (2010) *Racism Without Racists*, he argues that the aforementioned Latino population explosion will expand our current biracial (black/white) order to a triracial system comprised of “whites” at the top, an intermediate group of “honorary whites,” and a

nonwhite assemblage of “collective black” at the bottom. In this new system, light-skinned Latinos will form part of the “honorary white” category and will buffer racial conflict between “whites” and a “collective black” that will include African Americans, dark-skinned Latinos, and most Southeast Asians (p. 179).

Perhaps the most compelling part of Bonilla-Silva’s argument is his characterization of this new tri-racial system as a “Latin Americanization” of U.S. race relations that is essentially a modern form of the colonial *pigmentocracy* (2010, p. 180). For Bonilla-Silva, the multi-racial systems that have characterized Latin American and Caribbean societies since the colonial period explain the continuing salience of a white identity for U.S. Latinos. One feature of these systems is the notion of *blanqueamiento* (whitening)—an ideology described in Latin American literature with real economic, political, and personal consequences. The modern counterpart of colonial “blood mending,” *blanqueamiento* is personally experienced by many Latinos through the preferential treatment given to light-skinned members of families and communities (2010, p. 182).

While a full discussion of the supporting arguments and critiques of Bonilla-Silva’s “Latin Americanization” thesis is beyond the scope of this chapter, some of the recent scholarly work on Latino racialization supports his hypothesis. For example, Almaguer (2012) conducted a survey of ethnographic research on Latino racial identity and concluded that U.S. Latino groups racialize each other according to categories created in the Spanish colonial world (p. 159). Similarly, a recent study by Frank, Akresh, and Lu (2010) found that the majority of Latino immigrants indeed recognize the advantages of adopting a white designation. However, their analysis also calls into question the notion that Whiteness will expand equally and incorporate both fair-skinned and dark-skinned Latino immigrants (p. 395).

As a critical ethnographic study, my work expands the existing knowledge on Latino racialization by showing how white identities are produced among Latina/o prospective teachers in a bilingual education program. In the next chapter I move from a historical and sociocultural discussion of Latino whiteness to situate my study within the related research literature. Specifically, I provide a broad overview of scholarly work in the following three areas: 1) Whiteness studies in education, 2) Latino teachers, and 3) Cultural identity formation to show how my study contributes to each of these distinct domains of research.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERTURE

In this chapter I outline the development and divergences of whiteness studies research in education to expand the discussion on whiteness and white supremacy from the previous chapter. I maintain that, while Critical Whiteness Studies in education has been helpful in revealing the structural white supremacy of U.S. schooling, it also has the potential to continue to center whiteness through its analytic process by seeking to appropriate an essentialized form of otherness (Moon & Flores, 2000). I argue that approaching racial formation and whiteness from a Critical Race Theory perspective is ultimately more useful because it centers analysis on the people of color's experiences and can account for intersectional aspects of their identities. I end this section by discussing broad themes in the study of whiteness in teacher education and show how my work will respond to gaps in this literature, including calls to better theorize whiteness in teacher education research (A. L. Brown & De Lissovoy, 2011; Lensmire & Snaza, 2010a; Mccarthy, 2003).

In the second part of this chapter I outline general themes in the research on Latino teachers to expand my discussion of teaching and teacher education. I discuss how an emphasis on teachers of color emerged as part of the ongoing fight for equal schooling in the post-civil rights era and I provide a broad view of the field to contextualize my research. I argue that the literature on Latino teachers can be grouped according to the following themes: 1) recruitment and retention, 2) educational and professional socialization, 3) special skills, beliefs, and attitudes to teach diverse populations, 4) critical frameworks and resistance to oppressive schooling, and 5) personal racial/ethnic and linguistic identities. Throughout this section I show how my research can contribute

to each of the major research themes, and how it is particularly useful for challenging essentialist understandings of the way that identities are produced for Latina/o teachers from a wide range of racial, linguistic, class, and immigration backgrounds.

In the final part of the chapter I delve deeply into theories of cultural identity formation that have the potential to illuminate the identity productions of my participants. I begin by discussing how models of non-white culture and identity paralleled and responded to dominant narratives about the inferiority, cultural deprivation, and cultural difference of students and communities of color (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). Then, I describe three domains of cultural identity theory that are relevant to my research study: 1) developmental models of identity (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Mead, 1913), 2) discursive models of identity (Bakhtin, 1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Gee, 2013; Hall, 1996) and 3) relational models of identity (Holland & Lave, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978). I end by showing how discursive and relational identity models based in the figured words framework (Holland et al. 1998) are useful for examining the self-authorship of the Latina/o teacher candidates in my study.

THE STUDY OF WHITENESS IN EDUCATION

For much of the time that the social sciences and education have been formal fields of inquiry in the United States, the study of whites and whiteness have been overlooked by whites in favor of an emphasis on the “problems” that immigrant and minority populations posed. One significant exception to Anglo control over knowledge production is the work of W.E.B Du Bois, whose (1935) *Black Reconstruction in America* revealed the role that racial identity played for poor whites during slavery. He argued that poor whites chose to receive the benefits of public and psychological “wages” of whiteness rather than joining with Blacks to undo the economic oppression of the

plantation system (See also Allen, 2004; Roediger, 1999). However, it was not until after the seismic shifts of civil rights movements in the 1960s and the rise of ethnic and area studies in 1970s that the research gaze turned back to whites. The new “whiteness studies” formally emerged in the 1980s and 1990s in fields like education, anthropology, sociology, history, law, and cultural studies. Important early works like Peggy McIntosh’s (McIntosh, 1988) “White Privilege,” (1991) *The Wages of Whiteness*, and Ruth Frankenburg’s (1993) *White Women, Race Matters* examined the socially constructed nature of white racial identity and the role of whiteness in reproducing racism and racial inequality.

During this time, Critical Race Theory (CRT) also emerged from the work of various legal scholars who argued that existing work in Critical Legal Studies (CLS) failed to account for the role of race and whiteness in reproducing societal inequities. CRT was soon incorporated into education through the work of Gloria Ladson-Billings and others starting in 1994 (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings , 2005; Yosso , 2005). My brief review will focus on the important insights as well as some key gaps in Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) that have led some scholars to adopt a more intersectional approach to studying race and whiteness through CRT. Subsequently, I will also explore how CWS, CRT and related theories have been deployed to examine notions of whiteness within the domain of teacher education. By providing a broad overview CWS, CRT, and their application in teacher education I hope to delineate key insights and also show how my research fills important gaps in this research area.

Critical Whiteness Studies in Education

In her 1997 *Local Whiteness, Localizing Whiteness* Ruth Frankenburg outlines some areas of inquiry for the study of whiteness that are helpful in thinking about the

theoretical contributions of CWS, CRT, and their application in teacher education. According to Frankenburg, one of the key contributions of CWS scholars in education and related fields is their examination of, “the place of whiteness in the contemporary body politic in Europe and the United States [...] both in the making of subjects and in the formation of structures and institutions” (1997 p. 2). CWS in education reveals whiteness as an ideological system, “an articulation of disparate elements—some racial, some not—in order to build a racial cosmology that benefits Whites in absolute ways and minority groups relative to only another” (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011 p. 2209). As Mills (2003) points out, ideological white supremacy includes the, “juridico-political realm of official governing bodies of laws ...[as well as] domination in the economic, cultural, cognitive-evaluation, somatic, and...even the ‘metaphysical’ sphere” (p. 42). As a system, whiteness orders social groups into a racialized hierarchy even as it orders our consciousness and conceptions of reality. White supremacy also finds its justification in Western, rationalist thinking that colonizes and organizes racial perception with the same logic that organized the *casta* taxonomies of the Spanish colonial era (Blauner, 1987; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Leonardo (2009) provides a helpful distinction concerning the contributions that CWS scholars in education have made toward understanding metaphysical aspects of whiteness like ideology, ontology, and epistemology (See also McLaren, Leonardo, & Allen, 2000). He states that there are two main strategies regarding the uptake of whiteness: white reconstruction and white abolition (2009, p. 92). According to Leonardo, white abolitionism is epitomized in Roediger’s famous pronouncement that whiteness, “is not only false and oppressive, it is nothing but false and oppressive” (See also Roediger, 1994). White abolitionists believe the existence of white people to be the result of oppressive structures that recognize Anglo bodies as “white” and that whites

should commit “race treason”²² (2009, p. 92) (See also Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996). By contrast, white reconstructionists believe that whiteness can be “remade, revisioned, and resignified” to an anti-racist positioning and that white people should both acknowledge their privilege and use it in the pursuit of racial justice (2009, p. 93).

While the early work of CWS scholars like Peter McClaren and Henry Giroux could be characterized as reconstructionist, much of the recent work of scholars like Zeus Leonardo seems more abolitionist in nature. For example, (Giroux, 1997a) states that, while CWS scholarship had rightly, “unmask[ed] whiteness as a mark of ideology and racial privilege...[CWS] fails to provide a nuanced, dialectical and layered account of ‘whiteness’ that would allow white youth and others to appropriate selective elements of white identity and culture as oppositional” (p. 385). According to Giroux, this “oppositional whiteness” is part of connecting white students to a “new ethnicity” that will help them to “reimagine” their social location and “rewrite whiteness within a discourse of resistance and possibility” (1997b, 1998, p. 71-71). McLaren (2000) adopts a similar reconstructionist viewpoint, though he frames his argument more explicitly within the theoretical perspectives of radical multiculturalism and Marxims. He argues for Whites to “transgress the external determinations of white identity” and that Whites “must be interpolated in rearticulating the whiteness of the dominant class” (2000, p. 182, 183). McLaren sees this articulation as part of a “postcolonial” or “revolutionary” multiculturalism that rejects, “the invisible norm of whiteness in a liberal swirl of diversity” (2000, p. 187).

²² The concept of “race treason” can be traced to the work Noel Ignatiev and John Garvey in the (1996) book *Race Traitor*, a collection of essays from a journal of the same name that Ignatiev founded in 1992. For Ignatiev and Garvey being a race traitor implies acting contrary to the interests of whiteness and is captured in the phrase “treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.”

By contrast, Leonardo (2009) sees the very existence of multiculturalism as evidence of the white normativity of schooling (p. 128-129), and advocates for the abolition of all ideological systems and institutions that prop up whiteness. One example of a related ideological system is the notion of “smartness,” which Leonardo and Broderick (2011) argue is akin to whiteness in that it is beyond rehabilitation and must be dissolved as the normative center of schooling. For Leonardo (2009) another example of institutional white supremacy can be found in No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which he calls an “act of whiteness” that is crucial to the project of imagining and creating white nationhood. He points out that, since race is a social construction, “whites” as we know them now did not exist 500 years ago and were formed racially by social, economic, and political forces associated with colonization that are constantly being renegotiated (See also Omi & Winant, 1994). He argues that white nationhood is imagined every time Caucasians speak of returning to an “American heritage” or nativists argue for the erecting of a wall along the U.S. border with Mexico. As the product of federal legislation, NCLB represents the codification of certain forms of white supremacy at the national level that invariably “processes” knowledge and people according to Western, Euro-centric norms (Apple, 2004; Kumashiro, 2001) and creates a “formidable fence” that delineates imagined White nationhood and normativity in the classroom (Leonardo 2009, p. 128-129).

Although CWS scholars have made important contributions toward understanding ideological and institutional white supremacy in schooling, they have also been subject to critique. Frankenburg alludes to the most significant gap or problem with Critical Whiteness Studies when she posed the question: “Why talk about whiteness, given the risk that by undertaking intellectual work on whiteness one might contribute to processes of recentering rather than decentering it, as well as reifying the term and its

‘inhabitants’?” (1997, p.1). According to Leonardo (2009), this is essentially what happened after CWS scholars developed “chutzpah” in the mid-nineteen nineties and called for the abolition of whiteness. He wryly notes that, “Whiteness studies scholars did not notice that they were overstaying their visit and decided to put down roots, developing genuine insights into racialization, albeit sometimes perceived with suspicious eyes that whiteness is up to its old tricks again by recentering itself” (p. 154).

According to Moon and Flores (2000), the recentering of whiteness through a CWS abolitionist approach can occur in a number of different ways. They argue that a refocused gaze on whiteness enables a “celebration” of “traitorous” behavior through bringing up “historical examples of race treason, maintenance of interracial relations, and public denials of white identity” (p. 105). These “celebrations” recenter whiteness in that they require “black adoration” and trivialize the extensive work performed by Blacks and people of color throughout history to counter the effects of racism (2000, p. 106). An additional problem with the “abolitionist” approach in CWS is that the destruction of white subjectivity results in “race traitors” seeking to appropriate an essentialized form of otherness (Moon & Flores, 2000, p. 108). In order to overcome the emphasis on racial whiteness to the exclusion of other forms of domination, Moon and Flores advocate an intersectional approach to whiteness studies based on the work of feminist scholars in the Critical Race Theory (CRT) tradition like Kimberle Crenshaw and Mary Matsuda (Moon & Flores, 2000, p. 110-111).

CRT shares with CWS a critique that the power and privileges of whiteness are invisible in a society where racism is normalized (Ladson-Billings, & Tate, 1995). However, CRT scholars critique liberal multiculturalism and argue that whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 1998). They argue that normalized white supremacy is a function of the legal history of whiteness as a form

of property (Harris, 1993) and its historic and ongoing role in determining rights to citizenship and schooling (Lopez, 1997). Additionally, CRT responds to the analytic problem of recentering whiteness by explicitly grounding its analysis in the stories, experiences, and *testimonios* of people of color (Fernández, 2002; Huber, 2009; D. G. Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). As Brown (2013) points out, this recentering of the voices of people of color can reveal the normalized culture of whiteness, white privilege, and white hegemony in teacher education and open up possibilities for more effectively preparing and meeting the needs of preservice teachers.

Teacher Education and Whiteness Studies

According to Frankenburg (1997) a key area where whiteness research has been deployed is in revealing, “how whiteness is performed by subjects, whether in daily life, in film, in literature, or in academic corpus” (p. 3). Within the field of education, a significant amount of research has been directed toward understanding the performativity of whiteness in relation to white preservice teachers. Indeed, the “unpacking” of white privilege in teacher education classes has become an established right of passage for many White teacher candidates on their paths toward learning about systems of power and privilege in U.S. schooling (Andersen & Collins, 2013; Galman, 2009). A review of this work reveals that, while whiteness research in teacher education has been adept at investigating the development of white racial awareness and practices of whiteness in teaching and teacher education, it has also tended to frame white teachers in essentializing ways and has lacked theoretical depth (Lowenstein, 2009; McCarthy, 2003; Ringrose, 2007a).

Some of the best-known early work on the development of white racial identity for preservice teachers can be found in the work of Alice McIntyre (1997a, 1997b). She

used a participatory action research approach to help the teachers in her study explore white identity and white racism and challenge their commonly-held beliefs. In similar vein, Johnson (2002) found that the white teachers who were considered most “aware of race and racism” by diverse peers had shared characteristics that included: having been perceived as “outsiders” themselves, prior experience living and working with individuals of other races, and their personal religious and philosophical beliefs. Johnson’s work corresponds with an analysis performed by Bonilla-Silva in the aforementioned *Racism without Racists* which found that young, working-class women were the most likely candidates to be white racial progressives (2010, p. 132). Marx and Pennington (2003) used insights from CRT and CWS to attempt to open up a discourse with teacher candidates on whiteness and white racism and found that they and their students moved to more critical and empowered understandings of race and whiteness. Later, in her (2006) ethnographic study, *Revealing The Invisible*, Marx worked with white preservice teachers to confront passive or unconscious racism as a way of helping them to develop tools to make education more equitable.

A related theme in the study of whiteness in teacher education concerns the resistance of teacher candidates toward recognizing their own whiteness or the existence of white racism. Schick (2000) used a post-structuralist, psychoanalytic approach to examine processes that allowed white preservice teachers to assert liberal values and frame themselves as innocent from racist acts, while using discursive repertoires that allowed them to “perform” racial dominance. Similarly, Levine-Raskey (2000) suggests that the denial and resistance commonly found among white students is a reflection of the contradictory position of whiteness striving to maintain legitimacy against an unstable social network. Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell (2005) used student responses to the aforementioned McIntosh article to investigate three strategies that white teacher

candidates used to avoid addressing privilege: 1) ideological incongruence, 2) liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy, and 3) the negation of white capital. They advocate for teacher education to help preservice teachers understand white identity formation and for space to experience the range of emotions associated with recognizing white privilege. Lastly, research by Hill-Jackson (2007) identifies different levels of consciousness for teacher candidates regarding multicultural perspectives. Her work showed that, by the end of multicultural education courses, many white preservice teachers found themselves “wrestling” with their whiteness and were vulnerable to reverting back to an unconsciousness of their racial selves and others.

A third major contribution that emerges from the work on whiteness and teacher education concerns the way that it illuminates how whiteness is embedded in the practices of teacher candidates and in teacher education programs. Swartz (2003) points out that schools of education have curricula that is historically grounded in positivist science and Eurocentrism. She argues that a connection to various epistemologies and emancipatory pedagogies can disrupt white subjectivity and allow teacher candidates to reconsider assumptions about children and communities of color. Likewise, Hytten and Warren (2003) investigate how whiteness became reified in a graduate education seminar in spite of efforts to disrupt its normative influence. They assert that this recentering of whiteness occurred through a range of discourses that students invoked to implicitly resist critical engagement. By contrast, Aveling (2006) used a life history approach to examine the narratives of six white teachers who had been nominated by diverse peers as being “aware of race and racism.” She found that these teachers were more likely to have a perceived identity as “outsiders” (due to class background or sexual orientation), that they had experience living or working with people of other races, or that they had religious or philosophical beliefs that emphasized social justice concerns. Pennington

(2007) examined autoethnography as a means to name privileges associated with whiteness and found it to be a useful teaching method in teacher education. Similarly, Mitchell, Donahue, and Young-Law (2012) illustrate the way that whiteness influences the development and implementation of service learning and subsequently frames the experience for teacher candidates. Patterns of privilege and whiteness in teacher education were also examined in the work of Picower (2009); her qualitative study proposes that what is typically referred to as “resistance to” an examination of whiteness and critical multiculturalism is actually part of a set of “tools of Whiteness” that preservice teachers rely on to protect hegemonic notions of White supremacy. Resistance was also a major theme of research by Urrieta and Reidel (2008) who found that white preservice social studies teachers sometimes responded with discomfort and even anger at challenging social justice coursework in a methods course.

Although the literature on teacher education and whiteness has contributed a number of insights, it has also been the subject of critique. One of the principle criticisms is that it essentializes whiteness and can frame preservice teachers as deficient learners. Lowenstein (2009) uses the concept of the “demographic imperative” to examine the implicit assumption that white preservice teachers lack cultural knowledge or the wherewithal to examine their privilege and need to be “rescued” by teacher educators. She concludes that by adopting the perspective that teacher candidates can be, “a display board for the problems of the system” rather than the problem itself, we can refocus attention on improving the actual teaching of multicultural teacher education. A similar review by Sleeter (2001) also finds that most of the research in this area focuses on the attitudes and the lack of knowledge of white teacher candidates and argues we must shift the focus to practices that actually prepare strong teachers if we wish to disrupt the reproduction of structural racism (Sleeter, 2004).

Another gap in this literature is the tendency of work on white racial identity in teacher education to be accompanied with a lack of theoretical depth on whiteness. For example, McCarthy (2003) conducted a review of five articles on white identity and teacher education that use CWS and CRT frameworks and found that they consistently failed to theorize race by overlooking factors of class, gender, sexuality, and nation. Ringrose (2007) also asserts that under-theorized representations of whiteness in pedagogical literature have led to simplistic notions of white resistance among undergraduate students. She argues that educators must complicate whiteness with discussions of other “axes of privilege and domination” in order to overcome student defensiveness.

Lensmire and Snaza (2010) similarly argue that research on whiteness and White racial identity in teacher education has tended to characterize White preservice teachers in deficit terms as a homogenous group that either brings little to discussions of diversity or is actively racist. By historicizing white racial identity through an exploration of white people’s participation in blackface minstrelsy the authors identify a “profound ambivalence” that sits at the center of White racial identities. Lensmire and Snaza point out that White people, in taking up blackface minstrelsy, were not just defining themselves in relation to Black people; they were also “taking up, forming, and contesting relations with White elites.” (p. 420). They suggest that researchers must take up and explore the notion of White ambivalence and regard teacher education as a site of hegemonic struggle among white people as well (2010, p. 420).

Along the same lines, Brown and De Lissovoy (2011) argue that the framing of antiracist solidarity in education fails to consider the extent of racism and white supremacy around the globe. They point to the paternalistic relationship that has historically characterized efforts at solidarity between Whites and African Americans and

argue that the contemporary context of whiteness presents particular challenges in the way that it orders human beings and functions as a system of material and cultural oppression. Furthermore, they question the notion, implicit in much of the work on whiteness and teacher education, that social transformation is dependent on convincing the majority white teaching population of the importance of the anti-racist project. Rather, De Lissovoy and Brown argue that the most important components of solidarity *begin* when white teachers make a commitment to anti-racism (2011, p. 557).

Critical Whiteness studies (CWS), Critical Race Theory (CRT), and the study of whiteness in teacher education all provide important tools for understanding the role of white supremacy in producing particular subjectivities even as they reproduce institutional inequity. While earlier work from McIntyre (1997) connected important insights from whiteness studies to teaching, more recent research by Marx (2006), Picower (2009) and others have explored the way that whiteness continues to operate unconsciously and to structure the process of teacher education. At the same time, researchers like Lowenstein (2009), Lensmire and Snaza (2010) and others have identified gaps in this research—particularly in the way it can apply a deficit perspective to white teachers and theorize their identity in essentializing ways.

Table 4: Themes and Critiques the Research on Teacher Education and Whiteness

Theme/Critique	Key Literature
1. Exploring and unpacking white racial identity (Theme)	McIntyre (1997a 1997b); Johnson (2002); Marx and Pennington (2003, 2006)
2. Resistance toward recognizing whiteness and the existence of white racism (Theme)	Schick (2003); Levine-Raskey (2000); Solomona et al. (2005); Hill-Jackson (2007)
3. Whiteness as characteristic of teacher candidates and teacher education programs (Theme)	Swartz (2003); Hytten and Warren (2003); Aveling (2006); Mitchell et al. (2012); Picower (2009); Urrieta and Reidel (2006, 2008)
4. Whiteness research essentializes and frames white preservice teachers as deficient (Critique)	Lowenstein (2009); Sleeter (2001, 2004);
5. Whiteness research in education lacks theoretical depth (Critique)	McCarthy (2003); Ringrose (2007); Lensmire & Snaza (2010); De Lissovoy & Brown (2013)

My work with racial identity and Latino teachers further develops this literature by examining the unique ways that whiteness operates within a preservice bilingual cohort. Historically, the “whiteness” ascribed to Latinos was conditional and they were considered a “class apart” from other whites. Similarly, my findings indicate that the Latina/o teachers in my study who identify as “white” had K-12 and life history experiences where their whiteness operated differently from that of their Anglo peers. In this way, my work expands the research on white teachers by moving beyond the Anglo majority to analyze the experiences of an important subgroup who also consider themselves white. Theoretically, my study broadens the study of whiteness by challenging racial essentialism from the perspective of people who possess both a minoritized and a white identity. By challenging and expanding the notion of what it means to be white I hope to broaden the discussion in CWS and CRT from one that assumes a monolithic “whiteness” to one that recognizes various “whitenesses” with distinct qualities and implications.²³

²³ In a (2010) article discussing the interracial solidarity doctrine in discrimination law, legal scholar Camille Gear Rich posits a theory of “marginal whiteness.” According to Rich, “marginal whites” are “individuals who, because they possess some nonracial, socially stigmatized identity characteristic, have

TEACHERS OF COLOR AND LATINA/O TEACHER EDUCATION

As work that troubles the traditional boundary between “white” and “Latino” teachers, my study also draws from the broad body of research on teachers of color. The literature on teachers of color is extensive and intersects with many other topics. Setting some boundaries is helpful in determining the types of work that I will survey. Most of the literature I will examine is within the domain of multicultural teacher education, which draws from work in related fields like bilingual education and educational psychology. Since research on teachers of color intersects with related topics like “Latina/o teachers,” “minority teachers,” and “bilingual teachers; ” I will center my review mostly on work whose findings and analysis make specific reference to my research topic of Latina/o bilingual/bicultural teachers. A review of this literature reveals the following themes with regard to Latino teachers: 1) recruitment and retention, 2) educational and professional socialization, 3) special skills, beliefs, and attitudes to teach diverse populations, 4) critical frameworks and resistance to oppressive schooling, and 5) personal racial/ethnic and linguistic identity. Much of the research examined in my review touches on multiple categories and, where possible, I attempt to frame particular research trends within a broader historical context. In the following section I provide an overview of each these of themes to show how my research challenges and expands each of these areas of research on Latina/o teachers.

Latina/o Teacher Recruitment and Retention: From Chicano Alternative Schools to “The Demographic Imperative”

Much of the literature on Latino teachers investigates ways to better recruit and retain them in teaching. As with the imported Mexican teachers in the aforementioned

more limited access to white privilege, and related, have a more attenuated relationship to white identity” (p. 1505).

Colegio Altamirano in Hebronville, Texas, communities of color have long found ways to recruit educators who could mirror the language and racial/ethnic identity of the children in local schools (Salinas, 2001). However, this effort achieved a new legitimacy in the civil rights era as these communities sought greater autonomy over local schools and curriculum.²⁴ In the Southwest, Chicano activists and educators established Chicano Alternative Schools in the 1970s²⁵ to further boost the low numbers of Mexican American teachers matriculating through traditional teacher education programs. According to Valencia & Aburto (1991, p. 175) this focus on recruiting more Latino teachers continued into the early 1980s with teacher education researchers voicing concerns about the negative impact of teacher testing on would-be minority teachers (See also Smith, 1987). This concern is also reflected in the work of Haberman (1989) who found that minorities educated in high-need urban settings were unlikely to enter teacher education programs without special efforts to recruit them into teaching.

In a report by Cox (1993) we find reference to a systemic “cycle of educational failure” where the poverty and dropout rates of Latina/o students is connected to lack of access to the teaching profession. To decrease teacher/student disproportionality, Cox proposes a model of Latino teacher recruitment based on principles of “supply and demand.” For Cox, increasing the supply means lowering policy barriers and increasing higher education investment for Latino teachers as well as career development for Latino paraprofessionals teachers, and teacher educators. Gordon (1993) also examines the issue of disproportionality and teacher recruitment but, instead, considers the way that the

²⁴ See Dana Goldstein’s (2014) *The Teacher Wars: A History of America’s Most Embattled Profession* for a recent take on the complicated fight between union teachers and Afrocentric community educators during the civil rights era.

²⁵ A 1974 document titled *The Recruitment, Channeling and Placement of Chicano Teachers* by Gloria Chacón and James Bowman lists fourteen “Chicano Alternative Schools” in California, Colorado, New Mexico, Oregon, and Texas.

traditional design of teacher education programs fails to select, train, and support teachers of color. In a similar vein, Dillard (1994) argues that recruitment of Latino and black teachers is more than a simple issue of “supply and demand” and that the focus of critical teacher educators should be to empower teachers of color to change society.

The importance of a social justice framework for Latino teachers is also a theme of a study by Su (1997) that compares the motivation of white teachers and teachers of color for entering and leaving teaching careers. Su finds that white teachers and teachers of color have different motivations for leaving the teaching profession and argues for changes in teacher education that reflect the view that minority teachers are an important resource. Likewise, Shen (1998) argues that alternative teacher certification can be a valuable way to recruit teachers of color (See also Haberman, 1989) while Kirby, Berends, & Naftel (1999) provide a case study for the successful recruitment of minority teachers by examining supply and demand patterns in Texas between 1979 and 1996.

While much of the work throughout the 1990s focused on Latino and minority teacher “supply and demand” related to overall teacher shortages, the research on recruitment and retention that emerges from the first decade of the 2000s takes a more expansive view of the experiences and mindsets of students of color and minority preservice and inservice teachers. For example, Quirocho and Rios (2000) conducted a review of research on the experiences of minority group teachers as they moved through teacher credentialing programs and into the classroom. In their review they explicitly consider what the research studies indicate about the personal and professional lives of minority teachers, their ability to adopt a critical, culturally-relevant approach to teaching, and processes that nurture minorities in and through the profession with joy and hopefulness (p. 493). Their review reveals that minority and Latino teachers indeed possess particular assets that would allow minority students to benefit from “the power of

their presence” but that recruitment and retention programs need to change to be more responsive to minority experiences and identities. Téllez (2004) similarly articulates the need for targeted recruitment of Latino teachers because of their potential impact on Latino students. However, he also maintains that recruitment efforts should be framed by an understanding of inherent difficulty of preparing teachers for every student population. When it is not possible to recruit Latino teachers, he argues that teacher educators should adopt an explicit focus on the acquisition of cultural and linguistic knowledge for all preservice teachers.

Much of the research I reviewed during the early 2000s also uncovers barriers, personal and otherwise, that prevent Latinos from entering teaching and staying in the profession. For example, Clark and Flores (2001) examined educational policy related to high-stakes competency testing and found that it functions as a barrier for minority bilingual education teachers to enter the profession. In later work, Flores, Clark, Guerra, & Sánchez (2008) examined acculturation among distinct groups of Latino bilingual education teacher candidates and found important divergences among 1st-generation college students, 2nd-generation paraprofessionals, and immigrant *normalistas* (normal school foreign-trained teachers). They argue that issues of acculturation should be explored in teacher education and that these distinctions should be considered in the recruitment of Spanish and non-Spanish-speaking Latino teachers.

Ramirez (2010) conducted related studies of ethnic minority high school and college students to figure out what they perceived to be the benefits and drawbacks of a career in teaching. While respondents were attracted to the notion of giving back to their communities, they were hindered by the low salaries and government regulation associated with teaching. As a policy remedy to this problem, Ramirez suggests various financial incentives (like undergraduate and graduate scholarships, increased pay, etc.) to

increase the likelihood that ethnic minorities will enter the profession. Though the Latino teacher recruitment literature from the early 2000s is diverse, one notable aspect from my review is that scholars and educators of color seem more visible than in previous periods. The unique standpoint that teacher education scholars of color bring to their research may account for the increased focus on mindsets and experiences in the recruitment and retention of Latino teachers during this time.

In more recent literature, the need to recruit and retain more Latino and minority teachers to overcome racial and ethnic disproportionality is combined within the notion of a “demographic imperative” (García, Jensen, & Scribner, 2009). The “demographic imperative” frames the notion of a teacher/student gap in race and ethnicity with special urgency and recognizes that the population of predominantly low-income students of color, already a majority in many regions (Layton, 2013), will become a nation-wide majority in the next few decades (Banks et al., 2005; Hodgkinson, 2000; Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). In a (2010) review of arguments for diversifying the teaching force, Villegas and Irvine question whether popular components of the recruitment discourse bear out empirically in the research literature. Specifically, they find no empirical evidence for the “role-modeling” effect—that the “presence” of minority teachers alone motivates students of color. However, they did find support for the notion that teachers of color build “bridges to learning” for minoritized students and can alleviate shortages in high-minority schools. In later work, Villegas, Strom, and Lucas (2012) examine minority recruitment policies and programs over the last twenty years. They conclude that, though progress has been made in increasing the proportion of minority teachers, the explosion in the student of color population during the same period has increased the overall teacher/student gap. Villegas and colleagues recommend implementing a “Teacher-Student Parity Index” to compare proportions of teachers and students from

different racial/ethnic groups to gain a better understanding of the “demographic imperative” in schools.

Ingersoll & May (2011) also examine the shortage of minority teachers in relation to the increasing number of students of color in schools. Like Villegas and colleagues they also show that efforts to recruit more minority teachers have been successful. However, Ingersoll and May argue these efforts have been undermined because teachers of color have lower rates of retention related to the poor working conditions in the disadvantaged schools where many of them work. Lastly, Irizarry and Donaldson (2012; Irizarry, 2011) frame their discussion of recruitment in terms of the challenges that Latinos experience throughout the teacher education pipeline. They find that Latino/a preservice teachers feel silenced in their teacher education programs and do not fit within a dominant narrative defined by White teachers’ career trajectories. Irizarry and Donaldson recommend a race- and culture- conscious approach to bring the teacher pipeline more in line with the experiences of Latinos in order to diversify the teaching force.

My brief review of some of the literature on minority and Latino teacher recruitment reveals the way that this literature seems to respond to prevailing concerns about teaching, teacher education, and minority students. For example, activists and educators focused on preparation through Chicano Alternative Schools in the 1970s in response to the Chicano movement. Similarly, concerns about the impact of teacher testing on Latino teachers seem to correspond to the burgeoning standards movement of the 1980s. The Latino and minority teacher “supply and demand” discourse emerges during a time of broad teacher shortages in the 1990’s and an emphasis on experiences and perspectives during the first decade of the 2000’s seems to correspond to the greater visibility of teacher education researchers of color. More recently, the incredible

demographic growth of Latinos (outlined in the previous chapter) has given rise to a “demographic imperative” discourse that remains a dominant theme both in popular media and in the research literature.

As I indicate in the introductory chapter, the notion of a “demographic imperative” implies that a more diverse teaching force will lead to greater equity and better outcomes for students. While research reviews by Villegas (2010) and others corroborate certain aspects of this assertion, this claim must be framed within a contemporary context where Latinos have driven recent white population growth. By tying historical and contemporary perspectives on Latino whiteness to ethnographic work on Latina/o teachers of varying racial identity productions, my work troubles the essentializing assumptions that frame the conversation around minority teacher recruitment. In troubling these assumptions, my work adds new perspective and nuance to the important conversation on Latina/o teacher recruitment and retention.

Educational and Professional Socialization

Another important theme that emerges from the literature on Latino teachers concerns the ways that they are educated and socialized into the teaching profession. According to Guerrero (1997, 1998, 2003) one key aspect of this process for Latina/o teachers in bilingual programs is academic proficiency in Spanish. His work primarily examines the Spanish language preparation and competency of bilingual teachers and he concludes that bilingual education programs cannot make up for an initial lack of Spanish-language competency. Guerrero (2003) recommends attention to the issue of Spanish-English bilingualism and biliteracy along the teacher education pipeline to increase the number of proficient bilingual Latina/o teachers.

In addition to language, the impact of role-modeling is also a sub-theme that emerges in the research on Latina/o teacher educational and professional socialization. While Villegas (2010) may have found no empirical evidence to support the impact of role modeling on minority student populations, Jones, Young, and Rodríguez (1999) found that ethnic identity and the desire to be a role model was an important motivation for Mexican American bilingual teaching candidates when compared to the career-choice rationales of their Euro-American peers. Role-modeling and the desire to make a difference for minority students was also a motivating factor for the minority group teachers in the aforementioned work by Quijano and Rios (2000). In their review of research they reference the desire to be role model as one of the reasons that researchers should give more emphasis to the voice and motivations of Latino teachers in the research literature. Role-modeling and the desire to connect to youth and families also emerged in life history research on Latino male teacher candidates in a study by Gomez, Rodríguez, and Agosto (2008). The authors describe how the young men often felt misinterpreted by predominantly white female colleagues and offer suggestions for how teacher educators can be more responsive to male prospective teachers of color. Lastly, the desire to connect to students and communities also emerged in an extensive review of research on teacher preparation for educators of color conducted by Villegas and Davis (2008). In their review they cite research that indicates that 1) that teachers of color desire to serve as role models for students of color, 2) that teachers of color tend to have higher expectations for students of color, and 3) that teachers who are racial/ethnic minorities have unique first-hand knowledge about the backgrounds and everyday experiences of students of color (Villegas and Davis, 2008 p. 584).

Besides the desire to be a role model, much of the research on the education and professional socialization of Latino teachers highlights their experiences at distinct points

in their careers. For example, Galindo (2007) used a narrative inquiry approach to examine the narratives that Chicana teachers use to construct emerging professional identities as bilingual educators. He found that participants' narratives constructed continuity across distinct phases of their education and career and played a key role in their professionalization as bilingual educators. In a similar vein, many Latino educators experience challenges and competing concerns throughout their process of education and professional socialization. Morrell (2010) reported on a case study of teacher educators in a graduate education course who realize that their initial heavy focus on "diversity" was organized around a dominant white, middle-class, and female perspective. The author discusses how this assumption inadvertently reinforced the marginalization of Latina/o and minority teacher candidates and how the teacher educators changed the course to focus on improving academic outcomes and opportunities for linguistically and culturally diverse K-12 students.

Competing concerns and discourses were also a theme in work by Austin, Willett, Gebhard, and Montes, (2010) who describe the tensions that a group of Latino/a bilingual paraeducators experienced during the conflictual implementation of structured English immersion in Massachusetts. They offer their research as an example of how and why teacher educators need to pay attention to the policy context and be responsive to issues that bilingual educators face in the development of teacher education coursework. Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) explore similar issues in a study that details the ways that culturally subtractive school contexts can constrain new Latino/a teachers in their ability to enact their goals of being change agents by the. They highlight the need to document culturally additive school conditions that support teachers of color and for policy-makers to reconsider the organizational contexts in which new Latina/o teachers are expected to remedy inequitable learning opportunities for minority students.

Finally, some of the research on the Latina/o teacher educational and professional socialization also described the impacts of teacher education programs with a unique or non-traditional program design. For example, Lohfink Morales, Shroyer, Yahnke, and Hernandez (2011), reported on an effective, distance-delivered program for rural, primarily Native American and Latina/o teacher candidates. They outline strategies that the program used to respond to the academic, social, and financial needs of participants in spite of distance and communication challenges and make recommendations for teacher education programs with similar populations. By contrast, Morales (2011) performed a case study of 11 non-traditional, ELL, Latinas in a community-based teacher education program. She found that a sense of purpose and caring relations defined by things like *consejos*, “quality not quantity,” and high expectations were a significant factor in ensuring participant resiliency through the program (See also Valenzuela, 1999). Additionally, she highlighted the ways that participants drew upon their experiences to enact culturally responsive teaching and demonstrated a strong sense of agency to improve the educational outcomes of their students.

This section’s review of literature on Latina/o educational and professional socialization reveals some important subthemes. For prospective bilingual educators, Spanish language proficiency is a key concern for students educated in linguistically subtractive K-12 schooling environments. The pervasive cultural and linguistic subtraction that many Latinas/os experience in K-12 education likely informs another major sub-theme in the research: the desire of many prospective teachers of color to be a role models and connect to youth and communities of color. As they pass through preservice teacher training and into the classroom, many Latina/o and minority teachers also have to negotiate competing concerns, which teacher educators in turn try to mitigate by designing unique or non-traditional training programs.

My ethnographic study occurs in the context of a bilingual teacher-training program that emphasizes fluent written and spoken Spanish throughout upper division coursework. As such, my work addresses the impact of language proficiency on identity formation within a unique programmatic environment. Most of the teachers in my study also express similar motivations to be a role model and connect to communities of color and my work documents the unique way that this desire plays out for those cohort members who ascribe to themselves a white “Americanized” identity. My research adds additional nuance to this research area by highlighting the particular kinds of negotiations experienced by Latina/o teachers of different racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds as they pass through their bilingual education program.

Special Skills, Beliefs, and Attitudes

Many researchers have examined the special mindsets and skills that Latino/a educators bring with them to the classroom and their attitudes about teaching diverse students. For example, Darder (1995) has argued that Latino teachers bring a unique cultural perspective to the classroom that impacts their ability to empathize with their students and makes them more open to the cooperative approaches that provide opportunities for student dialogue. She demonstrates how this cultural knowledge extends beyond the classroom and allows Latina/o teachers to engage immigrant parents in meaningful ways as well. (p. 336-342). Téllez (1999) also examined the cultural perspectives of Mexican American preservice teachers and specifically looked at the extent to which Mexican American preservice teachers “use” their ethnicity during their student teaching (e.g. use their cultural knowledge during lesson planning and delivery, etc). In contrast to Darder, Téllez found that the teachers did not use their cultural knowledge in the classroom, even when teaching Mexican American children because of

rigid curricular requirements. He recommends that teacher educators engage in purposeful planning of student teaching experiences to open up such opportunities. The importance of allowing space for Latina/o teachers to use their cultural knowledge was supported by findings from a pair of studies by Monzó and Rueda (2001a, 2001b) who found Latino teachers' and paraeducators' knowledge of students' culture and communities, language, and interactional styles significantly influenced student/teacher relationship building. They note the central role that the school plays in mediating relationships between students and different kinds of professionals and also recommend that schools afford students and educators opportunities to use the cultural resources that they bring to the classroom.

Much of the literature about Latino teacher mindsets connects their cultural knowledge and perspectives to issues of cultural identity. For example, Weisman (2001) found that Latino educators possessed strong bicultural identities that gave them a political consciousness and a strong desire to affirm the cultural identities of Latino students. Biculturality and political consciousness were also explored in a profile of eight Latino teachers by Ochoa (2007). She argues that these educators bring special skills and perspectives to the teaching of Latino students that helps them confront the unique challenges they face. Adopting a historical approach, Dilworth and Brown (2008) show how teachers of color have historically overcome barriers to craft education that meets the needs of their students. They maintain that Latino and minority teachers continue to bring added dimensions to teaching through their heritage and culture. Similarly, Achinstein & Aguirre (2008) explored the way that novice teachers of color negotiated challenges when students of color questioned their cultural identifications.. They found that these teachers drew upon “emergent multicultural capital” to shape their teaching practice and respond to classroom challenges.

Much of the recent work on Latina/o teachers moves beyond special skills that they apply in the classroom to examine their beliefs and mindsets about teaching. For example, research by Flores (2001) revealed how bilingual Latino teachers' beliefs about the nature of knowledge influenced their perceptions of how students learn. To counteract this tendency, they suggested a philosophically grounded teacher education program that explores and aligns preservice teacher beliefs and teaching practices. The aforementioned work by Gomez and colleagues (2008) and a separate study by Weisman and Hansen (2008) both found that life histories and experiences strongly influenced Latino teacher candidates' desire to form personal connections and relationships with Latino students and their parents. A similar study by Irizarry and Raible (2011) looked at urban teachers identified as "exemplary" by Latino students, parents, and community members. They learned that these educators drew on "barrio-based" epistemologies and ontologies derived from personal experience to better meet the needs of Latino youth. The previously mentioned work by Achinstein and Ogawa (2012) also found that teachers of color possessed a strong desire to draw upon their own and their students' resources to enact a culturally relevant curriculum. However, they also found that these teachers were constrained in their efforts by standardization, accountability policies, and the drive to increase test scores. Lastly, Ek, Sánchez, & Cerecer (2013) examined the narratives of Latina/o teacher candidates in South Texas to explore the way they resisted the dominant, deficit perspectives of Spanish in the Southwest. Interestingly, they found that their participants' narratives revealed "linguistic motherwork" performed by their Latina mothers to raise the status of their heritage language in the context of U.S. linguistic marginalization.

The studies outlined in this section highlight the diverse sets of skills, beliefs, and attitudes of Latina/o teachers bring with them to the classroom. The unique cultural

perspective of Latina/o teachers can influence the way that teachers approach their Latino students and parents, even as their cultural knowledge can be applied in the curriculum if schools allow a space for it. According to the recent research literature, many Latina/o teachers draw upon life experiences and knowledge of local communities and approach their work with a political commitment to social justice. These personal histories also form the basis for resisting dominant views of themselves and their students as linguistically and culturally deficient.

My work follows a cohort of bilingual educators across the trajectory of their teacher education coursework and into their student teaching classrooms. By examining the diverse trajectories of my participants and asking them to reflect on how their personal histories and teacher training inform classroom practice, I reveal the diverse kinds of knowledge that inform their approach to students. The project of documenting the unique and important skills and mindsets of Latino teachers is important but is also susceptible to the temptation to essentialize and claim particular traits as generalizable and universal to all Latina/o educators. By addressing the beliefs of Latina/o bilingual prospective teachers who identify as white, my work also troubles the notion of essential traits and provides a more nuanced understanding of range of preservice teacher mindsets.

Critical Frameworks to Resist Oppressive Schooling

Another important theme that is woven throughout the literature concerns the ways that Latino teachers develop critical frameworks to resist oppressive schooling practices that are hostile to their racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities. The aforementioned early work by Darder (1995) argues that teaching practices grounded in cultural ways of knowing are a crucial means of resistance for Latino critical educators

(p. 335-336). In a similar vein, work by Arce (2004) also explores hegemonic practices in education and shows how Latino bilingual educators resist multiple layers of oppressive schooling. The teachers in his study connected their social consciousness to an emerging critical pedagogy that sustained them while overcoming barriers in their new careers. Berta-Avila (2004) used a participatory research approach to show how critical Xicana/Xicano educators who want to work with Raza students conceptualize their role in the classroom. She found that Xicana/Xicano positionality, the desire to be change agents, critical pedagogy, and negotiation were each important parts of being effective Xicana/Xicano educators. These studies show the important role that critical frameworks for teaching can play in providing Latina/o educators the tools to resist oppressive schooling environments

These means of resistance are important in a context where the experiences and challenges of racial minority teachers are invisible to white peers in predominantly white institutions. For example, Carr and Klassen (1997) studied the distinct perceptions that White and racial minority teachers have of antiracist education practices. They found that the racial minority teachers in their study experienced greater barriers that were invisible to their white peers and hampered a full recognition of the importance of racial diversity in education. Similarly, Castañeda, Kambutu, and Rios (2006) studied the experiences of teachers of color in rural communities that lacked a history of diversity. They found that, while minority teachers had the potential to challenge stereotypes and be positive role models for minority students, they also experienced a sense of isolation in predominantly white communities and schools. The invisibility Latinas/os experienced also extends to teacher education and is demonstrated in the previously referenced work by Irizarry (2011) and Achinstein & Ogawa (2011). These researchers provide compelling evidence that the white supremacy that characterizes much of teacher education also silences

preservice Latina/o and minority teachers and divests them of their cultural resources. In his work with Chicana/o educators, Urrieta (2010) uses the term “whitestream” to characterize a system of schooling that promotes the idea that whiteness and white experiences are the norm (see also Grande, 2000; 2004). The Chicana/o teachers in Urrieta’s study resist whitestream oppressive schooling by using their agency to author activist identities that they employ in causes for social justice.

The invisibility experienced by Latina/o and minority teachers obscures not only their experiences, but also the important assets that they bring to teaching. For example, (Philip, 2011) argues that educators with “progressive” notions of teaching can misinterpret the multifaceted practices of experienced educators of color. He found that the minority teachers who were perceived as “authoritarian” or “conformist” formed their teaching practices around a commitment to providing their students of color access to the “culture of power.” In many instances, the commitments of these accomplished teachers of color were tied to personal experiences with racism and humiliation. This sub-theme also emerges in the aforementioned work on Latino teachers by Ochoa (2007) as well as the work of Kohli on Women of Color educators. In both cases, the researchers show how the educators drew on painful experiences to disrupt marginalizing schooling experiences for Latina/o students and youth of color. The cultural violence that minority and Latina/o students experience in schools is also resisted through supportive family members’ work performed in home and communities settings. For example, work by Gomez (2010) and the aforementioned research by Ek and colleagues (2013), both demonstrate the important role that Latina mothers can play in helping their children to resist cultural and linguistic marginalization. These researchers show how Latina/o teacher candidates drew upon “mother stories” and “linguistic motherwork” to counter

discourses of cultural deficiency in teacher education and dominant language ideologies about the inferiority of Spanish.

In the context of a school system and society still characterized by white supremacy, Latina/o teachers must use a variety of resources to counter oppression, silence, and marginalization. The researchers outlined in the sub-section show how Latina/o teachers use critical frameworks to persist through the obstacles they face in schooling and in their professional careers. One of the most persistent obstacles that minority preservice and inservice teachers face is a sense of isolation and invisibility in teacher education and schooling contexts. This invisibility obscures their struggles from white peers and colleagues and silences the perspectives and cultural knowledge that teachers of color bring to the classroom. Even so, Latina/o teachers often draw upon marginalizing experiences with racism and positive influences from home and community to persist through teacher education and pass on these tools of resistance to their students of color.

As previously indicated, the context of my study is a bilingual teacher education program that foregrounds Latino cultural knowledge and emphasizes fluent written and spoken Spanish. Accordingly, my work addresses some of the real outcomes of a program that, in many ways, was explicitly designed to resist the white normativity and Anglo-centrism of teacher education. Though the bilingual program in my study is designed to be a culturally and linguistically affirming space, the Latina/o prospective teachers in my study must also negotiate a campus environment and larger political context that is openly hostile to cohort members who are immigrants and people of color (T. J. Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solorzano, 2009). Accordingly, my work also highlights the unique ways that participants negotiated and resisted key instances of conflict and institutionalized oppression within the larger university campus.

Racial, Ethnic, and Linguistic Identities

Perhaps the theme that is most relevant for my research has to do with the racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities that teachers of color enact in teacher education. Much of this work on identity focuses on the experiences of Chicanas or frames the analysis using a Chicana/Latina feminist sensibility. For example, Galindo (1996) explored the notion of a “bridging identity” to explain how Chicanas appropriated their own experiences and values into their roles as teachers. The Chicana teachers in his study used biographical experiences to contextualize challenging elements of their positions and even resist the marginalization of themselves and their students. Similarly, Bernal and colleagues (2006) explored Chicana/Latina feminist notions of teaching and learning, including the implications of *mujer*-centered definitions of pedagogy and epistemology for teacher education (see also Villenas, 2006). Their important research anthology documents both the educational experiences of women at different points of their lives and the particular tools that Chicana/Latina feminist theory brings to the study of education. More recently, the work of Prieto (2009), Prieto and Villenas (2012), and Reyes McGovern (2013) also provide good examples of the way that Chicana/Latina feminist frameworks inform teaching and knowing in teacher education and for teachers of color. Through a process of testimonial co-creation, Prieto and Villegas (2012) explored the themes of cultural dissonance, *conciencia con compromiso* (consciousness with commitment), and *cariño* (authentic care) as Chicana feminist pedagogies (See also Valenzuela, 1999). Similarly, Reyes McGovern (2013) explored the way that life history experiences of Chicana teachers informs their implementation of culturally-relevant practices in the classroom.

Work in this area that explores Chicana identity and Chicana feminism is complemented by work that explores the pedagogical and professional implications of certain kinds of Latina/o identities. For example, Clark and Flores (2001) explored the

ethnic identity and self-conceptualizations of Latino teachers in a bilingual education program. They found that, while ethnic identity was not central to the preservice teachers in their study, their self-identification was individualistic and revealed a positive self-conceptualization. In a similar vein, Varghese (2006) explored the way that the formation of bilingual Latino/a teachers' professional identities were formed and enacted. She found that the bilingual teachers developed complex, conflicted senses of professional identity that were mediated by factors like their responses to marginalization, their professional development, local setting(s), and personal histories. Life histories also play an important role in the aforementioned work of Gomez and colleagues (2008a, 2008b), who found that Latino/a prospective teachers' identity formation was based on a combination of prior family, home, K-12 schooling, and university experiences. In sketching the identities of Latina/o teacher candidates, Gomez and colleagues reiterate the important role of teacher educators in being responsive to their needs as students and future educators.

The importance of language in the formation of Latina/o teacher identities was explored in separate work by Varghese and colleagues (2005) and Haddix (2010). Varghese, Morgan, Johnson, & Johnson (2005) presented three studies and related theoretical frameworks to explore different aspects of what they call "language teacher identity." Haddix (2010) similarly used critical discourse analysis to conceptualize the ways that language is representative of teacher identity for Black and Latina preservice teachers. Through a study of the non-standard linguistic and literacy practices of her participants, Haddix elucidated a move beyond a marginalizing deficit framing toward one that recognizes agency and linguistic hybridity.

The role of agency and activism is also prominent in the aforementioned work by Urrieta (2010) on the identity development of Chicana/o activist educators. Using a

figured worlds theoretical lens (Holland et al, 1998) he argued that activist spaces (student organizations, courses, peer groups, etc.) form figured worlds where certain types of Chicanas/os come and are recruited to perform new self-understandings in the context of social justice, community commitment and service to others. Urrieta suggested that individuals who are religious, have life-history experiences with discrimination and oppression, and value the notion of *familia* and family relations are more likely to enter activist spaces and develop identities as Chicana/o activist educators.

Table 5: Themes in the Research on Latina/o and Minority Teachers

Theme	Characteristics or Sub-Themes	Relevant Literature
1. Recruitment and retention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of Chicano teachers -The barrier of testing and certification -Notion of “supply and demand” -Personal motivations/barriers for entering/staying in teaching -Notion of a “demographic imperative” 	Valencia & Aburto (1991); Haberman (1989) Cox (1993); Gordon (1993); Dillard (1994) Su (1997); Shen (1998); Berends, & Naftel (1999); Quicho and Rios (2000); Téllez (2004); Flores et al. (2005, 2008); Ramirez (2010); (Garcia et al. 2009); Villegas, Strom, & Lucas (2012); Ingersoll & May (2011); Irizarry (2011, 2012)
2. Educational and professional socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Obstacles to Spanish language proficiency -Desire to be a role-model -Challenges and competing concerns -Unique or non-traditional teacher education programs 	Guerrero (1997, 1998, 2003); Villegas (2010); Jones et al. (1999) Quicho and Rios (2000); Gomez et al. (2008); Villegas & Davis (2008); Galindo (2007); Morrell (2010); Austin et al. (2010) Achinstein & Ogawa (2011); Lohfink et al. (2011); Morales (2011)
3. Special skills, beliefs and attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Unique cultural perspective - Cultural knowledge that informs teaching practice -Life history experiences inform connections to students/families -Beliefs about the nature of knowledge inform approach to Latina/o students 	Darder (1995); Téllez (1999); Monzó & Rueda (2001a, 2001b); Weisman (2001); Ochoa (2007); Dilworth & Brown (2008); Achinstein & Aguiere (2008); Flores (2001); Gomez et al. (2008); Weisman & Hansen (2008); Irizarry & Raible (2011); Achinstein & Ogawa (2012); Ek & Sanchez (2013)
4. Critical frameworks to resist oppressive schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -White supremacy of schooling and teacher education -Role of critical pedagogy in resistance -Past experiences with racism -Invisibility to white peers -Invisibility of cultural assets -Resistance rooted in the work of Latina mothers 	Darder (1995); Arce (2004); Berta-Avila (2004); Carr & Klassen (1997); Castaneda et al. (2006); Irizarry (2011); Achinstein & Ogawa (2011); Urrieta (2010); Phillip (2011); Ochoa (2007); Kohli (2008, 2009); Gomez (2010); Ek et al. (2013)
5. Personal racial, ethnic, and linguistic identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Chicana identities and chicana feminist theory -Pedagogical and professional implications of identities -Role of language and agency in the formation of identity 	Galindo (1996); Bernal et al. (2006); Villenas, (2006); Prieto (2009); Prieto & Villenas (2012); McGovern (2013); Clark & Flores (2001); Varghese (2006); Gomez et al. (2008a & 2008b); Varghese et al. (2005); Haddix (2010); Urrieta (2010)

My review of the literature on Latina/o teachers reveals important themes in Table 5 regarding the racial and cultural identity formation of Latina/o preservice teachers. The

research on recruitment and retention will help to frame the diverse reasons that my participants have for becoming bilingual teachers and continuing in the teaching profession. A significant part of my study also examines participants' educational and professional socialization therefore literature in this area will help me to characterize their teacher education experiences within the broader field. Many of the teacher education courses I observed in my study were designed to be critical and culturally relevant, so it was important for me to understand the literature in this area in order to frame the responses of the Latina/o teacher candidates to these concepts. Finally, the major focus of my work was the way that racial/ethnic identities are developed in teacher education and on the impact of those identities on emerging classroom practices in student teaching. Understanding broader themes in the research on Latino teachers helped me to locate my work within the research literature and to maximize the impact of my potential findings for teaching and teacher education. In the next section I move from a general discussion of the research on Latina/o teachers to explore developmental, discursive, and relational theories of cultural identity formation and the potential impact of my research on theories of identity production.

THEORIES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY FORMATION

My study of Latina/o teacher identity productions investigates how issues of sociocultural difference, ideology, and agency influence the development of bilingual and bicultural teachers. Cultural theories of identity formation are particularly helpful for unpacking the complex interplay among K-12 education histories; issues of race, gender, class, and immigration trajectories; and teacher education experiences. Although there are many ways to examine the expansive literature on cultural identity formation, the three

themes that are most helpful for my project are developmental models of identity, discursive models of identity, and relational models of identity.

Developmental Models of Cultural Identity Formation

Developmental models of cultural identity formation assert that identity is a psychological construct that is maintained in our consciousness and develops over time. Social psychologist George Mead was an early influential theorist of identity development who posited that identity formation and maintenance involved the objectification of the notion of the “self.” In order to explain this process of objectification, he developed the concepts of the “me” and the “I” in relation to identity and consciousness. According to Mead, an object always involves a subject and, as such, the notion of “me” is not conceivable without the notion of an “I” and vice versa. The relationship between the two conceptions is fluid, with the “I” being a presupposition until it is presented into conscious experience and becomes the objective “me.” As Mead states, “...an ‘I’ [...] can disclose himself only by ceasing to be the subject for whom the object ‘me’ exists” (1913, p. 374). This disconnection between the “I” and the “me” occurs as people become aware of their consciousness and are able to objectify themselves. As Mead explains “...it is only as the individual finds himself acting with reference to himself as he acts toward others that he becomes a subject to himself rather than an object...” (1913, p. 375). Thus, our capacity for self-consciousness and self-reflection are the product of a social history that we develop as we acquire the ability to take the standpoint of others and objectify ourselves and our social position (Holland et al. 1998, p.4). Mead’s insights about the fundamentally social nature of identity production are important for understanding the way that these processes occur in distinct racial and ethnic groups.

Psychological theories of racial identity and education have strongly influenced developmental perspectives of cultural identity production. Carter and Goodwin (1994) provide a helpful analysis of the influence of racial identity on schooling, suggesting that, “throughout history, the major scientific paradigms that have shaped education for non-white children have, in part, been influenced by the racial identity development of educators themselves” (p. 292). They also make a distinction between race and racial identity stating that, “The assumption that racial identity is synonymous with one’s race does not consider within-group psychological variation as it relates to the psychological implications of race” and suggest that it is more helpful to think of racial identity as a person’s psychological orientation *toward* their racial group rather than a fixed membership (p. 292-293).

As my research deals with Latina/o teacher identity development and intra-racial and intra-ethnic difference, the research on (black and white) racial identity development and “cultural learning styles” adds important perspectives. According to Carter and Goodwin (1994), the work on Black racial identity development is characterized as consisting of five stages: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment (see also Cross, 1978). Helms’ (1990) work on White identity development added the notion of racial identity “levels” and indicated that each level may exist within a person and have, “its own constellations of emotions, beliefs, motives, and behaviors that influence the way in which racial identity is expressed” (Carter and Goodwin 1994, p. 308). Helms (1990) also proposed a stage model in which Whites moved from a lower to a higher level of racial identity and which was predicated on the notion that the “norm” of whiteness allows whites to avoid, deny, or ignore their racial identity. Helm’s (1990) revised model of White identity includes six stages: three preliminary stages—Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration, representing the

abandonment of racism, and three latter stages—Pseudo-independence, Immersion-Emmersion, and Autonomy, representing a non-racist White identity (Carter & Goodwin, 1994 p. 301). While I am not planning on analyzing the distinct “levels” of identity development of the preservice teachers in my study. These theories show how racial identification is not solely determined by group membership. It is also the result of, “personal psychological resolutions about race,” which can take diverse forms of expression according to “emotional, intellectual, perceptual, behavioral, social, and cultural correlates” (Carter & Goodwin, 1994 p. 31).

Carter and Goodwin (1994) assert that much of the historic and contemporary social research for members of racial/ethnic groups falls into one of the three perspectives: the inferiority paradigm, the cultural deprivation paradigm, or the cultural difference paradigm. While the inferiority paradigm is based on the perspective that visible racial/ethnic differences indicate genetic inferiority, the cultural deprivation paradigm makes a similar deficiency argument using culture as a proxy for biology (see also Valencia, 1997, 2010). By contrast, the cultural difference paradigm started to emerge in the early 1970s post-Civil-Rights-era and was based on the premise that the racial, ethnic, and cultural difference of minority students was not synonymous with deviance or deprivation. The field of multicultural education arises from the cultural difference paradigm and, starting in the 1990s, researchers began to investigate student “cultural learning styles.” Research on cultural learning styles suggests that differential school experiences and achievement for minority students can be attributed to a cultural mismatch between school and the student and advocates making schools more responsive to students’ cultural and linguistic practices.

Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) also document that research on cultural traits or “cultural learning styles” (p. 19) emerged out of a critical need to counteract the

dominant cultural deficit theories in the inferiority and cultural deprivation paradigms. However, they argue that treating culture as an individual trait can overgeneralize and incorrectly assumes a built-in relationship between learning style and minority group membership. Instead, Gutiérrez and Rogoff advocate for an approach that seeks to comprehend individual development and disposition within a particular cultural and historical context. Understanding culture as a series of “repertoires of practices” (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003, p. 22) that are passed on in modified forms from one generation to the next allows to us better account for the diverse historical and sociocultural trajectories of the Latina/o teachers in my study. Although excellent work exists on intra-ethnic difference among Mexican American secondary students (Valenzuela, 1999), less is known about Mexican American and Latina/o teachers. My study builds on existing research by examining the “repertoires of practices” that make cultural identity meaningful for the teachers in my study.

A developmental, practice model of cultural identity formation is also important to my research because I planned my study to be longitudinal (covering a two-year period) and because it takes place within the context of teacher education. Longitudinal research projects lend themselves to measuring change over time (Marshall & Rossman, 2010) and my study design includes the collection of relevant data at specific intervals as a way of measuring the development of ideology, attitudes, and bilingual teacher identity. In particular, the comparison of pre- and post- interviews with classroom observations and personal journal assignments from each semester will be helpful for assessing change in identity production(s) over time.

Developmental models of cultural identity formation are also useful because my research context is a bilingual teacher education program that has been designed to foster certain kinds of development for its participants. My interviews and classroom

observations make it clear that the teacher candidates and their professors understand themselves to be engaged in developmental process and react accordingly. For example, one theme that emerges from my data (particularly for teacher candidates who identify as “white”) concerns Spanish language fluency and how it influences self-perceptions and subjectivity in relation to professors, peers, K-12 students. A developmental model of identity production allows me to account for changes in these kinds of self-understandings over time.

Discursive Models of Cultural Identity Production

Discursive models of cultural identity production elucidate the relationship between identities and modes of discourse. According to Hall (1996), “because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” (p. 4). For Hall, we are never completely agentic in the formation of identities because they occur as the result of particular institutional and historic discourses. Rather he conceptualizes identity as, “the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to interpellate, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be spoken” (p. 5-6). In other words, identities are the temporary point(s) of attachment to the subjectivities that discourses produce for us.

The cultural and historical discourses that give us particular subject positions also provide a framework for the language that we use in day-to-day discourse as well. Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of “heteroglossia” casts utterances as occurring as part of a complex lineage of historical, cultural, and ideological frames. In this sense, words are

“rented” and enact the very cultural and historical “grammars” that become points of attachment for our individual subjectivities. Thus, expression organizes individual experiences (Voloshinov, 1973) and language use produces individual and group identities within social situations.

Discursive models of cultural identity production can be applied in my research to examine issues of Spanish/English language production and help reveal the way that day-to-day discourses relate to larger, societal discourses—what Gee (2013) calls “small-d” and big-D” discourses (p. 29). He argues that meaning is always situated and negotiated between people through “communicative social interaction” (p. 104). In order to analyze the range of oral, written, and visual D/discourse(s) present in a teacher education classroom, I focus on “the thread of language (and related semiotic systems) used in the situation network” (Gee, 2013, p. 63) with particular emphasis on what Gee calls “social languages.” According to Gee, social languages consist of types of discourse that we use in groups, whether we are, “physicists, street gang members” (p. 27-28) or Latina/o undergraduate students in bilingual teacher preparation courses. Everyone has a variety of social languages that they use for different contexts which, according to Gee, also means that none of us can be “native speakers” of all of our social languages (p. 107). In this study, I use the concept of social languages to investigate the way that discourses of whiteness and “white talk” emerge from individuals and groups of Latina/o teachers (McIntyre, 1997).

The role of Spanish and English figure prominently in my study as a means of positioning the teacher candidates throughout the different spaces that they occupy in their program. As Bourdieu (1977) reminds us, discursive practices like language production are not neutral and are always embedded within relations of power. He argues that discourse owes its most important characteristics to the “linguistic production” (or

power) relations between groups and that language competence functions as a form of “linguistic capital” that is differentially valued in relation to a particular language “market” (p. 651). Recently, a growing group of scholars have argued that traditional social reproduction theory is too deterministic and does not account for the range of assets and ways of knowing that Latina/o students bring with them to school. For example, Yosso (2005) argues that traditional Bourdieuean linguistic and cultural capital theory focuses on a narrow range of assets that often correspond with White, middle-class French norms. Instead, she uses Critical Race Theory to propose that students and communities of color possess their own “community cultural wealth” with its own form(s) of social, cultural, and linguistic capital. In U.S. schools Spanish-dominant students often find that they have very little social and linguistic capital in language “markets” that value English and white cultural norms. However, in an undergraduate bilingual program that emphasizes Spanish language and cultural norms, the traditional linguistic power relations are occasionally challenged. These momentary challenges to the white norm open up spaces for racial minority teachers to demonstrate their community cultural wealth and for Latina/o teachers who identify as white to recognize and interrogate their racial identities.

Relational Models of Cultural Identity Formation

Relational models assert that cultural identity formation occurs in the context of social relationships with the outside world. According to Vygotsky, humans are able to gain control of our external environments by using tools and signs through a process of “semiotic mediation” (Holland et al. 1998, p. 38). In the absence of mediating tools and signs, humans would be subject to whatever stimuli they happened to encounter. Tools and signs allow us to escape the constant call of the outside world through the co-

construction of knowledge. These mediating devices are part of systems of meaning that have been formed through a collective social history, may be either tangible or intangible, and can be deployed consciously or unconsciously (Holland et al. 1998, p. 35-38).

Relational identities are constructed in what Holland and colleagues call “figured worlds;” broadly defined, as “socially produced, culturally constituted activities” (p. 40-41) where people come to perform new self-understandings” (see also Urrieta, 2007, 2010). Figured worlds take shape within the “coproduction of activities, discourses, performances, and artifacts” and are spaces where “particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others” (p. 52). Relational identities in figured worlds overlap with discursive and developmental identities in that they are formed through the performance of cultural practices in relation to particular discourses (Gee, 2013). Holland and colleagues’ sociocultural practice theory of identity draws from Vygotsky (1978) as well as Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of dialogism: the ability of people to construct identities and make sense of the world through multiple internal dialogues. As people are socially identified by others they must respond to their social positioning with acceptance, resistance, or negotiation. In Holland and colleagues’ framework, our response to the world constitutes a space of “self-authoring” (p. 169). Self- and sense-making in figured worlds is always rooted in collective and personal histories, what Holland and Lave (2001) call our “history-in-person.”

The self-authorship of Latina/o teacher candidates in the bilingual program is informed by the way they respond to social positioning within their cohort and by their individual history(s)-in-person. Participants in the figured world of a bilingual teacher education program construct meaning through relevant tools and signs and perform self-understandings in relation to other cohort members. Relational models of cultural identity

formation will allow me to account for the complex interplay between subjects, activities, discourses, and artifacts within the context(s) of my research study. Cultural theories of identity production provide the tools necessary to understand the way that the bilingual and bicultural Latina/o teachers in my study construct self-understandings in the context of a bilingual teacher education program. By framing my discussion of cultural identity theory in terms of its developmental, discursive, and relational components, I hope to be able to craft new understandings about the relationship between life histories, sociocultural difference, and subject-making in teacher education.

My work on the racial identity productions of bilingual Latina/o teachers makes important contributions to the study of whiteness in education, the research literature on Latina/o teachers, and our understandings of cultural identity theory. My research responds to the call of Twine and Gallagher (2008) and others to examine notions of whiteness in communities of color in nuanced ways that add theoretical depth to the discussion of whiteness and teaching (Lensmire & Snaza, 2010; Brown & De Lissovoy, 2013). By including a special focus on racial identity and whiteness my study also shows how whiteness continues to be culturally powerful for Latinos and adds important insights to the research on Latino teachers. Lastly, my research builds on previous work in cultural identity theory by exploring how the diverse racial, linguistic, class and immigration backgrounds produce whiteness and intra-ethnic difference for my research participants. In the next section I outline my epistemological position as a researcher and describe how it informs my methodological choices and the methods I employ in the research process.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND METHODS

INTRODUCTION: A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RATIONALE

My study employs a qualitative research methodology to examine the interplay between ideology, experience, and education in the formation of racial identities for a cohort of Latina/o bilingual preservice teachers. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), social sciences have historically taken a “received view” of research that is primarily concerned with verifying or falsifying phenomena through quantitative methods grounded in positivism or postpositivism (p. 106). By contrast, qualitative methods are useful for moving beyond verification and falsification to build theory that examines diverse social constructs through a variety of research paradigms. While many quantitative methodologies focus on describing or predicting phenomena independent of context, qualitative methods have the ability to examine the meaning and purpose of phenomena within a given context (Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Mertens, 2009). A qualitative methodology allows me to explore the meanings that my participants give to their own experience through a process that, to quote Geertz (1977), is, “not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (p. 5). This interpretive approach was the foundation of my approach to exploring my research questions and the racial formation and the identity development of my participants.

PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This dissertation explores the following questions with Latina/o bilingual prospective teachers at Southwestern University:

1. How do Latina/o preservice teachers of varying racial self-identifications and cultural backgrounds author identities as bilingual educators?
2. How are distinct racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds used to construct intra-ethnic identity difference in the bilingual cohort?
3. How and why do some Latina/o bilingual cohort members produce white racial identities?

Over a four-semester period I attended classes with the bilingual cohort as a participant observer, conducted in-depth ethnographic interviews, and collected oral and written life histories from focal participants. The methods and methodologies I employed grew organically from the theories of identity and racial formation guiding my work and were informed by critical race and postcolonial indigenous epistemologies.

This first section of this chapter gives an overview of the epistemological foundations of the methodologies and methods used in my study. In it I outline the important connections and distinctions between epistemology, methodology, and methods; I also discuss the ways other elements like ontology and axiology are implicated in the research through the indigenous notions of *relationality* and *relational accountability* (Wilson, 2008). Next, I discuss how the theoretical perspectives from the figured worlds framework of identity (Holland et al, 1998), Critical Race Theory (CRT), and Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) in education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano, 1997; Yosso, 2006) informed by my analysis. These perspectives also influenced my decision to use methodology and methods based in critical ethnography. In the second section of this chapter I go into greater detail about critical ethnography and outline the methods of 1) participant observation, 2) ethnographic interviews, and 3) oral and written life histories that were my primary

sources of data. Finally, I provide an overview of how I collected and analyzed my data and the steps that I took to ensure that my approach was both valid and reliable.

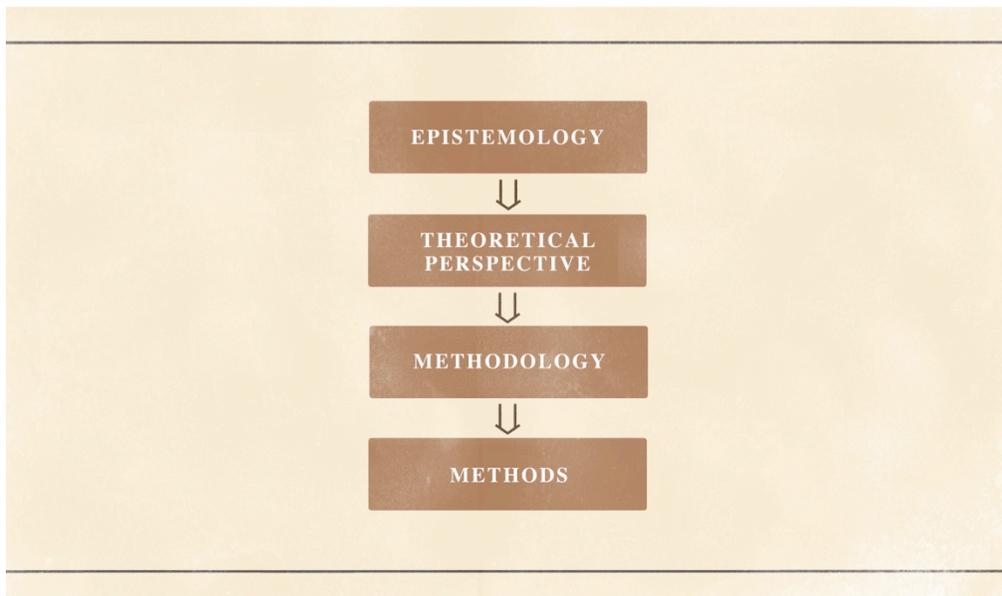
DECOLONIZING EPISTEMOLOGIES: BROADENING WESTERN RESEARCH PARADIGMS

As a Chicano/Latino researcher, I take seriously Gloria Anzaldúa's call to "rewrite history using race, class, gender and ethnicity as categories of analysis, theories that cross borders, that blur boundaries" to create "new kinds of theories with new theorizing methods" (1990, p. xxv-xxvi). My study of Latino preservice teacher identity development will use a constructivist approach grounded in critical race and postcolonial research paradigms. A paradigm can be viewed as, "a set of *basic beliefs* (or metaphysics) that deals with the ultimates or first principles...a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world'" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107, emphasis in original). Part of responding to Gloria Anzaldúa's call to create "theories that cross borders" involves thinking critically about the paradigms and theories we employ in the research process.

According to Crotty (1998), four related elements that researchers must deal with are 1) epistemology, 2) theoretical perspective, 3) methodology and 4) methods. Epistemology is a philosophical term used to describe "ways of knowing" and describes the researcher's perspective about "what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate" (Crotty, 1998 p. 8). Academic research grounded in Western paradigms often adopts the epistemological perspective of Objectivism—the notion that research is the pursuit of objective truths that can be "found" and "known." The epistemology one works from informs a theoretical perspective, which Crotty describes as "the philosophical stance" that "provide[s] a context for the [research] process and ground[s] its logic and criteria" (Crotty, 1998 p. 6).

For example, a researcher working from an objectivist epistemological framework might adopt one of the aforementioned positivist or post-positivist perspectives that are concerned primarily with verifying or falsifying phenomena and generalizing to a common ontological view of knowledge (epistemology). The theoretical perspective that one works from informs a methodology, which Crotty describes as “the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes” (1998 p. 3). A researcher working from a western paradigm might adopt an experimental research methodology and then would use methods like a questionnaire and statistical analysis to “gather and analyze data related to some research question or hypothesis” (1998, p. 3). For Crotty and many other scholars, epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods inform each other in a linear way, represented in the following diagram:

Figure 4: Traditional Relationship between Epistemology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology, and Methods



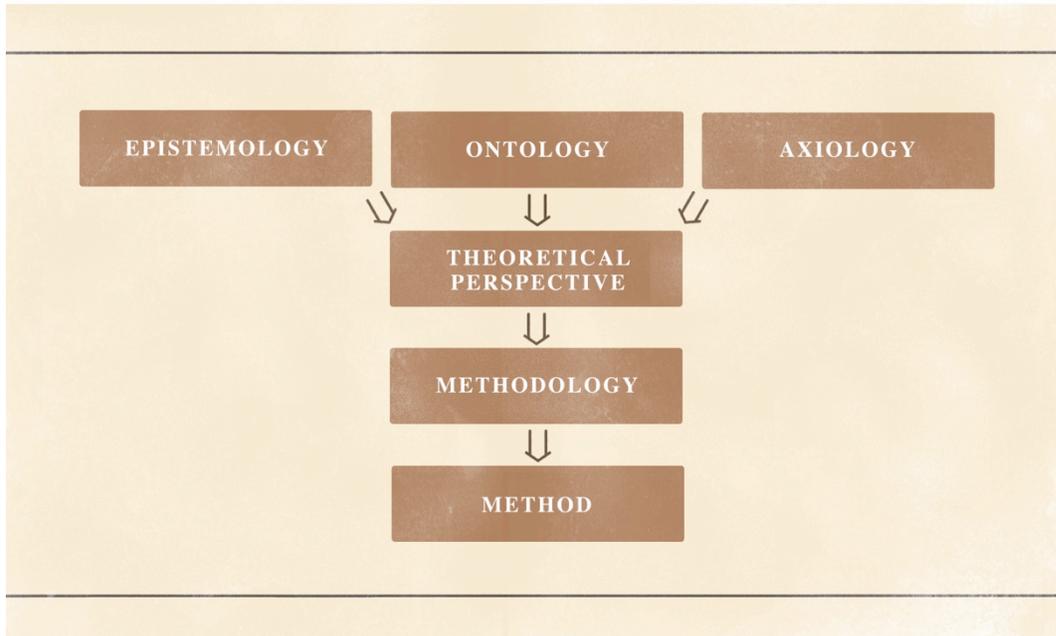
Adapted from Crotty (1998)

Linear systems of inquiry that emphasize epistemology are common in social research, but they have also been subject to critique. Postcolonial and indigenous scholars have long pointed out the connection between western research methodologies and the white supremacist colonial project (Chilisa, 2011; Smith, 2012). As with the *casta* system of the Spanish colonial era referenced in Chapter 2, the process of naming and ordering the world in order to objectively “know” it also provided the justification for the material domination of entire groups of people. Rooted in Judeo-Christian theology, these western ways of knowing are the basis for the dominant approach to social research in the academy but, more recently, critical, post-colonial, and indigenous scholars have attempted to reassert perspectives and approaches that are grounded in alternative ways of knowing. As a Chicano/Latino researcher whose work addresses the historic and ongoing marginalization of U.S. Latinas/os, I ground my work in efforts to decolonize the research process by incorporating insights from scholars working from alternative research paradigms. In her book *Indigenous Research Methodologies*, scholar Bagdele Chilisa, uses the term “indigenous” to refer to a research approach that “focuses on a cultural group’s ways of perceiving reality, ways of knowing, and the value systems that inform research processes” (2011, p.13). She draws from multiple perspectives, including Chicana and Borderland-mestizaje feminisms that emphasize multiple epistemologies in their inquiries, examinations and analyses (p. 270-271). Though my research occurs in the context of teacher education among U.S.-acculturated Latinas/os, I characterize my approach as “indigenous” in the sense that it seeks to be responsive to the values and ways of knowing of the participants in my study.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EPISTEMOLOGY, ONTOLOGY, AND AXIOLOGY

One important contribution of critical, postcolonial and indigenous scholars is an understanding of the way that ontology and axiology inform the related notion of epistemology in research. Where epistemology describes “ways of knowing,” ontology is with concerned “ways of being” and how the form and nature of reality determines which questions fall within or outside legitimate scientific inquiry (Wilson, 2008 p. 33). Similarly, axiology is the ethics or morals that researchers use to guide the research process and judge what information is worth investigating. Axiology is an important consideration for scholars who work from critical and indigenous paradigms, in part because postivists’ and post-postivists’ preoccupation with the pursuit of knowledge has been used to justify unethical research methods against marginalized populations (Wilson, 1998 p. 34; Smith, 2012). The dominant, Western approach to research fails to consider ontology and often intertwines axiology with methodology--defining research as “good” if it meets basic requirements like validity and reliability. By contrast, an approach informed by critical, postcolonial, and indigenous methods considers ways of knowing, ways of being, and ethical concerns in the first instance. Thus, if I were to re-work Crotty’s typology from the previous diagram to accurately reflect my incorporation of axiology and ontology with epistemology in my research process, it would look like the following:

Figure 5: The Author's Approach to Epistemology, Ontology, Axiology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology, and Methods



Adapted from Crotty (1998)

My decision to adopt a critical, postcolonial paradigm that acknowledges the interrelatedness of epistemology, ontology, and axiology influenced the design and approach of my study in a variety of ways. The concepts of *relationality* and *relational accountability* from indigenous scholar Shawn Wilson (2008) capture the impact of these perspectives on my work. *Relationality* is an essential quality of indigenous ontology and epistemology that acknowledges the central role of relationships (with people, the environment, the cosmos, etc.) in knowing and being (p. 70). Encompassed in the idea of *relationality* is what Chilisa (2012) refers to as “relational ontology,” the notion that social reality is essentially the relationship that human beings have with the living and the non-living, with land, with the earth, and with other beings (p. 20). From a perspective based in *relationality*, relational ontology also informs epistemology as individuals live and enact their knowledge and, in a recursive manner, engage further in the processes of

coming to be and shape new ways of engaging with others and the world. In this sense, critical, postcolonial, and indigenous epistemologies are fundamentally related to their ontological counterpart and are concerned with processes of “coming to be.” Progression and “coming to be” are at the heart of my research study, which spans a two-year time-period. This prolonged engagement allowed me to join in the social reality of cohort members, and to observe and participate in their relational identity productions and negotiations over time.

Relationality is linked with *relational accountability*, which Wilson (2008) describes as an approach to all aspects of research (topics, methods of data collection, analysis and presentation of data, etc.) from the perspective of accountability toward all of our relations (p. 97). For example, approaching my research with Latina/o preservice teachers with a sense of relational accountability means being aware of the way that all of my relationships (to people, communities, ideas, etc.) are implicated in my project; these relationships motivated me to adopt an approach that is reciprocal, ethical and beneficial to all my relations. For me this meant that my relationship extended beyond simply “building trust” or “getting to know” my participants to forming friendships that I continue to maintain. It also meant forming mentoring relationships to help the Latina/o participants in my study as they finished their coursework, matured into new teachers, and as some considered alternate paths to graduate school. Grounding my research project in the notions of *relationality*, *relational accountability*, and relational ontology/epistemology allows me to consider the ways that the Latino teachers are continually enacting their knowledge (pedagogic, personal, and otherwise), engaging with others (professors, other cohort members, students), and are changing their self-understandings in the process.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: FIGURED WORLDS AND CRITICAL RACE THEORY

The perspective that knowledge, being, and ethics are at their heart relational informs my primary theoretical perspectives: the figured worlds framework of identity (Holland et al, 1998; Urrieta, 2007, 2010), and Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) in education (Solórzano, 1997; 1998; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2006). As previously indicated, the figured worlds framework fits well with my work because it grounds its analysis of identity in the discursive and relational practices of individuals in particular cultural worlds. As such, it will provide me a frame for understanding how the bilingual Latina/o preservice teachers in my study author and negotiate distinct identities as prospective teachers, as students, as immigrants, and as activists. CRT and LatCrit perspectives are also useful because identity production in figured worlds is not neutral and is always embedded in relations of power. CRT²⁶ and LatCrit²⁷ frameworks allow me to examine the intersections of race, class, gender, immigration status, and language that produce distinct subjectivities (such as “whiteness”) for my research participants.

²⁶ Although it originated in the legal field through Critical Legal Studies (CLS), CRT in education takes a slightly different focus. Education scholars who draw from CRT generally cite the following five tenets (Solórzano, 1998; Bernal, 2002):

1. The centrality of race and racism with other forms of subordination
2. The challenge to dominant ideology
3. The commitment to social justice
4. The centrality of experiential knowledge
5. The utilization of interdisciplinary approaches

²⁷ Latina/o Critical Theory (LatCrit) evolved from CRT legal scholarship and is one of many sub-disciplines that have developed to examine the ways that particular communities of color experience the intersections of things like race, gender, class and ability. Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) characterize LatCrit as “concerned with a progressive sense of coalitional Latina/Latino pan-ethnicity and addresses issues often ignored by critical race theorists such as language, immigration, ethnicity, identity, phenotype, and sexuality...[LatCrit] is a theory that elucidates Latinas/Latinos multidimensional identities and can address the intersectionality of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression” (p. 311-312)

The aforementioned concept of history-in-system (H-I-S) as well as the notion of history-in-person (H-I-P) are aspects of the figured worlds framework that are particularly helpful for my study (Holland and Lave, 2001; Urrieta, 2007, 2010).

H-I-S refers to a series of occurrences or recollections that are conceptualized as history, that can be considered official, revisionist, or collective memory. By contrast, H-I-P refers to the stories people tell about their particular experiences in given events, locations, or activities. Identities are produced in storied ways through the narrative that people create when collective histories combine (H-I-S) with personal lived experience (H-I-P) through what people say about their experience of a particular event. In the context of my research, the cultural history of Latina/os and whiteness is the collective history that my participants' personal stories interact with in the production of their identities. The theoretical perspectives of CRT, LatCrit, and Figured Worlds are useful for situating my study and inform my methodology of critical ethnography, which will be discussed in the next section.

METHODOLOGY: CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Critical ethnography is a method of studying a particular culture-sharing group in a way that seeks to disrupt unfair power hierarchies, promote emancipation, and reduce the oppression of marginalized populations. Researchers who adopt a critical ethnographic approach believe that the simple reporting of “objective” findings is not enough, and they adopt an explicitly political stance in favor of the interests of the group they study. Though critical ethnography draws from critical theory, it uses many of the same methods employed in a typical ethnography. According to Doug Foley (2002), “Like traditional ethnographers, [critical ethnographers] place a strong emphasis on doing prolonged, systematic fieldwork rooted in at least a year or two of participant-

observation, key informants work, and extensive interviews” However, a key distinction is that critical ethnographers are “less interested in producing holistic, universalizing portraits of whole cultures...[and] are more interested in producing focused, well-theorized ethnographies of societal institutions or subgroups” (p. 140).

In his influential text on critical ethnography, (Carspecken, 1996) outlines some core assumptions shared by critical researchers, that: 1) inequality exists in society, 2) that inequities are reproduced through mainstream practices and forms of knowledge production, and 3) that critical researchers should engage in change efforts through social criticism. The philosophical foundation of critical ethnography stems from the aforementioned historical tensions between positivist, post-positivist, and more interpretive forms of qualitative research. This methodological approach reflects a shift away from positivism toward methods that allow for negotiated meanings and issues of power in research relationships. Critical ethnography’s incorporation of interpretive methods and larger social structures means that special attention must be paid to relationships with participants and the philosophical issues of ontology and epistemology (Cook, 2008 p. 148).

Accordingly, critical ethnography fits well within the postcolonial, indigenous, critical race, and figured worlds paradigms informing my work. Framed in the context of my research approach diagram on page 98, critical ethnography is a *methodology* informed by the *theoretical perspectives* of figured worlds and CRT, which in turn arise out of postcolonial and indigenous approaches to *epistemology*, *ontology*, and *axiology*. Rather than build a totalizing picture of all Latina/o teachers, my work seeks to illuminate the particular subjectivities of Latina/o teachers who identify as white within the context of a bilingual education program. As research that occurs within a historical and

contemporary context of Latina/o marginalization, my study is also explicitly political and anti-oppressive.

METHODS

This section gives an overview of the design and principal methods employed to collect and analyze my data. First, I provide an ethnographic description of my research site, a bilingual teacher preparation program at a large public university. Next, describe my approach to participant sampling (including my rationale and criteria for selection) and then move into my sources of data: 1) participant observation, 2) ethnographic interviews, and 3) oral and written life histories. I describe my focal participants and detail how I collected data over the four semesters that I was a participant observer in the bilingual cohort. Lastly, I describe my method of analyzing my data through a process of coding, analytic memoing, and theme generation.

Research Site

As indicated in Chapter 1, the site of my research study was Southwestern University, a large public university with a bilingual teaching program that emphasizes oral and written Spanish proficiency and a critical, social justice approach to teaching. Ongoing weekly and semi-weekly participant observation with the bilingual cohort started during the first semester of upper-level coursework, and continued over four semesters through the end of student teaching. The bulk of my observations occurred in university campus classrooms, but I also observed cohort classes conducted in a room at a partner elementary school where bilingual Latina/o teachers completed student teaching hours. Because of IRB limitations, I did not observe my participants interacting with elementary-age students in classrooms. Out of a cohort of 25 participants, 14 agreed to participate in initial interviews. From this initial group, 10 focal participants were

identified for inclusion in the focal sub-group with a broad range of self-identifications including “Latina/o,” “Hispanic,” “Mexicana/o,” and “White.” Answers given to an initial survey about racial identity (also included in Chapter 1) provide an idea of the diversity of the Latina/o teachers in the cohort:

Table 6: Cohort Language and Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions

Participants	Gender	Communicates in:	Racial/Ethnic Identity Description
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Latina/Mexicana
Cohort Member	M	English	I am of full Mexican descent. I have grown up bilingual
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mexican-American
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Mexican American
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Latina (Mexican American)
Cohort Member	F	English	Mexican American
Cohort Member	F	English	White-Peruvian
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mixed racial identity--Mexican American & German
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Salvadoran American, Latina
Focal Participant	M	English	I am a white Hispanic. My father is from Spain, and my mother is from St. Louis, MO.
Cohort Member	F	Spanish	Latino/Mexican
Cohort Member	F	Spanish	Mexican American
Focal Participant	F	English	blank
Focal Participant	F	English	I am hispanic. My family comes from Mexico, but I was born in the U.S.
Focal Participant	F	English	I am a Latina
Cohort Member	F	English	Hispanic
Cohort Member	F	English	Mexican American
Cohort Member	F	English	White
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Hispanic
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Mexican American (Mostly Mexican)
Focal Participant	F	English,Spanish,Mix	My family was born in Mexico. I consider myself Mexican/Latino/Hispanic
Focal Participant	F	English	Mother is Mexican, Father is American/White
Focal Participant	F	Mix	Although, I was born in the U.S.A, My family comes from Mexico, and I feel identified with both cultures
Cohort Member	F	English	I am hispanic, but my parents were born and raised in South America (Peru, Colombia)
Cohort Member	F	Mix	Mexican American. I am was born in the United States, both my parents were born in Mexico.

Following this diverse group of participants through various university teacher education settings provided a broad view of the role of site-based factors in producing a range of Latina/o racial identities.

Sampling: Participant Selection, Criteria, and Rationale

The sampling approach used in my study was both purposeful and flexible. My initial selection of a bilingual cohort of Latina/o prospective teachers was aimed at illuminating the unique experiences of Latinas/os within a bilingual teacher education program. Within this context, I used a sampling strategy known as “maximum variation” to illuminate the range of Latina/o racial identities and experiences. Within qualitative research, maximum variation refers to an approach when researchers consider “a wide range of data or participants who represent wide variations of the phenomena under study” (Tracy, 2013). This typically involves determining in advance some unique criteria that will differentiate the sites or participants and then selecting based on that criteria (Miles & Huberman, 1994 p. 28). Crewell (2012) has pointed out that qualitative researchers can also sample at the site level, at the event or process level, and at the participant level (p. 126).

Table 7: Sampling Strategies, Rationale, and Literature

Sampling Strategies	Rationale	Literature
Maximum Variation (Site Level)	Documents diverse variations and identifies important common patterns	Crewell (2012); Miles & Huberman (1994); Tracy, 2013
Opportunistic (Participant Level)	Follow new leads; taking advantage of the unexpected	Crewell (2012); Miles & Huberman (1994)

Sources of Data

My critical ethnography of Latina/o teacher candidates draws from three primary sources of data. The methods I used to collect this data included participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and oral and written life histories. Taken together, these sources of data allowed me to paint a rich and compelling picture of my research context and participants.

Participant Observation

According to Clifford (1997), participant observation is a central component of ethnographic field research and includes “spatial practices of travel and dwelling, through disciplined, embodied interactions” (p. 206). As a participant observer, I approached my research context with mindfulness toward the “nature of human encounter and experience itself,” (Lassiter, 2005 p.63) and sought to occupy multiple roles with cohort members in their classes, within the College of Education, and in the wider campus context. The bilingual teacher preparation program was contained within the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, one of several departments within the College of Education at Southwestern University. Students in the bilingual teacher preparation program generally took two years of prerequisites before entering the bilingual program. As the largest department within one of the largest colleges of education in the country, the bilingual teacher preparation program at Southwestern University contained multiple pathways for different cohorts. One pathway for the preparation of dual-language educators was designed for participants to take classes that instructors and professors largely taught in Spanish. Because of this requirement, this pathway attracted Latina/o professors and Latina/o students with varying levels of Spanish fluency. The particular cohort that I followed through this pathway included only one student (out of twenty-

five) who was not Latina/o or Hispanic and vast majority of their instructors and professors were also Latinas/os.

To establish the reciprocal relationships that form the axiological foundation of my research paradigm, it was important for me to be engaged in “deep hanging out” (Geertz, 1998) with cohort members to build trust and familiarity. This meant deferring to whatever language or combination of languages (between Spanish or English) that the cohort members felt comfortable speaking in and also practicing reciprocity by sharing my time and skills with them. Tedlock (2005) has written about the previous “scientific” role of participant observation in the field of anthropology, where it was viewed as a method where the observer was distant from the observed (Tedlock, 2005). However, current conceptions have changed toward researcher reflective “observation of participation” that “emphasizes relational over autonomous patterns, interconnectedness over independence, translucence over transparency, and dialogue and performance over monologue and reading” (Tedlock, 2005 p. 467). The “relationality” (Wilson, 2008) implicit in this view of participant observation is consistent with constructivist, critical race, and indigenous paradigms and is crucial to my research process.

Throughout my project I tailored my degree of participation and observation according to the activity. For example, at certain times I was a participant during discussion situations with cohort members and at other times I took on an observer role when cohort members were giving class presentations. My field notes were taken with a laptop computer in a table created in a word processing document. The table consisted of two main columns titled “Notes” and “Context” with rows divided into five-minute increments (“9:00, 9:05 etc.). For each five minute period, I transcribed classroom conversations (as closely as possible) in real-time in the “Notes” column and included contextual elements (whether a person was standing, sitting etc.) in the “Context” column

(See Appendix). Throughout the process I made quick jottings of important ideas and observations that were fleshed out in greater detail later in notes written at home after each observation session (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Observations were either weekly or semi-weekly, with the bulk occurring during Fall 2012 and Spring 2013 semesters. In total, approximately 60 classroom sessions of three-hours each were recorded over the four semesters of the study, for a total of about 180 hours of observation.

Ethnographic Interviews

Ethnographic interviewing complemented participant observation as a key method for data collection. According to Spradley (1979), the ethnographic interview is, “a particular kind of speech event” whose purpose is to elicit the cognitive structures guiding participants’ worldviews (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p. 146). The ethnographic interview can be thought of as, “a series of friendly conversations” where the researcher introduces new elements to help informants share cultural knowledge and understandings (Spradley, 1979 p. 58). Ethnographic interviews are principally composed of three types of questions: 1) descriptive questions (about experiences and activities), 2) structural questions (on the organization of cultural knowledge) and 3) contrast questions (to explore dissimilarities between the meanings of various terms). (Marshall and Rossman, 2011 p. 146-148).

In my study, 14 initial informants were interviewed for 20 minutes to 1 hour on topics related to their sociocultural identity and their experiences in the bilingual education program. Interviews began during the first semester of the study (Fall 2012) and continued over two years through the final semester of data collection (Spring 2014). Consistent with my approach of maximum variation sampling, I interviewed all

participants (14 total) who initially responded interview requests made through a classroom announcement and follow-up email. Although a protocol with specific questions was prepared for each interview, a semi-structured approach to each dialogue with the preservice teachers allowed me to pose additional questions and elicit additional detail from the responses. After some attrition, 10 informants were chosen as focal participants and participated in 1-2- in-depth follow-up interviews that built on one another in terms of cultural knowledge and understandings. The first interview covered life history experiences, with special emphasis on K-12 schooling experiences that informed participant's decisions to pursue bilingual education. The second and third interviews covered experiences in the teacher preparation program (coursework, student teaching, etc.) and were spaced in order to chart participants changing perceptions over time. Question topics centered on the way that distinct racial/ethnic, gender, class, and immigration trajectories influence the development of their identities as bilingual educators. In addition to these semi-structured interviews, informal, unstructured interviews and conversations periodically occurred over the course of the study and were recorded in field notes.

Oral and Written Life Histories

In addition to or as a part of the in-depth ethnographic interviews, I collected oral and written life histories from each of my ten focal participants. Life history methods can have a transformative effect on social science research (Luken & Vaughan, 1999) in that they reaffirm the personal in broader social theorizing (Goodley, 1996). Life histories provide insight into the symbolic structures that informants use to make sense of the world (Habermas, 1972 p. 215) and can also provide “unexpected stories” (Cary, 1999) to enrich and complicate research trajectories.

During one of the ethnographic interviews, informants were asked a series of questions that allowed them to reflect on their home communities, their families, and their K-12 schooling experiences. These interviews focused on experiences that inform the Latino/a prospective teachers' various identities of the, and had the potential to influence the way that they responded to their coursework and the students they taught in their field placements. I asked them specific questions about how sociocultural factors like their race/ethnicity, language, gender, and class informed their positioning throughout their primary and secondary education. For the participants in my study who are immigrants, I asked them to share their personal migration experiences in order to create the conditions where those who have been marginalized can share *testimonios* of how they persisted in the face of oppressive schooling conditions (González, Plata, García, Torres, & Urrieta, 2003).

Written life histories were collected in the form of journals and educational autobiographies, which I requested from each of my focal participants. Journals described the challenges and successes that the Latina/o teacher candidates experienced in their student teaching placements. Educational autobiographies typically explored the relationship between the participants' identities (e.g. race, class, gender, etc.) and school experiences, and the role of schools, teachers and family. They provided opportunities for Latina/o prospective teachers to reflect on the kinds of learning experiences they had in and outside of school, and what they experienced intellectually, emotionally, and physically during their educational trajectories. Consistent with teacher education research on the value of educational autobiographies (Lowenstein, 2009; Nieto, 2003), these histories were written as papers for bilingual program classes with the intent of placing participants' stories in the wider historical trajectory of the American educational system. These autobiographies were open format, and allowed participants to explore

significant difference or experiences that impacted them (such as language, immigration issues, special needs, etc.) that they may have been unaware of at the time, but now realize had an impact on their learning experiences.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred over a four-semester period and proceeded organically as I got to know my research site in the bilingual program courses and built trust with my participants. The first semester (Fall 2012) included semi-weekly participant observation in two classes, along with several initial interviews and the collection of artifacts like class posters, assignments and journals. The second semester (Spring 2013) comprised my most intense data collection period, with 15 interviews, weekly observations in two classes, and artifact collection. I transcribed the broad outline of classroom sessions and interactions in field notes on my computer and then further elaborated them for context and accuracy at the end of each observation session. I obtained IRB permission to record video and audio and, during the second semester, my observations were also video and audio recorded to facilitate a more fine-grain analysis of particular discourse events.

Table 8: Data Collection Timeline

Semester	I. (Fall 2012)	II. (Spring 2013)	III. (Fall 2013)	IV. (Spring 2014)
Ethnographic Interviews	7 Interviews	15 Interviews	6 Interviews	9 Interviews
Classroom Participant Observation	2 classes, semi-weekly	2 classes, weekly	1 class semi-weekly	
Artifacts Collected	Class Posters, Assignments, Journals	Class Posters, Assignments, Autobiographies	Student Teaching Journals	Student Teaching Journals
Analysis	Transcription, Coding, Analytic Memos	Transcription, Coding, Analytic Memos	Transcription, Coding, Theme Generation	Initial Findings, Member-checking interviews

My classroom observations tapered off in semesters three (Fall 2013) and four (Spring 2014) as my participants spent more time in their student teaching assignments, where I did not have IRB approval to conduct observations. As my research questions concern identity production I focused instead on having participants reflect on their students teaching experiences through journal entries and through having them submit educational autobiographies. Semester three also included coding to produce initial findings, which were then member-checked with my focal participants in concluding interviews during semester four, a process that I expand up on in my “Validity and Reliability” section. Table 8 (above) includes more detail about the specific types of data that I gathered and a timeline of when I collected and analyzed each kind of data.

Data Analysis

As previously indicated, my method of data interpretation is group and cross-group analysis. Cross group or cross-case analysis, “facilitates the comparison of commonalities and difference in the events, activities, and processes that are the units of analysis in case studies” (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008, p.1). I used a constant comparative method based in grounded theory methodology for my data analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1964). According to (Bryant, 2012), constant comparison involves “the constant iteration between data gathering and analysis...moving upward from concrete data toward more abstract concept and theories” (p.109). By engaging a process that develops by “comparing data with data, data with category, category with category, and category with concept” (p. 110), more abstract notions remain connected to and “grounded” in the data. My approach to classroom participant observation was also grounded in the notion of “thick description” as both a process orientation and method for capturing the details and context of my research setting in “thick” detail (Carsparken,

1996, p. 47). According to Kathy Charmaz (2011), grounded theory strategies like constant comparison offer a number of strategies to researchers who pursue social justice approaches like critical ethnography and postcolonial indigenous research methodologies. As she argues that the logic of grounded theory aids social justice researchers in six ways through (1) defining relevant processes, (2) demonstrating their contexts, (3) specifying the conditions in which these processes occur, (4) conceptualizing their phases, (5) explicating what contributes to their stability and/or change, and (6) outlining their consequences (p. 361). This logic helps accomplish goal of critical ethnography to connect a critique of larger social processes and inequities with an interpretive, relational approach to research. Interview transcripts, field notes, classroom observation transcripts and documents were used to develop categories for coding that I have included in Table 9 below. Larger domains of data were grouped according to the themes identified from the research questions.

Coding

In my initial pass through the interview and observation data I employed open-ended “In Vivo” coding. This method also arises out of grounded theory and uses participants’ own words and phrases to develop broad categories grounded in the data through a process of analytic memoing (Saldana, 2009 p. 73). For a given interview or observation session, this meant reading through the text, highlighting and grouping significant words and phrases together, and then writing analytic memos to distill the meaning or “essence” of these words and phrases into distinct categories. Next, I put these categories into conversation with research literature to create a series of 33 descriptive codes that addressed my research questions (see Table 9). I used these descriptive codes to make a second pass through my interview data using qualitative

research software and generated initial themes through writing a second round of analytic memos. Finally, I combined or eliminated codes through a process of data reduction in order to generate my final themes (Saldaña, 2009).

Table 9: Interview Descriptive Codes and Supporting Literature

Descriptive Codes	Literature
<u>A. Bilingual Program Experiences</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultural/Linguistic Affirming 2. Cultural/Linguistic Subtractive 3. Student/Student Relations 4. Student/Professor Relations 5. Application to Practice 	Valenzuela, 1999; Yosso, 2005; Moll et al. 1992; González, 2005; Bartlett & Garcia, 2011, Urrieta, 2013
<u>B. K-12 Schooling Experiences</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultural/Linguistic Affirming 2. Cultural/Linguistic Subtractive 3. Student/Student Relations 4. Student/Professor Relations 5. Application to Practice 	Valenzuela, 1999; Yosso, 2005; Moll et al. 1992; González, 2005; Bartlett & Garcia, 2011, Urrieta, 2013
<u>C. Family/Home Experiences</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Correspondence to K-12 2. No Correspondence to K-12 3. Application to Practice 	Moll et al. 1992a; Moll et al. 1992b; González et al., 2005
<u>D. Student Teaching Experiences</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Apply Home Experiences 2. Apply K-12 Experiences 3. Apply Bil Program Experiences 4. 	Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Gomez, 2010;
<u>D. Campus Experiences</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Oppressive/Outsider 2. Resistance 	Solórzano et al. 2000; Solórzano et al. 2005; Yosso et al. 2009; Pérez Huber, 2009
<u>E. Identity</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As Person of Color 2. As White 3. As Bilingual Teacher 4. Class-based 5. Gender-based 6. Consciousness 	Holland et al, 1998; Urrieta, 2007a; 2007b; 2009; Betty, 2003

Validity and Reliability

As previously indicated, I grounded my process in the notion of *relational accountability* in order to ensure an ethical, reliable, and valid research approach throughout my study. However, I also employed several methods from critical ethnography to ensure validity and reliability. Chilisa (2011) offers the following strategies to ensure internal validity and reliability, many of which were incorporated into my study: 1) Prolonged and substantial engagement, 2) Peer debriefing, 3) Negative case analysis, 4) Progressive subjectivity, 5) Member checks, 6) Triangulation of data sources, and 7) Triangulation of investigators (p. 166-167).

The two-year trajectory of my research process ensured “prolonged and substantial engagement” and I also incorporated negative case analysis of discrepant findings into my data analysis cycles. My prolonged engagement with the bilingual cohort allowed me to build personal relationships with my Latina/o bilingual preservice teacher focal participants that I continue to maintain. As we developed relationships and encountered each other in spaces outside the bilingual program (on campus, for example) I develop a greater understanding of their individual lives and subjectivities. My positionality as a graduate student, instructor, and former classroom teacher allowed me to occupy a space “between” that of their undergraduate peers and their professors. I believe this space and the relationships I developed over time allowed me engage with my Latina/o prospective teacher participants in ways that would have been difficult for a professor or researcher who only interacted with them over the course of a semester. The development of relationships over a prolonged period also meant that I reciprocated by providing advice and (in some cases) things like letters of recommendation and resume help for teaching positions and graduate school. I incorporated “progressive subjectivity” through the aforementioned process of self-reflexive memoing and I triangulated my data

by incorporating a range of sources including: classroom observations, ethnographic interviews, oral and written life histories, journals, and classroom assignments. Most importantly, I used “member checking” during final in-person interviews and shared my themes, patterns, and initial findings with research participants. This allowed participants to respond to and critique my initial findings and helped me present more nuanced findings, which I discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

LATINA/O RACIAL IDENTITY AND WHITENESS

INTRODUCTION

A variety of forces contributed to the process of racial identity production for bilingual cohort members. As previously indicated, I use Hall's (1996) notion of identity as negotiated among competing discourses and always in formation. Within social contexts, racial identities are produced in figured cultural worlds through sets of practices and artifacts that position people in different ways (Holland et al., 1998). This chapter focuses on the ways that factors like language, class, phenotype, and immigration status were mutually constituted and constructed whiteness along a continuum of racial identities. This chapter has three main parts. First, I begin by reviewing racial formation and identity theory to frame the brief introductions of the focal participants in my study. Next, I explore how Latina/o preservice teachers who identified as white talked about their whiteness and racial identity development. In this section I highlight how elements like class background, forms of external and internalized oppression, family and peer socialization, and racial definitions encountered on official forms constructed notions of whiteness in participant's family and schooling contexts. Finally, I broaden my investigation of racial identity to explore the ways that cohort members described their Hispanic, Latina/o, and Mexicana/o identities. I discuss the instability of these terms as racial signifiers and examine the strategies that some participants used to stabilize them in the context of their own identity productions. I argue that the instability of Latina/o, Hispanic, and Mexicana/o labels stems from an ongoing struggle with and against whiteness, which played an important (and oftentimes, hidden) role in the identities of many of my participants.

Racial Formation and Identity Theory

As previously indicated, this study relies on Omi and Winant's (1986) theory of racial formation, which asserts that race is a "socio-historical process, by which racial categories are formed, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed." (Omi & Winant, 1994 p. 55). Their theory challenges that notion that race is a fixed aspect of human identity that is primarily determined by differences in phenotype. As previously discussed, diverse factors like language, class, and immigration status have combined in different ways to position Latinas/os as whites, non-whites, and "not-quite-whites" at different points in U.S. history. Racial formation theory thus provides the broad context for the practice theories of cultural identity production discussed in the following section.

Self-Authoring

The aforementioned socio-historical processes that have positioned Latinas/os along a continuum of racial identities are also implicated in identity making at the individual and group level. This relationship between self-making, participation in local practices, and historic membership in culturally distinctive groups or social categories is what Holland and Lave (2001) refer to as "history in person" (p. 4-5). In addition to the notion of history in person, Holland and colleagues' concepts of: 1) Self-Authoring, 2) Relational Identities and Figured Worlds, and 3) Positional and Discursive Identities were especially helpful in explaining how cohort members produced group and individual racial identities. Self-authoring is perhaps best summarized by the definition offered in the first sentence of Holland and colleagues (1998) *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*, that "People tell others who they are, but even more important, they tell themselves and then try to act as though they are who they say they are" (p. 1). The idea that identities are produced through social practice and then internalized "outside-in" contradicts the popular notion that identity is primarily "inside-out"—a cognitive process

that we then enact in the world. This notion that identities are continually in practice draws from Vygotsky and Bakhtin’s concepts of “inner speech” and “dialogism,” or the idea that “sentient beings always exist in a state of being ‘addressed’ and in the process of answering” (Holland et al. 1998, p. 169). Hence, our identities are the answer that we provide to a world that is always addressing us.

Figure 7: Diagram of Self-Authoring



Relational identities and Figured Worlds

Relational identities describe behavior and understandings that we have in accordance with our relations with others, and they also play a key role both in sociocultural practice theories of identity and in indigenous ontology and axiology. In Holland and colleagues’ (1998) framework, relational identities take place within figured worlds, or “socially produced, culturally constituted activities” where people come to perform new self-understandings (p. 41) (See also Urrieta, 2010). Figured worlds occur

within the “coproduction of activities, discourses, performances, and artifacts” and are spaces where “particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others” (p. 52). Relational identities connect with Wilson’s (2008) aforementioned indigenous notion of relationality in that both acknowledge the role of relationships in knowing and being. Within the space of the bilingual cohort, relational identities and figured worlds were formed in the interaction between particular artifacts, practices, and discourses.

Figure 8: Diagram of Relational Identities and Figured Worlds



Positional and Discursive Identities

According to Holland and colleagues, “Positional identities have to do with the day-to-day and on-the-ground relations of power, deference and entitlement, social affiliation and distance...a person’s apprehension of her social position in a lived world...” (1998, p. 127). Positional identities emphasize the fact that the self-authoring of

relational identities in figured worlds is not a neutral process but is bound up in relations of power. Relations of power and hierarchy are constructed in relation to other people but also relative to discourses that position people differentially within a particular context. Accordingly, positional and discursive identities are also related to the linguistic and cultural capital that individuals and groups are granted within the figured world of the bilingual education program (see also Bourdieu, 1977 and Yosso, 2005). In this chapter I argue that particular family, home and K-12 schooling experiences positioned my participants along a continuum of racial identity and ascribed power and honor based on whiteness.

Figure 9: Positional and Discursive Identities



In order to provide context for the racial formation and relational identity production that I observed in the bilingual education program, my next section provides an introduction to the Latina/o focal participants in my study. In addition to sketching an

outline of their backgrounds and reasons for entering the bilingual program, I reiterate the initial answers that they gave on the aforementioned open-ended survey of racial and ethnic identity. These initial descriptions are summarized in tables #10 and #11 on pages 138 and 153, and are significant because they provide a way to contextualize the role of family, home, and K-12 schooling experiences in the production of participant's racial identities, which I discuss in the latter part of this chapter.

LATINA/O TEACHER EDUCATION STUDENTS

Ten Latina women and one Latino man agreed to speak with me about their racial identities in the context of K-12 and university schooling experiences. These focal participants were not chosen at random but self-selected to be part of the study by responding to a general announcement that I gave during one of their classes. However, even though they were not chosen at random, these Latina/o teachers represented a diverse set of experiences and identities. For example, much like the Latina/o teachers profiled in the aforementioned research by Guererro (1997, 1998, 2003) my focal participants came into the profession with a wide range of proficiency in academic Spanish. Rather than being a drawback, I viewed this wide variance as more representative of the Spanish proficiency of Latino Spanish speakers in general. As discussed in the literature review, many Latina/o teachers also enter the profession with a desire to be a "role model" for future students and must overcome unique challenges to find success in higher education (Jones et al., 1999, Yosso et. al 2009). These factors figured prominently for the Latina/o teachers in my study as many were first-generation college students from low-income communities and lacked some of the supports enjoyed by their middle-class peers. Lastly, the gender disproportionality of my focal participant group is also reflective of broader dynamics in teaching and teacher education.

Nationwide, there are about two male teachers for every eight female teachers (NCES, 2014), which is slightly less skewed than my sample of one Latino man and nine Latina women.

Though my focal participants were representative of the broader population of Latina/o teachers in many ways, their demographic profile also made them less representative of U.S. teachers as a whole. Nationwide, about 82 percent of teachers are White, seven percent are Black, eight percent are Hispanic, two percent are Asian, and about two percent are either Pacific Islander, Alaska Native, American Indian, or identify as two or more races (NCES, 2014). By contrast, all of my focal participants meet the census definition of “Hispanic,” some identify as “White” and none identify with the other “official” categories. Age and teaching experience are two other ways that my sample was not representative of the broader U.S. teaching force. All of my focal participants were under 30, while nationwide only about 15 percent of the teaching force falls into that age category. Similarly, while all of my participants had less than three years of teaching experience, nation-wide that sub-group only accounts for only nine percent of the teaching force (NCES, 2014). These demographic comparisons help situate my study population within the broader teaching force and provide context for understanding the advantages and limitations of research with Latina/o preservice teachers. In the next section I provide brief descriptions of my focal participants whom I have given the pseudonyms Alejandra, Blanca, Irene, Lorenzo, Manuela, Maria Luisa, Martina, Michelle, Sofía, and Veronica. In addition to brief overviews of their backgrounds and reasons for entering the bilingual program, I describe their initial responses on a survey I gave about racial and ethnic identity to situate a broader discussion of whiteness and Hispanic, Latina/o, and Mexicana/o identities. In general, I try to preserve participants’ voices in the research by honoring the way that they describe

their experiences and identities, whether in English, Spanish, or by translanguaging in a mix of both languages. Throughout the findings and conclusion chapters, translation into English was employed only when several lines of text included only Spanish or to help readers make meaning of key terms or ideas.

Alejandra

Like many of the Latina teachers in my study, Alejandra was 21 and in her junior year when I first met her. She was about five feet two inches tall with wavy, dark hair, fair skin and would often wear jeans and hooded sweatshirts to class. Alejandra grew up in a small border town in the Rio Grande Valley near the Mexican border. She was somewhat unique in the cohort in that she possessed dual citizenship, with parents who had professional careers in Mexico but a house across the border that allowed her to attend different schools in the U.S. and Mexico, sometimes at the same time.

During my initial classroom observations, Alejandra stood out from a lot of her peers because of the lively way that she contributed to classroom discussions. This comfort with speaking up in her courses was due in part to her dynamic personality but also had to do with her facility with language and expressing herself both in English and Spanish. When we discussed why she decided to enter the bilingual program, Alejandra admitted with a laugh that she had initially thought that the “bilingual education” program was simply regular college courses for bilingual students. However, after she took some classes and liked them she decided to stay in the program. On the initial survey about racial and ethnic identity Alejandra wrote that she considered herself “Mexican American” but “mostly Mexican.”

Blanca

Like Alejandra, Blanca grew up in a small Texas border town and, at 19 when my study began, she was almost two years younger than most of the other people in her cohort. Blanca was about five two inches feet tall, had fair skin and straight dark hair that curled at the ends. For our meetings and in class sessions, I noticed that Blanca dressed a bit more formally than her peers and often wore things like blouses or button-up shirts. Blanca seemed shy at first, and would often pause for several moments before responding in an interview or in class discussions. However, her quiet, thoughtful demeanor belied an intense academic focus and many achievements. Though her parents had little formal schooling, through hard work Blanca had become an accomplished musician in high school and had secured a prestigious national scholarship that paid her tuition and living expenses for several years of undergraduate and graduate schooling. With funding to support her intellectual curiosity, Blanca actually stayed on at the university to take additional classes after the other members of her cohort graduated and began jobs as classroom teachers. Once she completed the requirements to be a bilingual teacher, Blanca developed an interest in science and used her scholarship money to complete the additional coursework necessary to attend medical school. On the initial survey Blanca described her racial and ethnic identity as “Latina” and “Mexican American”

Irene

Irene also grew up near the south Texas border and attended schools in Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico and on the Texas side in the city of Brownsville. Irene was about five feet eight inches tall, with fair skin and wavy hair. She prided herself in being a *vaquera* (cowgirl) and often dressed in blue jeans and, weather permitting, in *botas* (boots) and a sundress. Though they had little formal education, Irene’s father and mother worked hard and achieved success as a rancher in Matamoros and a home

healthcare provider, respectively. Irene began her formal schooling in Matamoros, and her desire to become a bilingual educator stemmed from her admiration of a second grade teacher who had eased a difficult transition to schooling in the U.S. This desire was also influenced by older siblings who were a bilingual teachers, even though an older brother had tried to convince her to take a different career path. As she described:

I've always wanted to be a teacher. I remember my brother would be like, "No." I was ranked number two in my junior year. He was like, "You have to go to an Ivy League school. You can't be a teacher." I was like, "Excuse me, but that was my dream. That you all wanted to be teachers at the end is not my fault." [My family] all ended up being teachers. (Interview 4/10/13)

Irene liked to speak up in class, but her gregarious personality was most apparent when we sat down for interviews and spoke one-on-one. This willingness to joke and be silly was also reflected in nicknames like “*chonitos*” and “*chonitas*” that she used to refer to the boys and girls that she taught in her student teaching placement. In my initial survey to the cohort, Irene described her racial and ethnic identity as “Hispanic” and “Mexicana.”

Lorenzo

Lorenzo was one of two Latino men in the cohort and the only one who agreed to participate in my study. He was about five feet ten inches tall with lighter skin, short, dark hair and glasses that complemented his neat and professional way of dressing. Originally from Monterrey, Lorenzo had immigrated to Dallas with his family and he became undocumented when they overstayed their visas. In interviews he described his parents working, respectively, as an electrician and a babysitter and he admitted that money had been tight growing up. Lorenzo’s experiences as an undocumented student were an important part of his identity and formed the foundation for his activism and leadership with Latina/o organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens

(LULAC). Initially an Engineering major, Lorenzo switched to Bilingual Education after he discovered a knack for teaching while helping a former middle school teacher with summer school. The precarity of being Latino and undocumented in culturally subtractive, Anglo-centric schools figured prominently in Lorenzo's desire to become a teacher. As he stated:

Yo quiero ser maestro para ayudar a los niños a aprender de su cultura para que sepan que si se puede. No importa de donde vengas, your background, one can be successful this country. Even though there are a bunch of odds against our community, a lot of us come from low socioeconomic statuses and that definitely affects how far one goes because there isn't that much support. Quiero ser maestro porque que lo que tu estas enseñando a sus estudiantes a sobresalir, les estas enseñando los principios que van a ocupar para prosperar. Claro que el dinero no esta allí, no lo estoy haciendo por el dinero, en especial in este estado (laughs) I'm not doing it for the money. I mean, I really want to make an impact in my student's lives; I want to be that teacher that everyone remembers. (Interview, 3/28/13)

Here Lorenzo makes an explicit connection between culture and success in schools for immigrant and Latina/o students. Rather than an abstract notion of school-based achievement, Lorenzo's preoccupation with helping his students *sobresalir* and *prosperar* is more all-encompassing. His description corresponds closely with the notion of *authentic care* that Valenzuela (1999) identified in her study of Mexican American students and the teachers that were successful at connecting with them. In contrast to an *aesthetic caring* that focuses on how students act or express themselves with respect to the demands of schooling, Valenzuela described how successful teachers focused on demonstrating *authentic caring* through reciprocal relationships with students (1999, p. 61, 109). As part of his own efforts to build trust with the immigrant parents of students in his placement class, Lorenzo also openly shared his undocumented status in parent teacher conferences. In the survey Lorenzo described himself as "Latino" and "Mexican."

Manuela

Manuela was also born near Monterrey, Mexico but her migration story and subsequent experiences as a documented, middle-class immigrant differed markedly from Lorenzo's. Manuela stood about five foot eight, with fair skin, dark straight hair, and often dressed informally for classes in shorts and t-shirts. The daughter of middle-class educators, Manuela described a period of poverty when her family first migrated to East Los Angeles. However, her family's situation changed when her father got a U.S. teaching certification and accepted a bilingual teaching job in a middle class suburb near the city where our university is located. The shift from poorer schools in East L.A. to middle class schools in Texas had a large impact on Manuela, though she characterized her teachers in both settings as "mediocre." She described the influence of her father and two older sisters (also bilingual educators) as the chief motivator for her deciding to become a teacher. Manuela's connection to teachers in her family made her feel unsure about whether her program was preparing her for things like standardized testing in the classroom. As she described:

I wouldn't want to be like the teachers I had. You know, having the desks in rows and no group work. I don't want to be that kind of teacher, but I'm sure I will be one of those that only does [standardized test] worksheets. But they [teachers] are doing it now because I know they have to and I feel like if I do teach the upper grades, I will have to do that even if I don't want to. (Interview 2/12/14)

Manuela's admission about her own fears as a teacher can seem cynical, but I came to see these statements as more of a reflection on her frank and straightforward way of expressing herself. Though her unfiltered way of speaking surprised me at times, it also made for illuminating conversations about her identity, which she described initially as "Mexican/Latino/Hispanic."

Maria Luisa

Maria Luisa was somewhat of an outlier in the cohort in that her family heritage from Spain made her “Hispanic” but not Latina.²⁸ She was perhaps 5’10 or 5’11, with short, blond hair, fair skin and blue eyes. Maria Luisa had grown up a heritage Spanish speaker and often dressed in blue jeans and colorful blouses. In addition to bilingual education, Maria Luisa studied Spanish Linguistics and, rather than entering the classroom, she ended up pursuing a PhD in Linguistics after she graduated. In spite of her background as a heritage speaker and her formal study of Spanish, Maria Luisa spoke up less in class discussion but was talkative in our individual interviews. On the initial survey, Maria Luis wrote that she was a “white Hispanic” with a mother from the United States and a father from Spain.

Martina

Like Maria Luisa, Martina was also a quieter presence in class discussions. A petite Salvadoran American with straight, dark hair and brown skin, Martina was the only participant who identified as a “mestiza.” She sometimes wore hip, dark-rimmed glasses and would dress casually in dark jeans and patterned button-up shirts. Martina emigrated from La Libertad, El Salvador to Houston as a young girl and struggled at first to adapt to U.S. schooling and the dominance of Mexican Spanish speakers in her ESL classes:

We came back when I was six to Houston, and it was just a big cultural shock for me. When I first went to the classroom I was like, “This is a big school.” Also, most of my classmates were Mexicans and they made fun of my accent, my Salvadorian accent, just because we say some words differently. I started interacting so much with them that I picked up, I guess, the Mexican ... They call it the “Mexican” Spanish. Sometimes when I go back to El Salvador, it's hard for

²⁸ Even though Maria Luisa’s family heritage from Spain is distinct from the other cohort members, she self-identifies as “Hispanic” in much the same way as many of her peers. She also meets the aforementioned census definition of “Hispanic” and, accordingly, was included in the sample with other Latina/o and Hispanic bilingual teachers.

me to adapt back to the Salvadorian accent. They know right away, “Oh, you're not from here.” (Interview, 4/3/13)

Though she was a good student, Martina only applied to our university at the urging of some Latina counselors and was promptly awarded a full-ride scholarship. Like Alejandra, Martina chose bilingual education in part because it gave her the opportunity to speak Spanish and to have Latina/o classmates and professors. She described feeling overwhelmed and out of place in the large, predominantly white classes that she took as a nursing major and described a sense of “*familia*” in the cohort. On the initial survey she described herself as “Salvadoran American” and “Latina.”

Michelle

At 25, Michelle was the oldest cohort member and had returned to get a second degree in bilingual education after working in immigration and human rights. She was about five feet four inches tall with wavy, light brown hair and olive skin. Michelle had a Mexican American mother and a German American father and came from a middle class home in Amarillo, Texas. She stood out to me in the cohort as being slightly more mature in her dress and demeanor—a detail I attributed to her professional experience. Michelle’s decision to return and study bilingual education was rooted in the same passion for social justice that caused her to initially pursue a career in human rights. However, after several years of encountering what she described as “sad stories” in her human rights work, she decided to pursue bilingual education as a way to have a different kind of positive impact. On the initial survey she described her racial and ethnic identity as “Mixed racial identity—Mexican American & German.”

Sofía

Sofía was about 5’6, with curly, dark hair, fair skin, a round face, and a wide smile. She often dressed casually for class in t-shirts, jeans, and Chuck Taylor-style

sneakers. Like many cohort members, Sofía was from South Texas near the border and had parents who had emigrated from Mexico. Sofía described initially not knowing what she wanted to study and, after starting out as an international relations major, she eventually switched to a program for preparing urban math teachers. While in the urban teacher program, Sofía took a course that discussed the history of race and schooling and described how it impacted her decision to switch again to bilingual education:

I was looking at the history of segregated schools and I started looking into my own schooling and seeing how much of it really is desegregated and wondering how great it really was. On top of that I had a mother who came to this country when she was younger, so someone like her and people like my aunts and uncles could have really benefited from a bilingual education and they just didn't get one, and I've seen what that does to families and I've seen what that does to communities. So for me it worked out perfectly because as soon as I started taking my education courses, I was in it. Before I had this horrible motivation issue and as soon as I got into these courses I was like, "Oh my God everything makes sense." (Interview, 12/13/12)

Here Sofía describes a path common to many participants in deciding whether or not to study bilingual education. Like Michelle, Martina, and others, she initially felt out of place and unmotivated in her chosen career path, and eventually found a sense of purpose in the bilingual education program. Interestingly, the passion and belonging that she felt for bilingual education was somewhat at odds with her comfort in Spanish:

I don't really feel that comfortable with Spanish to the same level of a lot of the of the other students...But I'm willing to put in the extra work to get there because I feel so passionate about what I am doing. (Interview, 12/13/12)

Like some of the other second and first generation immigrants in the cohort, Sofía felt anxiety about her Spanish but worked through it in order to succeed in her bilingual classes. In describing her initial racial and ethnic identity, Sofía identified simply as “a Latina.”

Veronica

Veronica grew up in a working-class household in Waco, TX with a mother who was a nurse. She was about five foot three, with olive skin, straight, shoulder-length hair and dark-rimmed glasses. Veronica often wore colorful prints to class and had multiple piercings in both ears and a nose ring. After some initial pre-med courses, Veronica decided that she was more interested in psychology and education and was inspired to join the bilingual program after learning about social justice issues an education course:

I took an education and democracy course with Dr. Thomas²⁹ and then he asked me to mentor for it the following fall semester. I really enjoyed that and all the issues we discussed and so that kind of like pushed me when I started falling out of premed. And then my advisor asked if I was fluent in Spanish and she just recommended bilingual education. I know I would have gone into general ed so I'm glad she pushed me into bilingual because I feel a lot more strongly about the issues in the courses. Topics like immigration and the whole history of discrimination and oppression. So it definitely fits me a lot better I think than general ed would have. (Interview, 10/25/12)

Like Sofía, Veronica gained a passion for bilingual education as she developed a greater understanding of social justice issues and the way that they influence educational opportunity. Among the participants, I had more insight into Veronica's development as a teacher because she had been my student in an education course taken separate from the other cohort members. In my class and in our interviews, Veronica was talkative and vibrant—a marked difference from her more reserved demeanor in her bilingual courses that emphasized class participation in Spanish. It was this distinction in demeanor and participation that made me initially wonder about the connection between identity and language in the cohort space and led to my broader research project. On her initial survey Veronica wrote: “I am hispanic. My family comes from Mexico but I was born in the U.S.”

²⁹ Pseudonym

As their backgrounds and the table below indicate, the Latina/o focal participants in my study came into their bilingual education program with a wide range of identities and experiences:

Table 10: Focal Participant Initial Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions

Alejandra*	“Mexican American” (Mostly Mexican)”
Blanca*	“Latina (Mexican American)
Irene*	“Hispanic/Mexicana”
Lorenzo*	“Latino/Mexican”
Manuela*	“My family was born in Mexico. I consider myself Mexican/Latino/Hispanic
Maria Luisa*	“I am a white Hispanic”
Martina*	“Salvadoran American/Latina”
Michelle*	“Mixed racial identity—Mexican American & German”
Sofía*	“I am a Latina”
Veronica*	“I am hispanic. My family comes from Mexico but I was born in the U.S.”
*Pseudonyms	

These distinctions were not superficial, but were produced through home, school, and community experiences that influenced how they self-authored in spaces like the bilingual cohort. In the next section I describe how these family and K-12 schooling experiences produced notions of whiteness for the cohort members in my study.

CONSTRUCTING WHITENESS THROUGH FAMILY AND K-12 SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES

As Urrieta (2010), Gomez (2008) and others have argued, identity formation for Latino teachers is the result of a combination of family, home, K-12 schooling, and university experiences. In the context of my study, family and K-12 schooling experiences were particularly important for understanding how and why some cohort members enacted white identities.

Family and Home Background

In interviews and educational autobiographies participants described a range of family and “growing up” experiences. One theme that emerged for several participants was the notion of being “Americanized” by their experiences at home. For example, this is how Veronica described her reaction to the emphasis on Latino culture in her program:

I think it's just rewarding to get a perspective on a culture that I haven't really been raised in. Like, it's more my grandparent's culture than it is mine because I was very Americanized growing up. So I think it's very rewarding to get to share that and learn about my history...I've only ever spoken Spanish with my grandparents so I'm not really comfortable speaking it with other people yet.
(Interview, 10/25/12)

Veronica associates Latino culture with her grandparents and, by default, disassociates it from her more “Americanized” self. Though she anticipates being culturally and linguistically proficient, these initial home and family experiences influenced her ability to feel comfortable speaking Spanish to people outside her immediate family. Sofía also described growing up Americanized, and sees it as part of the reason that she likes to associate with Veronica, Maria Luisa, and other dominant English-speakers in the bilingual program:

But my dad, when he came over here, I think he got all gung ho about America and so we never celebrated *los Reyes Magos*, we never celebrated *Día de los Muertos*, we never celebrated *El Grito*, like none of that. If anything I was bringing it back into the home later...I mean, in my house we weren't eating meatloaf, we were eating like *caldo* and other stuff like that. There's that kind of culture. But I mean, sometimes I have to read the storybooks to figure out what exactly it is that we do for certain things or other people in my culture do for certain holidays. In a way, I'm almost... I feel comfortable in the group that I put myself in [in the bilingual cohort]. I'm comfortable with those people because I feel like a lot of them... It's almost like we've really been Americanized, but with a Mexican twist to it. (Interview, 12/13/12)

Sofía qualifies her “Americanized” background by pointing out that she experienced aspects of both cultures at home. Though she did not grow up eating stereotypically

American foods, she also had to research aspects of cultural holidays in order to later incorporate them into the home life of her family. As (Berry, 2009) and others have pointed out, Sofía's father's push to assimilate to American culture is common for many recent immigrants and her re-introduction to outward expressions of culture like holidays is an attempt at cultural maintenance. Sofía often associated with Veronica, Maria Luisa, and other dominant English-speakers and, by referring to this friend group as "Americanized, but with Mexican twist to it" she seems to be giving herself a bit more credit than Veronica, who views her Americanization as more absolute (e.g. "it's more my grandparent's culture").

Michelle also referenced a personal struggle with feelings of Americanization, but framed a bit more broadly:

I think there's just so much pressure living in the United States, and particularly with the history of Texas and Mexico. And, I think it's very evident today that the Mexican culture is still impacted by that history, and having to identify with either being Mexican, or being Mexican American, or being American, but always feeling like part of you isn't really being true to yourself. So, I think it's a constant battle of whether or not you're Americanized... I really felt like I was never able to express that I was Mexican American growing up, because where I grew up, there was such a stigma. (Michelle, Interview, 2/28/14)

By invoking the history of Texas and Mexico, Michelle makes reference to a history defined in large part by conflict, territorial seizure, and domination. As such, the personal conflict that she describes is a present day echo of the historic battles over identity and access to the privileges associated with whiteness that Mexican Americans waged in the Southwest. This geographic and historical context relates to the stigma that she felt identifying as a Mexican American in her town and a family history of Americanization that Michelle framed as a response to community oppression:

"...my grandpa, he basically said that [his family] was completely segregated from the community. And then my grandmother had similar experiences; she was

accused of cheating because she was a native Spanish-speaker in school and she did better than the white kids in the classroom. And so they made a conscious decision not to pass [Spanish] on to their children” (Interview, 10/10/13)

Michelle’s grandparent’s decision not to pass Spanish on to their children was part of a defensive strategy to avoid marginalization for their family. However, as Pyke (2010) and others have pointed out, people of color can reproduce external forms of oppression internally. Internalized oppression thus occurs when people of color “respond to their denigrated racial status by distancing themselves from their racial group in an attempt to be seen as more like Whites.” Along with this distancing, Pyke argues that people of color avoiding racial stigmas may also “assume traits and characteristics associated with White, denigrate members of their group for not behaving more like Whites or for being ‘too ethnic,’ and avoid association with their racial group” (Pyke, 2010, p 741). As Michelle’s description makes clear, her grandparent’s defensive response to external oppression had personal impacts for succeeding generations (like Michelle) who struggled with the “pressure” of feeling “Americanized.”

Though internalized oppression was perhaps a factor in Michelle’s grandparent’s decision not to pass on their Spanish, it seemed to play a more prominent role in Manuela’s descriptions of her family history. In her interview Manuela’s description of the pride that she feels in a family narrative of immigrant success also reflects a deficit perspective about an implied lower-class immigrant other. As she states:

...I may not be proud of Mexico but I’m proud of being Mexican, I’m proud of, you know, my family and how much we’ve done with our lives. You know, because, we weren’t like, oh you know, let’s go to the states and...we did nothing, We *did* something. You know, my Dad went back to college and both my sisters went to school. My sister has her masters. So, it makes me proud of being Mexican. (Interview, 3/23/13, italics added).

While Manuela and her family’s success is certainly positive, her narrative is also framed within dominant discourses of meritocracy and individualism that serve to reaffirm the

dominant invisibility of middle-class whiteness (Leonardo, 2009). Manuela's description that her own family "did something" depends on an implicit immigrant other that comes to the United States and "[does] nothing." Paradoxically, Manuela finds pride in "being Mexican" by affirming a meritocratic ideology that denigrates Mexico and positions many Mexican immigrants as deficient while allowing the privileged position of middle-class whiteness to remain unnamed and invisible.

As the examples from Veronica, Sofía, Michelle, and Manuela suggest, a range of family, home, and community factors influenced the production of white, "Americanized" identities for my participants. Cohort members described being "Americanized" in terms of not being able to speak fluent Spanish or know the background behind particular cultural holidays. Latina prospective teachers connected the implicit whiteness of being "Americanized" to a struggle over whether to assert themselves as "Mexican" or "Mexican American." This struggle related to family histories of community oppression that became internalized and that some expressed through a class-based narrative of Mexico and (lower-class, non-white) Mexicans as deficient.

K-12 Schooling Experiences

Primary and secondary schooling were another key domain that influenced my participant's racial identity productions of. For many of us, school is the primary site outside the home and community where we encounter people and discourses that racialize and position us in uncomfortable ways. For Michelle, a consciousness about these differences began in middle school:

And then in eighth grade I started really noticing...my family was different from everyone else's in terms of ethnicity. People would sometimes make really racist comments about Mexicans or Mexican Americans and I really started feeling,

“But I’m Mexican American and you don’t really understand that perspective...”
(Interview, 10/17/13)

In her interviews, Michelle described these initial encounters with racist comments as linked to her membership in a group of white “mean girls” at her middle school. That her class and phenotype likely facilitated a connection to the group was apparent from another experience she described in ninth grade:

...in 9th grade I was in debate and my grandpa especially looks very indigenous Mexican. And so my grandparents came to one of my debate tournaments to be judge. And this guy who I had known literally my whole life was like, “Michelle you’re Mexican!?” and I was like, “YES, haven’t you seen my mother? I do look a little bit different than you...” (Interview, 10/17/13)

Here Michelle’s peer is responding to a difference in appearance (e.g. skin tone, dress, etc.) between her grandfather who has a darker more “indigenous” appearance, and Michelle, who has olive skin and light brown hair. Michelle feels that she “looks a little bit different” than her classmates and that the distinctiveness of her and her mother’s phenotype are evidence enough of Michelle’s “Mexicanness.” However, her friend’s reaction to a much more “Mexican” looking grandparent reveals the perception among Michelle’s school peers that she was white.

The influence of white peers and related factors like phenotype were also important for Veronica, who described how having white friends related to perceiving herself as a “white” Mexican:

Later on, in upper elementary I liked going. I started having my friends and looking back on it now, they were all white and...going up through high school, it was actually, most of my friends, like really good friends, were actually white. I was like, the white Mexican. (Veronica, 3/21/13)

In the extensive literature on the topic, the notion of “passing” or being perceived as white is often framed as a choice people of color made to escape racial oppression, particularly for African Americans living in the Jim Crow south (Waters, 1990).

However, the historical status of Latinas/os as a particular “kind” of white adds elasticity to the already fluid social constitution of Latina/o racial identity. As Bettez (2011) points out, passing is something that can also be imposed in some situations (p. 136). For racially ambiguous or mixed heritage individuals like Michelle and Veronica who are “passable,” an “imposed passing” encountered in school settings and was one of many factors that produced white identities.

Bubbling Identities

Official forms like standardized tests were another way that participants came to think about race and whiteness during their K-12 schooling. In many instances, these forms were the first time that cohort members were given the opportunity to formally categorize themselves with a particular racial group and constituted an important framework for understanding identity. The durability of these initial experiences was evident through comments like the following from Alejandra:

Eric: How would you describe yourself in terms of race and ethnicity?

Alejandra: Um...Mexican American...because that's what I have always filled-in in my scantrons (laughs) you know? (Interview, 4/2/13)

Alejandra’s initial reference to the bubbles for racial identity that she penciled in on “scantrons” is evidence of the impact that repeated exposure to standardized systems of classification had on her identity. Official forms like birth certificates and exams like the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills or “TAKS” also exposed Latina/o teachers like Irene to both the possibility of being white and to the logic that supports systems of racial classification:

...when I first took the TAKS the teachers would fill that information for us because we were too little...And I don’t think there was a Hispanic option to bubble in. So, I think it was either White and then all those other ethnicities that they have so we would be White...Our teacher would be like, “You all are

White...you all were born here and so you're White." And then I remember I always had that question cause on my birth certificate, it says "White." And I'm like, "So if I never find Hispanic, should I put White?" (Interview, 4/9/14)

Here Irene is not only positioned as White, but she also receives an important message about one factor that constitutes whiteness: being born in the United States. Michelle had a similar experience with a test and teacher but with a somewhat different outcome:

In seventh grade we had to put our race on a test and I put that I was White and Mexican. And my teacher called me up and she said, "You can only choose one." And I was like, "Well, I'm both" and she was like, "Well, what is your mom?" So I put "Mexican" and I told my dad and he was really upset (Interview, 10/17/13)

In contrast to Irene, Michelle's question about her hybrid racial identity is met with the notion that she "can only choose one" and must decide whether she wants to be "officially" white or Mexican rather than both. These impromptu lessons on racial identity were given further meaning through social interaction with peers and teachers. Accordingly, Irene's option to mark "White" and Michelle's option to mark "Mexican" on their exams are processed through definitions of whiteness and "Mexicanness" that their teachers provide. However, as Irene's "question" about her whiteness and the following excerpt from Veronica suggest, the relationships with peers, teachers, and artifacts (such as official forms) that mediate self-authorship can provide contradictory messages that are difficult to negotiate:

I remember struggling in high school with my ethnicity. In my Spanish course I was picked on because "I knew too much Spanish" and eventually I was moved to the advanced course. Ironically, I was always called "a white Mexican." I'm not even Mexican, but it made me extremely uncomfortable that some of my peers viewed me this way. I have always seen myself as Hispanic. I do not know everything about my culture, which is partly due to how I was raised, but I do not consider myself white. I always check the "Hispanic" bubble on forms. I suppose I did not fit the stereotype of what "Mexican" or "Hispanic" person was supposed to be like. To them I was "Americanized" and when I think about it, I am. It's a struggle for me because I'm not Hispanic enough for the Mexicans, and not White enough for the Americans. It can be difficult trying to learn or fit into a culture I was not raised in. (Educational Autobiography, 9/19/12)

Veronica's statement about her struggle to understand her ethnicity makes reference to checking the "Hispanic bubble" on forms, but this is only one component of a complex array that she uses to make sense of her identity. This includes the aforementioned factors of family background and "imposed whiteness" by peers, but it also provides insight into the uncertainty that she feels about belonging incompletely in both the "White" and "Mexican" categories. Though Veronica has always seen herself as Hispanic and not White, her assertion that she is nonetheless "Americanized" feels like an admission that she also identifies with the "white Mexican" label ascribed to her by high school friends. Indeed, in her statement about being "not Hispanic enough for the Mexicans, and not White enough for the Americans" we sense a modern day echo of Ricardo Rodriguez or Pete Hernandez. In the court of her public school peers, she is neither completely Mexican nor completely White/American but a "class apart," a "Hispanic" and a "white Mexican."

"Good" "Ghetto" and "Lucky" Mexicans

For certain participants, whiteness was produced through socializing experiences in K-12 schooling and was also reflected through particular discursive strategies that they employed in interviews and written materials like autobiographies and journals. For example, though Manuela never referred to herself as a "white Mexican," her interview indicated that she also strongly identified with a white identity. In a case study of a teacher study group, Yoon (2012) utilized critical discourse analysis to understand the way that whiteness was enacted through discursive "moves" and strategies of "whiteness at work," which she characterizes as a way of, "maintaining white privilege through contradictions and paradox in actions or speech" (p. 596). An analysis of particular utterances as well as Manuela's larger narrative reveals a strategy of "Whiteness at work"

that allows her to position herself as white in paradoxical and contradictory ways. One discursive strategy that Manuela repeatedly employed in interviews was using dichotomous terms that positioned her inside whiteness. Her initial description of her high school in East Los Angeles is a good example of this technique:

...the high school I went to [was a] public school and it was in the area where I lived in. It was, it was...ghetto...And I didn't fit in, like with the Hispanics because I wasn't, you know, ghetto enough and there weren't any white people or people that would be, you know, I guess conservative like I was...In high school I would wear Abercrombie, and I didn't want to dress like [the Mexicans] in the tight, tight, jeans or you know, showing my belly-button or anything so they wouldn't see me as dressing like everyone else. (Interview, 3/23/13)

Manuela's description of her high school as "ghetto" and her not being "ghetto enough" is juxtaposed with a lack of "white people" or people that would be "conservative" like she was. She explicitly states that she didn't fit in with the "Hispanics" because she wasn't "ghetto enough" for her Latino peers and explicitly associates being "conservative" with whiteness. When asked to clarify what she meant by "conservative" Manuela responded that she did not mean it in the political sense but as a "general description" of behavior and attributes that she contrasts with her description of the attributes of her Latina/o classmates. Manuela's statement about wearing nicer "Abercrombie" clothing as a way to avoid being "ghetto" is further clarified by a similar reference made by Irene in a separate interview:

I'm Mexican but I come from the Valley and almost everybody there is Hispanic, at least at the high school I went to. Yeah, If you'd wear Abercrombie and stuff like that you weren't ghetto, you were either a "good" Mexican that had money or you just knew how to hang out with the right people. You were Americanized, pretty much. (Interview, 4/9/14)

Manuela's use of Abercrombie clothing was a class-based strategy that allowed her to distance herself from "ghetto" Mexicans and perform (in Irene's terms) a more Americanized "good" [white] Mexican identity. However, the connection that Manuela

makes between “ghetto” Mexicans and “tight jeans” and “showing my belly-button” indicates that performing a good/white Mexican identity is a process that is both classed and gendered. In her book *Women Without Class* Julie Bettie (2003) found that Mexican American high school students performed a working class *chola* identity as “a marker of racial/ethnic belonging” in opposition to the association of school sanctioned femininity with whiteness (p. 190). The symbolic oppositions were enacted through gender-specific preference in clothes that were often misinterpreted as “moral” differences in sexual practices (p. 195). By framing herself as a “conservative” “good” Mexican in opposition to “ghetto” Latinas in revealing clothing, and Manuela positions herself as white and reproduces the misinterpretation described in Bettie’s research.

Manuela’s phenotype also influenced her gendered and classed performance of whiteness in her high school. Much like Veronica or Michelle, Manuela’s fair skin allowed her to pass for white in some spaces but she also had experiences in other settings that caused her to question her assumed whiteness. In Manuela’s school in East Los Angeles she described passing for white relative to her Latina/o and Mexican American peers:

Oh yeah, people would call me the “lucky Mexican” because I had light skin...and it never phased me you know, that I was a different color or that I was really white until I, they started calling me that. (Interview, 3/23/13)

Her description of being called a “lucky Mexican” because of her fair skin reveals the role that peers and dominant cultural practices and ideologies play in Manuela’s construction of a white racial identity. Manuela’s statement that she was a “different color” or “really white” indicates a prior awareness of her fair skin and perhaps some of the privileges that go along with it. Interestingly, she describes being “phased” not at being described as white but at the fact that her peers noticed and named it as “lucky.” As

Leonardo (2009) reminds us, part of the power of whiteness resides in its apparent invisibility and that, “many whites are surprised not because they did not know their power, but they did not realize that people of color knew it as well” (p. 95).

Although Manuela’s whiteness afforded her privilege as a “lucky Mexican” among her predominantly Mexican American peers, her subject position as a Latina made her whiteness suspect at a second school that she attended in a predominantly white, middle-class suburb of our university town. Manuela describes not fitting in in this second space because,

...I wasn’t white enough for the white people and there were cliques...Everyone had cliques and...you know, the Mexicans were the typical gangster Mexicans like, “Don’t mess with me or we’ll do this and that” And...the white people were a lot more preppier so I started, you know, acting more like them and finally I was able to fit in with a clique. (Interview, 3/23/13)

Manuela’s description here indicates a clear understanding of the racial power dynamics of her new school. Although she attempts to re-affirm her whiteness by positioning herself outside the stereotype of the “typical gangster Mexican,” this strategy does not have the same impact in her new predominantly white school community as it previously did at amongst her working-class, Latino peers. In her dress and behavior her white peers see a Latina, so Manuela finds it necessary to “act more like them” (white students) in order to be able to fit into their cliques.

For the Mexican students at her new school, Manuela’s decision to enact a white racial identity through acting “conservatively” and wearing “Abercrombie” is, perhaps understandably, met with suspicion. At her new school she indicates that,

“...the Mexicans wouldn’t talk to me. Because I guess they weren’t sure whether I was or wasn’t. Even though, like I look Mexican. But I guess I wasn’t dark enough or dressed like them either” (Interview, 3/23/13).

Manuela's response here again reveals the important role that class, peers, and social context play in the construction of racial identity. In her first school she was considered a white "lucky Mexican" because of her fair skin, but she ceased to be able to "pass" for white when she moved to her second predominantly Anglo school. Indeed, her description sounds very similar to Veronica's aforementioned statement about not being "Hispanic enough for the Mexicans, and not White enough for the Americans."

Manuela's negative portrayals of other Mexican American and Latino students might seem paradoxical given her self-identification as a "Mexican/Latino/Hispanic" on the initial survey. However, her negative description can be interpreted as a discursive strategy for her to be able to ascribe white privilege and dominance to herself. Manuela's desire to be considered white was maintained through implicit "discursive moves" to whiteness (Yoon, 2012) but was expressed explicitly in the following comment toward the end of her life-history interview:

I was born in Mexico, but um, I would rather say I was white. Just because I didn't want to be perceived as one of the Mexicans that you know, just gets pregnant or does drugs and drinks and dresses a certain way. I didn't want to be stereotyped. I would rather be stereotyped into the typical white person than ah, Hispanic. (Interview, 3/23/13)

Manuela's frank admission here is surprising. Her framing of the stereotypically "White" and "Mexican" also indicates that she views the behaviors she described as indicative of essential cultural traits of each group. Manuela's interview reveals a "possessive investment" in whiteness (Lipsitz, 2006) that causes her to create contradictory definitions of "whiteness" and "Mexicaness" and to author her own white identity in different ways in response to shifting racial signifiers. She uses "discursive moves" (Yoon, 2012) like describing her Mexican American peers as "gangsters" or "ghetto" in order to frame her own identity as "conservative" and white. While she acknowledges

that the “ghetto Mexicanness” that she repeatedly describes in her interviews is a stereotype, she seems more invested in possessing the privileges associated with being “stereotypically white” than counteracting and critiquing white and Mexican stereotypes. This is a powerful example of the dominance of whiteness and illustrates Roediger’s (1994) announcement that, “whiteness is not only false and oppressive, it is *nothing but* false and oppressive” (p. 13, italics in original). Manuela’s acknowledgment that her description is based on “stereotypes” reveals an implicit understanding of the inaccuracies in her portrayal of “white” and “Mexican” behaviors as essential cultural traits. Nonetheless, she persists in a stereotypical, oppressive characterization of “Mexicanness” throughout her interviews because it is key to allowing her to claim the benefits of whiteness.

Home and community backgrounds, K-12 schooling experiences, and discursive strategies were all important factors for Latina teachers who identified as white or were identified that way by peers, teachers, and official forms like standardized tests. Participants like Veronica, Michelle, Irene, and Manuela were all ascribed with characteristics of whiteness across distinct schooling settings, but they also found that their status as “lucky,” “good,” or “white” Mexicans could be contested as they moved through different spaces. While Veronica and Michelle resisted their “imposed passing” as Whites (Bettez, 2011), Manuela responded by performing whiteness through classed and gendered “symbolic oppositions” (Bettie, 2003) to the perceived “ghetto-ness” of her Mexican peers. In the next section, I expand the discussion of racial identity to explore the way that participants’ thought of themselves as Hispanic, Latina/o, or *Mexicana/o*.

LATINA/O, HISPANIC, OR MEXICAN? IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF LABELING

In this section I explore the self-definitions of prospective teachers who identified as Hispanic, Latina/o, or *Mexicana/o*. Being “Hispanic” was a key part of some of my participants’ identities, but the production of “Hispanic” in different educational contexts also revealed its instability as a signifier. One way that preservice teachers responded to this instability was by combining it with national-origin identities like “*Mexicana/o*,” to assert in contrast to Latina/o cohort members who were considered to be more “Americanized.”

In interviews, journal entries, and educational autobiographies participants were able to expand on the descriptions offered in the initial survey. Nonetheless, these initial survey responses highlight the complex and diverse ways that participants authored their own identities through pan-ethnic terms like “Latina/o” and “Hispanic” as well as more nation-specific terms like “*Mexicana/o*.”

Table 11: Focal Participant Initial Racial/Ethnic Identity Descriptions

Alejandra*	“Mexican American” (Mostly Mexican)”
Blanca*	“Latina (Mexican American)
Irene*	“Hispanic/Mexicana”
Lorenzo*	“Latino/Mexican”
Manuela*	“My family was born in Mexico. I consider myself Mexican/Latino/Hispanic
Maria Luisa*	“I am a white Hispanic”
Martina*	“Salvadoran American/Latina”
Michelle*	“Mixed racial identity—Mexican American & German”
Sofía*	“I am a Latina”
Veronica*	“I am hispanic. My family comes from Mexico but I was born in the U.S.”
*Pseudonyms	

When asked about how she thinks about her racial/ethnic identity, Martina responded that she likes to tell people she’s Latina. She added that she did not like using

the word “Hispanic” because, in her words, “Hispanic comes from the word *Española* and that’s more Spaniard based. You can tell I’m mestiza” (Interview, 4/3/13). By pointing to her appearance as a mestiza, Martina seemed to be referencing her skin tone, which appeared darker to me than many of her classmates. However, her rejection of “Hispanic” because of it’s historical association with Spain also stemmed from a growing indigenous identity, as she affirmed that she liked “learning about Native Americans from the region,” like Los Pipiles from her native El Salvador.

For Irene, the Hispanic and Mexican labels that she ascribes to herself stem from her linguistic identity as Spanish-speaker and her Mexican cultural heritage. That these terms overlap is apparent was her initial response to questions about her racial/ethnic identity:

I would say I'm Hispanic. I feel Mexican because *toda mi familia es Mexicana entonces soy mas Mexicana pero tengo muchas costumbres Americanas* [all of my family is Mexican so I'm more Mexican but I have many American customs]...I just consider myself Hispanic because I speak Spanish. All of my culture and the practices I do, they're from Mexico and from my parent's side... everything I do, the music I dance to, and the music I hear, and the stuff I see, and how I speak. (Interview, 4/10/13)

Here Irene shifts between terms like “Hispanic” and “Mexican” to describe different aspects of her identity. While she considers herself Hispanic because she speaks Spanish, her “culture and practices” are more Mexican and American. However, this distinction between the Hispanic, Mexican, and American aspects of her identity became complicated during a study abroad that Irene completed in Spain:

When I went to Spain I would, rather than them seeing me as an American, I would be like, "Oh, no, *soy Mexicana*." That would be me. I would say, "Oh, *soy Mexicana*." Like, “...*de estados unidos pero soy Mexicana*. [I’m Mexican...like I’m from the United States but I’m Mexican]” (Interview, 4/10/13)

Irene's connection to the pan-ethnic label "Hispanic" through language was troubled when she was surrounded by ostensibly "Hispanic" Spanish speakers who were different than she was. At the same time, the implicit whiteness associated with the "American" label did not feel as accurate for Irene as a national-origin identity connected to Mexico.

The instability of "Hispanic" as a signifier in the cohort was also complicated for Maria Luisa, another participant who expressed ambivalence about the term even though her family origin in Spain qualifies her as Hispanic according to the U.S. Census. According to Maria Luisa, her blond hair and blue eyes did not qualify her as "stereotypically Hispanic" like a lot of the peers that she socialized with:

I might not look Hispanic and I'm not Latina and I'm not like Mexican or Chicana, I'm Spanish. So I think like that's why I'm trying to put that forward...[because] I'm socializing more with people who are Hispanic and we are all very proud of being Hispanic. (Interview, 3/28/13)

Like Irene, Maria Luisa felt included in the term "Hispanic" until she came into contact with peers (Latinas, Mexicans, and Chicanas) who complicated what the term meant for her. Unlike Martina, who understood Hispanic to be connected to being white and European, both Irene and Maria Luisa saw it as encompassing things like being a Spanish speaker or a person of color. Maria Luisa foregrounded a national-origin identity connected to Spain as her experiences with "Hispanic" peers in and out of her cohort broadened her conception of the term. Interestingly, this is a similar process to Irene's centering of a "Mexicana" identity during her time in Spain. Both prospective teachers felt partly included in the idea of being "Hispanic" but shifted to national-origin identities connected to Spain and Mexico when experiences in diverse groups and contexts complicated "Hispanic" as a social signifier.

***Mexicana/o* Teachers**

Several cohort members expressed a strong national-origin identity connected to Mexico. Like Irene, Lorenzo and Alejandra grew up as literal border crossers and described their identities in those terms. For Lorenzo, this meant an explicit and unapologetic connection to his country of birth and relatives who still live there:

Yo soy mexicano, cien porciento mexicano. Porque, pues, nací allá, de allí son mis padres, de allí son toda mi familia. Claro, este país me dado muchísimas oportunidades, estoy completamente agradecido con este país. Pero yo creo que, pues, aunque algún día posiblemente llego a ser ciudadano de este país, este, solamente eso yo lo vería como...um...like a label, you know? Pero yo, like, mi identidad va ser, mi identidad y mi cultura va ser mexicana.

[I am Mexican, one hundred percent Mexican. Because I was born over there, my parents are from there, all of my family is from there. Of course, this country has given me a lot of opportunities and I am completely grateful to this country. But I believe that, even through someday I could possibly become a citizen of this country, I would look at this as only a label, you know? But my identity and my culture will always be Mexican.] (Interview, 3/28/13)

Though he expressed gratitude for the opportunities that motivated his family to migrate to the United States, Lorenzo's continuing cultural and familial connection to Mexico also reflected his experiences as an undocumented college student. Having been denied the opportunity to be an "official American," Lorenzo also seemed less "Americanized" than Latina/o peers who did not retain the same type of filial and cultural connection to Mexico that he did. Accordingly, his characterization of hoped-for U.S. citizenship as a simply "a label" does not seem ambivalent, but more like an outsider's perspective on the tenuous and arbitrary nature of being "documented." As indicated in Chapter 2, Mexican Americans have a long history of being racialized and denied their civil rights based on factors like language and our actual or perceived status as citizens. In the next chapter I discuss the way that Lorenzo's undocumented status was racialized and his efforts to

resist a contemporary societal and university context that is actively hostile toward undocumented Latina/o students.

Unlike Lorenzo and Irene, Alejandra came from a middle-class background and possesses dual citizenship. Her experience of unencumbered daily movement over the U.S./Mexico border contrasts with that of Lorenzo and Irene—whose respective crossings were actually one-way migrations to the U.S. Alejandra’s continual crossing of the territorial and linguistic boundaries between the U.S. and Mexico provided her with a strong connection to the latter, as she stated:

I’m Americanized in certain aspects *pero soy mas Mexicana que Americana...* when I’m not here I’m in Mexico and I’d rather be with family *en México en mi pueblo y también en Monterrey que es donde esta most of my parent’s siblings and my grandma. Cuando estoy en México, no se...me siento mas a gusto, soy mas...*I guess I feel more homey. (Interview, 4/3/13)

Her continual connection to Mexico through border-crossing and family relationships also meant that Alejandra was able to avoid the misconceptions and deficit perspectives that some U.S. Latinos have about the country:

Creo que...me identifico mucho con ser Mexicana porque nunca lo deje. I never left it. I grew up with it and I wasn’t away from it, like many Latinos or immigrants. Se vienen aquí y dejan México, y yo nunca he visto a México como algo...como un third-world country or whatever. I’ve never seen Mexico like that. Me da mucho orgullo, venir de donde soy. Even with all of the problems. (Interview, 4/3/13)

Here Alejandra makes an association between the disconnect that many Latinas/os feel with Mexico to the perceptions that some people have of it as a place that is deficient or a “third-world country.” Alejandra’s statement aligns with the similar kinds of pride that Lorenzo and Irene expressed and feels like a response to Manuela and other immigrant Latinas/os who literally and figuratively “left” Mexico in favor of a more Americanized, white identity.

However, even those teachers who expressed strong Latina/o, Hispanic, or Mexicana/o identities implicitly used whiteness as a hidden referent in their racial identity productions. Whiteness is implicated in Martina's rejection of "Hispanic" as "Spaniard-based" and implicitly in reference to her own "mestiza" phenotype. Similarly, whiteness is a referent in Maria Luisa's assertion that she "might not look Hispanic" even though her Spanish origin and peer group helps her feel included in the Hispanic category. Even *Mexicana/o* teachers like Irene felt the pressure and frustration of having an identity defined by and in opposition to whiteness:

I don't like the white term. Even though my ID and everything, your passport and stuff says it' white, I'm like, "I'm not white." I just don't ... I guess I associate it a lot with the color and being full American. I'm like, "Yes, I was born here, but my parents are Mexican. I grew up in Mexico. The only reason I came here was because y'all were making it hard for me to come over here at the end. (Interview, 4/10/13)

Here Irene again references both the definition of whiteness as "U.S. born" that she received in school and the official forms that legitimize this definition. Though she acknowledges the association between whiteness and "being American," she qualifies her connection to Americanized "whiteness" by clarifying that her migration only occurred when border-crossing became too difficult for her family. Accordingly, her identity as a *Mexicana* is an antagonistic one (i.e. "I don't like the white term") and is framed in opposition to whiteness. As Leonardo and Broderick (2011) and others have reminded us, race is a relational system that depends on opposing categories to create meaning and that, "In terms of race, the category, White cannot exist without its denigrated other, such as Black or people of color generally" (p. 2208). These categories are socially constructed but also have the larger ideological purpose of ascribing honor and social capital onto the dominant group (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011). In this context, the opposition to whiteness implicitly and explicitly expressed in Martina and

Irene's racial identity productions feels like the response of two "denigrated others" to a society structured by White supremacy.

CONCLUSION

The Latina/o participants in my study all entered their bilingual program with racial and ethnic identities informed by a range of family, community, and schooling experiences. Latina participants related feelings of being "Americanized" to family and home environments that emphasized assimilation and the speaking of English. This initial sense of feeling Americanized was reinforced in schooling contexts as the same Latinas also "passed" for white in particular settings. While some Latina teachers contested this "forced passing" (Betz, 2011), others produced white identities by performing the role of "lucky" and "good" Mexicans in school settings. The complex trajectories of my participants also revealed the contested and unstable nature of Latina/o, Hispanic, and Mexicana/o identities. Focal participants responded to the instability of broad terms like "Hispanic" by combining them with national-origin identities like "Mexican" and "Spanish." Finally, some Latina/o, Hispanic, and Mexicana/o preservice teachers produced identities that were defined, in part, by the hidden reference to whiteness. In the next chapter I expand my discussion of racial identity to explore how it was produced and contested in the bilingual cohort space to and show how the Latina/o preservice teachers demonstrated agency in authoring identities across difference schooling settings.

CHAPTER 6

RACIAL IDENTITY IN THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

While family background and K-12 schooling experiences played important roles in participant's initial racial identity development, the bilingual program was the space where the distinctions between Latina/o, Hispanic, *Mexicana/o* and White identities became most apparent during the time of this study. In this chapter I begin by showing how the bilingual program developed "reflective practitioners" able to engage with Latina/o students, families, and communities through assignments like the Field Project and activities like the Community Walk or *caminata*. I argue that this emphasis on a culturally relevant approach to teacher education based in Latina/o linguistic and cultural norms also created distinctions in linguistic and cultural knowledge that influenced cohort cleavages and functioned as social capital in the cohort space. While traditional schooling and university settings ascribe social capital to English and white, middle-class cultural norms, I argue that the bilingual program at Southwestern University inverted the dominant social capital relationships by creating a *figured world* that emphasized fluency in Spanish and Latina/o cultural norms. This figured world of bilingual teacher education was produced through cultural artifacts like *nombres* (names), *dichos* (idioms), and *canciones* (songs), which decentered whiteness by emphasizing the linguistic and cultural capital of Mexicana/o teachers. Finally, I discuss cohort member's agency and self-authoring during their K-12 schooling experiences and in their teacher education program. I argue that the marginalization and misrecognition that Latinas/os experience also creates opportunities to exercise agency and author more nuanced racial identities.

BILINGUAL PROGRAM OVERVIEW

The bilingual program was my primary location for collecting participant observations and artifact data and was organized around specific objectives for teacher preparation. A description of the program on the university website states:

Bilingual education is a dual-language program designed to provide equal educational opportunities to elementary students of limited English proficiency. The bilingual program at Southwestern University is specifically focused on educational issues that relate to students whose first language is Spanish, for this reason, fluency in Spanish is required. (Bilingual Program Website, 2015)

Here the program's emphasis on Spanish fluency is apparent, and the description communicates a clear philosophical grounding in the concerns of "students whose first language is Spanish." The central focus on the interests of heritage Spanish speakers also means incorporating family and community concerns. This broader goal is apparent from a description on a related webpage for the program:

Our undergraduate bilingual education teacher preparation program prepares students to be reflective practitioners: our graduates work effectively in the classroom with diverse bilingual students and engage collaboratively with colleagues, families and communities for student success. (Bilingual Program Website, 2015)

In the program, being a "reflective practitioner" extends beyond language to the ability to "work collaboratively with colleagues, families and communities." An emphasis on family and community cultural knowledge (Yosso, 2005) was apparent throughout the many class sessions, assignments, and activities that I observed but was best encapsulated in an activity called the "Community Walk" or *la caminata* and a related assignment called the "Field Project."

The *caminata* was the culminating activity for a Spanish language methods course, and the goals and implementation of the activity provided a good example of how the bilingual teacher education program developed the ethos of being "reflective

practitioners.” The community walk was the creation of Dra. Sánchez,³⁰ a Latina professor who had grown up in the local community and wanted to find a way to make abstract theoretical concepts like “funds of knowledge” (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) more concrete for her students. The original “funds of knowledge” research was a collaborative project between anthropologists of education and teachers that sought to draw upon the household knowledge of families in working class communities in Tucson, Arizona. This work relied on many hours of experienced teacher observations in the homes of students. To facilitate similar insights for the bilingual preservice teachers, Dra. Sánchez and other colleagues in the program created learning experiences based on their knowledge of the local community. Accordingly, students were required to conduct a semester-long “Field Project” that required ten hours of tutoring with a student in a working class neighborhood school, five hours of observations in the local school community, and an interview with a parent, grandparent, or community member about their aspirations for children in the community. Over the course of the semester, the Latina/o preservice teachers were trained to conduct ethnographic observations with an explicit focus on searching for cultural wealth in the community in a range of settings. According to the description from the Field Project handout:

You may visit a local park or activity center, various types of religious services, shopping in a local store, eating at a local restaurant, walking around the neighborhood, attending a cultural event, etc. The goal is to identify and become better acquainted with community and family funds of knowledge, cultural wealth, and learning through intent community participation. Remember the goal is not to look for and document what the community lacks in relation to other communities, but to identify what they do have and do know and how those are *ways of knowing* that schools and teachers can use to better engage students in their classrooms. These sources of cultural wealth and knowledge may include

³⁰ Pseudonym

special abilities, dreams and aspirations, life experiences and life histories, family backgrounds, religion, commerce, skills that children participate in such as childcare, cooking, carpentry, construction, etc. as well as you can in this short period of time. (Field Project Handout, Fall 2012)

The handout makes explicit reference to the “funds of knowledge” research, but it also references additional asset-based and alternative learning frameworks like Yosso’s (2005) concept of “community cultural wealth” and Rogoff and colleagues’ notion of “learning through intent participation” (Rogoff et al., 2003). As it related to the field project, the class *caminata* represented an opportunity for Latina/o professors with local community knowledge to demonstrate what an asset-based perspective of a working class community of color might look like.

The *caminata* I observed occurred in lieu of the normal 3-hour class session, and began early one morning at Robles Elementary,³¹ a community space that was originally constructed as a segregated “Mexican School” in the 1920s. After a brief discussion with the cohort about the history of the school and community, Dra. Sánchez took the cohort members to a series of predetermined sites: local churches, a community center and park, a housing project where many local students lived, and finally to the home of a local *panadero* named Don Omar.³² Having grown up in the community, the Latina professor shared her personal knowledge and connections to each of the sites and encouraged students to consider the deficit thinking (Valencia, 1997, 2010) that often frames dominant perceptions of each location. The final stop on the tour was a local restaurant where the owners (also friends of Dra. Sánchez) had reserved a special room for the group to have lunch, to *convivir*, and to have a broader discussion about the different kinds of spaces they had seen on the *caminata*.

³¹ Pseudonym

³² Pseudonym

Over the course of the morning I observed and recorded several instances where Dra. Sánchez paused to point out some unique feature or asset of the neighborhood that would have been hard to see for community outsiders. One of these moments occurred directly after leaving Robles Elementary. A group of over twenty preservice teachers, a teaching assistant, Dra. Sánchez, and I all made our way down a narrow street lined with modest, one-story bungalow-style homes in a range of colors, with many showing decades of wear. Many of the homes had fenced-in yards with dogs that barked noisily as our large, conspicuous group made its way down the middle of the street. As we neared the middle of the block, Dra. Sánchez stopped in front of a small but well-appointed brick home and I recorded the following exchange:

Dra. Sánchez: *¿Qué notas acerca de la altura de las casas? ¿A ver, que creen?*

[What do you notice about the height of the houses? Let's see, what do you think?]

Latina/o teachers: (inaudible)

Dra. Sánchez: *No como están en la calle, pero de alto, los techos?*

[Not as they are in the street, but their height, their roofs?]

Latina/o teachers: (inaudible)

Dra. Sánchez: *¿Están bajitas verdad? ¿Cierto? ¿Y por que creen que es eso?*

[They are pretty low, right? And why do you think that is?]

Latina/o teachers: (inaudible)

Dra. Sánchez: *¿Quienes ustedes creen que construyeron estas casas? ¿Esto fue, uno de estos “desarrollos urbanos” (makes quotation marks with fingers)? ¿Esa era un developer? ¿No, quienes construyeron estas casas?*

[Who do you think built these houses? Was this one of those “urban developments?” Was this a development? No, who built these homes?]

Blanca: *¿Los residentes?*

[The residents?]

Dra. Sánchez: [to Blanca, nodding] *Exacto, a mano, los residentes originales de las casas. Que eso tiene que ver con la altura de las casas?*

[Exactly, the original residents by hand. What does that have to do with the height of the houses?]

Manuela: *Parece que hay una placa* (points to a plaque on the front of one of the houses) [There seems to be a plaque]

Dra. Sánchez: Uh huh, *léalo para que todos escuchen*

[Uh huh, read it so that everyone can hear]

Martina: (Reading plaque on home) “Custom home built by Rudy Montoya Sr. for my wife Stella F. Montoya, March 13, 1984”

Alejandra: *Oh, El la hizo...*

[Oh, he made it...]

Dra. Sánchez: *Exacto...exacto. Vieron que bonito esta dedicatoria? La hizo para su esposa...*

[Exactly...exactly...Did you see how beautiful that dedication was? He made it for his wife...] (Field Observation, 12/3/12)

In this brief exchange, Dra. Sánchez used her knowledge of the local neighborhood to help the Latina/o preservice teachers recognize community cultural wealth. While many outsiders would have seen the street in terms of what it lacked (larger, newer homes), Dra. Sánchez helped her students to see the ingenuity of a neighborhood lovingly constructed *a mano* by residents with deep roots in the community.

The *caminata* had a large impact on the Latina/o preservice teachers, and many participants commented on the experience in subsequent assignments. In her Field Project final paper, Alejandra reflected on the *caminata* and the cultural wealth of the local community:

Al ir a la caminata con la Dra. Sánchez vimos que la comunidad de este de [university town] no es “pobre” como muchos piensan. Puede ser pobres en el sentido que no hay casas o estructuras con arquitectura impresionantes, pero la comunidad es rica culturalmente, como la área de Robles Elementary.

[Going on the community walk with Dra. Sánchez we saw that the community east of [university town] is not "poor" as many think. It may be poor in the sense that there are no houses or buildings with stunning architecture, but the community is culturally rich, like the area around Robles Elementary.] (Field Project, 12/10/12)

Here Alejandra references the structures and cultural richness of the community and alludes to the *caminata* as something that countered superficial notions of what it meant to be “poor.” Lorenzo expands on this point by providing specific examples in an essay that he turned in for another one of his classes:

Recientemente hice una caminata por una de las áreas de bajos recursos en el Este de [university town]. Las observaciones que hice me ayudaron a apreciar los recursos que la cultura de estas personas provee. Aunque vivamos en lugares pequeños, la ingenuidad de nuestra cultura nos permite hacer estos lugares mas acogedores y que asimilen a lugares previos donde hemos vivido. Mediante la caminata encontré hogares con sus propios jardines donde pude ver plantas para uso medicinal y comestible. Este simple hecho demuestra que experiencias propias y conocimiento previo ayuda a subsistir con mínimos servicios...El propósito de estas acciones es de romper la percepción negativa que gente tiene sobre la cultura de estos estudiantes y poderlas sacar adelante académicamente.

[I recently took a community walk through one of the low-income areas in East [university town]. The observations I made helped me to appreciate the resources provided by the culture of these people. Although we live in small places, the ingenuity of our culture allows us to make these more welcoming places and assimilate from previous places where we have lived. Through the walk I found homes with their own gardens where I saw medicinal and edible plants to use. This simple fact shows that one’s own experiences and prior knowledge can help you to subsist on minimal services ... The purpose of these actions is to break the negative perception people have about the culture of these students and be able to help them move forward academically.] (Lorenzo, Final Essay, 12/5/12)

In this passage, Lorenzo provides another example of the ingenuity and resilience of the local community by pointing out yet another cultural asset: medicinal and edible plants.

As Moll and colleagues point out in their original research on funds of knowledge, familiarity with folk medicine is an additional skill that teachers can make use of in the classroom (1992, p. 133). One key distinction between the Latina/o participants in the bilingual program and the middle-class White students in the general teacher education program were the connections that some of the cohort members made between the field project and *caminata* experience and their own communities where they had grown up.

As Martina explained:

Yo me sentí muy cómoda explorando la comunidad de Robles porque crecí en un área en Houston muy similar. Mi vecindario es lo que muchos consideran "ghetto." Usan este termino para desvalorizar la comunidad cuando en verdad tiene riquezas cultural que ofrecer...Fue agradable caminar por un vecindario que esta tan lleno de cultura. Me recordó un poco cuando vivía en El Salvador por el ambiente acogedor que rodea la comunidad. Las casa eran pequeñas y estaban muy cerca de cada unas igual que la casa de mi mama en El Salvador. Como las casas están tan cercas la gente dice que necesitan privacidad. Este es un valor occidental porque en la cultura de Latinoamérica valora el sentido de la comunidad, por eso construimos las casas tan cercas. Me sentí como en casa porque el vecindario era algo a lo que yo estaba acostumbrada ver en Houston y en El Salvador. También tuve la oportunidad de conocer a Don Omar, el panadero. Don Omar viven en una casa pequeña pero que esta muy decorada con objetos y fotos familiares, al igual que la de mi abuela. Las caminatas son muy importantes porque nos enseñan la cultura y fondos de conocimiento de los estudiantes y sus familiares. Es muy importante conocer las familias de los estudiantes porque ellos tienen mucho conocimiento que les pasan a los niños. Los niños traen este conocimiento a la clase.

[I felt very comfortable exploring the Robles community because I grew up in a very similar area in Houston. My neighborhood is what many consider "ghetto." They use this term to devalue the community when it really has cultural riches to offer...It was nice to walk through a neighborhood that is so full of culture. It reminded me a bit of when I lived in El Salvador because of the atmosphere that surrounds the community. The houses were small and very close to each other like my mom's home in El Salvador. Since the houses are so close people say that they lack privacy. This is a Western value because Latin American culture values a sense of community, so build the houses very close together. I felt at home because the neighborhood was something I was used to seeing in Houston and El Salvador. I also had the chance to meet Don Omar, the baker. Don Omar lives in a

small house but it is very decorated with familiar objects and pictures, like my grandmother's house. Community walks are very important because they teach culture and funds of knowledge of the students and their family. It is very important to know the families of the students because they have a lot of knowledge that they pass on to their children. Children bring this knowledge to the classroom.] (Field Project, 12/10/12)

Rather than perceiving the cultural richness in abstract terms, Martina sees clear echoes between the Robles community and her own neighborhoods in Houston and El Salvador. This allows her to “feel comfortable” and to personalize the experience as a “cultural insider.” Her insider status informs her critique that the notion of “privacy” functions different in westernized cultures like the United States than it does in Latin America. Like Lorenzo, she also references a particular example of community cultural wealth that impacted her: meeting the *panadero* Don Omar. As an insider, she also connects this experience to personal recollections of visiting her grandmother's house and imagines how she might engage students with these family funds of knowledge in the classroom.

The *caminata* and Field Project were two prominent examples of learning experiences whose goal to the develop the Latina/o teachers into “reflective practitioners.” These assignments were meant to train preservice teachers to engage collaboratively with families and communities and, accordingly, they drew from the local knowledge of professors like Dra. Sánchez. However, as Martina's description indicates, this focus on cultural knowledge also connected to the personal experiences of cohort members. In the next section, I explore how differences in linguistic and cultural knowledge were manifested among focal participants who identified along a continuum of racial identities. The distinctions between *Mexicana/o* and more Americanized participants manifested themselves through cohort cleavages that were defined primarily by linguistic proficiency, cultural knowledge, and socioeconomic class.

Bilingual Cohort Groupings: “Americanized” Latinas and “*La Clika*”

In several interviews, Latina/o participants revealed distinctions in the way that particular cohort members positioned themselves throughout their time taking classes together overall several semesters. These distinctions were reflected in differences in language, class, and cultural knowledge and became apparent through friend groups in the cohort. For example, the shared link that Alejandra, Lorenzo, Irene, and other students felt toward Mexico was important enough that the group had a special nickname, as I learned in the following exchange:

Eric: Do linguistic differences, or cultural differences, influence the way that people group themselves in your cohort?

Irene: That's a good question. Yeah, they do. Sometimes we call ourselves “*La Clika*.” (laughs)

Eric: *La Clika*?

Irene: *La Clika*, that's just how Mexican we are. Then again, it's Lorenzo who comes from Monterrey, Alejandra whose parents live in Mexico, and then Manuela. Manuela, she's from California but she speaks good Spanish, too. Melanie is from California as well. I'm from the Valley, and my parents are from Mexico.

Eric: You guys are “*La Clika*.”

Irene: Yeah, to us, talking in Spanish, it's like nothing hard. I've seen other groups where they also talk in Spanish, but they're more conservative. They're more quiet, those girls. Then you do have the other group where they're all English, English, English, English. They only talk in Spanish when it's necessary to talk in Spanish. I guess it just has to do with how comfortable you feel and the little group you're hanging out with, too.

Eric: Is there anything else that you feel separates *ustedes en La Clika* from everybody else?

Irene: We spend a lot of time together here on campus. I'm always working. Lorenzo works. Then sometimes we're just doing homework. Everybody has different schedules but people work together in different groups.

(Interview, 4/10/13)

Irene's comments about "*La Clika*" reveal her wry sense of humor and willingness to critique and joke about the insularity of her friend group. However, her detailed description of the way that cohort members grouped themselves is also helpful for thinking about the way that racial/ethnic identities and contrasting notions of *Mexicanidad* ("Mexicanness") and whiteness were produced in the cohort. National origin and a connection to Mexico played a key role, but even more important is the ability to "speak good Spanish" without difficulty. This should be no surprise, given the central role that Spanish plays in Irene's concept of herself as "Hispanic." Additionally, her statement about she and her peers "always working" on campus seems to reference a distinction in class that requires her friends to support themselves with on-campus jobs. As one of the "conservative, quiet Spanish-speakers," Blanca was not part of "*La Clika*" with Irene, but she had a clear conception of class differences within the cohort:

One of my other classmates, we're very similar in a lot of ways but our background ... Her parents are immigrants but the difference is that she [grew up] in a rich, all-white neighborhood. I noticed the differences in the type of education that she had. Sometimes she'll make comments like, "It's because in my high school they were all so smart and it was just so hard." She wasn't even like top 8%. When she said that I was like, "You weren't top eight percent?" In my high school I was at the top. I couldn't figure it out because in class we're very ... I see how she performs and we're very close and then I'm like, "How did that happen?" She told me, "Everybody was so smart," and this and that. Then I think about the types of connections that she had. One time I think that she wanted some internship and then she said, "I'll ask my mom because my mom knows a lot of people at church." Most of the ladies that work there, they're professionals and they all mostly have college degrees. She was just saying that's like part of her world. I was thinking in my church that's not the case. (Interview, 3/24/14)

Here Blanca makes reference to a program that guarantees admission to Texas universities for students with grade point averages in the top eight percent of their graduating class. The program was implemented (initially as top ten percent) following

the 1996 *Hopwood v Texas* decision, which prohibited Texas universities from considering race in admission and financial aid decisions (Cortes, 2010). Though the program provides a modicum of diversity at Texas universities, it only works because profound racial and economic segregation persists in high schools across the state (Tienda & Niu, 2006). Practically, this means that high-performing students from poorer communities like Blanca's only discover potential shortcomings in their schooling when they come into contact with college peers from wealthier communities. Clearly, Blanca understands that her classmate's advantages extend beyond a more rigorous schooling experience and also include things like mainstream social and economic capital, college-educated parents, and connections to the professional women at church.

Though Mexicana/o preservice teachers like Irene were attuned to group differences, more Americanized, English-dominant cohort members like Veronica were also acutely aware of gaps in language proficiency and cultural knowledge. As she stated:

“...when it is required to speak in Spanish I am probably not as engaged because I'm more nervous and I fear other people are judging my Spanish. So in that aspect it's a little difficult...I'm very intimidated by people whose proficiency is a lot higher than mine.” (Interview, 10/25/12)

Veronica here expresses anxiety about being judged for her Spanish—a language that she grew up speaking only to her grandparents. However, native Spanish speakers like Manuela also echoed similar apprehensions:

“Honestly, I think all of us felt nervous speaking Spanish. Even us or whoever speaks a little more fluently felt self-conscious... I felt it and I know a lot of my classmates felt the same way. We'd get nervous because we know that everyone is listening and they're judging us.” (Interview, 2/12/14)

Though she was born in Mexico and speaks Spanish well-enough to be considered part of Irene's “*Clika*” of Mexicana/o teachers, Manuela still expressed fear about receiving judgment from her classmates over her Spanish. The distinction between Irene's

perception of Manuela's linguistic proficiency and the latter's own doubts illustrates the complexity of identity production in the cohort space.

As someone slightly older with a college degree and a few years of work experience, Michelle seemed less concerned about peer judgment of her Spanish proficiency. Nonetheless, she felt that the program's emphasis on Spanish and Latina/o cultural norms could be divisive for students of different backgrounds:

I feel like people have been very supportive of me but I feel like other people haven't had that same experience who are not native speakers. And maybe it's because I'm more willing to put myself out there and make mistakes, because I know that I make radical mistakes. But I can see in the classroom that when somebody who is not a native speaker [makes a mistake], sometimes the native speakers will snicker or make comments or just kind of look at them like, "you are hopeless"...I think it is the way the classes are presented to us, and some people can really identify with what is being taught and others just can't identify at all and so it is just like the "in crowd" and the "out crowd." And I think if people in our cohort spent a little more time in somebody else's frame of reference then there wouldn't be that false dichotomy that we have in the classroom. Because we are all trying to do the same thing. (Interview, 10/17/13)

Michelle felt supported in the cohort but acknowledged that others might not have had the same experience. Her wish for her cohort members to see beyond the "false dichotomy" of "in crowds" and "out crowds" felt like a call to share linguistic and cultural resources in the bilingual program. These statements about an "in crowd" and an "out crowd" recall the distinctions that Mexican immigrant and U.S.-born Mexican high school students made between themselves in Valenzuela's (1999) *Subtractive Schooling*. As with the Latina/o preservice teachers, the high school students in Valenzuela's study distinguished themselves according to linguistic and cultural differences. Immigrant youth, in particular, distinguished themselves from the Chicanas/os by referring to the latter as *Americanizados* ("Americanized") (p. 182), a term with a similarly negative connotation as when it is used by the Latina/o and Mexicana/o teachers in my study. As

Valenzuela points out, cleavages between immigrant and U.S. born Mexicans deprive both groups from sharing important social capital that could allow them to better succeed in educational settings.

A FIGURED WORLD OF *NOMBRES*, *DICHOS*, AND *CANCIONES*

By foregrounding the use of academic Spanish and Latina/o cultural knowledge, the bilingual program constituted a figured world that positioned students in distinctive ways. According to Holland and colleagues (1998) “Artifacts open up figured worlds. They are the means by which figured worlds are evoked, collectively developed, individually learned, and made socially and personally powerful” (p. 60). Artifacts can be tangible objects but can also be words, bits of song, or abstract concepts and have “developmental histories by virtue of the activities of which they were previously a part and which they mediate in the present” (Holland, 1998 p. 61). Distinguishing aspects of this figured world of bilingual teacher preparation included cultural artifacts like naming conventions (*nombres* or “names”), *dichos* (idioms), and *canciones* (songs). As the group cleavages discussed in the previous section attest, participants articulated both insider and outsider positioning in the cohort in conjunction with their self-authorship as Latina/o, Mexicana/o, Hispanic, and/or “Americanized.” While *nombres*, *dichos*, and *canciones*, were an important part of the figured world of the bilingual program, knowledge of Spanish and Latina/o cultural norms also granted students differing amounts of linguistic and cultural capital. By centering Spanish and Latina/o cultural knowledge, I argue that the bilingual program also decentered whiteness and challenged the dominant linguistic and cultural capital of whitestream schooling.

Nombres

Naming conventions were one way that the figured world of the bilingual program was created and maintained for participants. For Maria Luisa this meant going from being referred to simply as “Luisa” to “Maria Luisa” by everyone associated with the cohort (including me). She described the transition in this way:

[At the start of college] I just used “Luisa,” but then starting the cohort, one teacher said, “Maria Luisa” at the beginning of the semester and I was like, “Yeah? Okay.” So then I just started going by Maria Luisa because it was easier and now everyone in both departments says “Maria Luisa.” (Interview, 3/28/13)

Rather than feeling offended at the way that her name was unceremoniously changed in her cohort, Maria Luisa instead questioned her parents about why her name was Americanized to “Luisa” in the first place

I told my parents...I was just curious, I don’t understand why you were calling me just “Luisa” for so long, why not Maria Luisa?...it doesn’t bother me, it’s just weird that for the longest time I was like, “Well, I’m just going to comply with everyone else because they can’t pronounce my name so I’m just going to Americanize it and say “Luisa.” (Interview, 3/28/13)

Though she considered herself a “white” Hispanic and connected to Spain, Maria Luisa is describing an experience common to immigrant students. As Wong Fillmore (2000) and others have pointed out, recent immigrants will sometimes Americanize their names and lose their heritage language when they assimilate to English-speaking U.S. classrooms. However, instead of having her name “Americanized,” Maria Luisa had it “Latinized” in her bilingual education classes. In a reflection about the significance of her name change, she made the following connection:

[students who are] Hispanic, like dark skin and very clearly Mexican or Latino [sometimes] change their names to be more Americanized because they don’t like their very Hispanic names...I felt like I was going through the opposite process. I’ve gone through this struggle even just with my name...trying to identify myself as someone who is Hispanic and I feel like I have gone through that with my cohort. (Interview, 3/28/13)

As a U.S. born fair-skinned, native-English-speaker, Maria Luisa possesses privileges that immigrant students do not have. However, her desire to be viewed as Hispanic reveals the power that *nombres* had for constructing a figured world that valorized *Latinidad*. The “Latinization” of Maria Luisa’s name reflected her desire (a “struggle” in her words) to be viewed as “legitimately” Hispanic in her cohort.

Irene also experienced a shift in the way that she was named in the cohort. However, her background as a border-crosser from the Rio Grande Valley imbued the change in pronunciation with different meaning than Maria Luisa:

...now that I'm taking bilingual courses, my professors call me *Irene* [EE-RE-NE] where when I was taking courses back in the valley everybody was “Irene.” [AI-REEN] Before I would get mad because to me *Irene* was like, “*Allí esa niña chiquita.*” *Irene* sounds like a little girl. When my professors asked if I preferred *Irene* or “Irene.” I was like, “It doesn't matter.” They started calling me *Irene*. Then everybody else started calling me *Irene*, and it's *Irene* now. Before, the only people that would call me *Irene* would be my mom, and my dad, and maybe my sisters, and my brother once in a while. Even then, they were already talking to me like “Irene,” “Irene,” for everything. Now it's back to *Irene* like if I was back in Mexico or back with my family. (Interview, 4/10/13)

Given the focus on fluent written and spoken Spanish in the course, it is unsurprising that professors and peers would adopt Spanish pronunciation and naming conventions for Irene and Maria Luisa. Though she was originally resistant to hearing her name with a Spanish pronunciation, because of its association with her childhood, Irene eventually warmed to it because it made her feel as though she is back in with her extended family in Mexico. As Kohli & Solórzano, (2012) have pointed out, many Latina/o students experience the mispronunciation of their names as a form of racial micro-aggression. Though the name changes produced feelings of nostalgia for Irene and legitimization as Hispanic for Maria Luisa, these *nombres* also served a larger symbolic purpose as artifacts that both maintained a figured cultural world and challenged the “racial and

cultural hierarchy of minority inferiority” (Kholi and Solorzano, 2012 p. 1) that dominates K-12 and university schooling in the United States.

Dichos and Canciones

Another unique aspect of the bilingual cohort was the inclusion of Spanish *dichos* (idioms) and *canciones* (songs) as a prominent part of the bilingual program pedagogy. *Dichos* are short sayings or proverbs and, along with songs, they function as tools to “describe and express sociocultural events and practices and to hand down from one generation to another a community’s cultural traditions and folklore [and] expected codes of behavior” (Chilisa, 2012 p. 132). The importance of *dichos* in the classroom space became apparent to me in an observation I conducted before the Thanksgiving break during the first year of my study in 2012. That morning I entered the classroom fifteen to twenty minutes after the start of class and the Latina/o cohort members were seated in groups discussing several articles from the previous class session. There was a comfortable buzz in the room as cohort members spoke animatedly in English and Spanish, and when one student walked in even later than I did, the entire class (including the professor) erupted in cheers and good-natured teasing at her tardiness. When the professor started the large-group discussion the topic was the aforementioned concept of “community cultural wealth,” as outlined in the (2005) article by Tara Yosso. After an overview of some details of the article, the professor asked the class for examples of the cultural knowledge and “*riqueza cultural*” [cultural richness] of Latino families. After a few moments with no responses, he answered his own question by presenting the class with the first half of a well-known *dicho*: “*Dime con quién andas...*” to which a handful of students replied “*...y te diré quién eres.*” [literally: “tell me with whom you go about, and I’ll tell you who you are”]. Then he shared the beginning of another *dicho*: “*camarón*

que se duerme...” this time even more of the class chimed back: “... *se lo lleva la corriente!*” [literally: “the shrimp that falls asleep is carried away by the current”]. Now that they understood the professor’s example, many of the bilingual teachers became excited and enthusiastically shared *dichos* that they had learned growing up. However, I also noted that a handful of usually talkative class members were conspicuously silent. For native English speaking participants like Veronica, *dichos* were an unfamiliar and distinctive part of the bilingual program:

There's A LOT of *dichos*, we talked about that, yeah we read the book *Esperanza Renace* and each title or each chapter starts out with a *dicho*...we had to translate them and they [other students] knew the exact translation but I was like, “I’ve never heard these, they’re so new to me!” Dra. Sánchez is talking about all these *dichos* from other cultures and I’m just like, “I’ve never heard any of these, even the religious ones...” (Interview, 10/25/12)

Sofía also shared that *dichos* were a new aspect of Spanish for her. Like Veronica, she also pointed to them as a distinction between other students and her group that she felt was more “Americanized, but with a Mexican twist to it.”

I’m comfortable with those people [Americanized Latinas] because I feel a lot like them...It’s almost like we’ve been Americanized, but with a Mexican twist to it...They [Mexicana/o teachers] use *dichos* and stuff, but I didn't know what *dichos* were until I got here to the bilingual program...I don’t even remember growing up in my life, my grandmother ever using *dichos* or my dad every using *dichos*. I had to ask them what they were. I don’t remember them coming up in conversation. If anything I remember them more in English. I learned them in English. (Interview, 12/13/12)

Dichos played an important role for students like Sofía and Veronica in differentiating between types of linguistic and cultural knowledge in the cohort. For native Spanish speakers like Blanca, hearing *dichos* in academic setting carried a different meaning than it did for the more English-dominant Latina teachers:

...coming here, being in the bilingual program and listening to Alejandra, the way she speaks and all the idioms that she uses in Spanish and stuff like that, I was just

like, “Man, I feel like I’m back with my cousins and I figured out that I kind of really like it [the bilingual program],” (Interview 12/6/12)

Blanca’s description that hearing *dichos* made her feel like she was “back with her cousins” sounds very similar to Irene’s sense that she was “back in Mexico or back with [her] family” at hearing her *nombre*. This feeling of *familia* experienced by Blanca, Irene, and others has to do with the particular way that cultural knowledge like *dichos* and *nombres* are maintained and transmitted. As Espinoza-Herold (2007) points out, *dichos* are part of a dynamic repertoire of Latino family cultural practices that “transmit intergenerational values, attitudes, and perceptions rooted in a larger cultural framework that ultimately supports the successful negotiation of potentially troubling social institutions, such as schools.” (p. 261-262). Thus, *dichos* are both an oral tradition transmitted primarily through families and a tool to resist the deficit framing of Latina/o students in whitemainstream educational settings. With this context, we can interpret Blanca and Irene’s sense of *familia* as something that white, middle-class students benefit from everyday in U.S. schools—the feeling that one’s family names and knowledge are legitimate and valuable.

Like *dichos*, popular songs or *canciones* were also a point of cultural distinction for more English-dominant Latinas in the bilingual program. In her initial interview, Veronica referenced “*Las Mañanitas*,” a song sung to celebrate birthdays and other important occasions in many Latin American countries, to describe her feelings of being a cultural outsider in the cohort:

...somebody had a birthday last week and everybody they were like, “We sing in Spanish” and there was this one song that they picked, and I don’t even know how to sing Happy Birthday in Spanish...” (Interview, 10/25/12).

Far from a simple song, *Las Mañanitas* was a symbolic reminder to Veronica of the sense of inadequacy that she felt about her Spanish towards the start of the bilingual program.

Tellingly, during our final interview two years later Veronica became very excited when the conversation turned again to the song and she triumphantly declared:

“I learned *Las Mañanitas*! I learned it! A coworker was singing Happy Birthday to somebody and... I was so sad. And I was like, “Guys, I learned *Las Mañanitas*!” So, recently Dra. Sánchez, said, you’ve got to all sing it in Spanish and I was like, “Yes! I know it. I practiced in Mexico.” (Interview, 2/13/14)

Here Veronica feels pride at learning the song, which she intentionally practiced on a recent visit to see her extended family in Mexico. Maria Luisa also underscored the importance of *Las Mañanitas* as a symbol of linguistic and cultural proficiency, and felt like it differentiated her from the Mexicana/o teachers that made up “*La Clika*” in the cohort:

But for me, it wasn’t that I didn’t know how to sing “Happy Birthday” in Spanish, it was the fact that it was not part of my culture. And so, it just like little things that make you remember, “Okay, I’m Hispanic, I’m a Spanish speaker, I’m bilingual but, at the same time, I am not the same compared to like this group from the Valley or this group that’s from Mexico, who has very close contact with Mexico, and has Mexican family. So I think that was a big distinction that I made...” (Interview, 2/10/14)

Though she identifies as a heritage Spanish speaker, Maria Luisa also understands that bilingualism is contextual and sees the “Happy Birthday” song as emblematic of the limits of her cultural proficiency when compared to students with connections to Mexico. Maria Luisa’s distinction recalls Gloria Anzaldúa’s well-known meditation on the variants of Spanish spoken in the Southwest (e.g. “Chicano Spanish” and “Tex-Mex,”) as well as her assertion that “Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity...” (1999, p. 77, 81). For bilingual cohort members like Maria Luisa, Veronica, Sara, Irene, and others, these identities were produced in a figured cultural world maintained by cultural artifacts like *canciones*, *dichos* and *nombres*.

Inverting Linguistic and Cultural Capital

The use of linguistic artifacts like *dichos* was only one aspect of a general emphasis on Latino culture that made the bilingual program particularly welcoming for Mexicana/o teachers. Other components included major assignments like the Journey Box project from the cohort's elementary social studies methods course. Based on the work of Labbo and Field (1999) the Journey Box project was an opportunity for participants to create boxes containing artifacts and primary source documents to explore historically significant events, places, and people. In addition to developing historical thinking and other important social studies skills (see Alarcon, Holmes, and Bybee, *In Press*), the bilingual program's general emphasis on Latino culture also emerged through the project's focus on counter-narratives of historically marginalized groups. This emphasis on notions of marginalization and counter-stories is evident from the syllabus description and grading rubric for the Journey Box project:

Major Assignment #3: Project Journey Box

A journey box (see Labbo and Field) is a collection of primary sources and DBQ's that attend to a historical event or historical figure. The collection must address a content focus NOT typically found in the curriculum and related to notions of marginalization—e.g. race, class, gender, religion and so forth.

(Social Studies Methods Syllabus, Spring 2013, emphasis in original)

Narrative - (Excellent - 4 points)

Assignment contains a strong narrative that explains the topic, relevance of items included, and provides a counter-narrative

(Journey Box Grading Rubric, Spring 2013)

For Mexicana/o teachers like Lorenzo, Blanca, and Irene these requirements meant producing Journey Boxes that told stories about Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and the famous Tejana musician Lydia Mendoza, respectively. In a narrative that the cohort

members were required to submit along with their box, Lorenzo explained his reasoning for doing his project on Cesar Chavez:

In my journey box I am trying to present the power of dedication and peaceful activism. I am trying to expose the extent that minority communities have gone to in order to ensure the rights of that community, and the impact that is still seen today because of those actions. There are many levels and types of oppression that certain groups of people have faced in the history of the United States; segregation, exploitation and discrimination are just a few. My journey box will be a way to present the solutions and struggles that people have gone through in order to overcome those types of oppression. Collective activism is the key in the fight against these oppressions; the actions of Cesar Chavez helped fuel the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and inspired people to fight together as one, because they noticed that they had a stronger impact in that manner.

(Journey Box Narrative, Spring 2013)

Figure 10: Journey Boxes on Lydia Mendoza and Dolores Huerta



Though Lorenzo's narrative is ostensibly about Cesar Chavez, it also contains clear echoes of his own identity as an activist and the marginalization that he has faced because of his undocumented status. Much like the *caminata* and Field Project, the Journey Box project's general goal of presenting counter-narratives of historically marginalized groups became yet another opportunity for Mexicana/o teachers to assert their identities and cultural knowledge. However, as Bourdieu (1977) reminds us,

discursive practices like linguistic and cultural production are not neutral and are always embedded within relations of power that vary according to particular language “markets.” Though all participants generally described the bilingual program in positive terms, its distinctive emphasis on Latino linguistic and cultural knowledge made these forms of “community cultural wealth” (Yosso, 2005) uniquely valuable. As previously indicated, this distinction influenced cohort cleavages and, for more English-dominant participants like Michelle, created the feeling that there was an “in crowd” and an “out crowd.” Further reflecting this sentiment she added:

I feel like sometimes our program is very polarizing and...really heavily making people identify with the Latino culture. Um, which is fine but I think that it kind of neglects to realize that not all students come from the same background... And, so...I think in terms of only thinking about the Latino culture and only talking about language and language-deprivation, I feel like it's very unrealistic... (Interview, 10/17/13)

In addition to Michelle's general sense of polarization, other more English-dominant Latinas like Veronica expressed anxiety about their relative lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge:

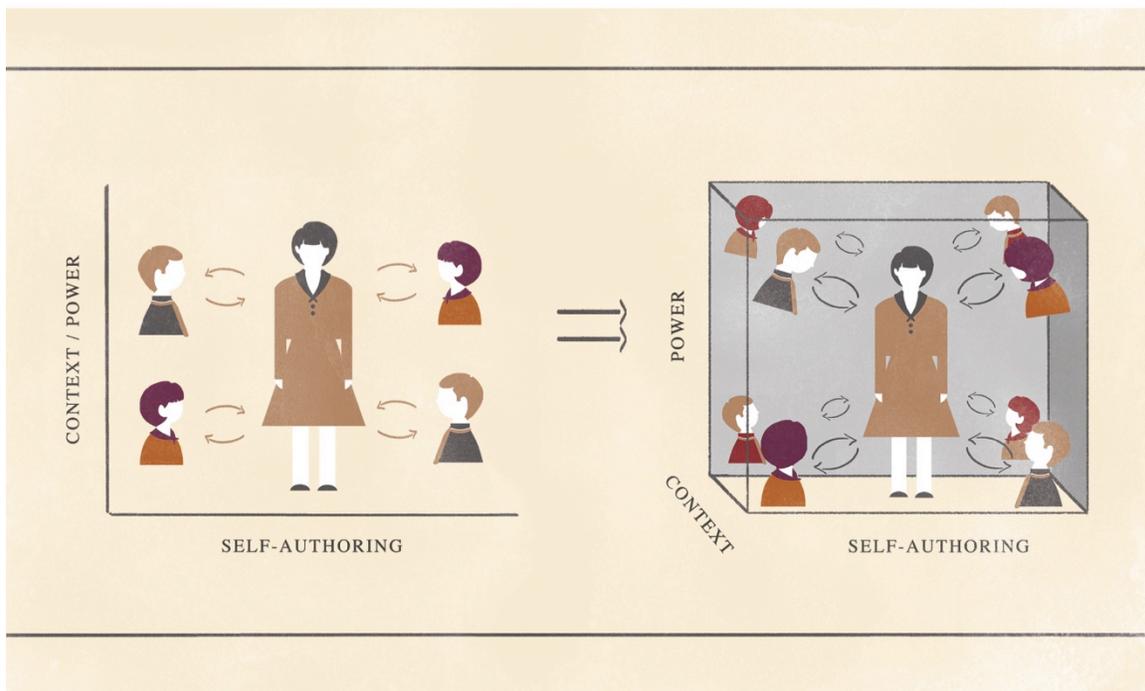
I feel very American in there [the bilingual cohort]...and like it's pretty upsetting, like I'll go home like, and I want to cry because my Spanish isn't where...you know, where theirs is and...my culture, it's very American. It's not, you know, what they [Mexicana/o cohort members] know and I'm just like, is this like sometimes I question it like, is this really where I belong?

Veronica expresses dismay at feeling like a cultural and linguistic outsider, in part due to the emphasis on “Latino culture” that Michelle alluded to in her comment. However, Mexicana/o and native Spanish speakers viewed this emphasis on Spanish language and Latino culture differently. Many talked about the program in glowing terms and their general feeling could be summed up in the following off-hand comment from Irene about

how those in her “*Clika*” felt in the program: “Yeah we all love it...it’s so Latino!” (Interview, 4/10/13).

Viewed together, the distinct perceptions of Mexicana/o teachers like Irene and more Americanized Latinas like Michelle and Veronica illustrate a particular set of power relations unique to the cohort space. In the vast majority of U.S. schools, fluency in the English and white middle class culture are the standards that define what is “normal” and “smart” (Urrieta 2008, 2010; Hatt, 2011). Accordingly, in most educational settings social capital is granted to those who possess white norms and Latinas/os who assimilate often do so in ways that are linguistically and culturally subtractive (Valenzuela, 1999). However, in a “linguistic market” that values Spanish and Latina/o community cultural wealth (Bourdieu, 1977; Yosso, 2005) whiteness is decentered and the dominant power relationship of U.S. schooling is challenged. Framed within sociocultural practice theories of identity, the self-authoring that occurs in the context of social relationships includes an additional third “dimension” of power that positions people according to the social capital that they possess in a particular space.

Figure 11: Positional and Discursive Identities



Thus, the disempowered “outsider” status and distress Michelle, Veronica, and others articulated can be interpreted as a reaction to the loss of relative social capital that they enjoyed as “white” and “Americanized” Latinas. As Peggy McIntosh reminds us in her famous essay, the privileges associated with whiteness function like an “invisible knapsack” and can be difficult to see until they are contested. By foregrounding Latino community cultural wealth, the bilingual program challenged the de facto linguistic and cultural capital that fills the “knapsack” of more English-dominant Latinas in whitestream schools. Conversely, the “love” that Irene and other Mexicana/o and Spanish-dominant participants had for the bilingual program can be interpreted as the reaction to a cohort space that granted value and honor to their language and culture.

The subtractive nature of K-12 and university schooling is a daily reality for many immigrant Latina/o students. For example, though she was a good student in high school, Martina expressed ambivalence about applying to college until a Latina counselor at her

school brought her in and had her fill out an application. Due to her outstanding record, Martina was awarded a full scholarship and decided to attend. In her interview she described initially feeling like a cultural outsider on campus until she discovered the bilingual education program:

First I was just taking more science courses. I was probably thinking of doing nursing, I guess. The courses were okay, but I didn't really enjoy them. Then I took Spanish...That's when I started noticing more Latino professors...My first two years here I really didn't see that. I really like that we use Spanish in our classroom because I get to practice it once again. It's my first language but I kind of forgot some of it...once I entered his [a bilingual professor's] classroom I felt comfortable because I looked around and everyone kind of looked like me. Spoke the same way or came from the same place. We all share similar backgrounds. We're very family-oriented...I feel comfortable and more at home as opposed to when I used to take classes where not many people looked like me and the classes were 200 plus people. I felt alone. I couldn't talk to the professor. That's also one more thing that I like about this program, is that your professors get to know you more and they know you by your name. I really like it. (Interview, 4/3/13)

Martina's account of resilience and determination in the face of marginalization in her classes is a common narrative for many first generation immigrant students attending college. However, the familiarity of her struggle obscures an equally important detail—that having Latina/o professors and a cultural home on campus factor so prominently in her decision about what to study. While the linguistic and cultural background of classmates and professors might be of little import to many students, Martina actually describes it as one of the principle factors for deciding a vocation and career. Accordingly, her decision to pursue a major with Latina/o peers and professors must be understood in the context of the alienation that many Latina/o students feel in whitestream K-12 and higher education settings. In a separate interview, Irene provided an example of the persistent marginalization that Martina alludes to in the quote above. Irene described feeling frustrated in a general education course that she took with

Alejandra where Anglo students resisted learning about Latino linguistic and cultural norms:

After our class, Alejandra and I would be like, ‘Well you know what? We went through this schooling when we came into the United States of trying to get Americanized, and you have to learn the language if you want to survive here, like you have to, you have to. It's kind of their [Anglo students] turn to stand in our shoes, and you know what? Try to understand the Hispanic and the Latino culture. (Interview, 4/9/14)

Though her comment was intended for the Anglo students in one of her general education courses, it could also be applied to more “Americanized” English-dominant Latinas like Veronica and Michelle who expressed feeling like cultural outsiders. Rather than view their own disempowerment in absolute terms, these feelings of discomfort can be put to positive use as a tool to build pedagogic empathy for future Latina/o bilingual K-12 students who must daily engage in the subtractive process of U.S. schooling.

AGENCY AND SELF-AUTHORING IN SCHOOLING SPACES

The interviews, observations, and artifacts collected over a two-year period reveal that cohort members authored distinctive identities and came to think of themselves as “Latina/o,” “Hispanic,” “Mexicana/o,” and “White” through complex processes. However, even as participants described their identity productions in particular ways and grouped themselves accordingly, they also troubled these categories, and were troubled by them as they moved in fluid and agentic ways throughout K-12 and university schooling spaces. At the heart of the negotiation of whiteness and racial identity were experiences of *marginalization* and *misrecognition* that relate to historical processes and discourses (history-in-system), which were also enacted on the interpersonal level (history-in-person) (Holland and Lave, 1991). Marginalization and misrecognition can be internalized, but they also create spaces for collective and individual forms of resistance.

At the level of identity, this resistance constitutes our “response to the world” (Holland et. al 1998) and can facilitate additional forms of self-authorship. In this section I provide examples of how racial identity and whiteness were implicated in Latina/o teacher responses to marginalizing discourses on the broader university campus. I also discuss the role of misrecognition in the creation of “white” Latina/o identities and provide examples of how this misrecognition can be internalized and/or used to create space to author more nuanced racial subjectivities.

Marginalization and Resistance in the Campus Space

As previously indicated, many of the Latina/o teachers felt out of place in their general university courses and described a sense of belonging and *familia* in the bilingual program, in part because it was as a space that valorized their cultural and linguistic knowledge. However, even as they found refuge in their bilingual teacher preparation program, cohort members also confronted marginalizing discourses in the broader campus community. Fraternity parties and campus events with racist and offensive themes were two highly public sites of these marginalizing discourses that Latina/o cohort members confronted during my study.

Lorenzo’s experience resisting these discourses came up unexpectedly during one of our interviews in the form of a *testimonio*. *Testimonio* is a genre of story telling with deep roots in the oral traditions of Latin America. However, as Delgado Bernal, Burciaga and Flores Carmona (2012) point out, “*Testimonio* differs from oral history or autobiography in that it involves the participant in a critical reflection of their personal experience within particular sociopolitical realities” (p. 134). *Testimonios* most often convey the struggles of marginalized populations, and were originally used to highlight the abuses of authoritarian governments in Latin America (see also Menchu, 2009). More

recently, education scholars have used the *testimonio* genre to describe a wide array of contexts, like the struggles of school-aged girls in Juarez, Mexico (Cervantes-Soon, 2012) and the challenges that undocumented student face in the U.S. (González et al., 2003; Huber, 2009; Jo, Urrieta, & Kolano, 2015). *Testimonios* are “urgency narratives” (Jara & Vidal, 1986) that are meant to raise our collective consciousness and emerge from a relationship of trust and *confianza* between the teller and the listener (Urrieta, 2015 p. 52).

Lorenzo’s *testimonio* speaks to his struggles as an undocumented Latino/Mexicano student on our university campus and the role of his cultural identity and community in resisting marginalization. It surfaced in our interview while discussing Dr. Garcia,³³ a Latino professor who taught a course on the sociocultural influences on learning to the bilingual cohort. I asked Lorenzo whether there were any significant moments from Dr. Garcia’s that he would like to share. After a thoughtful moment, Lorenzo recounted a story that he previously shared in Professor Garcia’s class in response to the film “Precious Knowledge,” a documentary about the triumphs and struggles of a high school Mexican American studies program in Tucson, Arizona. Lorenzo’s *testimonio* proceeded as follows, though I have formatted it for clarity:

Lorenzo: *Después que vimos la película de “Precious Knowledge.” Una película super powerful because of everything that the kids did on their own to try and get their ethnic studies classes back, and the process they went through. After we watched the movie [Professor Garcia] asked us to write about a time when we felt we had been discriminated against or oppressed. And I had recently gone through an experience here at [Southwestern University] where this had happened. We wrote it and he told us that if anyone felt comfortable sharing their story in front of the class, then you can go ahead and do it. I decided that I wanted to share it because he really created a place where one really does feel comfortable speaking your mind. Es una de las clases que like, en que me he sentido a gusto. Puedo decir lo que esta mi mente. Pues, un espacio seguro. Because, este señor no tiene*

³³ Pseudonym

miedo de hablar de los temas que causan controversia. Y eso es lo que pasa en muchas de las, in the classes. Algo que nos ayudó también, yo creo, es que todos éramos Latinos. Todos nos entendíamos y era un poco mas fácil para entrar esas conversaciones. But coming back to my story, it was like the hot chair in front of the class and to share your story. And that was very meaningful because, I don't know, he gave us a chance to share everything. I can share the story with you if you want.

Eric: I would love that.

Lorenzo: Last October I believe there were some theme parties that were going on here on campus. I don't know if you are familiar with them, but there was one downtown where a sorority wanted to "celebrate" the Mexican culture and they wore outfits that were like construction workers, and wore mustaches with sombreros. There's a picture where there's two guys and one of them had a shirt that said "illegal" and it was all torn up and dirty and the other one all in green with a shirt that said "border patrol." So they were playing "catch the illegal" and that created a lot of outrage, especially in the Latino community here.

Well, a couple of weeks later there was another theme party, even after seeing everything that the first party had caused they still went ahead and created it. I guess the second one was a little more serious. In one of the frat houses in the back, they even cleared it with the fire marshals and everything, they would dig up a trench and then put water in it, one side Mexico and the other side was Texas. And if you want to chill with the Mexico side you would have to go through the little river and there would be border patrols along the river, like with obstacles and stuff to cross the river.

Obviously, I see that these are people, I mean they are white fraternities and sororities. Based on where we are, these are people that have no connection with our culture whatsoever because, to be honest, *este es gente que viene de dinero, o sea white old money, tienen privilegios que muchas de nuestra gente no tiene. Y estas personas no entienden, todo el proceso que es inmigrar. Mucha gente se muere en el proceso, los dejan en el desierto. Se vienen con coyote y a veces el coyote les quita el dinero y allí los deja. Este*, and the whole process behind their little party is just very, it can be traumatic. Anyway, after the first party happened they came to the multicultural engagement center, the [campus newspaper] came and they were looking for someone to interview regarding this incident and no one wanted to do it. And I'm like, "I'll do it."

I said I would do it and I told the newspaper pretty much what was on my mind. I mean, I said that this was a very demeaning event and personally I know a lot of friends that have, plenty that have gone through the process. That it was just mockery, that an apology is definitely expected and so forth. So, yeah they did

that and I was actually quoted twice on one day and then a couple days later I was quoted again. So couple days later I get a Facebook message from one of my friends she's like, "Hey Lorenzo are you aware that there's this article online, they are talking about you and they're pretty much attacking you?" And I'm like no, and a look at it it's a national fraternity website and pretty much they were like "who the hell is this guy say we can't have our parties" and the guy that wrote it he's like, "Oh yeah, these fraternities and sororities had a great opportunity just to go out and walk around with machetes and everything because that's what Mexicans do." And this website is like a blog so there's a comments section at the bottom. And in the comments section is where everyone was like, "who is this guy?" You know, they got my Facebook information, they posted my link there, they posted my name, my Twitter handle, everything. And, I don't know, it was a big deal and a lot to take in because all the attention was on me. Yeah, so all of my information was up there.

And as a response to this one of my LULAC friends, she crafted a letter of concern that just pretty much said if you've been under attack or if you know someone that has been under attack due to the recent theme parties we'd like to get your support. We gathered over 400 signatures less than two hours, it went viral on Facebook at least with the Latino community and that was as a result of what happened. And I did get random friend request on Facebook from certain people that I'd never seen, like especially white people but I didn't get, they didn't tell me anything. It was just like all the attention was on me and everything was on that article online.

I tried to not make much of it because I know that anyone can sit behind a computer and start writing racist stuff. But it did affect me, it did affect me because, first of all, I mean they have my name and I don't know what they could do. And I'm undocumented, my family is undocumented so I didn't worry much about me but I worried about my family because of any repercussions that this might have. I told my mom about the parties that were happening, I told her, "Mom, I have to do something about it *porque no puedo dejar que estas personas se burlan de nuestra cultura por estos eventos que están haciendo.*" *Y ya sabes como son los padres mexicanos, dicen, "No te metas en eso Lorenzo, no te quieres meter en problemas."* *Y pues, le dije "Voy a tratar de hacer algo pero no voy a tratar de hacer nada grande."* *Y esto paso, and like, todavía no saben, no les dije nada porque no los quiero preocupar, ellos tienen sus propios preocupaciones.*

And, but I did go through all that and I shared that story in Professor Garcia's class and even teachers heard about it and they would ask me, "Lorenzo are you okay I heard of all these things that are going on" and then I'm like, "I'm fine" it's just that like there was a lot of pressure. I was getting a lot of support from our

community, I know a lot of people here because of everything that I'm involved in. But people checking up on me and like asking me, "are you okay?" kind of freaked me out and I thought that something serious can happen and *llegue el punto en que dije "no mas, me voy a ir a mi casa, apagar mi teléfono, quitar mi internet, y me voy a dormir" porque* like I was getting all of that. So I just stayed there at home and I didn't talk to anyone for couple of days. I even got an email from UT because I guess someone tipped them off saying that, you know, Lorenzo we hear that you've been under attack due to some online postings. We'd like to talk to you just to make sure that it's fine, come up to counseling services or something. I didn't need them, but yeah it was pretty crazy. (Interview, 3/28/13)

Lorenzo's *testimonio* is powerful and speaks for itself. However, in the context of my broader research project it also contains many insights about the role of cultural identities in resisting marginalization. Significantly, his *testimonio* is actually a re-telling of a story initially shared with his peers in Dr. Garcia's class earlier that year. Similar to Martina, Irene, and others, Lorenzo sees his bilingual class as "*un espacio seguro*" [a safe space] where difficult and controversial topics can be explored. The ability to feel comfortable speaking his mind is also related to that fact that, as he states, "*todos eramos Latinos*" [we were all Latinos]. To some, this comment about being comfortable around other Latino students could seem exclusionary, but it must be understood in the context of a general teacher education and university environment that can be hostile and alienating for Latina/o students. As Irene pointed out in her aforementioned quote, the Anglo teacher education students in her class were resistant to learning about Latino cultural norms and experiences, even in the context of preparing to teach Latina/o K-12 students. Lorenzo's quote likely encompasses the low-profile opposition and microaggressions he experiences in his teacher education courses along with the more spectacular and high-profile racism of fraternity parties on campus (See also Yosso et al. 2009).

Racial identity and whiteness also play a prominent role in Lorenzo's *testimonio*. As he states, the parties' objectification and mockery of Mexicans and undocumented

immigrants relates to fraternity and sorority members' racial and class privilege—people who, in his words, “*viene de dinero, o sea* white, old money.” For Lorenzo, the blindness of racial and class privilege seem the only way to explain why someone might consider creating a party game out of the fundamentally traumatic process of border-crossing . Accordingly, he felt the need to speak up and voice his critique to the campus newspaper when given the opportunity. The vitriolic online response to Lorenzo’s straightforward explanation about why he found the event demeaning is further evidence of the fundamental blindness of the privileged white gaze. From this perspective, throwing a party that parodies the trauma and death of border-crossers is not worthy of offense or controversy. Rather, it is the implication that a border-crosser might critique such an event that the white gaze finds offensive. Being harassed and “outed” online by hostile strangers would make anyone nervous, but Lorenzo’s case is particularly precarious because of his undocumented status. Despite the potential threats to him and his family he feels the need to speak up because, as he indicates to his mother, he cannot, “*dejar que estas personas se burlan de nuestra cultura*” [let these people make fun of our culture]. Hence, the *Mexicano cultura* that is fundamental to Lorenzo’s practice and identity as a bilingual educator also becomes an asset for speaking up and organizing collective resistance to marginalizing discourses on campus. His reassertion of that identity in a university context is a “response to the world” (Holland et al. 1998) that seeks to reinscribe discourses that Latinas/os and immigrant Mexicanas/os are deficient.

As with the subgroups in the bilingual program, Lorenzo’s example of resistance in the broader university space is a powerful example of the ways that relational and discursive identity productions are bound up in relations of power that must be negotiated and resisted.

Misrecognition and the Self-Authoring of Latina/o Identities.

Lorenzo's *testimonio* is a powerful example of the role that marginalization and resistance can play in the authoring of identities. Unfortunately, racist parties and campus events also impacted the other Latina/o teachers in the bilingual program. Another such event was the "Catch an Illegal Immigrant Game." Rather than an off-campus party, a conservative club organized this event as a stunt³⁴ on campus to make a statement about U.S. immigration policy. The idea for this event was to offer \$25 gift cards to people who would "catch" other students who were wearing white T-Shirts with the word "Illegal Immigrant" written on them. Though the event was cancelled after a series of high-profile public denunciations and student protests, it was another glaring example of the racial acrimony characteristic of the broader university space. While all of my participants denounced the event, I noted interesting and divergent responses when I asked how the

³⁴ During the same semester, the same club organized an "Affirmative Action Bake Sale" to critique affirmative action policies by charging students different prices depending on gender and racial/ethnic categories. The public statements of the president of the club that planned both events—a Latino student with a Hispanic surname—provides a stark example of the incorporation of some Latinos into our current colorblind, "post-racial" context (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Wise, 2011). In a sympathetic interview about the club's "Affirmative Action Bake Sale" with the same fraternity website that harassed Lorenzo, the Latino club president explained to an interviewer how his personal identity informed and motivated the stunt: **Interviewer:** I think the immediate image a lot of people are going to have with this bake sale is that it's being put on by a bunch of privileged white kids, privileged white men, specifically, but that actually doesn't seem to be the case.

Latino club president: No not at all. I'm the leader of the organization. I'm Hispanic and I come from a middle class family. I'm kind of living proof that the whole [pro affirmative action] argument is complete conjecture. If they really want equality, to quote Martin Luther King Jr., judge a man not by the color of his skin but the content of his character, and that's what we strive to abide by or live by, and they [liberals] are completely hypocritical about it. We're just sick of it, so we're just trying to prove a point, and stick it to them, to show them why they're wrong.

The passage reveals the significance of colorblind discourse for the club president's seemingly strategic use of his Hispanic identity and Martin Luther King to deflect the perception that the bake sale was put on by whites to further their own interests. The discursive move of invoking Dr. King to further a colorblind discourse is common enough that Bonilla-Silva includes it in the opening paragraph of *Racism Without Racists* (2006) as one of the "sincere fictions" asserted by whites who claim that they "don't see any color, just people." He points out that whites who invoke MLK in this way fail to remember that Dr. King asserted that the "Negro [was] still not free" and that "There [would] be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro [was] granted his citizenship rights" (p. 1, 17).

“game” impacted them personally, how it affected their cohort, and how it impacted the larger university community. Understandably, many of my participants responded with disbelief and disgust at hearing about the “Catch an Illegal Immigrant Game,” and this response was especially pronounced from those who identified as Mexicanos/as. For example, one participant talked about being shocked that such blatant racism was still a feature of universities and that “this sort of thing still occur[ed] at [Southwestern University].” She and other cohort members indicated that these racist events spurred them to resist by organizing a counter-rally with on-campus Latina/o student organizations.

This type of response was probably best typified by Michelle’s reaction to hearing about the event. As she indicated:

I literally felt sick when I heard about this and I didn't want to be associated with the university...And I felt really hurt because a lot of the people in my cohort, [being undocumented] is their experience...I feel more personally affected than I think I would have in the past...[because] I have a very close friendship with some of these people. And it just felt dehumanizing to label them as one thing and not really to understand why they've had to make the choices that they are making and why they are here and what that means to their families. Like, none of that is taken into account. So it was hard. It was a lot harder than I would have expected. (Interview, 2/28/14)

Michelle responds not to an abstract sense of injustice, but feels “personally affected” in part because of her relationship with Lorenzo and other undocumented cohort members, whom she declines to name initially in our interview in order to protect their privacy. However, she also feels implicated and embodies the marginalizing discourse to such a degree that she feels “literally sick.”

By contrast, even though Manuela condemned the events, she did not really see them the same way that Michelle did; her response characterized a different, more

detached response that I heard from other cohort members. When I asked how a particular event affected her personally she responded:

Not at all. I thought it was stupid. I don't care but if your group wants to do something like that and get labeled and be ridiculed on the news, go for it. It didn't bother me at all. It did affect some of my classmates, so they were really worked up over it and they would skip class to go to the rallies. No, I didn't see a point in defending that because there's always going to be stupid people doing that kind of thing. (Interview, 2/12/14)

Manuela's response was surprising to me, given the fact that she had emigrated from Mexico with her family as a young child. Recalling this, I asked her again whether she felt the "game" made any sort of statement about her as an immigrant and she reiterated "[no]...I just brushed it off my shoulders." Though her response could be interpreted as a defense mechanism, it also seemed related to the particular way that whiteness and a narrative of upward mobility influenced Manuela's conception of herself and her family narrative. In her interview Manuela described that, although she still "jokes" about "not being Mexican" she is "no longer serious" about her denial, but instead finds pride in a family narrative of immigrant success.

Taken in isolation, the distinctions between these cohort members' identity productions and responses to marginalization seems confusing. However, if we examine Michelle and Manuela's responses in the context of self-authored and discursive identity production, we can identify the fundamental difference as a problem of *misrecognition*. In his (1994) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Craig Calhoun identifies recognition as fundamental to the project of subjectivity and identity formation. According to Calhoun:

Identity turns on the interrelated problems of self-recognition and recognition by others. Recognition is vital to any reflexivity, for example, any capacity to look at oneself, to choose one's actions and see their consequences, and to hope to make oneself something more or better than one is. This component of recognition may

be the aspect of identity made most problematic by the social changes of modernity.” (p. 20)

According to Calhoun, recognition involves two parts: recognition of the self and recognition by others. As he alludes, the correspondence between these two parts is troubled by the social changes of modernity. Calhoun argues that the pursuits that we label “identity politics” are “collective, not merely individual, and public, not only private. They are struggles, not merely groupings; power partially determines outcomes and power relations are changed by struggles” (p. 21). Historically, U.S. Latinos have struggled for legitimacy and recognition as full human beings through negotiations with a state structured by white supremacy. These negotiations with and against whiteness entailed a *strategic misrecognition*, whereby Latinas/os were required to perform white and person-of-color identities, sometimes simultaneously. The requirements of this dual performance and struggle also reflected the interaction between a multi-hued *casta* pigmentocracy and the dominant black-white binary that characterizes the racial system of the U.S. (See Bonilla-Silva, 2010). This misrecognition creates dissonance that Latinas/os experience as the disjunction between the identities that we self-author and the relational and discursive identities that are socially produced in different contexts. For Michelle, this meant passing for white and hanging out with the “preppy” kids in middle school until her peers reacted negatively when her brown-skinned *abuelo* picked her up from school. She described coming to the realization that her white friends saw her differently than she saw herself and that it caused her to re-evaluate her friend group:

And then in eighth grade I started really noticing...my family was different from everyone else's in terms of ethnicity. People would sometimes make really racist comments about Mexicans or Mexican Americans and I really started feeling, “But I'm Mexican American and you don't really understand that perspective. And so I started differentiating myself from the [white “mean girl”] group. I left the group. And so...in eighth grade I really came to awareness that I don't want to be associated with that because this is who I am and I'm different than you and I

don't want people to think that I think that I am above anyone else (Interview, 10/17/13)

Michelle's realization that she saw her racial identity differently from her white peers was a disjunction related to her fundamental misrecognition as a Latina. As a fair skinned "Lucky Mexican" Manuela found that she does not fit in with some of her "brownier" Mexican peers but she simultaneously is not "white" enough for the cliques of white students at her school. She responded by altering the way that she performed her class identity and acted "preppier" by doing things like "wearing Abercrombie" to make up the difference and "whiten" herself to fit in with white student cliques:

Oh yeah, people would call me the "lucky Mexican" because I had light skin...and it never phased me you know, that I was a different color or that I was really white until I, they started calling me that. (Interview, 3/23/13)

...I wasn't white enough for the white people and there were cliques...Everyone had cliques and...you know, the Mexicans were the typical gangster Mexicans like, "Don't mess with me or we'll do this and that" And...the white people were a lot more preppier so I started, you know, acting more like them and finally I was able to fit in with a clique. (Interview, 3/23/13)

For Michelle, Manuela and other participants in my study, the disjunction between self-authored and relational identities is expressed as the gap between the racial identity that one performs and the identity ascribed by one's peers. Within Holland and colleagues' (1998) *figured worlds* framework, disjunctions are part of our "response to the world" and open a space for agency and further self-authoring. These gaps in different schooling contexts were important because they gave participants the opportunity to re-evaluate their racial group membership and decide whether to adopt white, multi-racial, or ethnic identities.

Figure 12: Agency and Self-Authoring

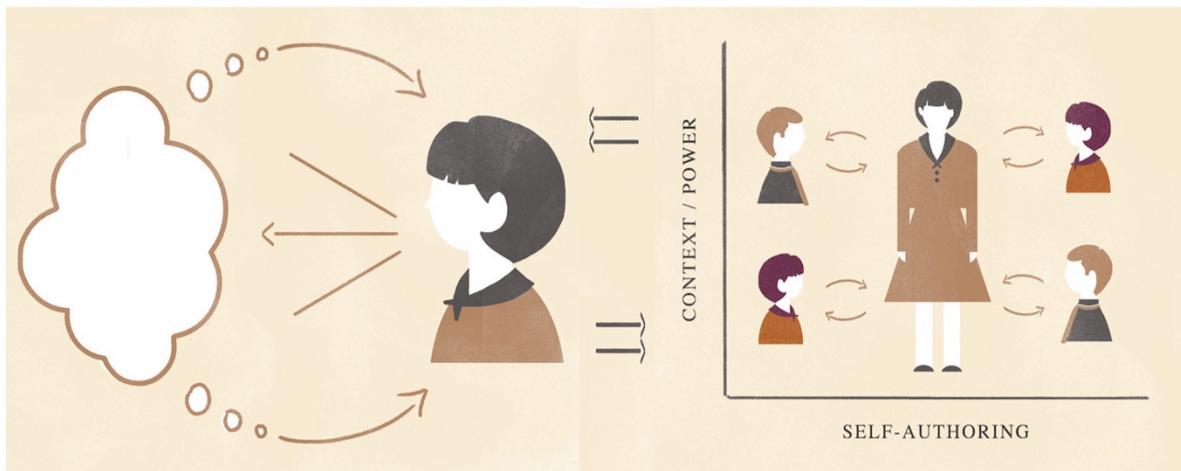


Table 12: Misrecognition and Agency in the Michelle and Manuela’s Identity Productions

Michelle	Manuela
<p>Misrecognition/Disjunction <i>“People would sometimes make really racist comments..and I really started feeling, ‘But I’m Mexican American..’”</i></p>	<p>Misrecognition/Disjunction <i>“people would call me the ‘lucky Mexican’ because I had light skin..and it never phased me that I was a different color or that I was really white until I they started calling me that.”</i></p>
<p>Agency and Self-Authoring <i>“I started differentiating myself from the group. I left the group..I don’t want to be associated with that because this is who I am and I’m different than you...”</i></p>	<p>Agency and Self-Authoring <i>“..the white people were a lot preppier so I started, you know, acting more like them and finally I was able to fit in with a clique.”</i></p>

As the table makes clear, misrecognition and disjunction open up opportunities for agency and the re-authoring of racial identity. Latina/os in this position who “pass” can choose to re-ascribe to themselves the characteristics of whiteness (as Manuela did) or they can adopt a more nuanced racial subjectivity with a critique of whiteness (as Michelle did).

According to (Pyke, 2010) and others, when people of color “respond to their denigrated racial status by distancing themselves from their racial group in an attempt to

be seen as more like Whites” it is usually thought of as a form of internalized oppression. Though helpful, the broad notion of internalized oppression lacks specificity about “what” is being internalized and fails to account for agency or the “how” of internalization. However, if we take *misrecognition* to be a fundamental discourse in the struggle of Latinas/os with and against whiteness, we can identify how *internalized misrecognition* permits Latinas/os to inhabit the tangled, hybrid space of being white, not-white, and not-quite-white all at once. Once again, the confusing and often painful process of embodying misrecognition in the context of white supremacy is apparent from one of Manuela’s comments in her educational autobiography:

Antes de este semestre en realidad tenia tanta pena que mi familia solo platicara en español. Pero ahora, con orgullo hablo el español. Un lenguaje que si es muy común en los EEUU pero quiero que todo el mundo sepa que yo soy bilingüe y mexicana también. Antes cuando mis amigos me preguntaban en donde nací, contestaba que había nacido en California o simplemente los ignoraba. Ahora, no entiendo porque me daba tanta pena, soy una mexicana educada, y se dos lenguajes. Con este semestre aprendí a valorar mas la persona que soy y a mi familia. Este fin de semana pasado vino mi mama a visitar de Los Ángeles y tuvimos una buena platica sobre los fondos de conocimiento. Me platique que me hubiera gustado tener mas fondos de conocimiento pero me contestó, “Manuela, tratamos tu papa y yo pero tenias un carácter que solo le pedía a Dios que te dieras cuenta de cómo eras.” Me dio tanta lastima pero también me dijo que esta muy orgullosa que haya cambiado y que ya aprecie mas a mi cultura.

[Before this semester I was really embarrassed that my family only spoke in Spanish. But now, I speak Spanish with pride. It is a very common language that in the US but I want everyone to know that I am bilingual and Mexican too. Back when my friends would ask me where I was born, I would answer that I was born in California or I would just ignore them. Now, I do not understand why I was so embarrassed, I’m an educated Mexican, and I know two languages. This semester I learned to appreciate more the person that I am and my family. This past weekend my mom came to visit from Los Angeles and we had a good talk about the funds of knowledge. I told her that I would have liked to have had more funds of knowledge and she answered, “Manuela, your father and I tried but you had such a character that we could only ask God that you would realize how you were.” I was so hurt but she also told me that is proud that I have changed and appreciate my culture more.] (Manuela, Educational Autobiography)

Manuela's embarrassment at being a Mexican-born Spanish-speaker reflects a sense of internalized oppression, but it also relates to fundamental questions of identity and internalized misrecognition. Her mother alludes to the importance of recognition, stating that she and Manuela's father had prayed to God "*que te dieras cuenta de como eras*" that Manuela would realize how (and who) she was. This realization entails a recognition of a truer and more nuanced self and racial identity.

CONCLUSION

The Latina/o teachers in the bilingual cohort engaged with program content that trained them to become "reflective practitioners" and to utilize the cultural wealth and funds of knowledge Latina/o students, families and communities. This broad goal was enacted in the bilingual program through assignments and activities like the Field Project, *caminata*, and Journey Box project. However, the foregrounding of Latina/o linguistic and cultural norms also created distinctions in linguistic and cultural knowledge that influenced how students grouped themselves in the cohort space. These cohort cleavages reflected different kinds of cultural identity production, but they were also reflective of the way that the bilingual program challenged the dominant social and linguistic capital relationships of whitestream schools. Social capital connected to Latina/o linguistic and cultural knowledge was produced through a figured world that emphasized cultural artifacts like *nombres* (names), *dichos* (idioms), and *canciones* and decentered whiteness. Finally, cohort members exercised agency and self-authoring to trouble static categories of racial identity. This agency occurred in the context of resisting marginalizing discourses on the broader university campus and in negotiating the misrecognition that is fundamental to negotiations of whiteness and racial identity for Latinas/os.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

“Lucky” Mexicans and White Hispanics: Latina/o Teachers and Racial Identity is a story about Latina/o racial identity and whiteness, told using the experiences and perspectives of 10 Latina/o preservice teachers and situated within the broader cultural history of Latinas/os in the United States. My dissertation study was a two-year critical ethnography of the racial identity productions of a cohort of Latina/o teachers in the bilingual education program at Southwestern University. The goals of this project were 1) to explore how Latina/o preservice teachers of varying racial self-identifications and cultural backgrounds author identities as bilingual educators; 2) to investigate how members of the bilingual cohort used distinct racial, class, linguistic, and immigration backgrounds to construct intra-ethnic identity differences in the bilingual cohort; and 3) to explore how and why some Latina/o bilingual cohort members produced white racial identities. To this end, I asked preservice teacher participants to narrate how family, K-12 schooling, and university bilingual teacher education experiences have shaped their notions of racial identity and whiteness, while paying particular attention to the complex ways that participants negotiated complex and even contradictory identities.

The aim of exploring these issues was to present a broad picture of the role of schooling and society in producing white racial identities for Latinas/os. My theoretical framework drew upon theories of figured worlds and racial formation as entry points for understanding the complex socio-historical and everyday processes that produced Latina/o racial identities and whiteness. I used methods such as participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and life history to construct vignettes of the identities of each participant. The data sources included preservice teacher interviews, classroom

observations, and educational autobiographies submitted by the Latina/o bilingual preservice teachers.

The duration of my critical ethnographic study (two years total) was the central aspect of my data collection and analysis process. This prolonged engagement allowed me to use a constant comparative approach between data and abstract concepts and develop theory grounded in data and events as they developed over time (Bryant, 2012). As Charmaz (2011) points out, grounded research methodologies like constant comparison can help accomplish the goals of social justice approaches like critical ethnography that seek to connect a critique of larger social processes and inequities with an interpretive, relational approach to research.

Prolonged engagement in the research study and with research participants also forms the basis for the validity and reliability of my research. The extended time I spent forming relationships with the Latina/o focal participants in my study allowed me to join in the social reality of cohort members, and to observe and participate in their relational identity productions and negotiations over time. These associations provided a greater understanding of the individual lives and subjectivities of cohort members, but they also provided the opportunity to practice the concept of *relational accountability*, which Wilson (2008) describes as an approach to all aspects of research (topics, methods of data collection, analysis and presentation of data, etc.) from the perspective of accountability toward all of our relations (p. 97). Practicing relational accountability meant using a variety of data sources (interviews, observations, artifacts, etc.) to “triangulate” my principal findings and engaging in a process of “member checking” to ensure that my results were valid and reliable.

The findings of the study were presented in two chapters. Chapter 5 discussed the ways that socialization in family and schooling contexts produced whiteness in various

settings and also investigated how participants thought about Hispanic, Latina/o, and Mexicana/o identities. Chapter 6 explored the role of the bilingual program producing and creating distinctions between Latina/o, Hispanic, Mexicana/o and White participants. I argued that the bilingual program inverted the dominant social capital relationships by creating a figured world that emphasized Latina/o linguistic and cultural knowledge. Taken together, my findings destabilize the binary between *Latinidad* and whiteness by showing the complex ways that some Latina/o teachers negotiated being positioned as white and how they used their agency to respond and self-author their own identities.

Previous scholarship in teacher education has pointed to the importance of racial identities in understanding the distinct pathways of preservice teachers and much of this work has proceeded based on binary essentialist assumptions about being Latina/o and/or white. As Lowenstein (2009) and others have pointed out, this approach can lead to research that frames white preservice teachers as deficient. This deficit characterization of white teachers is symptomatic of another concern among many education scholars—the relative lack of theoretical depth in research on whiteness in education (Lensmire & Snaza, 2010a; Mccarthy, 2003; Ringrose, 2007b). My research is an intervention into both of these concerns and expands our notions of what it means to produce a white and/or Latina/o identity in a bilingual teacher education context.

Earlier work in whiteness studies has also suggested a gap in understanding the way that whiteness operates in communities of color (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). My work uses cultural history and ethnography to respond to this gap and explores the production of Latino whiteness. Central to this process are the historical and contemporary experiences of *marginalization* and *misrecognition*, which requires Latinas/os to occupy and internalize multiple seemingly contradictory positionings. The notion of internalized misrecognition builds on the concept of internalized oppression by

accounting for types of agency that allow Latinas/os to construct and negotiate seemingly distinct racial identities in different social contexts.

Moreover, my study offers further insight into the complexity of designing teacher education spaces that center the cultural and linguistic knowledge of students from historically marginalized groups. While such spaces were essential for the Latina/o teachers in my study, the bilingual cohort space also highlighted distinctions in cultural and linguistic knowledge in ways that, paradoxically, maintained whiteness as an unnamed referent. Even those preservice teachers who asserted cultural identities as Mexicanas/os or mestizos/os often did so in explicit opposition to whiteness, thereby reasserting it as a referent.

One clear policy implication of my study concerns the importance of K-12 spaces like dual language and ethnic studies programs that allow Latina/o students to maintain their linguistic and cultural knowledge. Dual language education programs have been shown to be effective for providing an equitable education and promoting bilingualism in minority students (Christian, 1996; Collier, 1995; Freeman, Freeman, & Mercuri, 2005). These programs are designed to create students who are bilingual and bicultural without sacrificing academic success (Garcia, 2005). Collier and Thomas (2004) have documented how enrichment dual language schooling can close the achievement gap for all categories of students including those who are initially below grade level in their second language. Dual language programs provide the opportunity for Latina/o students across the language spectrum to develop linguistic and cultural knowledge and be successful (Mora, Wink, & Wink, 2001).

Unfortunately, in interviews many of the Latina/o teachers in my study indicated that they were products of subtractive “sink or swim” models of bilingual education that are much less successful in promoting student achievement. Freeman and colleagues

(2005) showed the negative impact on English Language Learners (ELL's) after the passage of Proposition 227 in California that outlawed bilingual education in favor of Structured English Immersion (SEI) programs. They found that after five years of SEI implementation in California, only 30% of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students had conversational English and only 7% were able to follow academic instruction from school textbooks at grade level. For Manuela and other cohort members schooled in California, Proposition 227 and the resulting “sink or swim” approaches second language learning had impacts that last into their teacher education programs.

Although bilingualism and bilingual education offer clear educational and economic benefits (Callahan & Gndara, 2014), from a policy perspective the current state of bilingual education in the United States remains complicated and seemingly contradictory. The federal Bilingual Education Act was overturned in the year 2000 and “English Only” laws like Propostition 227 were passed in California (1998), Arizona (2000) and Massachusetts (2002). The national education policy No Child Left Behind (NCLB), enacted in 2001, contains a number of implicit language-as-a-problem or assimilationist language ideologies (Evans & Hornberger, 2005). However, at the same time, dual language programs, including classroom instruction in two languages and atleast 50% of the instruction in the native language, have increased substantially (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008). For example, in Texas, over 80 school districts (representing more than 600 schools) adopted district-wide dual language programs (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008; Lara-Alecio, Galloway, Irby, Rodríguez, & Gómez, 2004). Perhaps as a result of the increasing popularity of dual-language programs, California is now considering a proposal to repeal the restrictive Proposition 227 (Ash, 2014) and states like New York are also considering implementing more rigorous bilingual and dual-language instruction (Maxwell, 2014). The profiles of the

Latina/o preservice teachers in my study show the importance of providing opportunities to develop and maintain both heritage and second languages. In order to achieve this goal, we must reform and expand additive K-12 bilingual program like dual language immersion to better prepare the next generation of Latina/o bilingual teachers.

Another more programmatic implication of my study concerns the design of teacher education programs. Many of the more “Americanized” Latinas expressed feeling like cultural outsiders in a bilingual cohort space where they had less of the high-value linguistic and cultural capital. As previously indicated, many initially interpreted this relative lack of social capital in negative terms. However, some of my interview indicated that it was possible to “reframe” this lack as an opportunity to develop pedagogical insight and empathy for future bilingual students who also lack social capital in many schoolings settings. Here is how Maria Luis responded in our final interview when I brought up the idea of “reframing” her experience of struggling in Spanish as something to build empathy and pedagogical insight:

Eric: What about if that was your personal frame? If you said to yourself, "This is difficult for me, but it's helping for me to again, build empathy with that experience for my students... "

Maria Luisa: Oh, definitely. I mean, that is something that not just until recently, being a student teacher, being in the classroom, that has been something, like I said at the beginning, like talking to you today, that having that environment with my kids where we're all learning together and that, that's something that... You know, I feel like that that's just made a huge difference compared to before when I thought, "Oh, I need to be the one in a classroom that is speaking perfectly. And I don't want to be able to relate to my students' struggles because I want to be the one that... Because when that student's parents come in, I have to be the one speaking perfectly so they know that I can teach their child."

So it is... I mean you kind of forget that that's the whole point of it. And of course, there are some of the classes that we've taken, they... not necessarily with language. But they do emphasize, if you make a mistake as a teacher, or you do something, you slip up, and the students laugh at you, don't get upset or angry, but

you should laugh at yourself like, put them and show them that it's okay to make mistakes. But it never had occurred to me about that, with struggles with language. And yeah, using that experience as here from our professional development sequence to be able to use that with the students. So, I think that that definitely could help. (Interview, 2/10/14)

Maria Luis here expresses some of the complexity of designing culturally and linguistically affirming bilingual education spaces for preservice teachers. Like K-12 students, prospective bilingual educators benefit from an environment where, as Maria Luisa states, “We’re all learning together.” However, as she alludes, this approach in the classroom can feel at odds with understanding the stakes and potentially negative consequences of not being able to communicate effectively with Spanish-speaking students and their parents. Even so, she makes it clear that reframing the experience could “definitely could help,” though she does not specify in what way.

As the quote above alludes, one limitation of the study is the lack of (K-12) student voices regarding the way that Latina/o teacher identities and linguistic and cultural knowledge translated into the classroom. The bilingual teacher preparation program was designed around the needs of heritage Spanish speaking students and their families. However, students and the voices of their families were not included, nor were they pursued. The main purpose of this research was to document the racial identity productions of Latina/o preservice teachers. Future work should implement a design that offers the perspectives of student and their families. Accordingly, as a continuation to my current project I could follow-up with the Latina/o participants, many of whom are novice teachers, to see about incorporating the perspectives of their students and families. This follow-up project would focus on the perceived impact that the teachers had on their students and the role that racial identity and cultural and linguistic knowledge played in their classroom practice as inservice teachers. Pursuing this kind of follow-up research

would complement the teachers' own perspectives on their identity productions and potentially connect them to K-12 classroom practices.

Another limitation of my study is its limited generalizability. The purposeful sampling technique employed in this dissertation offers insight into racial identity productions of Latina/o preservice teachers, particularly around notions of whiteness. While this in-depth look provides the opportunity for theoretical construction regarding Latina/o racial identity, my findings cannot be described as representational of all Latina/o preservice teachers. Rather than present a homogenizing picture, my study's purpose was to contextualize the nuanced and fluid experiences of Latina/o preservice teachers in a particular context. As with many places in the United States, Mexican-origin Latinas/os and Mexican American culture are dominant in the Latino community context of Southwestern University. In my study, this translated into having only one Salvadoran participant, Martina, who ended up agreeing to participate. Another continuation of my research would be to do comparative work on identity production and whiteness among Latina/o preservice bilingual teachers in regions like the Northeast that have a higher proportion of Caribbean and Central American-origin Latinas/os. Collecting data from different regions in the United States or even in various Latin American sending countries would highlight the diversity within *Latinidad* and further disrupt essentialist, binary notions of Latina/o racial identity.

"Lucky" Mexicans and White Hispanics: Latina/o Teachers and Racial Identity is an account of the diverse and complex ways that Latinas/os author their own identities in diverse societal and educational contexts. These historical and contemporary negotiations of racial identity and whiteness offer us a hopeful perspective on ways that Latinas/os resist white supremacy in the creation of agentic selves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: BILINGUAL PRESERVICE TEACHER CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

EXPIRES ON:

IRB PROTOCOL#:

Study Title: THE EFFECTS OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE IMMERSION OF BILINGUAL PRESERVICE TEACHERS IN A PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT SEQUENCE

Investigators

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The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the effects of Spanish-language instruction on the preparation of future bilingual educators by observing their use and perceptions of Spanish in a required undergraduate courses. The intent is to gather data on the design and implementation of activities that foster reflection about participants' identities as undergraduates and future bilingual teachers. This study also has potential to inform us about the types of settings and instructional components that create more welcoming spaces for students of color and create more competent bilingual educators

If you agree to be part of the study will be asked to do the following:

- Participate in class observations
- Participate in three interviews to answer questions related to your participation in required undergraduate courses taught in Spanish.
- Interviews and class observations will be digitally recorded with recording devices, video cameras, and computers.
- The interviewer will also take notes during the interview and class observations

_____ I agree to be [audio and/or video] recorded.

_____ I do not want to be [audio and/or video] recorded.

Students who participate and student who do not participate in the study, in no way will this affect their grades or academic standing in the course.

Students who do not consent to being audio and/or video recorded will not be audio or video recorded in classroom and/or small group observations.

The duration of your participation in the study:

- The approximate length of each of the three interviews will be 30 minutes.
- The approximate length of each of the class observations will be one hour
- This study will occur during the Fall 2012 and Spring 2013 semesters

Procedures:

- If you agree to participate in the project you will be interviewed during the semester when you are participating in the required courses in Spanish. The interview will be recorded.
- If you agree to participate in the project you will be observed in class during the semester when you are participating in the required courses in Spanish. The class observation will be recorded.

The benefits of participating in the study:

- There are no direct benefits for participating in this project.
- There is no cost for participating in this project
- There is no monetary compensation for participating in this project

Confidentiality

Every effort will be made to keep your information in complete private and confidential. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant and the people. The notes and audio recorded interviews and footage will be kept in a locked office. All codes used and all information used will be kept in a locked office. Besides the four researchers involved, only agencies to Human Protection and the Committee on Human Research of the University of Texas have access to the information obtained if an audit is required.

Contact and Questions

If you have questions about the study don't hesitate to ask. If you have questions later, or if you need additional information or want to stop participating in the project please contact one of the researchers conducting the study. The names, phone numbers and emails are at the bottom of the form. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, complaints, concerns or questions about the study please contact the Institutional Review Board of the University of Texas for the Protection of Human Participants at (512) 232-2685, the Office of Research and Compliance at (512) 471-8871 or email orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

APPENDIX 2: BILINGUAL PRESERVICE TEACHER CONSENT SURVEY

CONSENT SURVEY

Name: _____

1. I am not interested in participating in the research study in any way (please initial): _____
2. I am interested in participating in the research study in the following ways: (please initial)

____: Being observed in class with note taking

____: Being audio recorded in class

____: Being video recorded in class

____: Contributing classroom artifacts (assignments, etc.)

____: Being interviewed outside of class with (check one):

a. Note taking: Yes ___ No ___

b. Audio recording: Yes ___ No ___

Please sign below if you consent to be a part of this research study

Signature: _____

APPENDIX 3: BILINGUAL PRESERVICE TEACHER CLASS ANNOUNCEMENT

CLASS ANNOUNCEMENT

Study Title: THE EFFECTS OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE IMMERSION OF BILINGUAL PRESERVICE IN A PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT SEQUENCE

Investigators

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The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the effects of Spanish-language instruction on the preparation of future bilingual educators by observing their use and perceptions of Spanish in a required undergraduate courses. The intent is to gather data on the design and implementation of activities that foster reflection about participants' identities as undergraduates and future bilingual teachers. This study also has potential to inform us about the types of settings and instructional components that create more welcoming spaces for students of color and create more competent bilingual educators

If you agree to be part of the study will be asked to do the following:

- Participate in class observations
- Participate in three interview to answer questions related to your participation in required undergraduate courses taught in Spanish.
- Interviews and class observations will be digitally recorded with recording devices, video cameras, and computers.
- The interviewer will also take notes during the interview and class observations

If you would like additional information on the duration, procedures, benefits of the study or have any other questions please include your name and email address on the following and the researchers will follow up with you by email.

APPENDIX 4: BILINGUAL PRESERVICE TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

English

1. Why did you decide to become a bilingual educator and how did you enter the program?
2. What aspects of your preservice teacher training have you found most rewarding?
3. Which of your teacher education classes have been taught in Spanish?
4. What has been your experience in your courses taught in Spanish?
5. How do your courses taught in Spanish compare with your courses taught in English?
6. Have you experienced any benefits or drawbacks from taking courses taught in Spanish?
7. Do you feel that having the course taught in Spanish affects your ability to participate in class or engage with the readings? How so?
8. Do you feel that the content of the course affects your willingness to participate in class or engage with the readings in Spanish? How so?
9. What do feel might help you better engage in class or with your readings?
10. Do you feel like the Spanish you learned at home and in school adequately prepared you for your courses in Spanish?
11. Do you do anything outside the class to practice your academic Spanish?

12. Do you do anything outside the class to further your understanding of Spanish *dichos* or other culturally-specific terms?
13. Do you feel that having the course taught in Spanish affects your ability to engage with your peers in class? How so?
14. Do you feel that having the course taught in Spanish affects your ability to engage with your professors in class? How so?
15. What things might you do to better engage with your peers in class?
16. What things might you do to better engage with your professors in class?
17. How do your experiences in your Spanish class relate to your future role as a teacher of bilingual, Spanish-speaking students?

Spanish

1. ¿Por qué decidió convertirse en un educador bilingüe y cómo hizo para entrar en el programa?
2. ¿Qué aspectos de su formación docente de pregrado le ha resultado más gratificante?
3. ¿Cuál de sus clases de formación del profesorado se han enseñado en español?
4. ¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia en los cursos que se imparten en español?
5. ¿Cómo los cursos impartidos en español comparan con los cursos impartidos en Inglés?
6. ¿Ha experimentado los beneficios o desventajas de tomar cursos que se imparten en español?
7. ¿Siente que tiene el curso impartido en español afecta su capacidad para

- participar en la clase o comprometerse con las lecturas? ¿Cómo es eso?
8. ¿Cree usted que el contenido del curso afecta a su disposición a participar en la clase o participar con las lecturas en español? ¿Cómo es eso?
 9. ¿Qué sensación puede ayudarle a participar en clase o con sus lecturas?
 10. ¿Se siente como el español que aprende en el hogar y en la escuela adecuadamente preparado para sus cursos en español?
 11. ¿Hace algo fuera de la clase para practicar su español académico?
 12. ¿Hace algo fuera de la clase para avanzar en su comprensión de los dichos españoles u otros términos culturalmente específicos?
 13. ¿Siente que tiene el curso impartido en español afecta su capacidad para relacionarse con sus compañeros de clase? ¿Cómo es eso?
 14. ¿Siente que tiene el curso impartido en español afecta a su capacidad para interactuar con sus profesores en clase? ¿Cómo es eso?
 15. ¿Qué cosas podría hacer para mejorar la participación con sus compañeros en clase?
 16. ¿Qué cosas podría hacer para mejorar la participación de los profesores en clase?
 17. ¿Cómo se siente en su clase de español se refieren a su futuro papel como maestro de bilingües, estudiantes que hablan español?

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