Copyright

by

Brenda Rubio

2012

The Thesis Committee for Brenda Rubio
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Mexican Immigrant Newcomer Students in Central Texas: A Study of Immigrant Adaptation

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

Angela Valenzuela

Noah De Lissovoy

Mexican Immigrant Newcomer Students in Central Texas: A Study of Immigrant Adaptation

by

Brenda Rubio, B.S.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin
August 2012

Dedication

Para toda mi gente inmigrante que llega a este país en búsqueda de todas esas *oportunidades*.

Acknowledgements

Gracias apá Rogelio por tus porras, te llevo en mi corazón. Sin el amor de madrecita Guadalupe, no hubiera podido seguir en esta lucha. Baby sis Angelica, thanks for setting me straight when I lost sight of the goal. Hermanas Dominga, Ana, and Alma, you lit my fire. A mis sobrinas Joanna, Valerie, Isabella, and Paulina y mi sobrino David Rogelio, it is because of you that I continue this journey, I want to set the stage for all the greatness I know you will achieve. Dr. Malú Gonzalez, gracias por explicarme como conseguir esas oportunidades y a la misma ves enseñarme como apoyar a otros en su búsqueda; it is because of you that I discovered my love for education research. Dr. Angela Valenzuela, thanks for being a living example of how to fight for our gente while staying true to oneself. Y a mis muchos amigos, amigas, y colegas que me han apoyado, ustedes enriquecen mi vida.

Abstract

Mexican Immigrant Newcomer Students in Central Texas: A Study on Immigrant Adaptation

Brenda Rubio, M.A.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisor: Angela Valenzuela

The purpose of the study was to identify the sociocultural and sociopolitical supports and practices that foster or hinder the successful integration of the Mexican immigrant student. The study was centered on the student perspective of their newcomer school in Central Texas. New school models have emerged in an attempt meet the educational needs of immigrant children by providing targeted instruction and concentrated resources to facilitate their successful integration into their new school system and academic success. In order to identify promising practices that positively impact the academic incorporation of newcomer students in Texas, attention was paid to the school discourse, organizational structures, institutional policies and practices, supports through social resources and services, supports through adult-student relationships, school opportunities, and high-expectations. Unfortunately, the Mexican immigrant student was a forgotten majority and found themselves not receiving the adequate support.

Table of Contents

Abstract vi

List of Tables ix

Introduction 1

Background & Significance 7
    Orientation – School Structure 7
    The Disappearing Latino Population at Global 11

Literature Review of Mexican-origin Students & U.S. Schooling 15
    Sociohistorical Context 15
    The "Whitestream" Schooling of Mexican Immigrant Students 18

Methodology 21
    Design 21
    Participants & setting 22
    Analysis 24
    Limitations 24

Chapter 1: Mexican Immigrant Students at Global 26
    Student Stories 26
    Life in the United States 29
    Entering a New Schooling Context 30

Chapter 2: Invisible Majority 34
    They are not acknowledged 34
    They don't get included to participate because they are not Diverse 35
    They are not the face of the school 37
    They don't get the services 38
    Making Meaning of an Evolving Identity 39

Chapter 3: Isolated and Segregated 44
    Global Administration & Teachers as Gatekeepers of Social Capital 44

Maintaining Fear of their New Community 47
'Protection' from Southside 48
Keeping Parents Out 49

Chapter 4: Animosity in the Classroom 51
Lack of resources for Minority Serving Schools Continues 51
Deficit Views Persist 52
Teacher Sentiment Toward Mexican Immigrant Students 53
Perceptions of the Students' Histories and Current Living Situations 54
Teachers Believe Students Have Severe Education Gaps 55
Misunderstandings in the Classroom 57
Students Internalizing Deficit Views 59
Frustrations, Assumptions, and Low Expectations 61
Spanish Use 62

Chapter 5: Forgotten Mexican Immigrant Student 65
High School Completion & Continuing Education 65
Eduardo's Story 67
Miriam's Story 70

Conclusion 72

Appendix 74

References 75

List of Tables

Table 1: Global High School student enrollment rates. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012) 9

Table 2: District student enrollment. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2011b)10

Table 3: Global High School students that do not return for the 10th grade (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012)........ 12

Table 4: Global High School Hispanic students that do not return for the 10th grade. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012 and Last Day of School reports) 13

Introduction

"No vayas a decir que eres de Juárez porque te avientan pa'tras" (Don't tell anyone you're from Juarez cause they'll throw you back). These were the words of caution my mother reiterated to me every morning as she dressed me for elementary school. As I sat on the couch waiting for our next door neighbor to walk me to school, I incessantly reminded myself not to say anything, promising myself I would not slip, not with the teacher, not with my classmates, not even with my very best friend. I couldn't. I wouldn't. "But why can't I say I'm from Juarez? What's wrong with being from Juarez?" I thought to myself. I did not understand the cause for fear in my mother's voice as she nervously coached me every morning before school. I knew better than to ask out loud.

Regardless of our legal status, there was a constant looming fear that at any given moment, for any given reason, we could be thrown back. My family was disposable. *Mi apá* constantly reminded my sisters and me that we were unwelcome visitors in a home that did not belong to us and that our hostess could retract our welcome at any given moment if we upset her. And so, we treaded lightly, doing the best we could to follow all the rules and not call attention to ourselves. We aimed to achieve and maintain the same invisibility and life in the shadows that many immigrant families do, mindful that having a green card, *los papeles*, did not guarantee us the equal protections or the rights of a citizen. Like so many others, my family provided backbreaking labor for less than minimum pay for the mere chance of having a better life.

My small border town was a tightly-nit community where traditional Mexican family values ruled and many low-income and immigrant families like mine could fulfill their dreams of homeownership (*por muy humilde*) be it ever so humble. It was also undeveloped and marginalized. The weak tax-base provided little support to fund our schools. This had, and continues to have, obvious implications for the quality of education and treatment afforded to us. The student population was entirely Mexican[i] immigrant or first generation, very few generational Mexican Americans. The majority clung tightly to the traditional Mexican values, which resulted in being categorized by the school as the Spanish-speakers who “weren’t going to make it.” There were about a dozen English-only students from the country club five miles north of our little *colonia* who were “the good ones.”

My parents enroll my sisters and me in English-only classes, and not in bilingual education. We needed to be able to defend ourselves in English if needed and we had to do our best to blend in, they reasoned. It was too risky to show who we were, to show who I was. After a few short weeks of smiling and nodding at the nice lady and following my friends’ lead, I was able to pick up the language quickly as many little kids do. Not surprisingly, my encouraged assimilation and perfected English resulted in my teachers labeling me a “good student,” too.

Even at a young age, I could never shake the feeling that a significant part of the reason that I was successful in navigating through my schooling and was favored so much by my teachers was simply because, unlike my peers, I spoke and read perfect English, a language I mastered mostly out of fear. I was not an exceptional student in any other way, not that I couldn’t have been if the challenge had existed. I learned to hide any traces of my Mexican and immigrant identity whenever I was within the confines of the school. I was one of the best students in one of the worst schools that served my small *colonia*.

Whenever I speak of this recollection, most will promptly respond with comforting words reminding me that I’m deserving of my academic accolades. While the reader may view my account as self-deprecating, to me it is simply an honest reflection of my undemanding public education and the way my peers and I were viewed and categorized, accordingly. Rather than making educational opportunities available to all, it was a “gift” or “anointing” that was granted to a select few, mainly to those who rejected or hid their Mexican cultural identity otherwise considered the “English-only crowd.” Even though I was not a direct recipient of the negative remarks by the teachers toward the Spanish-speakers, I knew I had more in common with *those* students the teachers snarled at than the country club students in my advanced placement courses. I was after all *de Juárez*. It became apparent the school did know this about me when I was not among the handpicked few to receive college preparation or advising.

"*Lo único que les podemos ayudar a conseguir es su diploma, ya de ahí no podemos hacer mas por ustedes*." (The only thing we can help you obtain is your [high school] diploma, after that we can't do much for you). My parents' words echoed the same sentiment of other countless immigrant parents—the desire to help their children pursue an education with the hopes that through a high school diploma, they can achieve social mobility and economic stability. Also reflected in their words, are the limitations that immigrant parents face. They could not do more for their kids beyond providing them encouragement to continue their endeavors to obtain the highest degree namely, a high school diploma available through free public education.

This is a degree that requires relentless family support and sacrifices for an immigrant student to achieve. As much as they would have loved to, my parents could not provide us guidance or advice about the possibilities that existed within or beyond a high school diploma. Like millions of children, immigrant or not, my future depended heavily on the support and guidance of the school and teachers. The choice between what they *could* do and what they *would* do for us seemed to ultimately rest on their assessment of our value, both individually and collectively.

My story is not unique. The opportunities afforded to minority and immigrant students are greatly limited by schooling systems that view their language, culture, and histories as a deficit. In my case, most immigrant students and their families view their fearful life in the shadows as a worthwhile tradeoff for a chance at achieving more. Even if it meant an added burden for families and parents, any sacrifice was worth that chance. This illusion oftentimes provides a buffer for the immigrant student but unfortunately; it tends to wear off as the continuous messages depreciating our values are conveyed by the schools. Studies have indicated that while immigrant students tend to outperform their generational counterparts located in the regular track, their achievement waivers the longer an immigrant student is in school (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995;

Valenzuela, 1999). The decline in achievement continues with each successive generation among regular-track youth.

Beyond the need for formal education, the schools play a key role in the adaptation of immigrant students. It is here that the student learns most about their new context and how to navigate through their new norms. Schools can either serve to facilitate their integration or incapacitate a student's drive to learn. Providing immigrant students with a genuine education would require teachers to offer the direct instruction necessary to assist them with the acquisition of a new language while simultaneously providing instruction that is "developmental, multileveled, and appropriate without being too simplistic" (Goodwin, 2002). According to Ogbu (1991) and Olsen (1997), when students are integrating successfully, they will have pro-school orientations and positive perspectives of their schooling experiences in addition to academic achievement.

New school models have emerged in an attempt meet the educational needs of immigrant children. The premise behind newcomer schools is that providing targeted instruction and concentrated resources for immigrant students will facilitate their successful integration into their new school system and academic success. However, scarce research exists to substantiate whether these programs are effective or simply propagate systems of segregation and tracking.

Global High School (pseudonym) was opened in 2004 with the same explicit focus it has today to enable immigrant and refugee students to acquiring the academic skills and English proficiency to achieve high academic standards. The purpose of this study was to identify the sociocultural and sociopolitical supports and practices at this school that foster or hinder this mission. The study is centered on the Mexican immigrant student perspective about the opportunities or barriers that exist; students served as the unit of analysis.

A comparative study titled, *Mexican and Moroccan Immigrant Newcomer Students in Central Texas and Catalonia, Spain: A Pilot Study of Immigrant Adaptation,* was conceptualized and designed by Professor Angela Valenzuela from The University of Texas at Austin, and Professor Jordi Pàmies Rovira from The Autonomous University of Barcelona, in 2010. This thesis is based on the original study and the analysis of the data I collected during the 2011-2012 academic year in a central Texas, two-year high school located in a large Texas city comprised of [provide number] of residents.

In order to identify promising practices that positively impact the academic incorporation of newcomer students in Texas, attention was paid to the school discourse, organizational structures, institutional policies and practices, supports through social resources and services, supports through adult-student relationships, school opportunities, and high-expectations. The central questions in this research study are:

1. What are the sociocultural practices that foster a supportive school climate that promote both achievement and social integration for newcomer students?
2. What school- and community-based resources and strategies do newcomer students draw from in order to promote their own achievement and social integration?
3. What are the students', teachers', and school administrators' perspectives of the newcomer school in central Texas?

The participants were 13 tenth-grade, Mexican immigrant students whose ages ranged from 16 to 17. The participants were 6 male and 7 female, who had attended school for at least one year and who could speak to their schooling experiences in the U.S. Participants were identified by the school administration based on these requirements. Given the 55 tenth-grade student population, the number of students that met the requirement and were willing to participate was limited.

The comparative analysis between the research conducted with Mexican immigrant students in Texas and the Moroccan immigrant students in Catalonia, Spain, is pending. These two groups share common features such as a history of colonization, minority status, discrimination, and poor educational outcomes (Gibson & Carrasco, 2009). The two schools in Spain were selected based on similar newcomer school structures and location in large urban, areas. These characteristics provide an effective comparison to Mexican immigrant students in this study.

---

[i] The terms "Mexican" and "Mexican immigrant" are used to refer to Mexico-born persons. I use the term "Spanish-speaker" to refer to Mexico and Latin-born persons. The term "refugee" is used to refer to persons designated refugee or asylee status by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. I use "immigrant" to refer to all non-refugee persons. The term "overall student" are used to refer to the Mexican, Spanish-speaker, and refugee persons. The term "administrator" is used in reference to the principal, project specialist, instructional specialist, and social worker.

Background & Significance

ORIENTATION – SCHOOL STRUCTURE

The majority of the Global High School's classrooms are currently located in a new unattached wing of the Southside High School (pseudonym) campus. Only four classrooms are found in the main building immediately outside the new wing. This new wing does not reflect the decades of erosion as the rest of the school buildings. The walls are brightly painted, sunlight fills the school, and a welcome mat and plants adorn the entrance.

The school has reportedly served students from 20 different countries. The enrollment published by the Texas Education Agency (TEA) Academic Excellence Indicator System (AEIS) for 2011-12 was 155 total enrollment (TEA, 2012). However, this number fluctuates constantly due to the high number of students that enroll or dis-enroll throughout the course of the year. The school provided me with the enrollment numbers for the last day of school (LDS) retrieved from the school's TEA data system. The LDS enrollment for the same academic year was 172 students. The intermittent arrival of refugee and immigrant students at Global results in the LDS enrollment to be higher than the AEIS enrollment, unlike most schools where the AEIS number is usually higher.

The racial and ethnic breakdown for the year was as follows: Asian 22%, Black 5%, Hispanic 67%, and White 6%. Of these, 22 (13%) were classified as asylee/refugee as designated by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and 150 (87%) were classified as immigrant students. School staff included the principal, an instructional coach, school counselor, attendance clerk, social worker, project specialist, registrar, and 14.5 teachers. Global counts with a network of community volunteers and sponsors who are said to assist with collecting food, clothes, and money. They also assist with the provision of health and social services for students and their families. Global, is an opt-in alternative school, meaning that newcomer students in the district are not required to attend but are given the option.

Global High School was a ninth-grade campus their first year and added tenth-grade the following year; the school does not serve eleventh- or twelfth-grade students. These recently arrived students are often referred to simply as "newcomers." As a policy, Global only serves students that are entering the ninth grade, ages 14 to 16, with no prior schooling in the U.S. Though immigrant students are still required to take the standardized tests, they are exempt for three years from having their scores affect the school's rating. By setting these restrictions on who can attend, Global is protected from ever being rated as academically unacceptable.

Unfortunately, these restrictions also mean that Global does not qualify as a Texas, Title I Priority School under No Child Left Behind, which provides additional federal funding for low-income, serving schools as long as they are subjected to high-stakes testing requirements. The average amount awarded within the district for 2010-2011 was an additional $604 per student in addition to the funding weighted average daily attendance (TEA, 2012). That is approximately an additional $90,000 of federal funding the school did not qualify to receive. The school is funded through allocated district money, which is up to par with the average school spending throughout the district (TEA, 2012). Global High School does not have the funding to pay for additional resources that would assist their refugee and immigrant population.

Global High School's student enrollment has been declining over the years. Table 1 illustrates the enrollment trends, adapted from the AEIS reports (TEA, 2006-2012) and LDS enrollment.

	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
AEIS	280	260	190	217	237	180	155
LDS	N/A	N/A	N/A	238	241	192	174
Hispanic LDS	N/A	N/A	N/A	175	171	118	117
Percentage Hispanic	N/A	N/A	N/A	74%	71%	61%	67%

Table 1: Global High School student enrollment rates. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012)

The staff believed that Global's declining numbers are partly due to the lack of awareness by other district high schools about the program they offer. Other factors mentioned by the staff were the current anti-immigrant discourses in the U.S. and the economic downturn that sent many families back to Mexico, but no conclusive data on this exists. As seen in Table 2 below, however, what is apparent is that these decreases are paralleled in the aggregate for the school district over a four-year period.

The Hispanic student enrollment constitutes the largest portion of the student population. The breakdown by country of origin was not available, however, staff and administration stated Mexican students are the highest subgroup of the Hispanic population in the school. Hispanics are predominantly Mexican while the rest of the student population varies. While the overall enrollment for the district has been steadily increasing, the enrollment of immigrant, predominantly Mexican-origin students saw a decrease over the same four-year period from 2006-2010 as shown in Table 2 (TEA, 2011b).

	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Total District Enrollment	82,140	82,564	83,483	84,676
Number of Immigrant[1] Students in the District	3,861	3,550	3,256	2,879
Percentage of Immigrant Students in the District	4.7%	4.3%	3.9%	3.4%

Table 2: District student enrollment. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2011b)

Students are isolated for various reasons from interacting with Southside High School students. With the exception of a few classrooms, Global is found in a separate wing that is not connected to the main building. There is minimal, if any, interaction between the students. The only opportunity for this interaction is if the Global student is enrolled in an elective like band or choir that is offered at Southside. The lunch schedule during the spring semester was setup to eliminate overlap between the two schools. It was purposefully done by Global administration that reported having difficulty supervising students from both schools. This resulted in Global students being further segregated and isolated from interacting with other students, which will is discussed in Chapter 3.

In 2010-2011, the reported average years of experience for all Global teachers was 5.8 years (TEA, 2012). A considerable number of teachers began their careers at Global, including four of the six teachers that were interviewed. None of the teachers had previously considered working with English language learners (ELL) and found themselves initially at Global due to a lack of work options. Furthermore, none of the six teachers were certified to teach English as a Second Language (ESL) prior to being hired. Their positions were contingent upon their obtaining certification before the beginning of their hired year.

---

[1] Under Title III of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, the terms "immigrant children and youth" are defined as, individuals who are ages 3 through 21, were not born in any state, and have not been attending one or more schools in any one or more states for more than 3 full academic years (TEA, 2011).

The school district does not provide any additional resources outside of those already available to the entire district. Due to budget cuts, the school has lost numerous teaching and staff positions over the last few years. Although Global serves a special population, no special supports, funding, or training[2] are available for the school, administration, and staff.

THE DISAPPEARING LATINO POPULATION AT GLOBAL

I noticed the rapidly declining student population the first time I accessed the Academic Excellency Indicator System (AEIS) reports for the school. Unfortunately, because of the small student population, the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (U.S. Department of Education, 2012) applies meaning that AEIS did not publicly share scores, ethnicity breakdowns, or any information that could possibly identify any students. The school population steadily declined as the year progressed. Before I commenced interviews, four of the original fourteen participants left.

As I worked with the school to identify new participants, I was surprised by the few students enrolled at Global that met the study requirements shared in the introduction, considering we were in a large metropolitan city in Texas in a district that reports having 2,879 total immigrant population. Furthermore, of the 155 total student population, about 50 were tenth graders, meaning that 105 were ninth graders. Global does not accept new, tenth-grade students; they are required to attend and complete the ninth-grade in order to qualify to attend as tenth graders. The large difference between the two grade levels seemed strange to me as an observer from the outside though it was never raised as an issue by faculty or staff from within.

The district provides "leaver codes' to document the reason why students do not return to the school. According to the attendance clerk, the most common codes are: NR-enrolled outside the district, 82-enrolled outside the state, 98-dropout/other/unknown, and 16-left to home country. Of these, the clerk shared the most commonly used code is 16-

---

[2] An ELL instructional model was implemented 2007-2010 academic years but has not been maintained since.

left to home country. Other staff went on to share that there have been instances where some of the code 16 students were seen around the neighborhood working at local businesses. In some cases, it is reported the school administration responded by visiting the home address on the student's record, but that they were usually unsuccessful in locating them.

The last day of school (LDS) counts were used to calculate the return trends among students. The reported dropout rate for Global is based on the published AEIS reports, which tended to reflect a lower student population than LDS. The number of tenth-grade students for a give year was subtracted from the number of ninth-grade students the previous year to calculate how many students did not return. This number accounts for the overall student population that did not return for the tenth grade. Table 3 illustrates the student return trends at Global.

	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Total Population in Grade 9	154	159	122	123
Total Population in Grade 10	62	82	70	51
Overall student population that did not return for grade 10	N/A	72	89	71
Percentage of overall students that did not return for grade 10	N/A	47%	56%	58%
Reported AEIS dropout rate for Global	3.5%	2.4%	5.8%	N/A

Table 3: Global High School students that do not return for the 10th grade (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012)

Approximately 1 of every 2 students do not return for the tenth-grade at Global. Over the last three academic school years, 232 of their overall student population did not return to Global to complete the tenth grade. These counts were then broken down further based on ethnicity to calculate the number and percentage of Hispanic students at Global High School that did not return.

	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Total Hispanic Population in Grade 9	126	99	77	88
Total Hispanic Population in Grade 10	49	72	41	29
Number of Hispanics that did not return for grade 10	N/A	54	58	48
Percentage of Hispanics that did not return for grade 10	N/A	43%	59%	62%
Hispanic representation in the overall student population that did not return for grade 10	N/A	75%	65%	68%
Reported AEIS drop-out rate for Global	3.5%	2.4%	5.8%	N/A

Table 4: Global High School Hispanic students that do not return for the 10th grade. (Source: Texas Education Agency, 2006-2012 and Last Day of School reports)

More than half of the Hispanic—mostly Mexican, student population did not return to Global for the tenth-grade over the past two years. There were students from other ethnicities that did not return to tenth-grade, however, given their small population size, no trends were noticeable. Approximately 7 out of 10 students that did not return to

Global were Hispanic. Over the last three academic school years, 160 of their Hispanic immigrant student population did not return to Global to complete the tenth grade. Leaver Codes were not accessible for me to confirm how many of these were coded as “16-left to home country.” Regardless, comparing the number of students that did not return with the reported AEIS dropout rate, points to the likelihood of an underreporting of student dropouts. Unfortunately, there is no school or district plan or focus that tracks these students’ trajectories through to graduation.

This rate is consistent with Valenzuela et al. (2006) who found that in a “large, urban Texas school district…more than half of English Language Learners (ELLs) disappeared between their 9th and 10th grade years.” Further, this study indicated that the highest rates of ELL student disappearance were in schools that had a population of less than 25% White students. The highest disappearance rate was also found in schools where more than 75% of the students are considered economically disadvantaged (Valenzuela et al. 2006). Both descriptors are accurate for Global High School. The similarity in disappearance rates and descriptors is alarming given that Valenzuela et al. (2006) estimated that only 20% of “limited English Proficient” (LEP) students graduated and approximately 50% of the LEP students met graduation status and eligibility. I cannot account for the whereabouts of the disappeared Global students. Further research and better policies and practices related to tracking these youth are needed.

Literature Review of Mexican-origin Students & U.S. Schooling

The Mexican American and immigrant community has been stereotyped as undervaluing education, providing the rationale to maintain a deficit view of the students, families, and their culture (Urrieta, 2010; Valencia 2002; 2010; 2011). This deficit mindset serves to deflect the causes of the high student failure onto them rather than onto the oppressive systems that account for the education inequity (Valencia, 2002; 2010; 2011). This is clearly a fallacy considering the continuous fight for equitable education that extends as far back as the incorporation of Texas into the U.S. (Urrieta, 2010; Valencia 2002). In the following section, I provide brief sociohistorical context of the Mexican people and continue on to a review of the literature on theories and other works that aid in the analysis of Mexican immigrant students attending Global High School.

SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

The oldest Spanish settlements in Texas date back to the end of the 16th century, first emerging in the El Paso area where I am from and reaching central Texas by the mid-18th century (Acuña, 2011). In 1848, the Mexican American war came to an end with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, setting the official boundary between Texas and Mexico along the Rio Grande (Acuña, 2011). This is what scholars refer to as the second colonization of the Mexican people by Anglos who were in turn motivated by Manifest Destiny, a political doctrine that claimed it was God's will the United States expand (Acuña, 2011, Blauner, 2001, McLemore & Romo, 1998). This is the beginning of the "paternalistic patterns of interaction" (Matute-Bianchi, 1991, p. 211) between the Anglo and Mexican and the end of equality and citizenship for the Mexican people.

Border and immigration control in Texas and the rest of the country has historically been enforced based on the need and demand for cheap, immigrant labor, spurring the rapid growth of the Mexican population during certain periods. Though migrating provided a source of income for Mexicans, Foley et al. (1988) remind us that Mexican immigrants did not achieve economic success through their migration, enduring poor working and living conditions. Periods of economic growth and stability for the Anglos in the state have been marked by continued discrimination, great disparities in income, and poor education of minority groups, with generational Mexican and immigrant people usually bearing the brunt of limited opportunity (Acuña, 2011; Clayson, 2010).

After World War II, the living conditions for most Mexican people in Texas were very serious, resulting in high infant and childhood mortality rates due to the "lack of basic health and sanitation infrastructure" (Clayson, 2010, p. 16). As the need for farm laborers decrease, many rural minority members were pushed into the city in search of jobs. "By 1960 nearly 75 percent of Mexican Americans and African Americans lived in cities" (Clayson, 2010, p. 17). Chavez (2008) states that in 1965 fears of "reverse conquest" were first evoked through propaganda about immigrants, with Mexican people now being cast by certain right-wing political factions as a group trying to invade.

Texas is the state where the abuses from vigilante groups such as the White Caps and Minute Men in 1890s evolved into institutionalized racism and oppression through the Texas Rangers in 1822 and later the Border Patrol in 1924 (Hernandez, 2010; McLemore & Romo, 1998). Under the guise of "protecting" the U.S. from a Mexican "takeover," all of these groups have enforced and maintained a legacy of sanctioned violence and brutality against the Mexican people (Acuña, 2011; De Leon, 1983; Hernandez, 2010; McLemore & Romo, 1998). The Border Patrol was established to maintain migration control, which was broadly defined. Indeed, Border Patrol "violence introduced a new way of marking the meaning of race in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands" (Hernandez, 2010, p. 45).

While the history of Mexicans in Texas predates the presence of Anglos by more than two centuries, the former have been consistently constructed as "illegal"—inherently criminal—foreigners invading the U.S. that refuse to assimilate into "whitestream" America (Urrieta, 2010), resulting in their exclusion from the construct of "American citizenship" (Chavez, 2008). Chavez (2008) explains that "Latinos are an alleged threat because of this history and social identity, which supposedly make their integration difficult and imbue them, particularly Mexican people, with a desire to remain socially apart as they prepare for a reconquest of the U.S. Southwest" (p. 3).

Global High School is located within a large central Texas City that was established in the mid-1800s, in the geographic heart of this oppressive history. More precisely, it is located on the Southside High School campus, a school that has historically served a majority Mexican American population. Southside has suffered a long, sordid past of segregation, racism, and neglect by the district, stemming back to when it first opened in 1960.

The City Plan in 1928 was put in place to "relocate and segregate" African Americans to a side of town that was already predominantly Mexican American. Later, the landmark case, *Brown v. Board of Education* declared school segregation unconstitutional in 1954 (Acuña, 2011). The school district filed numerous appeals, refusing to abide, going so far as to argue in court in 1972 that Mexican Americas were a distinct race and, thus, not protected by the 14th amendment's, Equal Protection clause (Walsh, 2012). The district finally agreed to desegregate almost 30 years after *Brown v. Board*.

The racist legacy of the city and district are still very much alive and active as community continues to suffer the same oppressive treatment even if obscured by ostensibly racially neutral school, district, and city policies. They continue to fight the district for equitable resources, fair treatment, and a vote on the future of their school as the district threatens its closure. Indeed, the section of the city where Global is located is experiencing gentrification as more white, middle-class families set their eyes on its good location, driving property taxes to an unaffordable level for most minorities that still live in the area. The rate of gentrification, however, has been slowed by the present economic slump and the exact location of Global may be aptly characterized as somewhat of an outpost that one might characterize as reflecting urban blight with poor roads, decaying infrastructure, liquor stores, and an overall loss of social capital due to the large numbers of residents that flee to the city's outer rungs as a response to increasing property taxes that make their current living arrangements increasingly unaffordable.

In short, this history of racism brings to question the district's decisions to 1) create a school that segregates and isolates refugee and immigrant students on one campus and 2) place this school on the Southside campus when the majority of the student population is bussed-in, meaning that the school could have easily been placed on any district campus, including one that offered stability and access to proper resources.

THE "WHITESTREAM" SCHOOLING OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

One of the most perplexing questions for an educator—knowing no genetic or intellectual differences exist—why do certain groups of students systematically perform better than others? Academic gaps and low levels of attainment persist among minority groups. Another well-known fact is that educational opportunities are not readily available to all. Among Latinos, of whom the majority is Mexican-descent, attainment levels are the lowest of any group with only 81 percent, ages 25-29, obtaining a high school diploma. This figure is even lower for non-citizen, Latinos with only 40% (Gibson et al. 2004).

The late, renowned anthropologist, John Ogbu, developed his hypothesis of voluntary/involuntary minorities to provide an explanatory framework that helped to account for these differences among minority groups. According to Ogbu (1974; 1991; 1998; 2008), each group has a cultural model of schooling but the dominant group's model provides the framework against which the understanding of actions and events are interpreted. Expressed differently, U.S.-born, minority groups generally adhere to the dominant cultural model through their cultural assimilation and follow its rules and logics. Drawing from Blauner (2001), they do so as colonized minorities. Different minority groups' histories and experiences will determine the success that minorities will have within the dominant group's model, as well as how the dominant group will recognize them.

Mexican immigrant students entering U.S. schools are voluntary minorities that have, to an extent, willingly entered a new country in order to improve their status and not feel their new context as forced upon them. While refugees are not necessarily in the

U.S. voluntarily, they tend to exhibit similar “attitudes and behaviors of immigrant minorities which lead to school success” (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 165). All of the students at Global may therefore be characterized as voluntary minorities who enter a ‘whitestream’ schooling context. Involuntary minorities are those that have been “conquered, colonized, or enslaved” such as indigenous people and Mexican Americans (Ogbu, 1991; 1998).

Immigrant students experience their new context and schooling with the sense of an opportunity to achieve an education measured against the chances of further cultivating their literacy skills and culture competencies in their native language. Though immigrant students could consider this process of acculturation as additive initially, it can ultimately feel like forced assimilation if the school does not embrace their culture, ensuring an oppositional stance from the student (Gibson, 1988; Valenzuela, 1999). While Mexican immigrants enter voluntarily, it is the pressure to culturally assimilate that over time, renders them somewhat indistinguishable from their U.S.-born, Mexican American peers. Although the time frame that it takes for them to become, in effect, involuntary varies (especially see Valenzuela, 1999, who discusses this in the context of the 1.5 generation youth), the important point to underscore are the institutional pressures to de-identify from Mexican immigrant and Mexican American culture (Ogbu, 1991; 1998; Valenzuela, 1999).

Further, Ogbu identified what he calls the cultural-ecological framework (1998, 2004) in which systems within the school, as well as outside of the school, influence the academic performance of a minority. The two driving forces of this framework are “the system,” such as the policies and practices at play to which minorities respond and the “community forces” which are the historical and structural forces that account for their current oppression. The ecology is the setting in which the interplay of these two forces act. This drives the subsequent collective response of a minority group and ultimately materializes in oppositional behaviors.

Immigrant Mexican students do not initially perceive their schooling as ‘subtractive,’ taking away the students’ cultures and languages, since students initially consider their migration experience as an additive opportunity—that is, they get to go to school, learn English and assimilate to American (whitestream) culture. However, schools ultimately subtract from their experience by being dismissive of their previous education and forcing assimilation. Valenzuela's (1999) study found that among regular-track youth representing the majority of all students in her case study of a Houston, inner-city, school first-generation, immigrant Mexican youth tend to outperform U.S.-born, later-generation counterparts. Mexican youth in regular track schooling. School achievement for students may decline with each successive generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vigil, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). This has great implications in analyzing the interactions that occur within a school like Global that serves refugee and immigrant students from various nationalities.

Methodology

A comparative study titled *Mexican and Moroccan Immigrant Newcomer Students in Central Texas and Catalonia, Spain: A Pilot Study of Immigrant Adaptation* was conceptualized and designed by Professor Angela Valenzuela, The University of Texas at Austin, and Professor Jordi Pàmies Rovira, The Autonomous University of Barcelona, in 2010. The study was not conducted as anticipated during the 2010-111 school year due to a staff shortage in the central district administration that would have otherwise enabled multiple research requests within the district. Incidentally, the district is situated in a location surrounded by several universities. This means that they regularly manage numerous requests from research faculty and graduate students conducting research in the district. While the district had indeed received an earlier version of the proposal that I eventually resubmitted, it was for naught because of these shifts.

I eagerly accepted this opportunity and carried out the study during the 2011-2012 academic year. The comparative analysis between the research conducted in Texas and Catalonia, Spain, is pending. The study was approved by the Institute Review Board from The University of Texas at Austin in September 2010 and granted approval for continuation January 2012. The study had the full support and knowledge of The Research Center for Migration at The Autonomous University of Barcelona.

DESIGN

After obtaining permission from the school district and school principal, in-depth, qualitative data were collected throughout the 2011-2012 academic year. In addition to semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, and administrators, numerous informal conversations were also noted. Observations of the school day and events were conducted on an almost weekly basis throughout the end of the fall semester and most of the spring semester. Documentary data such as the calendar of events, flyers, letters to the parents, and other materials were collected. All participants were guaranteed confidentiality and their signed consent was obtained. For student participants, consent was also obtained from their parent or guardian. Interviews were digitally recorded but the participants were told I was willing to turn off the recorder at any point if they became uncomfortable.

PARTICIPANTS & SETTING

The original goal of the study was to interview 16 ninth-grade, Mexican immigrant students, 8 male and 8 female, who had attended school for at least one year and who could speak to their schooling experiences in the U.S.. However, the school only admits ninth-grade students who have no prior schooling. Thus, it was necessary to revise the proposal to include tenth-grade students whose ages ranged from 16 to 17. This generated approximately 14 hours of data that were subsequently transcribed and coded for analysis as discussed further below.

Participants were identified by the school administration based on the research criteria. Under the advisement of the school administration, students were given an invitation to attend an informal meeting during their lunch hour to learn about the study and to request their participation. The final number of participants was 13, seven females and six males, who were interviewed at least once. They are (pseudonyms): Adalia, Antonio, Rocio, Eduardo, Roberto, Adan, Hector, Jimena, Ana, Saul, Laura, Monica, and Miriam (see Appendix A for a student table with descriptors on the students). The interviews were conducted in a conference room on campus during the students' lunch hour, advisory period, or during a regular class period only if removing the student did not interrupt classroom instruction and with the advanced consent of the teacher.

The school administration was very welcoming and accommodating. They offered me use of a desk located at the center of some administrative offices and granted me access not only to the school but also to their resources such as a computer, printer, and other materials. Knowing how scarce supplies are at public schools, I was appreciative of this gesture and their hospitality but avoided using their resources. I did however make use of the vacant desk. The school staff generated reports on information that I had requested, including data like student schedules and demographic data that was not accessible to me through public reporting. They also gave me a mailbox so that I could receive the same notices and information given to the teachers and students. I reciprocated by being amenable to the school's needs: I avoided being intrusive, assisted with hallway and lunchtime monitoring, and helped with menial tasks.

Throughout the course of the study, the principal, project specialist, the social worker, five teachers, and the instructional specialist were interviewed in their classrooms or offices. The instructional specialist splits his Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) position to serve as a teacher, as well. His responses were included in the analysis of the teacher data for questions regarding his teaching position as well as in the administrator analysis for his duties in that position. The grades and subjects taught by the six teachers were: ninth-grade English, ninth-grade math, tenth-grade science, tenth-grade biology, tenth-grade English, and world history. These teachers were selected because they taught core subject areas and could speak to their perceptions of the students when they first arrived to the tenth-grade and to the students' current standing in the tenth grade.

They were asked a series of questions about their teaching backgrounds, experiences, working conditions at the school, and perceptions about the Mexican students and their families. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted throughout the duration of their prep period, 45 to 60 minutes. In one instance, the teacher wanted to continue the conversation so a second interview was conducted. The final portion of the interviews consisted of naming each of the student participants for the teacher to comment on their academic ability and family life; four of the teachers answered this portion of the interview while the remaining two were unavailable to complete this section. Administrators were asked questions pertaining to their roles and perceptions of the students. Their responses are integrated throughout the analysis when addressing school structure and policies.

ANALYSIS

Background data and descriptors were documented for the students, administrators, and teachers. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded using Dedoose qualitative analysis software to identify themes. These were then subcategorized based on the emerging findings and by ethnic or grouping terms when possible. Observation and archival data was reviewed to identify themes.

In addition to being coded for themes, administration and teacher interviews were searched for the following ethnic and grouping terms: “Latin,” “Mexic,” “Spanish,” “Hispan,” “refugee,” and “asylee.” The second search included terms such as the following: “student,” “kid,” “child,” “boy,” “girl.” The second search was done with the intention of identifying instances where the “overall” student population was being addressed without ethnic or grouping terms. Dialogue where multiple terms appear within a single response, were reviewed and counted based on the number of topics and groups that were being addressed. These were then recorded as positive, negative, or neutral usage. In instances where they spoke only to a specific nationality or ethnicity, these were also counted, albeit as a single instance.

The findings that emerged in the interviews, term usage, observation, and archival data were crosschecked to see if they supported or rejected findings.

LIMITATIONS

Given that the project was conceptualized and approved in 2010, previous research assistants collected some data such as interviews and archival information. These interviews were not included in my analysis. I did however review a draft proposal that contained general information on the school. It is unknown whether this draft proposal was the one that had actually been submitted earlier to the district.

There were a total of 55 tenth-grade students from various nationalities enrolled at Global High School during the course of the study, limiting the number of students who met the research criteria. Unfortunately, within my sample of pre-selected students, four students that agreed to participate withdrew from the school before interviews commenced.

Though the focus of this study was on Mexican immigrant students, the administrators' and teachers' reflections tended to stray into speaking about the student population as a whole, including the refugee student population, when answering questions. When conversations were redirected toward the Mexican students, they were inclined to speak on behalf of all Latino students, often referring to them as Spanish-speakers. Because of this, I interchangeably use Latino and Spanish-speakers. I identify instances when they did talk specifically about Mexican or Latino students. Otherwise, the working assumption is that teacher and administrator responses are geared toward the inclusion of the entire student population. This in itself has many implications to be discussed later.

Chapter 1: Mexican Immigrant Students at Global

I had the privilege of learning from thirteen of Global High School's Mexican immigrant students: Adalia, Antonio, Rocio, Eduardo, Roberto, Adan, Hector, Jimena, Ana, Saul, Laura, Monica, and Miriam. They shared with me stories about their lives in Mexico, their migration journeys, and the changes they have experienced since arriving in the U.S. The students opened up to me about their perceptions of the school and teachers. They allowed me to learn about the dreams that inspired them to make the journey as well as their future hopes and aspirations (see Appendix A for student descriptors).

It was not uncommon for the students to respond to questions by using their dual frame of reference, meaning that they answered through a comparison of their previous experiences with their current experience in mind (Ogbu, 1991; Suárez-Orozco, 1991; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, if I asked them to describe Global, students would respond with statements like "*No era bonita como esta"* ("It wasn't as pretty as this one.") or "*No teníamos libros como aquí*" ("We didn't have books like here"). This was a common practice as the conversations went on.

STUDENT STORIES

The interviews began with inquiries about the student's life in Mexico and their perceptions on the migration experience. Not surprisingly, no two students came from the same place or took the same path to get here but similarities quickly arose. It did not matter if they came from a farm, a small town, or a large city. They described their previous home, the friends they left behind, and extended family members with a mix of reverence and sadness. They spoke of the joy in reuniting with parents or siblings they seldom saw, the excitement of moving to the U.S., and the pain of leaving loved ones behind.

Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) remind us that "individuals do not migrate—families and other social groups do" (p. 55). For most, the decision to migrate was made together as a family, not one merely forced upon the student. Many of the students experienced the family migration as a gradual process with members moving to the U.S. years prior and securing a home. There were instances where one or both parents worked in the U.S. Some could only afford to visit Mexico a few times a year—like the fathers of Ana and Adalia—while others, like Eduardo and Miriam, went more than a decade without seeing their parents. For nine of the families in this study, their migration served to reunite the nuclear family. Most of the student participants subsequently found themselves living in the U.S. with both parents. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) found that 85% of the 84 Mexican families in their study migrated separately and, at some point during the migration, 82% were separated from their father, 42% from their mother, and 40% were separated from both parents at some point during migration.

For Ana and her family, migrating to the U.S. was decades in the making. Her father had been working in the U.S. for more than half of his life, leaving shortly after marrying at the age of 19. His young bride stayed behind, caring for elderly family members and raising their family, which grew to include nine children. He visited as frequently as he could which meant a trip once a month or once a year. They made the decision as a family to migrate after 25 years of this arrangement. This required the approval of the entire sibling group, ages 12-24, whom she shared rarely do anything alone, "*Nos preguntaron, ya después todos mis hermanos y yo nos pusimos de acuerdo y le dijimos que si*" ("They asked, later my siblings and I agreed and told our parents yes."). Ana and her siblings were pursuing greater *oportunidades* (opportunities) that included the chance to continue their education. The older four brothers made the journey first with the younger siblings and mother joining later. This was a bittersweet trip for Ana whose oldest married sister stayed behind. Ana shared:

> M*i hermana mayor, siempre nos apoyan en todo…ella siempre me ayudo con todo* (My oldest sister, she always supported us…she always helped me with everything).

Even in situations where the student made the journey alone, it was under the guidance of family members like siblings or extended family that already lived in the

U.S. Hector and Saul had siblings living in the U.S. for many years prior, while Antonio joined his aunt and uncle. Monica and Miriam moved to reunite with their mothers who had established homes years before in Texas. All of the participants had the support of family members regardless of which side of the border they lived on. The decisions for the Mexican immigrant youth were ultimately based on the perception that they could achieve more and acquire greater economic stability in the U.S., which is corroborated by other studies (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Valenzuela, 1999).

The ever-mystified *oportunidades* (opportunities) were the driving force for the students and their families who came in search of what they had been denied in Mexico and believed would be accessible in the U.S. Among these were the opportunities to be a homeowner, buy a car, and to "be someone." Hector described the difficulty of finding these opportunities back at home where he states they are only accessible by those who have the means:

> *Porque, los que tienen algo mejor [en México], como que pueden llegar a estudiar una carrera, tienen dinero… son muchísima gente la que quiere tener una carrera. Hacer una carrera allá, pero de cualquier cosa tienes que pagar mucho y no todos entran al colegio* (Because, those who have something better [in Mexico], they can study a career, they have money… there are many people that want to have a career. Build a career there, but [for any career] you have to pay a lot and not everyone gets into college).

Many of the student participants and their families decided to migrate shortly after the student completed *la secundaria*, the equivalent of junior high. This is the highest level of free public education available in Mexico. This was viewed as a favorable time to migrate by some families since it would allow the student the advantage of transitioning into high school without interrupting their education. The opportunity to continue their education was the main consideration for Antonio and Saul who said, "*Porque cuando iba a salir de la secundaria me dijeron que si quería estudiar aquí o allá y yo les dije que aquí*" (When I was finishing junior high they asked me if I wanted to study here or there and I said here (meaning the U.S.)". The majority of participants in this study do not have any gaps in their schooling. They enrolled in the semester immediately after arriving or transferring in during the school year.

LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

Students often mentioned the central role their families play in their lives. This often included an extended network of siblings who worked in conjunction to sustain the household and worked toward achieving their dreams. Using 2000 Census data, Hernandez et al. (2008) found that 92% of Mexican immigrant families have a working father but a high proportion (30-44%) of all immigrant groups do not have full-time work. Hence, by implication, the presence of working siblings is a common experience.

Ana's four older siblings and parents were working toward their goal of home ownership, which required them to make sacrifices such as opting for a smaller apartment:

> *Bien, nos la pasamos bien todos. Todos convivimos enveses porque unos se van a trabajar primero y después otros… unos duermen de día y unos de noche* (Good, we are all have a good time. We sometimes interact because some go to work first then others after… some sleep during the day and others at night).

Immigrant youth generally find themselves in similar situations since they are four times as likely than non-immigrant youth to live in overcrowded housing, possibly affecting their behavioral adjustment in schools (Hernandez et al. 2008).

Few of the students held jobs because family members encouraged them to focus on their education instead. This was a request not easily accepted by the students, especially the male students, who felt a sense of responsibility to contribute to the household. Hector worked alongside his brothers during the weekend as a painter while Antonio and Eduardo worked at fast food restaurants throughout the week. Adan's father and older brothers remove asbestos for a living but refused to let him help, opting for him to work with his mother at a restaurant, instead.

In describing their new homes, students mentioned that they lived in smaller spaces with more people and in isolation. Monica, Adalia, and Ana mentioned fear of their new communities. They had been told by friends and family that it was not safe to go out or be out in their community. Monica offered the following description when comparing her hometown in Mexico to the large urban city she now lives in:

> *[Donde vivía] era así bien bonito, muy, no había así como que personas malas. Ahí podía salir o no cuando quisiera, bueno no tanto verdad porque en otros lugares ahí casi cerquita, así era poco peligros [en México] pero ahí donde yo vivía no… pues, aquí me han contado que supuestamente es casi peligroso salir, así como de noche no.* ([Where I lived] it was pretty, very, there were no bad people there. There, I could go out whenever I wanted, well not that far but to places close by, it was dangerous there [in Mexico] but not where I lived…well, here they've told me that supposedly it's almost dangerous to go out, like not [to go out] at night).

A few of the male participants reported being told the same thing but this did not seem to preoccupy them as much as it did for the female students. The percentage of Global students categorized as economically disadvantaged by the district in 2010-2011 was 98.9% (TEA, 2012). Given their socioeconomic status, one can assume that like many other immigrant children, the majority of Global students live in urban neighborhoods that are high poverty (Hernandez et al. 2008), segregated, and possibly violent (Suárez-Orozco, 2009; Waters, 1999). Only Monica shared a personal experience that accounts for her perception, which is discussed later.

ENTERING A NEW SCHOOLING CONTEXT

While entering a new high school is difficult for any teenagers, these students were entering a completely new schooling context they knew nothing about. Students expressed anxiety and fear when describing their concerns over their English language limitations, not knowing what the schools would be like, or how they would be treated. Adalia voiced her concern, "*¡No, pues a mi me dio mucho miedo!* (I was very afraid!). Working past their fear of the unknown, students and their families braved a visit to their neighborhood high school to enroll.

When these neighborhood schools realized the students were recently arrived immigrants, they sometimes administered the Language Assessment System (LAS) test or simply sent them to Global High School so that they could assume responsibility for these students. Students are not mandated to attend Global, however, some of the participants stated otherwise, having been told by their neighborhood school it was not optional. Ana shared:

> *Fuimos a la escuela para ver si podíamos entrar ahí… una consejera nos dijo que no nos podían aceptar… en esa escuela supuestamente nadie habla español ahí.* We went to school to see if we could enroll there ... a counselor told us we could not be accept... supposedly no one speaks Spanish.

Their fear and concerns remained unsettled for these students as their neighborhood schools offered them a cold reception. Students who willingly visited Global and those sent involuntarily talked about the relief they felt after hearing Spanish being spoken throughout the school. Adalia shared her initial experience:

> *Yo pensé que nadie iba a hablar Español. Pero ya después me dijeron que venían de muchas partes, que casi la mayoría era de México. Y cuando entre, me dijeron que los maestros, que casi todos hablaban Español. Y dije, no pues ya me salve* (I thought that nobody would speak Spanish. But then they said [students] came from many places, that almost all were from Mexico. And when I entered, they told me most of the teachers spoke Spanish. So I said, I'm saved).

Global students are majority Latino, mostly Mexican-Origin, Spanish-speakers and it is not uncommon to hear Spanish throughout the hallways and in the classrooms. One of the main reasons students and their families chose Global is because they heard Spanish being spoken during their visit. Secondly, they were told Global provided the additional supports necessary to acquire English more quickly than their local neighborhood school. "*Me dijeron que podía venir a esta escuela, que era como especializada en lenguajes*" ("They told me I could come to this school, that it specialized in languages"), stated Jimena.

I asked the students to describe their initial impressions of Global. I also asked them to describe the school the way they would to a friend or cousin considering attending Global. The responses were positive but simply described the teachers and school as "good." When I pushed for more, there were many long pauses as they contemplated answers, finally resorting to using their dual frame of reference to jump back and forth between Global and their previous school. Jimena's initial response in talking about Global was, "*No, pues, bonita, diferente. Pues allá estaba la escuela bien fea. Si estaban grandes pero no hay como esta. Toda como descubierta, nada mas los salones estaban como tapados*" ("No, well, pretty, different. Over there the school was real ugly. Yes it was big but not like this one. It was exposed, only the classrooms were covered").

The three common responses used to describe Global against their previous schools were as follows: Greater availability of resources and materials, larger school and smaller classroom sizes, and increased effort by their teachers, as Antonio shares in the following:

> *Que se ve igual, bueno las clases y eso, como aquí son mas cortos, aquí hay muy poquitos estudiantes y te ponen mas atención a lo que estas haciendo y allá no.* (That looks the same, well the classes and all that, here they are shorter, there's very few students and they [teachers] pay more attention to what you're doing and not over there [in Mexico]).

Saul agreed:

> *Y esta mejor, obvio, que en México estar aquí, mas, como mas recursos como las computadoras, libros, aunque también hay libros pero como que están mas interesantes los libros de aquí.* (Its better, obviously, being here than in Mexico, more resources like computers, books, there's books there, too, but they are not as interesting as the books here).

Students spoke automatically about differences in the school buildings and materials while it took more effort on my part to redirect conversations back to the teachers and staff. True to the existing research, the students regarded their teachers in positive terms but did not speak of them as integral influences in their lives (Valenzuela, 1999). Of special interest was the perception of the students in describing Global teachers as "responsible." I will address this later in the learning and engagement section.

The Mexican immigrant students were motivated to migrate by the same forces that draw millions to this country, namely, the pursuit of the economic stability and educational opportunities that their families lack in their home country. Migrating served to reunite many of them with parents while a few put themselves in the hands of siblings or extended family members for support. Many stated that their parents and sibling group push them to continue their education. Students, ultimately, chose to attend Global because they experienced a sense of familiarity after hearing Spanish being spoken and because they were told that the school offered specialized support for English language acquisition. Most spoke highly of the school and their teachers in a comparative manner as they reflected on differences relative to those experienced back home in Mexico.

Chapter 2: Invisible Majority

This chapter examines the way Mexican immigrant student are regarded, or rather disregarded, at Global High School. The Mexican immigrant student is a forgotten majority leading to their exclusion not only from receiving services that could facilitate their adaptation but also from being an integral part of the school population. During my initial observations and visits to the school, conversations and attention would frequently shift back toward the refugee student, even though they knew the focus of my study was the Mexican immigrant student. After numerous observations and sorting through the data, I discovered the sentiment at Global High School toward the Mexican immigrant student population and possibly the overarching Spanish-speaking community is either one of disregard or animosity, with the former being the most prevalent. In the following sections, I discuss some of the ways in which these students were made invisible by the administration and teachers in the school.

THEY ARE NOT ACKNOWLEDGED

Mexican students are the dominant group numerically in the student population making them visible and heard but not necessarily listened to. Administration and teachers did not readily acknowledge the Mexican immigrant student population within the school. Even though the student population is 13% refugee and 87% immigrant—of whom 77% are Hispanic; when the administration spoke about the school's student population, the terms "refugee" and "asylee" were most often used whereas "immigrant," "Spanish," "Latino," or "Hispanic" were scarcely uttered. In coding an administrator's interview, she made reference to "refugee" 5 times, spoke to a specific non-Spanish student ethnicity 3 times, made reference to "Mexico" not students 2 times, while the words Latino, Hispanic, and Spanish were not used during the 45 minute interview. By referring to some students by ethnic labels, the administration established that "race mattered" in the way they differentiated and perceived students (Pollock, 2005). In the example provided, the students most recognized as members of the school were the refugee while the Mexican immigrant student was not reference once. This was further evident when sharing an anecdote about a student, which were almost exclusively about non-Latino students. An administrator shared the following story:

> They went to see different classes, and one of the students, he was yelling at the teacher because they really have lost a lot of respect for the teacher. Then the girl who was an Arab, 'how dare he, I can't just sit in that class and let that happen.'

In a school were the majority of the student population is Mexican immigrant, no anecdotes were shared that included them except for one. The story was regarding the services provided by the nurse to a Mexican immigrant student with a severe disability, so rather the nurse and the disability were the focus.

Interviews with administrators and teachers had to be frequently redirected back to the Mexican or Latino population. Otherwise the conversation had a tendency to sway back to the "overall" student population. In other words, it appears as though the predominant image conveyed by administrators and teachers when discussing the overall student population was that of the refugee student—BUT not the Mexican immigrant that in some cases are trying to seek asylum in the US. For example, when I asked an administrator to walk me through the enrollment process beginning with how a student is referred, she responded:

> Various ways. Most of them are brought to us by refugee services or *Caritas* which is a health clinic here that serves refugee students or sometimes the church will bring them in…

Once again, it was the refugee student that came to mind. The exception being, when speaking about negative aspects of the student population. This was more frequently identified among frustrated teachers or one administrators and Mexican origin youth were typically the targets of this negativity.

THEY DON'T GET INCLUDED TO PARTICIPATE BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT DIVERSE

The school has a particular image of diversity that does not include too many Mexican immigrant students. They have continuously expressed a preference for the refugee because they are "different." This manifested in school programs and activities being filled with non-Mexican students first "for diversity," as one administrator stated, then inviting the Mexican-immigrant students to fill the remaining slots.

Throughout the school year, a ninth-grade teacher had a student assignment displayed on his classroom door. They were brightly painted flags on construction paper and contained a short writing exercise. What was visually striking to me about this particular display was that there was only one Mexican flag. This seemed incredibly odd given the large ratio of Mexican students in the school, more preponderant in the ninth-grade. After observing the interactions between students, teachers, and administrators, as well as hearing the discourse on diversity, it became clear to me that school personnel felt it would be harder to make the diversity claim if the student majority was Mexican and Spanish-speakers. This is particularly evident as you click through the student photos featured on their website and read external school descriptors that place emphasis on the refugee and non-Latino population. Their exclusion is purposeful because they don't fit the administrator's image of what diversity looks like.

The students that were most encouraged and sought after to participate in events were not reflective of the student population. Of the participants in this study, three of the male students played on Southside's soccer team. None of the students participated in extra curricular activities or sports. Few mentioned staying after school for tutoring, but only stayed when they needed to make up assignments. Nieto (2000) found among her case studies that the students significantly involved in activities were most successful in school since they served to engage the student in academic and non-academic roles.

The school participates in the nation-wide program "No Place for Hate" whose purpose is to provide resources for staff and students that help integrate "anti-bias and diversity education" into the curriculum as well as promoting inclusive environments (Anti-Defamation League, 2012). Using this model as a guide, the school identified a student committee based on teacher recommendations. The committee was composed of the usual students. The usual contained about three Spanish-speaking students while the other eight are chosen for their "diversity."

THEY ARE NOT THE FACE OF THE SCHOOL

Global High School administration and staff work arduously to showcase the school's diversity. However, their definition of diversity consisted of every other ethnicity and nationality first, Mexican immigrant or Spanish-speaker second. Following is a quotation by a school administrator describing the student that was chosen to introduce to the district superintendent during a visit to Southside. This student was chose to draw attention to Global and their work:

> One little boy, he's the sweetest thing possible, an African boy, but [the superintendent] came, and he's such a cute kid and stuff, he's like one of our token kids we'd bring out, 'and here's one of our kids from Africa,' and she's like 'oh, its so nice to meet you, I'm dying to go to Africa, I'm going got go there with my sister.' And he was just shocked, he looks at her right square in the eye and said, 'why would you want to go to Africa, there's no food there, there's no water.' And it was a moment and she didn't even get it. She's like, 'oh, were going to go on vacation, it's going to be so much fun.' And I mean, completely different worlds. And so, she doesn't understand, I don't think what we're about, so that to me was very telling. But it gives insight into how she has no idea, that boy was living in a horrible situation, in a refugee camp, people starving to death, no food, no water. Who would want to go there? Cause he's never seen any of those other places that she would see. But anyway, he's a sweet boy and he's doing really well.

The image of diversity the staff wanted to present to the superintendent was of the "nice, sweet, cute, African, token boy." With these terms she is making notice of his lack of resistance and oppositional stance to schooling (Ogbu, 1991; 1998; 2008); making note of his assimilation (Ogbu, 1991, 1998, 2008); oversimplifying the student's nationality and identity; and makes the student the sole-bearer for representing the performance and image of the school as diverse. The preference for what constitutes a good student is that of the "nice" boy and dismisses any academic merits. The students then being rewarded are those that behave accordingly (Valenzuela, 1999). Furthermore, the Latino, Mexican immigrant student is rejected as a possible candidate to represent the school.

THEY DON'T GET THE SERVICES

The attention of the school administration was often fixed on providing these services for the refugee students and immigrant students of other nationalities even though the Latino population has constituted about 70% of the total student population the past four years. Global administration and teachers spoke about having to meet other needs before being able to teach the student. In this vain, they added a visit to the school nurse and introduced families to the social worker as part of the enrollment process. The students in this study did not make mention of either when asked what school services they have accessed.

Serving refugee families is automatic and has become facilitated by the district refugee family liaison whereas serving the Latino population would require more effort from the school. One of the barriers mentioned is that some of the community partnerships offer services exclusively to refugee families and there are a limited number who serve the majority Latino community. Services are not as easily offered to immigrant families. Though they are now being introduced to the social worker, an assessment is not automatic unless the family explicitly states they need help. For a recently arrived immigrant who is dislocated and unaware of the new norms, making such a request based on a brief introduction may not be that simple. Unless referred by a teacher or administrator a more in-depth investigation of the family needs is not conducted. Immigrant families can self-refer but the social worker stated they rarely do. The social worker believes this is due to a lack of legal status, therefore, families are unwilling to ask for help. The image conjured up in relation to the Mexican, Spanish-speaker is that of an 'illegal' (Chavez, 2008).

When the school did make attempts to address the needs of the student population at large, this often manifested in what I call 'random acts of kindness.' These are acts that provide the giver instant gratification for a good deed but do not have lasting impact in the receiver's life. While random acts of kindness are normally associated with being positive, in the context of a school, a random act of kindness has little or no impact student's achievement but rather gives the teacher instant gratification that helps them deflect their failure in the classroom. Common practices include petitioning local businesses for monetary and food donations that are used for food baskets and gift cards. Teachers and staff deliver these personally around the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays. This also draws attention to the lack of ‘authentic caring’ where a reciprocal relationship between the teacher and students is not being built around these acts (Valenzuela, 1999).

The focus of social services was on refugee and random acts of kindness on the rest of the student population—immigrant students. Refugee and immigrant students experience similar stresses associated with migrating such as emotional distress from the dislocation (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; McBrien, 2005; Ogbu, 1991, 1998, 2008; Suárez-Orozco, 2008). Given the overlap in the services needed, providing the in school supports for one should facilitate extending these to the other.

MAKING MEANING OF AN EVOLVING IDENTITY

Administrator and teacher attempts at being culturally responsive are displayed throughout the school. As you enter Global High School and make your way to the office, flags from other countries are lined up along the entrance. You can find clocks along the top of the wall set to display different time zones from around world. The school hosts various events throughout the school year in order to promote unity and understanding among students.

These types of visuals, assignments, and events, though well meaning, reduced the students’ culture and language into activities that could be showcased. The activities were superficial in that they were confined within designated spaces and assigned days rather than being comprehensive and integrated throughout the curriculum (Yosso, 2002). In other words, they did not serve to create cultural understanding among the various ethnic groups nor did they help students make sense of their own identity within their new context (Banks, 2004; Nieto, 2000; Yosso, 2002). Nieto (2000) contends education that takes into account diversity serves to help students adjust in a way that will reduce “interethinic prejudice and hostility:”

> Students' lack of understating of cultures different from their own, the preconceptions they and their family may have brought from other countries, their internalizing of the negative ways in which differences are treated in our society, and the lack of information provided in the schools all serve to magnify the problem. (p. 326)

Hostility among Global students was not observed but all students still face the task of making meaning of race and difference in their new society. Adan showed great interest in my particular and exclusive focus in working with Mexican immigrant students. He began by asking me to explain why people use the term *mojado* (wetback):

> *Hay veces que por decir yo he oído a muchas personas aquí, a mis amigos que unos pueden entrar al país de otra forma ['legalmente'] y yo escucho a mis amigos que hay unos que les llaman "mojados" y yo no digo nada. Solo pienso 'que a los que les están llamando no se ofenden?' Porque hay personas que se ofenden cuando los llamas así* (There's times for example, I've heard many people here, my friends say that one can enter the country in other ways [as in 'legally'] and I listen to my friends that there are some who are called "wetbacks" and I don't say anything. I just think 'don't you think they get offended?' Because there are people who are offended when you call them that).

Adan was trying to make sense of the division and hostility among Mexican-descent people arising from comments made by his friends. Adan is a recent immigrant who does not yet know the complexity of the historical, social, economic, political, educational, and even religious influences that have shape the Mexican identity in the U.S. (Acuña, 2011, Blauner, 2001, Chavez, 2008; Matute-Bianchi, 1991; McLemore & Romo, 1998). The same that have resulted in the minority status he now experiences. Matute-Bianchi (1991) and Valenzuela (1999), used the following categories in identifying major Mexican peer groups in their studies: Recent Mexican Immigrants/Recent Arrivals, Mexican-Oriented, Mexican American, Chican@, and Cholos—these go without stating the multitude of subcategories and identities within. Adan also makes reference to the 'legality' of Mexican people in the U.S., indicative of his emergent struggle to understand how the Latino identity is constructed within the U.S. (Chavez, 2008).

He extensively questioned my disinterest in returning to Mexico now that I'm a professional that could earn a living there:

> *¿Y ahorita está conforme con el estudio que tiene aquí o no ha pensando regresar a México pero estar en la misma carrera que tiene aquí?* (Are you satisfied with the education you've received here so far or have you thought about returning to Mexico but having the same career you have here?)

He reminded me that food is not lacking in Mexico for people who have an education and access to a professional career. My response was to state that I was raised in Texas and that my family and friends live here. By my rejection of the idea of returning to Mexico, I believe Adan thought I was depreciating both of our Mexican nationalities. Our conversation became very intense, as he was dissatisfied with many of my personal responses. In particular, when I tried to explain that I am Mexican American:

> *No, sino que usted nació en México, entonces yo le pregunté que de donde se siente. Entonces al decir "de aquí", yo siento como que usted se avergüenza de México. No le gusta decir que soy de México, porque toda su vida está aquí, pero nació allá* (No, but you were born in Mexico, then I asked you where do you feel from. So by you saying "here," I feel like you are ashamed of Mexico, because your whole life is here, but you were born there).

Adan was voicing his feelings toward how I choose to identify based on his experiences with the deep devaluation of Mexican culture, which compelled him to resist and create an oppositional stance (Gibson, 1988; Ogbu, 2008, 2008; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Moreover, as a more recent immigrant he has not developed an understanding of the dual identities that exist in the U.S. It is my *mestiza* consciousness, my dual identity, where I cannot be forced to choose a side (Anzaldua, 1999).

Adan went on to release his frustrations over hearing other Mexican nationals from Monterrey, now living in the U.S., speak poorly of Mexico. Again, another attack devaluing his culture. Monterrey is the second richest cities in Mexico (Contreras, 2009), he was making the connection between people from Monterrey. The class inequities observed with people from Monterrey can be compared to race inequities in the U.S. The classism Adan experienced in Mexico might be a frame of reference from which he was trying to understand his new minority position, based on race, in the U.S. (Carrasco et al., 2006).

Skin color was his next topic. Adan wanted to know if my dark skin was the only reason I acknowledged my Mexican identity while simultaneously begrudging his own light skin:

> *Pero por decir… al decir, que le pregunté de "¿de dónde eres"? usted puede decir que de aquí, habla el idioma, entonces porque… la cara… ¿o la cara lo dice? Es por lo que le dicen "eres de México," oh sí? Es por morenita? Ósea es obvio que no [solo la cara lo dice]. Pero abemos muchos güeros que también somos de México (*But to say ... to say that I asked "where are you from"? you can say here, you speak the language, but then why ... the face [meaning skin color]... the face [skin color] says so? Is that why they say "you're from Mexico," yes? Is it because you're brown? It's obviously not [just skin color]. But there's many light skinned people who are also from Mexico).

Urrieta (2003) discussed the privileges afforded to those being light skinned that are denied to darker skinned *mestizos*. In the U.S. brown skin has become synonymous with being Mexican. However, for Adan, the lack of dark skin made others question his Mexican identity.

It was impossible for me to explain race dynamics in the U.S. and the complexities of my *mestiza* identity (Anzaldua, 1999) in the last ten minutes of our conversation. His frustration and increasing hostility with trying to make sense and find meaning in his own Mexican identity in the U.S. was evident. Adan seemed to be going through the "colorization experience" in which his identity was being tied to race, through it, his position and status (Goodwin 2002; Rong & Preissle, 1998). I was not expecting these topics to arise or discuss these complexities going in but it was a pleasantly surprise to hear him address it openly. It made me wonder what safe spaces exist for him to continue the discussion within Global.

Adan was not the only student to bring up racism in the U.S. Other study participants made notice of race and difference in discussing violence and gang that they have experienced at Southside. Most participants voiced some concern over the violence they were told exist in the neighborhood schools they will be attending, which hosts a diversity of American born students similar to Southside demographics. The students must be recognized as trying to make meaning of their evolving identity and new context to move forward (Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). If Global sincerely wishes to establish itself as a culturally responsive school, it has to provide the space and dialogue that will allow the transformational process to occur (Nieto, 2000). Furthermore, refugee students stand to gain as much from the support since, like immigrants, they too face struggles with identity and cultural demands (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; McBrien, 2005).

I am left reflecting on my conversation with Adan. I would like to draw attention to the fact this conversation was held toward the end of his second school year. Adan had recently begun working and he mentioned numerous times throughout the interview that he never goes out unless he stayed afterschool for soccer. I am left questioning whether the timing of this struggle is correlated with finally being in a position to break out of Global and extend his network. Is this the beginning of Adan's experience with "colorization" (Goodwin 2002; Rong & Preissle, 1998)? If so, this is indicative of the extent of segregation and isolation of Global students and a possible delay in his and the other students' adaptation to their new country. This could be one of the factors resulting in the declining numbers of students by the tenth-grade and perhaps overall.

Furthermore, even though the administration frequently placed emphasis on their diversity and desire to honor students' language and culture, they often fell short of doing so in meaningful ways, especially for the Mexican immigrant students. The familiarity and the long tradition of deficit thinking toward Mexican, Spanish-speakers (Nieto, 2000; Valencia, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999) resulted in the students being viewed as less-in-need and not representative of a positive image than their non-Mexican peers at Global. Pollock (2005) states "scholars have long viewed words as consequential actions that create the world rather than describe it" (p. 5). There are equally as many consequences behind what is not being said, in this case, the disregard toward the Mexican and Spanish-speaking immigrant student.

Chapter 3: Isolated and Segregated

In this chapter, I examine polices and practices that support or hinder Mexican immigrant students from establish support networks in their new country. These policies and practices have been put in place by the school administration who believed they were keeping the students' safe. They are restricting all Global students from creating and accessing valuable support networks which play a crucial role for immigrant students trying to adapt and navigate a new context. Not surprisingly, the Mexican immigrant students frequently spoke of their loneliness. The daily routine for the students that did not have after-school or weekend employment consisted of going to school then going home. They reminisced of their time in Mexico where they had the freedom to go out and had friends to do so.

GLOBAL ADMINISTRATION & TEACHERS AS GATEKEEPERS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Within Global High School, those that held social capital were not a dominant student group but rather the adults. Gibson et al. (2004) define social capital as "connections' to individuals and networks that can provide access to resources and forms of support that facilitate the accomplishment of goals" (p. 18). Adolescents typically rely on peer networks for social capital, however, since all students at Global are recently arrived immigrant students, none have established these networks nor are there any peers among them that have. Because of policies aimed at isolating and segregating Global students, they find themselves rarely able to reach out beyond the school in search of this capital. This means that the actions, behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, and words of administrators and teachers can have a considerably greater impact, directly and indirectly, on Global students.

Many of Global High School's student population is bussed in from different neighborhoods in this Central Texas district. The district is one of the top 5 largest in the State of Texas. The expanded geographic area hinders most students from building peer networks due to a lack of transportation. The lack of peers within their immediate neighborhood also means that students do not have a purpose to venture out and explore, hindering their ability to familiarize themselves with their new community and hindering the creation of a community network.

Social capital, or access to resource-rich networks (Valenzuela, 1999) is important for all students, and especially so for recently arrived immigrant youth that are trying to leverage new opportunities in an unfamiliar context. Conversations with these students revealed, for instance, that their primary interactions are with members of their families. This interaction is further limited by the size of the family network and the relationship with them. Students that solely had access to nuclear family members—as opposed to an extended network of relatives—reported spending large amounts of time alone. In general, however, Global High School youth did not boast resource-rich networks even with an extended network of family members since these members were also immigrants and not students themselves. Considering these students have been in the U.S. approximately two years, the isolation they find themselves in is indicative of their segregation.

> *O sea estas en tu casa, sales es en carro pero que te salgas a caminar por ahí, así como en México, no, así no es. Y pues allá tenia todos mis amigos. Y acá no, o sea, o estoy trabajando o no. Y aquí casi como igual. Todo es lo mismo.* (So you're at home, you go out if you have a car but to go walk around, like in Mexico, no, not like that. And well I had all my friends there. And here no, like, I’m either working or not. And here everything is the same. Nothing ever changes).

As Gibson et al. (2004) explain, peers have been shown to have a strong influence on the formation of a student’s identity and greatly impact their participation, engagement, and achievement in school. They contend that families play a central role, as well, but have a diminishing influence as the student fights to gain independence.

The policies of the school prevent new peers from enrolling into Global. Students are required to attend Global their ninth-grade year in order to qualify to attend tenth-grade as the school does not accept new tenth-grade students. Opportunities to meet new peers at school are eliminated by the second year. Further, for the last three years, approximately a third of the overall student population and more than half of the Hispanic student population did not return for the tenth grade. Miriam and Ana, who belonged to separate friend groups, had a falling out with their respective friends. In a tenth-grade class size of 55, about 30 are Latino who speak your language, leaving a possible 15 female peers. Having a fall out with one of two friends easily results in "peer solitary confinement," which the two participants were experiencing. This situation is magnified for non-Latino immigrant and refugee students whose numbers are significantly lower.

Within the confines of Global, the Mexican immigrant students in this study never spoke about students from other nationalities. When asked to describe the students at Global, they would speak of the other Mexican students or the Spanish-speakers. They spoke about students from other ethnicities when I asked about their English language use. Being new immigrants in the U.S., the Mexican immigrant students were not stratifying themselves based on notions of racial classification (Pollock, 2005) but rather on the basis of language barriers. The numerical dominance of Mexican immigrant students facilitated their ability to socially congregate in the hallways and classed. The availability of peers with whom they could communicate in Spanish diminished their need to reach out to students of other ethnicities. One of the participants explained her lack of reaching out to the non-Latino students was based on her inability to communicate in English and not on a reluctance to be inclusive. This seemed to be the cause of some animosity from a few adults who begrudged the social and classroom exclusion of other students who did not count with such a network.

The overall student population, including the Mexican-origin students, would partition themselves by language then gender if numerically possible, which was not always the case. This was most evident in the cafeteria where students could be seen sitting in their groups. Though the students separated themselves this way, they did interact in amiable ways among the different groups who acknowledge and engage in small talk in passing one another during the lunch hour and in the hallways.

MAINTAINING FEAR OF THEIR NEW COMMUNITY

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the students found themselves rarely venturing out into their community. Some female student participants expressed fear of their community since they were told it was dangerous to be out. Monica was one of two female participants that lived in a single-parent home with her mother whom she had not seen in three years. She migrated so that she could continue going to school. She spoke of her mother in a respectful manner and stated that she could venture out more since her mother is always working and would not find out but that she did not like the idea of disobeying or going out without her mother's consent. While she did have extended family in the city, Monica shared that her cousins engage in questionable behavior that made her uncomfortable:

> *Bueno, como le diré, es que yo a veces me doy cuenta [que hay mala gente] porque tengo unos primos que son de aquí y ellos como que fuman y luego ponen así música a todo volumen, verdad, y una ves yo fui con ellos porque a veces llegan a mi casa y me dijeron pues que los acompañaran porque no tengo con nadie que estar ahí en mi casa, pues a veces me voy con ellos y ando en la calle ahí. Pues se van [me quedo en el carro] y luego, bueno, veo que se van así con unos negritos pero como que van a dejar algo y ahí se meten a una casa y tardan para salir, luego sale y así, así. Pero, mis primos fuman bastante.* (Well, how can I tell you, it's just that sometimes I realize [there's bad people] because I have some cousins who are from here and they like to smoke and play really loud music, and I went with them once because they came to my house and told me to accompany them since I don't have anyone to be with at home, so sometimes I go with them and we'll be out. Then they leave [me in the car] and then, well, I see them go with some black guys but they look like they are going to drop something off and they go into a house and take a long time to come back out. Then they come out and we go. But my cousins like to smoke.

Monica frequently used terms like "bad people" and "fear" to describe her experiences and life here, which according to her were unlike her life in Mexico. Monica now avoids going out with these relatives and she has no other way of finding or accessing peers with whom to have a positive relationship. She has peers in the school that she socializes with during school hours but has not found friends among these classmates that she feels she can connect to at a deeper level.

‘PROTECTION’ FROM SOUTHSIDE

When the administration and teachers were questioned regarding the possible effects of segregating Global students from Southside, they mostly responded with satisfaction over being able to protect Global students from what they too perceived to be problems with Southside leadership and students. An administrator had the following opinion regarding Southside:

> Like you can compare [Global to] Southside. The school next to us that is not motivating [students] or making them believe that they can become somebody. On the contrary, they’re like rejects, and I shouldn’t be saying that but they are like rejects. They reject them. So there’s still a lot of problems in [the city] and as far as discrimination, I feel, as far as not taking care of people that need help, and part of that is part of, we’re lucky to have a refugee center that helps our students but if there wasn’t that, nobody would care.

When I reworded my questions in an attempt to address the isolation of Global students, the administration did not register this to be something negative. On the contrary, they expressed the need to expand the school so that more students could be served and protected from those types of schools.

I approached the teachers with the similar intent of gauging their perception of the isolation that the students were experiencing. I asked whether being located on the Southside campus increased the possibility for Global students to engage in English conversations and assist with their acquisition of the language. They unanimously responded no. Teacher 6 shared that at previous schools he worked in, tensions between the Mexican American students and the immigrant Mexican students arose. When asked if that was the case between Global and Southside, he responded:

> No, because we won all the fights. We got tough kids, but when the fight takes, we usually win the fight. So they’ve learned over the years not to be tough with us, plus these [Southside] kids are creampuffs. These kids are having a hard time because, in my opinion, the district has not provided the right leadership. The teachers are fine. The students are fine. They’re five times easier than my middle school kids…

The image and discourse heard around the school about Southside had a varying effect on the Mexican immigrant students attending Global. Few students mentioned having friendships and relationships with Southside students but nonetheless miss the crowds. Saul and other students shared that they like to sneak over to Southside in order to interact with Southside students. The negative image of Southside has stigmatized their views of their neighborhood schools that have similar student demographics and reputations.

KEEPING PARENTS OUT

Given the aforementioned ways in which the school isolates the students, the home structure is the only support network available to them. However, instead of garnering this resource, the school enforces behaviors that prevent this relationship from being built. Rather than reaching out or creating spaces that could be welcoming to parents, they were set on blaming them for what teachers perceived to be a lack of parental involvement. Numerous assumptions were made to account for this. One such theory goes back to the notion that family structures and parent homes are lacking for the students, Teacher 1:

> We do have a lot of students, especially from Mexico and Central America, who are not here with any family from the generation above them. I don't know where you start with that. I don't know how you can instill that family element when literally there isn't, but the other ones I think that the school system should play a larger part with immigrants or with anyone. If any of the family are here then the school should strive to get them involved in some manner.

Other frequent misconceptions from the teachers were the assumptions that parents lack expectations and do not hold their children accountable. It is unknown where these perceptions stem from since most teachers were unable to share any personal information regarding the student participants. Research has shown the lack of parental involvement, as defined by U.S. school standards, is most often due to the parents feeling unwelcome, an inability to communicate due to language barriers, and fear of by the parents stemming from their own lack of education, and not the disinterest that most educators associate it with (Gibson et al., 2004; Olsen, 1997; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Valdes, 1996).

Additionally, the teachers agreed that the only time they reach out to parents is when there's a problem with the student. Upon being further probed about parental engagement, the teachers concluded this was an area in which they could improve but still struggled to acknowledge ways in which they are complicit to the problem or could address the issue. Teacher 5:

> That's one area that we've always talked about as a school, how can we get the parents more involved. We do little things like the nights where we invite, but then there's not really much of a presence. We've given opportunities before school, we stayed after school so parents could come and have a meeting but our parental involvement from our side is lacking. I don't think that's the fault of the parents, I think it's probably—I don't know.

There is a parent night hosted by the school at the beginning of the year in which they invite all non-Spanish speaking parents. During this meeting, the non-Spanish speaking parents are given information about the school structure, guidelines, and the expectations. Hosting this parent night allows the school to hire translators that can assist with the communication. But a similar parent meeting is not provided to the Spanish-speakers. The reasoning offered by one administrator is that every memo and notice sent home is already available in Spanish. The assumption is that Spanish-speaking students and parents can understand the school structure, guidelines, and the expectations by reading these memos. This alienates the Spanish-speaking community and prevents the school from building and maintaining a relationship with these families.

While the intentions of the administration were to provide support, numerous obstacles were in place implemented by the administration that inadvertently resulted in hindering access to support networks for students. Nieto (2000) states while "policies most likely to jeopardize students at risk of educational failure are most common precisely in the institutions in which those students are found (p. 38). I would like to reiterate this means administrators and teachers have a considerably greater impact on Global students.

Chapter 4: Animosity in the Classroom

> I mean I'm not too familiar with Mexico and I'm sure that there are just so many different pockets […] and I ask myself, "Why? Why? Why?" […] I mean they never grow wings, they never grow and I can speak to them in Spanish […] I did the lesson, I give them notes, I give them practice, fly, fly. I don't get it, I don't understand what do I do, what else can I get these kids [to] help. And it's just like, it's that gap of education, I mean, that's what I assume. Why can't they fly? (Global Teacher, interview, 2012)

This chapter examines teacher perspective and their effects on classroom practices and the student perceptions. The teachers at Global High School have the grueling, if not vexing, charge of concurrently instructing students from various nationalities, who speak different languages, and have a spectrum of educational history and needs. They must teach same curriculum as any other high school in the state and are held to the same standards. The teachers must do this while simultaneously assisting students with the acquisition of a new language. The average classroom size is one teacher to fourteen students but can easily increase to over twenty. Still, they teach with no additional supports, resources, or training from the district. The administration continuously advocates for resources from the district but is usually unsuccessful, leaving them unable to provide teachers with much more than moral support. The administration felt this was due to their school being an afterthought to their primary concerns with issues at Southside.

Not surprisingly, the lack of experience and the immigrant student population they inadvertently ended up working with, led to increased struggles and extra work for the teachers. The additional work did not stem from a personal interest as they did not set out to work with this student population, which can lead to a lack of motivation and result in resentment toward the students (Gitlin et al., 2003).

LACK OF RESOURCES FOR MINORITY SERVING SCHOOLS CONTINUES

As previously mentioned, four of the interviewed teachers began their careers at Global, none had prior teaching experience working directly with immigrant students, and none had English as a Second Language (ESL) certification prior to being hired. The use of poorly trained and inexperienced teachers in minority serving schools is historically and widely prevalent (Gibson et al., 2004; Valencia, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999).

Like the students, they seemed inclined to view the situation in the best light possible. However, the frustration some of them felt emerged as the interviews went on. They felt they were too idealistic coming in and, though they lacked the training and experience, they thought the school would provide the necessary supports:

> Teacher 1 - It was a little overwhelming. When you read online that you have a school for students who none of them speak English. You assume that there's some great support system to facilitate all this, like five adults in a classroom all working together. Then you start your first day and you have 20-30 kids who don't speak English all staring at you, and you're not fluent in, me, anything at the time. Now, I'm barely conversational in Spanish at best. It's shocking at the least to walk into a room.
>
> BR – Threw you into the deep end, huh?
>
> Teacher 1 – Yeah, with a straight jacket on. It's an adventure. Starting here was an adventure…. You're trying to fight a lot of things and stay positive at the same time. It's daunting.

Global teachers do not receive any additional training or supports—not unlike most schools that serve minority populations (Gibson et al., 2004; Valencia, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999). They indicated that besides obtaining their ESL certification and receiving moral support from peers, they do not receive any additional supports. There was no other mention of professional development, resources, or materials provided by the school or the district. Goodwin (2002) states that in the field of teacher preparation, the literature lacks specific attention to immigrant students, providing little guidance in strategies.

DEFICIT VIEWS PERSIST

After spending a year with the administration and teachers at Global, I grew to appreciate their work and effort in light of this daunting task that they, more or less, willingly accepted. At other times, I found myself upset over some of the deficit-based assumptions and comments that, while not intentionally malicious, I knew would have an impact on their interactions with, and perceptions of, the students. In return, these would ultimately impact the way the students perceived themselves, the school, and possibly even the viability of an advanced degree (Ogbu, 2008; Gibson, 1991; Valenzuela, 1999). Nieto (2000) found that most of the teachers she worked with in the diverse schools were not racist or classist but rather, their idealistic beliefs were shattered and they grew tired from the hostility and non-achievement of some students, leading them to the conclusion that the non-achievement of the students was inevitably caused by the students, families, and culture.

Deficit thinking, as defined in Valencia (2010), "[posits] that the student who fails in the school does so because of his/her internal deficits of deficiencies" (pp. 6-7). The following subcategories contain the most frequently mentioned deficit views from the teachers.

Teacher Sentiment Toward Mexican Immigrant Students

The six interviewed teachers fell under three broad categories in their perceptions when speaking directly to the Mexican or Latino immigrant student population: negative, neutral, or positive.

Negative: The two male, novice teachers expressed their frustrations. Their exasperation with the Latino students was evident. Teacher 1 described his own power struggle in maintaining authority over the Latino male students that he characterized, albeit indirectly, as *machismo*:

> Ultimately at the end of the year, you're still a child and your not going to win… [chauvinism] I don't think it's applicable to only Latino students, I think it's a cultural phenomenon that is still at play in a lot of our student's cultures.

Teacher 2 compared Latino students to his own personal experience on which he based expectations for the students and of which they usually fell short:

> I mean, I'm not too familiar with Mexico and I mean I'm sure that there are just so many different pockets and there's kids come from different parts and some

> kids know math and I mean have a good education and I ask myself, "Why? Why? Why?"

Neutral: One novice, male teacher and a female teacher with some prior teaching experience did not speak positively or negatively about the Mexican students. They made generalizations about the student population, both positive and negative, neither of which was directed at one specific ethnicity.

Positive: One male teacher with 20 years of experience and young, female, novice teacher spoke positively about the general student population and tended to address the individual rather than the ethnicity or language. While both made generalizations, they emphasized positive aspects of the students.

Even though these categories are broad, overlap was found in their perceptions of the Mexican immigrant student. Those that fall under the negative category were more overt in expressing their beliefs and, thus, provided the clearest examples and quotes. Other teachers stepped lightly but ultimately agreed with the generalizations.

The seasoned male teacher can be excluded from agreeing with most statements as he rarely ventured to make any generalizations about the student population and was overwhelmingly positive when he did. Unfortunately, his extensive experience teaching and serving as an assistant principal made him a one-of-a-kind teacher at the school where the average years of experience is 5.8 and a considerable number of the teachers, including four interviewed, began their careers at Global, lacking any prior experience in teaching and working with English Language Learners.

Perceptions of the Students' Histories and Current Living Situations

There were many assumptions made by the teachers about the students' histories and current living situation. Teachers heavily based their perceptions on assumptions that subsequently influenced the way they interpreted students' actions (Nieto, 2000) The teachers commended the students for the courage it took not only to migrate but also the perseverance to show up to class everyday. Global boasts an impressive attendance record in the district. Both teachers and administrators report zero incidences of severe discipline problems. In speaking about the overall student population, Teacher 5 offered the following:

> [Students] have to work through a lot of things. I mean, just getting here is one big ordeal and then being here and not knowing the language or the culture or the customs and having to interact with people who have different traditions and cultures and customs, they're just going through so much. But I think that they have strength and the determination. I mean, I've never seen or met anybody with the determination my kids have.

While they tried to relate to the students through this understanding, they often misunderstood the actual driving forces behind migrating and the resulting home life and family structures.

Teachers generally presumed students were forced to migrate and had the misguided notion that many students lived in parentless homes and, thus, suffer from a lack of support, authority figures, and/or familial interest in the students' education—all of which they sometimes thought to be true even in two-parent home. Teachers' beliefs on how this manifested in the classroom varied but included a lack of engagement resulting in poor achievement and classroom discipline problems. In speaking to the overall student population, Teacher 4 offered the following:

> Engagement can still be very difficult for our students, you have students who are resentful of the fact that they are youth immigrants in the sense that they did not make the decision themselves to come to this country, that it was more of a decision that was made by adults and that they were just kind of these passengers.

The Mexican immigrant youth in this study were in support of the family decision to migrate and willingly moved.

Teachers Believe Students Have Severe Education Gaps

Teachers spoke of what they assessed to be severe gaps in education and assertions that students were not up to grade-level performance. It is important to mention that besides testing their English abilities, the students are not normally assessed at Global in any subject area or give placement tests when enrolling. Their academic histories are not usually recorded due to various limitations. Goodwin (2002) reminds us that trends are not absolutes so while prior experiences may be lacking for many immigrant students, this should not allow for assumptions that cover all.

Some teachers discussed the importance of informal assessments rather than standardized testing to gage student progress. While I concur that standardized testing is inappropriate for most students, in particular, for recently arrived students, I disagree with basing student academic ability solely on the teacher's perception. Diagnostic assessment is an obvious alternative. However, even this is an inadequate solution in context where our school districts have not invested in increasing teachers' capacities in these areas through ongoing professional development opportunities. Moreover, when combined with limited and poor training vis-à-vis culturally and linguistically diverse students, teacher's perceptions can be easily swayed by biases and assumptions, some of which have already been proven to be wrong. Further, these assumptions were used to justify low-test scores and low-academic achievement in half of these instances. In speaking to the overall student population:

> Teacher 1 – The kids come in with such interrupted educations that no two of them are on the same page and 90% of them aren't up to grade level in any language… like less than 5% [are up to grade-level].
>
> Teacher 2 – (talking about low test scores) But the thing is, I only have..., like 10% of everyone in my class, I have students that you know they did have the education.

While the quality of the education received in Mexico cannot be asserted, the typecasting of all students as severely lacking in schooling is unconvincing given that most of the study participants completed junior high or transitioned without any gaps. In contrast, this is a student group that is well poised to take full advantage of educational opportunities in the U.S. (Valenzuela, 1999). Adding to this reasonable doubt are past research studies that have linked Mexican immigrant achievement and outperformance of Mexican American youth in U.S. with their prior schooling and preparation in Mexico (Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Ogbu, 1991; Valenzuela, 1999). I do not have any means to assess the academic abilities that the student participants possessed prior to enrolling at

Global, however, what I can say is that none of the students that I interviews were underschooled. This is an area that requires more research.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE CLASSROOM

When describing their teachers in Mexico, students talked about overcrowded classrooms where the teachers did not care if the student submitted their work given the large number of students. Assigning an automatic zero for incomplete assignment facilitated their work. However at Global, teachers repeatedly requested that they submit assignments. Some students referred to this Global teacher practice as "responsible" behavior by their teachers. Adalia offers the following:

> *Mas responsabilidad de parte de los maestros… mas responsables con su trabajo… acá se hacen mas responsables de hacerte entregar los trabajos y las tareas y todo eso*. (More responsibility from the teachers ... they are more responsible with their job... here they are made more responsible to make you turn in assignments and homework and stuff).

Some students like Antonio interpreted this to mean that they could put off an assignment, for the class period or longer, and still receive full credit with no repercussions as long as they eventually completed the assignment, "*Pero antes, a mi me ha tocado que no hecho tareas así, y me dicen que las hiciera, y ya las hago y ya no dicen nada*" (But before, its happened to me where I didn't do the work, and they tell me do it and I did it and nobody says anything after that).

For others, the strategy was to complete the assignment as quickly as possible to ensure maximum leisure time, "*Cuando me ponen hacer un trabajo… lo hago de volada y ya p'a tener tiempo libre*" ("When they make me do an assignment, I do it quickly that way I have more free time"). Both of these situations sometimes lead to copying tactics among the students who just wanted to get the assignment out of the way. The teachers, in turn, often voiced their frustration about the copying tactics which was prevalent in both grade levels and perceived it be a lack of academic ability and language acquisition, thus, turning a blind eye to it. Gersten (1999) found copying to be a highly discouraged, but frequently allowed, practice among frustrated ELL teachers who provided examples, which the students copied directly instead of creating their own.

Furthermore, teachers would comment on "the change" students undergo from ninth to tenth grade, which is described as students developing more of an attitude, becoming louder, and challenging authority. In this vein, Teacher 2 stated:

> I mean when they come in ninth grade, they don't know what to do. They have no clue…. They're good in tenth-grade but when they get to tenth-grade they have a little attitude…I mean they feel more comfortable and they do get influenced by the culture of American students.

The Mexican immigrant students I worked with shared that they felt more confident in expressing themselves and more comfortable in their settings by the tenth grade. They did not feel the same insecurity that they originally started with. Hector shared, "*En primero no tan bien porque me sentía raro, pero ahorita ya. Ya casi cuando terminó el primer año, me sentía más seguro"* ("At first not so good because I felt weird, but now, yeah. When the first year was almost over, I felt more secure").

I venture to hypothesize that the copying tactics in the tenth-grade had a greater correlation to a lack of understanding the language while the copying tactics in the tenth-grade stemmed from learning how to navigate the system. Harklau (1994) found that Chinese high school immigrant students learn to become "proficient in bluffing they're way through mechanical writing exercised without a clear idea of what they were talking about." The fact that students could quickly accomplish the assignments, whether at the beginning or end, can lead one to conclude that the students were not only capable of accomplishing the task but were perhaps also unchallenged.

Accordingly, Teacher 6 believed many of the Mexican immigrant students in this study were unchallenged and believed that this was manifested in the Latino students not being engaged enough in the classroom:

> The district has a curriculum outline that we have to follow and sometimes when we try to fit within those constraints we sometimes forget these people and so they're not challenged enough so we need to continue to differentiate for them and we need to recognize it early I guess.

The frustrations of the teachers stemmed from their lack of understanding how their classroom methods were resulting in boredom and disengagement from their students. Rather than further investigating why the classroom problems were arising, they chose to blame their poor results on the students. Their assumptions in turn affected how they viewed their students, how they treated them, and, as we will see in the next section, how the students internalized the teachers' views.

STUDENTS INTERNALIZING DEFICIT VIEWS

The Mexican immigrant students often stated they were bored in class. Unfortunately, the boredom they expressed was often accompanied by self-deprecating statements. When I asked Monica about school, she shared that she doesn't try because she gets bored but she felt too guilty to stay home:

> A *veces siento que… le echo ganas a veces y a veces no… haga de cuenta como ahorita, que es la mitad de la primera y de la última [clase], a veces me aburre mucho esa. Y luego, a veces nada más estoy ahí en mi casa encerrada.* (Sometimes I feel like... I try and sometimes I don't... like right now, we're halfwy through the first and last [class], sometimes I get really bored in that one. And then sometimes I'm just there in my house locked up).

The students began to internalize these deficit views that the teachers expressed. Jimena shared that one of her teachers frequently insulted Mexican students. According to Jimena the teacher accused all Mexican people of being thieves, which included the Mexican students in the class for copying as follows:

> *Como antes nos decía que nosotros como, los mexicanos, como que nosotros robamos, porque copeamos, bueno pues, uno copea y decía que eso era robar y que y que en México todos robábamos* (Like before she use to tell us that we, Mexicans, that we steal, because we copy, well like, we copy and she'd say that was stealing and that in Mexico everyone steals).

Jimena went on to share numerous other examples in which this female teacher from a Latin country attacked the Mexican students, in particular. I mention that she is from a Latin country because animosity exists between immigrant groups from certain countries. Other student participants who spoke of this teacher were in relation to their disliking of the subject area she taught. I had heard from non-participant students that she was strict. I found her to be a somber and unapproachable, my attempts to interact and interview her were unsuccessful. After sharing her stories, I asked Jimena what she thought about the teacher's remarks. Jimena responded that she agreed:

> *Pues, pienso que a veces sí, pero, a veces no porque pues también, bueno hay muchos que si venimos a estudiar y así, si estudiamos, bueno yo soy Mexicana. Y pues sí, sí estudio y todo, pero pues quien sabe… Pues hay veces que sí me gana la flojera! O cuando no entiendo pues ni aunque quiera! Y pues, la flojera pues que mas?* (Well, I think sometimes yes and sometimes no well because, well there are many who do come to study and so, we do study, well I'm Mexican. And if, if I study and all, but then who knows ... Well, there are times that I do get lazy! Or when I don't understand it doesn't even matter if I want to do it! And well it's laziness, what else?)

Even after stating her intense disliking of this teacher and the teacher's depreciating comments, Jimena went on to doubt her academic ability, blaming herself for her disengaging. The interviewed teacher that spoke about Jimena described her as one of the students that excelled in their classes. Judging by her openness about this situation, I would consider her to feel secure and adapting well in her new setting, unlike most participants. I believe a large part of the reason Jimena was excelling in her classes was her extended family network, which she stated she was close to. They offered her the opportunity to adapt to her new environment quicker since she has "tons" of cousins in the city within her age group. Further, she was engaging in activities in her community such as church sponsored events and clubs. Even with this security and extended support, Jimena was not shielded from internalizing the negative views of this teacher.

The internalizing and expression of these deficit views seemed to be more pronounced among students that did not have an extended network of support. Hector who lived with much older siblings shared a harsher self-blaming comment:

> *Porque no me siento, quizás tan bueno como para seguir estudiando. a veces… como le digo como que vengo con muchas ganas de trabajar y a veces como… pues no voy a ser nadie en la vida* (Because I do not feel, perhaps good enough to continue studying. Sometimes ... as I say as I've been eager to work and sometimes as ... well I will not be anybody in life.)

Hector spoke in a secure manner about personal aspects of his life and was eager to show me online pictures of his community in Mexico. He would quiet down and become somber if I pursued his perceptions of the school and teachers. His energy level picked up a little when I asked about his future aspirations and encouraged to share with me his biggest dreams. In other words, I asked him to tell me what he wanted to be when he was a little kid and he responded that he wanted to work outside in the forest or with animals, maybe even an engineer. I cannot say it was at Global, but somewhere along the way Hector went from having high aspirations to believing he was not going to "anybody in life." I, unfortunately, had too many conversations with students that expressed similar sentiment about their aspirations which they now doubted

FRUSTRATIONS, ASSUMPTIONS, AND LOW EXPECTATIONS

Global students are taught the same materials and have the same standards and graduation requirements as the rest of the high school students in the state. This includes the same textbooks, standardized testing with a language modification, and course load. When it came time to assess the students in their classes, the teachers felt the best approach was not to test them but instead look for alternative and informal forms of assessment such as participation, effort, and language acquisition. Moreover, the teachers felt that using standardized testing to measure student progress was unreasonable and scores were an inaccurate representation of their teaching and the students' learning.

> The best way I can describe this school academically is that utter failure anywhere else is epic success here. For example our science scores, last year we had the highest ever at 6%. This year we went to 12%. If you knew of any other teacher anywhere else told me we've got 12% of my kids passing and they're happy, they'd be like "What the hell are you doing?' But here, everything is different and it's so relative. To me, I look at it now and I say yeah we've got 12% and that's one in nine kids, but you know what, it's better than it's ever been. That is a tough pill to swallow sometimes. That I'm ultimately here, I have seven years of science training, and I get 12% of my kids to pass what the state says they should know. (Teacher 1, interview, 2012)

Layered over this concern with a general acceptance of low test scores alongside organized cheating and a possibly reduced curriculum, I found it as very problematic that most students had no real understanding of what the testing system meant. Monica was explicit where her concern about this, particularly regarding her being able to graduate given the requirement of passing these standardized tests. Like most of the students, she did not have a clear understanding about the high school graduation requirements.

Teachers mostly seemed to process these concerns differently. That is, they felt that student participation and engagement ultimately depended on the students themselves. Those that wanted an education would engage these questions and those that did not want an education would not. None of the teachers discussed ways in which they have attempted to engage students in any of these specific ways. They just simply abided by this kind of reason. A future study of this school or other similar contexts might want to focus on the extent to which the details of our accountability systems are not actually only imparted to students and parents, but the extent to which these students and parents actually come to comprehend these complex systems.

One teacher's comments were nevertheless disheartening in terms of his explicit expectations for these students and his placing the onus of this responsibility on them:

> So just have enough English to go to the store, to go to the hospital, to get a job and that's it, and that's really their main concern. And you have other students who come… wanting the same thing as native speaking students at high-achieving schools… I think that that manifests in different levels of engagement and why engagement might be challenging to some.

Some of the teachers expressed their belief that most of their students will not graduate from high school. At times, they stated this as a matter of fact rather than as an alarming prediction to address. Teacher 1 stated, "In this setting, I feel that it's very few. I feel like the top 10 percent are going to go far. They're going to at least graduate. They're going to move forward and do well."

SPANISH USE

The primary reason given by the students for enrolling at Global was because of the Spanish use heard around the campus when they went to visit. They thought they were enrolling into a school that specialized in language acquisition. Two years later, none of the Mexican immigrant student participants reported speaking or using English. Those that did speak English reported it was infrequently. Given the limited amount of spaces where they are required to speak, they rarely practiced English. Classroom instruction centered greatly on group work, students were placed with other Spanish-speaking students. This meant they did not have to use English in class most of the time. For the most part, they did not interact with Southside students or any other peer group that required them to speak English. Further, they did not speak English in their home or out in their community since they lived in neighborhoods that were majority minority. Many other Spanish-speakers worked in the grocery stores or other businesses they frequented.

Two of the interviewed teachers are fluent in Spanish while the rest had a good grasp of understanding at least elementary levels of conversational Spanish. Teacher attitudes toward students speaking Spanish and teaching in Spanish varied, often times contradicting themselves. I was surprised that in a school like this one that this turned out to be an area of great conflict and frustration for the teachers who at times empathized and showed relief to be able to communicate with the Spanish-speakers while other times, expressed guilt for not being able to do the same for other students. Teacher 2 spoke extensively about his struggle with Spanish being spoken in the classroom.

> Ninth graders, they don't have English, I don't know how to like completely [enforce English only]—I'm getting better. I do feel like if I try to stand my ground and do English [only], they'll understand it and I force them to speak it. It's a little rough because they know I can speak Spanish. The other cultures, I mean they have to and so I'm a little bit under the bay [he does not speak other languages his students do]. I'm still trying to work that out because it does make me—it frustrates me. I have some kids that don't speak English but yet speaking to them [in English], I'm helping and they'll move along. Yet, some Spanish students if I do the same [and speak English], they're going to beg, they're going to give you those puss in boots eyes like, "Speak to me in Spanish" and regardless if you speak to them in Spanish or not they still fall behind. They still act like helpless students and I don't see how.

The reasons provided to explain the students' unwillingness to speak English include the following: A lack of desire or motivation; fear of losing their language and culture; embarrassed of sounding funny; and relying on the fact that teachers speak Spanish. They sympathized with this resistance while simultaneously denouncing student opposition since they felt that Spanish-speakers were wasting their "advantage" of having a Roman alphabet that other language-speaking students lacked. There was also concern among the teachers that allowing Spanish use was obstructing the student's will to speak English. While they stated this, none of the interviewed teachers enforced English only. I did not observe any situations in which the student needed to use English unless they needed to communicate with the teacher or non-Spanish speaking students, especially given their isolation.

Some of the administrators and teachers expressed a guilt-driven logic for some that being able to communicate in Spanish is unfair to non-Spanish-speakers as was evident with the exclusion of a Spanish parent night, the lack of reaching out to provide social services, and the many comments about this from teachers. This in turn manifests as the exclusion of the Spanish-speaking community. The logic runs along the line that "If you can't do for other languages, you do not do for Spanish either." Ironically, the same logic is not applied in reverse.

The teachers at Global have a difficult task in the classroom. Without any support or training, this manifested in the frustrations, hostility, and deficit views of the students and parents. The last teacher interview question consisted of listing the student participants individually for the teachers to provide their perception of each student's academic ability, their home life, and any additional information they felt would be relevant in my analysis of the data. Rarely, if ever, were the teachers able to provide any personal information on the student or their home-life. The teacher perceptions were often negative and skewed by assumptions they had not confirmed. As a result, the Mexican immigrant students in this study expressed negative views about themselves and talked doubtfully about whether they could accomplish their aspirations.

Chapter 5: Forgotten Mexican Immigrant Student

In the following section, I talk about the lack of information given to the Mexican immigrant students. The students were confused and unsure about graduation requirements, which led to many frustrations for the students. Also included are Eduardo and Miriam's story to illustrate the importance of providing the support and services to all Global High School students.

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION & CONTINUING EDUCATION

As I went through my questions about their schooling experiences at Global, the students would jump in and ask me questions about high school completion requirements. It became apparent that even after two years at Global, they did not understand the schooling structure. When asked about how many credits they had earned, most were unable to answer or gave an answer that was illogical like "I have 50 credits."

Students attending Texas schools can obtain one of three diplomas: minimum, recommended, or distinguished (TEA, 2012). To earn a Minimum High School Diploma, students must to complete 22 credit hours, while Recommended and Distinguished diplomas require 26 credits. To gain a distinguished diploma, students must take Advanced Placement (AP) courses in math and science, which are equivalent to college-level classes. All three programs have similar core class requirements but the future projections for each category of student—as is the case in any curricular tracking system—are vastly different.

Minority and immigrant students are usually encouraged to go through the minimum route, which was true for some of the participants. Valenzuela (1999) similarly found that most students were tracked into the regular (or minimal) diploma track. Antonio, whose decision to migrate was solely based on continuing his education, talked extensively about his confusion over the credits:

> *De esta escuela voy a salir de cómo con 20 créditos y entonces me van a faltar como poquillos para salir. Como si quiero agarra 22, me van a faltar como dos pero si quiero agarra de 26, me faltan 6. Y es lo que no entiendo, dicen que te*

> *pueden cortar las clases y eso, que te pueden quitar horas y eso para que te salgas mas pronto de la high school para no tener los 4 años…* (I will leave this school with 20 credits and then I'll just be missing a few to finsh. If I only do 22, then I'm only be missing two but if I want 26, I need 6. That's what I don't understand, they say they can cut classes and all that so you can leave high school sooner and take less than 4 years...)

Antonio continued to have a long winded dialogue about his confusion. This confusion was common among the students who looked to me to answer some of their questions. I graduated and worked in New Mexico schools; therefore, I was not always able to answer their questions about the Texas system and had to refer them back to the school counselor. I did encourage the students to continue pushing for information from Global or any school they attend in the future. These students have left Global with a credit range of 8.5 to 20 credits. The average number of credits earned was 15 credits and the median was 15.5. Appendix A contains a table with student descriptors.

Antonio's and his friends' postsecondary goals suggested a real interest in higher education that failed to garner much attention or information from their teachers, unfortunately. Their conversation is worth recounting simply because they stand in stark juxtaposition to how the immigrant students at Global were generally construed:

> Antonio – *Quería estudiar, me gusta mucho a mi historia y todo eso. Como esta la clase que esta ahí, a mi me gusta mucho eso de historia y pero también me gusta arquitectura y esas cosas de dibujar pero, son varias cosas. O, psicología, pero psicología esta muy, mucho, muchos psicólogos. Biología, yo antes decía que iba ser biólogo marino desde que estaba chiquito* (I wanted to study, I love history and all that. Like this class I'm taking here, I like history a lot and architecture because I also like drawing and stuff but there are several things. Or, psychology, but psychology, there are very, very, many psychologists. Biology, I use to say that I wanted to be a marine biologist when I was little).

Adan, who did not believe he would be anyone in life, did have a career he aspired to:

> Adan – *Entrenador físico. Si, pues mi mamá me dijo que ellos me apoyan en todo lo que sea. Pero pues no sé ahorita todavía* (Fitness trainer. My mom told me they support me in all whatever I want. But I don't know right now).

Global High School administration and teachers stated numerous times their intent to serve their refugee and immigrant students. However, given their deficit lens, they did not provide adequate information to the Mexican immigrant students who have demonstrated a desire to continue their education.

EDUARDO'S STORY

Eduardo's father migrated 17 years ago and his mother followed 4 years later. Eduardo and his older five siblings, ranging in age from 17 to 27, were left in the care of their grandparents. His parents sent back the much needed financial support to sustain the family. Encouraged by his parents, Eduardo and two older siblings decided to make the journey in search of those *oportunidades*. Eduardo made the six-day journey alone and was suppose to be joined by his siblings three months later who, unfortunately, didn't make it. He now lives with his parents and three younger siblings ages 3, 11, and 15, whom he had never met before. The transition was very difficult for Eduardo who shared, "*Pero a veces me dan ganas de regresarme, extraño a mis abuelitos. Ellos no los miraba como mis abuelitos, los miraba como mis papas, pero ahorita pues ya, ya me acostumbre*" ("That's why sometimes I feel like going back, I miss my grandparents. I didn't see them as my grandparents, I saw them as my parents, but right now, I'm used to it"). Eduardo was no better at convincing me than he was at convincing himself that he is accustomed to living without his grandparents. And still, Eduardo was a very inspiring young man who spoke of those *oportunidades* (opportunities) the most and fought to maintain his composure while sharing his painful history.

The students were asked whether they felt whether the teachers knew them well or whether they shared personal information with these teachers, the response was almost always no. There were two students, in particular, who wanted to reach out to their teacher but did not—one due to a perceived language barrier and the other because she thought the teacher was always busy. Eduardo spoke highly of his favorite teacher whom he credits for convincing him to stay in school:

> *Ya no quería seguir [estudiando]… ya no quería ir a la escuela pero pues, [Teacher 6] así también como habla conmigo me dijo 'sigue yendo a la escuela' me estuvo dando consejo y pues, quiero seguir estudiando… Si me da consejos y pues tengo confianza de hablar con él…* (I didn't want to continue [studying]… I

> didn't want to go to school but. [Teacher 6] talked to me and told me to continue going to school. He was giving me advice and well, I want to keep studying… He gives me advice and I can confide in him...)

Even though Eduardo is listening, he went on to say that he was unable to communicate back with the teacher who does not have strong Spanish skills, "*hablo con él pero pues hay muchas cosas que no sé como contestarle y así…*" (I talk to him but well there's a lot of things that I don't know how to respond to).

Teacher 6 had the following to say about Eduardo:

> One of the brightest here. Lazy as all get up. Does not know what he wants to do with his life. My sensing is that his family life is a little bit unstructured. I don't have any proof of that, just the sense that I get and um, whenever he decides he's going to do something he'll be ok, but until then you know, it's just wait and see. I've told him more than once but, um, he doesn't bite. He hasn't bitten yet, [as in he's not buying in about school]. I get him under control but I mean I have to be right on him you know, like "Come on, come on."True to Teacher 6's reputation, in his own words, he 'kept it real' but continued to relentlessly push and hold high expectations for Eduardo. Unbeknownst to the teacher, he was having the best influence a teacher could ever wish to have, motivating his student to continue pursuing an education. I do, however, disagree with the teacher's assessment of Eduardo as lazy.

True to Teacher 6's reputation, in his own words, he 'kept it real' but continued to relentlessly push and hold high expectations for Eduardo. Unbeknownst to the teacher, he was having the best influence a teacher could ever wish to have, motivating his student to continue pursuing an education. I do, however, disagree with the teacher's assessment of Eduardo as lazy.

I strongly believe Eduardo's underperformance and acting out is due to various emotional distresses stemming from his migration experience. He suffered what Suárez-Orosco et al. (2008) describe as disruptions in emotional attachments, the first from his parents at an early age when they migrated and the second from his grandparents and older siblings during his adolescence when he migrated. This can affect a student's sense of self and impact their ability to forge stable relationships (Suárez-Orosco et al., 2008). The detachment experience is said to result in an "ambiguous loss" of loved ones, meaning that since the loved one is not dead, it hinders a student's ability to grieve the loss, leaving them with unresolved feelings—amplifying the grief and emotions such as through feelings of "sadness, guilt, anger, and hopelessness" (Suárez-Orosco et al., 2008). Teacher 1 provided his perception of Eduardo's behavior:

> I've had Eduardo two years, he's a good kid who is, has an anger switch… He also, when he works, he works diligently, but again he was at a handicap for his interruption or whatever.

Eduardo is currently living with the parents he hardly remembers and younger siblings he met for the first time two years ago. The school has information available regarding psychological services available through the community. I do not know if Eduardo or his family have been approached by any of the school staff to offer this information.

Eduardo was in trouble the past year for making inappropriate comments to a female teacher. He did not share details with me and while the teachers were open to sharing, I did not pursue the story because I felt I owed Eduardo that respect. He had been honest and open with me about many other things discussed off the record that I refused to invade in the one thing he obviously didn't want to share, which I believe stemmed from his embarrassment with the situation. Teacher 1 explained his perception of Eduardo and response to the situation as follows:

> I know he's had problems with other teachers, female teachers. And actually, I've gotten into it with him in class. He, he does the thing where he thinks that he's going to get in the last word and what his last word is, is the gospel which is the fastest way for any of my students to see me go off but, no, I feel that Eduardo and I have a good relationship. We've talked a lot about, um, you know, ultimately at the end of the year, you're still a child and you're not going to win, is what I've tried to convey to him and he thinks that like he can win an argument in life against authority figures whether it's teachers or administrators or anyone and that's something where we've, so I've tried to work with him, so you have to wait more time. Ten years from now before you have a win but yeah, he's a good kid. The issues I have with him are not like he's got, you know, negative tendencies, just stereotypical young male *machismo*.

The teacher's response was to show his authority over Eduardo, a student that is already utterly powerless in every other aspect of his life. His acting out was viewed as a power struggle rather than an outlet for his pent up feelings and a cry for help. Eduardo lived through many horrors in his young life that are haunting him today but his pain and suffering went unnoticed by the school.

MIRIAM'S STORY

Miriam loves to talk and will tell you her entire life story if you give her five minutes. She was born in California to a young mother who was unable to care for her and her brother and sent them to Mexico to be cared for by their grandmother. Miriam moved to Texas two years ago to be with her mother whom she has not seen in 13 years. Her younger brother migrated to Oklahoma in pursuit of a job opportunity. Given the longer span of separation, Miriam and her mother do not have a solid and reliable relationship and she struggled to establish positive peer relationships.

This, along with other stresses in her life, including the fall out with her friends a year ago (mentioned above), led her to an unhealthy relationship. She became dependent on her boyfriend for support and decided to live with him after three short months of courtship, with the consent of her mother. Needless to say, the relationship fizzled quickly but not before highly impacting Miriam and her schooling. Her family life was well known by administrators and staff. As for many others, her decision to move was made as a family with her grandmother included so that she could continue her education:

> *De primero si tenia, si tenia [planes de seguir estudiando]… Ya mi abuelita me decía 'te metes allá a la escuela, tienes mas facilidades de estudiar y mas porque tu eres de aquí, tienes muchas mas probabilidades' por eso yo me quería meter en la escuela* (At first I did have, I did have [plans to continue studying]... My grandmother use to tell me 'go to school there [in the U.S.], it'll be easier for you to study because you are [a citizen], you have many more chances' that's why I wanted get into the school)

Her grades and attendance took a hard hit in the time she's was at Global. Teacher 2 had the following to share about Miriam:

> I know that she comes from a young mother, uh, she did show me pictures once and it just looked like her sister, like, yeah. She misses a lot of school. I mean she missed a lot in tenth-grade and I think in tenth grade. From what I've heard, she's had a record high, um, so I remember her being like, she wanted to do well. She

> wanted to impress. She wanted to feel successful at a certain time but you know, math eventually gets harder if you don't keep those skills….

The teacher never made the association between her absences, disengagement, and poor academic standing with her family life. She instead blamed her for lacking interest in school, an interest that she displayed during a particular point in time there.

She was the only participant to voice that she did not believe she would be able graduate from high school. Miriam was also the only participant who avoided talking about Global. She had a way of dodging questions about the school by redirecting the conversation back to her personal life. I could only surmise that Global did not acknowledge her and so she, in turn, refused to acknowledge Global. When I asked her about her future aspirations, she remained the quietest that she had been throughout our entire conversation.

The students are not receiving the information that is necessary to graduate. They are being limited by the beliefs of the adults in the school, a limit no one should ever place before a student. I wanted to introduce two of the students that were forgotten by the school for being Mexican immigrants and not "diverse." These two students have since moved on and I am hopeful they will be successful in accomplishing the goals they once had. I found the mentorship and guidance late into my undergraduate career so I don't believe it is ever too late to find an educator that can change a student's life, especially because we are all life-long learners.

Conclusion

I set out to understand how Global High School policies and practices help promote the Mexican immigrant students' success. I also wanted to understand what the student, administrator, and teacher perceptions of the newcomer school. While the school has the best of intentions to serve their student population, they were not able to deliver on their mission to serve immigrant students.

In the first chapter I explored the reasons behind Global the disregard toward the Mexican Immigrant students. Unfortunately, the students did not fit the school's image of diversity. In the second chapter, I looked into the isolation and segregation the students find themselves in and the policies the administrators enforced with the intention to protect the students. However, this resulted in the students not being able to establish the peer networks that are necessary for integration and adaptation. The third chapter investigates the animosity that arose from the lack of experience, support, and training of the teachers. This had detrimental effects on how the students viewed themselves. The fourth chapter summarizes the lack of information given to students about graduation requirements. I concluded with Eduardo and Miriam's stories to give name to those that have been forgotten.

My time at Global High School allowed me to get a glimpse into the how the students, teachers, and administrators perceive their school. Left to explore is the school district, which has hindered the school in their mission to serve refugee and immigrant students. The disappearing student population is of grave concern. It would be valuable to explore the causes for the declining immigrant student numbers in the school and district. Furthermore, I would like to follow some of the Mexican immigrant students as they transition back to their neighborhood school in order see how they adapted to their new school environment and whether the peer network is able to accelerate the adaptation that seemed stunted by their isolation at Global.

I visited the school during the summer time while I wrote this thesis and was informed that the future of the school looks bleaker than ever, especially given their declining enrollment. I spoke with the principal for a few minutes while she shared with me her strategy to increase her enrollment. She contacted the district's Public Relations department to help her get the school more exposure. As usual, the conversation quickly focused on the refugee population.

I finally had to ask, "If you're here to serve refugee AND immigrant students, why aren't you targeting the immigrant population which is much larger here in Texas and whose students have as much need for academic support?" After contemplating for a few minutes, she responded that those aren't the kids that are valued by the district. She said that she would have a harder time selling the concept of Global and that she needed to keep focused on the refugee instead. My heart sank when she candidly answered my question and confirmed my suspicion. These views are pernicious and they trickle down to impact every aspect of the teaching of immigrant youth, ranging from policies to practices, curriculum, advising, expectations, and attitudes toward parents. There is no anti-racist pedagogy or ethic here to counter this systemic disregard for these students.

Along with the rest of her administration, I have observed them working diligently over the summer to advocate for additional funding and supports from the district. They have searched for outside grant funding from foundations. I remain hopeful this reflection will have an impact on the principal, her leadership of the school, and that the supports they are able to garner will be extended to the Mexican immigrant students and their families.

I began this thesis by sharing my immigrant story and, with it, the lens from which I approached this study. I often worried this might skew my view. However, reflecting on my experience as a researcher at Global, I believe my experience allowed me to understand the students and the gravity of their situation. I whole-heartedly believe the majority of educators want to support their students and see them accomplish amazing feats. But there is no second chance once the student leaves the classroom.

Appendix A

Name	Age	Reason For Migrating	Reunification with Parents, Guardian	Finished Junior High	Credits Earned	Gaps in Schooling
Adalia	16	Family	Yes, Parents	Yes	15.5	No
Adan	16	School	No, Parents	Yes	16	No
Ana	16	Family & School	Yes, Parents	Transitioned	14.5	No
Antonio	17	School	No, Extended Family	+1 yr H.S.	19.5	No
Eduardo	17	Family & School	Yes, Parents	Yes	12	1 Year
Hector	17	School	No, Siblings	Yes	16	No
Jimena	17	Family & School	Yes, Parents	Yes	20	1 Year
Laura	16	Family	Yes, Parents	N/A	8.5	N/A
Miriam	17	Family & School	Yes, Mother	Yes	10.5	No
Monica		School	Yes, Mother	Transitioned	15.5	No
Rocio	16	Family & School	Yes, Parents	Yes	16	No
Roberto	17	Other	Yes, Parents	Transitioned	15.5	No
Saul	17	School	No, Siblings	Yes	20	No

References

Acuña, R. F. (2011). *Occupied America: A history of Chicanos* (7th ed.). Boston: Charlyce Jones Owen.

Anti-Defamation League (2008). *No Place for Hate*. Retrieved from http://www.adl.org/npfh/.

Allen, D. (2007). *Just who do you think I am? The name-calling and name-claiming of newcomer youth*. Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics (CJAL)/Revue canadienne de linguistique appliquée (RCLA) 10(2): 165-175.

Anzaldúa, G. and S. Saldívar-Hull (1999). *Borderlands: La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Banks, J. A., Ed. (2004). *Multicultural education: Historical development, dimensions, and practice*. Banks, J. A. and C. A. M. G. Banks (Eds.). Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Wiley Imprint.

Bernal, D. D. (2001). *Learning and living pedagogies of the home: The mestiza consciousness of Chicana students*. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 14(5): 623-639.

Blauner, B. (2001). *Still the Big News: Racial Oppression in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Carrasco, S., J. Pàmies, et al. (2009). *Segregación escolar e inmigración en Cataluña: Aproximaciones etnográficas*. Investigaciones en inmigración y educación en España. Homenaje a Eduardo Terrén Lalana. Madrid: CIDE-Ministerio de Educación.

Chavez, L. R. (2008). *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Clayson, W. S. (2010). *Freedom is Not Enough: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Texas* (Vol. Ebrary Reader). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Contreras, J. (2009). *In the shadow of the giant: the Americanization of modern Mexico*. Rutgers University Press.

De León, A. (1983). *They called them greasers: Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas*, 1821-1900, University of Texas Press.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1992). *School matters in the Mexican-American home: Socializing children to education*. American Educational Research Journal 29(3): 495-513.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1994). *Russian refugee families: Accommodating aspirations through education*. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 25(2): 137-155.

Foley, D. E., Mota,C., Post, D.E., & Lozano, I. (1977). *From Peones to Politios: Ethnic Relations in a South Texas Town, 1900 to 1977*. Austin, TX: Center for Mexican American Studies of The University of Texas at Austin.

Fry, R. A. (2010). *Hispanics, high school dropouts and the GED*. Pew Hispanic Center.

Gersten, R. (1999). Lost opportunities: Challenges confronting four teachers of English-language learners." The Elementary School Journal: 37-56.

Gibson, M. (1988). *Accommodation without Assimilation. Sikh inmigrantes in an American High School.* New York. Cornell University Press.

Gibson, M., Gándara, P., & Peterson Koyama, J. (Eds) (2004). *School Connections: U.S. Mexican Youth, Peers, and School Achievement.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Gibson, M. & Ogbu, J. (1991). *Minority Status and Schooling. A Comparative Study off Inmigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London. Garland Publishing.

Gitlin, A., Buendía, E., Crosland, K., & Doumbia, F. (2003). The Production of Margin and Center: Welcomin-Unwelcoming of Immigrant Students. *American Educational Research Journal, 40*(1), 91-122.

Goodwin, A. L. (2002). *Teacher preparation and the education of immigrant children*. Education and Urban Society 34(2): 156-172.

Harklau, L. (1994). *ESL versus mainstream classes: Contrasting L2 learning environments*. TESOL quarterly 28(2): 241-272.

Hernandez, D. J., Denton, N.A., & Macartney,S.E. (2008). *Children in immigrant families: Looking to America's future*. Social Policy Report 22(3): 3-22.

Hernandez, K. L. (2010). *Migra! A history of the U.S. Border Patrol*. Berkeley and L.A., CA: University of California Press.

Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1991). *Situational ethnicity and patterns of school performance among immigrant and nonimmigrant Mexican-descent students*. In Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities. M.A. Gibson & J. U. Ogbu (Eds.). New York & London. Garland Publishing.

McBrien, J. L. (2005). *Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: A review of the literature*. Review of Educational Research 75(3): 329-364.

McLemore, S.D. & Romo, H.D. (1998). *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America* (Fifth ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon

Miguel, J., G.S. and R. R. Valencia (1998). *From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood: The educational plight and struggle of Mexican Americans in the Southwest*. Harvard Educational Review 68(3): 353-413.

Moll, L. C. and E. Arnot-Hopffer (2005). *Sociocultural competence in teacher education*. Journal of teacher education 56(3): 242-247.

Nicholas, P. and D. Genova (2002). *Migrant "illegality" and deportability in everyday life*. Annual review of anthropology: 419-447.

Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*, Addison Wesley Longman.

Ogbu, J. U. (1974). *The next generation: An ethnography of education in an urban neighborhood*.

Ogbu, J. U. (2008). *A history and Status of a Theoretical Debeate*. In J. Ogbu (Ed.) Minority status, oppositional culture, and schooling, Taylor & Francis.

Ogbu, J. U. & Simons, H. D. (1998). *Voluntary and involuntary minorities: a cultural-ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education*. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 29(2): 155-188.

Olsen, L. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*.

Olsen, L. (2000). *Learning English and learning America: Immigrants in the center of a storm*. Theory into Practice 39(4): 196-202.

Pettigrew, T.F. (2004). *Intergroup Contact: Theory, Research, and New Perspectives*. Handbook of research on multicultural education. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.

Pollock, M. (2005). *Colormute: Race talk dilemmas in an American school*. Princeston, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rong, X. L. and J. Preissle (1998). *Educating Immigrant Students*. What We Need To Know To Meet the Challenges, ERIC.

Solorzano, D. G. and D. D. Bernal (2001). *Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and Latcrit Theory Framework Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context*. Urban Education 36(3): 308-342.

Suarez-Orozco, M., Suarez-Orozco, C. (1995). *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Suarez-Orozco, C., Suarez-Orozco, M., Todorova, I. (2007). *Learning a New Land: Immigrant students in American Society,* Harvard University Press.

Texas Education Agency (2006-2012). *Academic Excellence Indicator System; International High School*. Retrieved from http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/

Texas Education Agency (2010). *Commissioner's Home School Policy Letter*. Retrieved from http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/taa/homeschools03232010.html

Texas Education Agency. (2011a). 2011-2012 Student Attendance Accounting Handbook Version 2. Retrieved from www.tea.state.tx.us/WorkArea/linkit.aspx?LinkIdentifier=id&ItemID=2147504134&libID=2147504128

Texas Education Agency. (2011b). Austin ISD School District Summary. Retrieved from http://loving1.tea.state.tx.us/lonstar/reports/summary2010/district/aag1-dist-schooldist-pdf-en-us-227901.pdf

Texas Education Agency. (2011c). SBOE - State Board of Education. Retrieved from http://www.tea.state.tx.us/index4.aspx?id=4214

Texas Education Agency. (2011d). TAKS Revised Information Booklets. Retrieved from http://www.tea.state.tx.us/student.assessment/taks/infobooks/

Texas Education Agency. (2012). STAAR Resources. Retrieved from http://www.tea.state.tx.us/student.assessment/staar/

Texas Legislature Online. (82nd Legislature, 1st session, 2012). Retrieved from http://www.capitol.state.tx.us/

U.S. Department of Education. (2012). Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). Washington D.C. Retrieved from http://www2.ed.gov/policy/gen/guid/fpco/ferpa/index.html

Urrieta, L. (2010). *Working from within: Chicana and Chicano activist educators in whitestream schools*. University of Arizona Press.

Urrieta, L. and L. R. Méndez Benavídez (2007). *Community commitment and activist scholarship*. *Journal* of Hispanic Higher Education 6(3): 222-236.

Valdes, G. (1996). *Con respeto*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press New York.

Valencia, R. R. (2002). *Mexican Americans Don't Value Education!" On the Basis of the Myth, Mythmaking, and Debunking*. Journal of Latinos and Education 1(2): 81-103.

Valencia, R. R. (2010). *Dismantling contemporary deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*, Taylor & Francis.

Valencia, R. R. (2011). *Chicano school failure and success: Past, present, and future*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Substractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Valenzuela, A., Fuller, E., Vazquez-Heilig, J. (2006). *The disappearance of high school English language learners from Texas high schools*. Williams Review 1: 170-200.

Walsh, E. (2007). East Austin Environmental Justice History. East Austin Environmental Justice, A Community Partnership. Retrieved from http://soa.utexas.edu/.../East%20Austin%20Environmental%20Justice%20H

Waters, M. C. (1996). *The intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity in identity development of Caribbean American teens*. Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities: 65-81.

Yosso, T. J. (2002). *Toward a critical race curriculum*. Equity &Excellence in Education 35(2): 93-107.