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"HEAR US, SEE US": CONSTRUCTING CITIZENSHIP IN THE MARGINS

by

Tricia M. Hagen Gray

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

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In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

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Under the Supervision of Professor Lauren Gatti

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“HEAR US, SEE US”: CONSTRUCTING CITIZENSHIP IN THE MARGINS

Tricia M. Hagen Gray, Ph.D.

University of Nebraska, 2017

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The meatpacking industry has drawn an increasing number of immigrants to the Midwestern community of Washington River from Mexico and Central America, making it a New Latino Diaspora (NLD) receiving community. Demographic change amidst the sociopolitical landscape of neoliberalism, declining civic engagement, and polarized partisan politics has forced interaction between longstanding residents and newcomers who are socially, culturally, and linguistically different. Historically marginalized groups have sought to claim rights—especially since Donald Trump’s election in 2016—resulting in a deeper fissure of the social landscape.

Washington River High School provided a context in which to explore questions about how students construct citizen identities: How do high school newcomer students construct citizen identities in social studies? Who are key individuals who influence the construction of citizenship and how do they influence students? Given the institutional nature of schooling, how do newcomers transform the school and how does the school transform them?

Three themes emerged from this critical ethnographic case study, through analysis of interviews with seven students, one teacher, and one paraeducator, observations in a history class, and a range of documents. First, schooling structures did not adapt to newcomer students’ dual realities. Second, different people in the classroom manifested care in different ways and these differences indicated different aims for schooling for newcomers. Third, there were missed opportunities to connect school to students’ lives and to integrate students into the school and community in meaningful and justice-oriented ways.

Taken together, these themes speak to the need for schools to transform in order to provide newcomer students equitable opportunities to construct citizen identities within the full realm of the public space rather than being relegated to the margins. These themes also point to the resistance to change in this NLD community and in the public high school that serves its residents, and to the need for the community to step up to meet some of the newcomers' needs. Mrs. Sánchez's presence as a bilingual Latina in the classroom also offers useful lessons to schools and communities aiming to move toward more inclusive schooling and community experiences for all students.

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Table of Contents

Chapter One: “Hear Us, See Us”: Constructing Citizenship in the Margins.....	1
Polarization and Demographic Change in the United States.....	4
Constructing Immigration as a Problem.....	9
A Public Gathering Place: Washington River High School.....	20
Social Studies as a Site for Democratic Citizenship Education.....	23
Outline of the Dissertation.....	25
Chapter Two: Teaching and Learning Amid Demographic Change.....	27
The Challenges of “Mismatch”.....	29
Newcomers’ Access to Equitable Educational Experiences.....	43
Hopeful Policy Responses to Demographic Change.....	52
Situating My Study in Recent Scholarship.....	59
Chapter Three: Newcomers as “Creators and Holders of Knowledge” in the New Latino Diaspora.....	61
Research Questions.....	63
Rationale for a Qualitative Design.....	64
Positioning Myself.....	65
Theoretical Framework.....	68
Critical Ethnographic Case Study Methodology.....	73
Chapter Four: The Students, the Classroom, the Program, and the Curriculum.....	87
The Students.....	87
The Classroom.....	99
The ELL Program at WRHS.....	107
The Curriculum.....	114

Chapter Five: The Students.....	120
Being Teens.....	120
Being New.....	125
Help: Needing It, Finding It, Accepting It, and Giving It.....	130
El <i>Respeto</i> in the Classroom.....	136
Living in the Margins of School.....	140
The Dual Lives of Students.....	145
Chapter Six: Mrs. Sánchez.....	150
The Intersecting Identities of Mrs. Sánchez.....	150
Mrs. Sánchez at Work.....	160
Seeing Worth in Her Work.....	178
Chapter Seven: Mrs. Durham.....	179
The “Sacrificial Life” of Mrs. Durham.....	179
Toward a Wider Circle of Care.....	206
Chapter Eight: Discussion, Conclusions, and Implications.....	209
“Mismatch”: School Rules Versus Students’ Realities.....	210
Care in the Classroom.....	218
Missed Opportunities in the Classroom and School.....	230
Conclusions.....	239
Implications.....	246
A Final Note: Constructing Citizenship in a Time of Trump.....	249
References.....	251
Appendices.....	278

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Historical Context of Immigration.....11

Figure 2: Population Demographics of Washington River in 2000 and 2010.....16

Figure 3: Sayra’s Illustrated “I Am From” Poem.....106

Table 1: Data Validation Techniques.....86

Table 2: Student Participants.....89

Chapter One: “Hear Us, See Us”: Constructing Citizenship in the Margins

The stillness of shock weighed heavily on the morning of November 9, 2016, after the public learned the results of the U.S. Presidential election the previous night. Women all over the country had worn white to the voting booth on November 8 in a nod to the suffragettes of the early 1900s who worked to claim women’s right to vote, and in this election, a woman—Hillary Rodham Clinton—was poised to be the next President of the United States. Her election seemed inevitable after the contentious and polarizing campaigns both she and her opponent, Donald Trump had run. As election results were publicized on the evening of November 8, concern and bewilderment over the unlikely result intensified. Almost impossibly, it seemed, Donald Trump would be our country’s next President.

The world is reeling today from the stunning U.S. Presidential election of Donald Trump yesterday. The feeling is distinctly dystopian, much like the numbness I recall experiencing throughout the day of September 11, 2001, and the days following. I feel like I don’t know my country—as if I was blind to the ashamed Trump voters who felt they had no other choice. How could the polls have been so wrong? They weren’t. How could we not have seen this? *We* could have; we just didn’t accept it. Who is that *we* anyway?

The ugliness of the Trump campaign—the misogynist, sexist, racist, nationalist, and nativist bigotry so blatantly on display—was divisive, to say the least. His personal and professional history seemed, at several passes in the past two years, to preclude and disqualify him from holding the highest office in the nation (See, for example, Keith Olbermann recount the list of “176 Reasons Donald Trump Shouldn’t Be President Using Trump’s Own Words.” His incisive indictment of Trump’s offenses goes on for nearly 18 minutes.). While it’s impossible to identify the most egregious offenses, certainly many thought he would not be able to come back as a legitimate choice from the release of a recording in which Trump boasts of his ability to sexually assault women with no repercussions—which, when questioned about it, he later dismissed as “locker room talk” (Fahrenthold, 2016).

The groups Trump offended in just a little over a year span the spectrum of all identity descriptors. However, perhaps most outrageous was Trump’s campaign promise to build a wall on the southern border the United States shares with Mexico. His assault on Mexicans—which became code for “immigrants”—began in his June 16, 2015, campaign announcement speech during which he stated:

When Mexico sends it people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us (*sic*). They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. (Kopan, 2016)

These comments became the foundation of Trump's foreign policy platform—to instill fear of the Other. He would continue to layer insults (e.g., describing “bad hombres” from Mexico during the final Presidential debate October 19, 2016), and those insults covered even those natural-born U.S. citizens who were of Mexican descent—as in the case of Judge Gonzalo Curiel, who Trump said could not be objective in hearing a case involving Trump University because of his heritage (Kendall, 2016).

Alas, I sat—with much of the world—in shocked disbelief and sadness last night as I watched the election results come in, declaring Donald Trump as our country's 45th President. It was a sleepless night as I lay awake thinking of the possibility of campaign promises kept.

This morning was chilly and crisp, and as I walked into the high school I noticed the stillness of the air—as if it were holding its breath. (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16)

Mrs. Carina Durham, a high school English Language Learners (ELLs)¹ in Washington River, an exurban Midwestern community in which a large number of Latin@ immigrants live and work, faced her students on the morning following the election with a brief acknowledgement of the election results. Her normally boisterous and animated disposition was muted on this day. Mrs. Gabriela Sánchez, the Spanish-English bilingual paraeducator who worked alongside Mrs. Durham, served as a translator and interpreter in the classroom. She was more reserved than Mrs. Durham, but on that day her demeanor seemed a mixture of anger and numbness. Having just finished a brief curriculum unit on elections in the United States in their U.S. History class—and even holding their own mock election the day before—they were tasked on that Wednesday with helping students make sense of this event. On that day following Trump's election, they faced a classroom full of newcomer students who had just a couple of days earlier nervously joked about the prospects of being deported in order to help build “the wall”²; on that day, students were quiet,

¹ English Language Learner (ELL) is used to refer to students who are in the process of learning English (Wright, 2010); I use this term to counter the label of Limited English Proficient (LEP), which is more deficit-based. According to the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court ruling, all students have a right to instruction in a language they understand; that is, *equal* instruction (i.e., instruction in English) does not equate to equal educational opportunity. It is notable that Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 replaced bilingual education with Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students (Wright, 2010). In so doing, English was privileged above other languages for the purposes of education.

² Trump, during his 2015 announcement of his candidacy for president promised, “I would build a great wall [on our southern border]—and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me—and I'll build them very inexpensively. I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall” (Kopan, 2016).

consoling friends with a touch on the arm or a brief hug before sitting in their desks. These students, many of whom were undocumented³ or in the process of seeking asylee status⁴, were the very portrait of the immigrants Trump had targeted and vilified during his campaign, and their slumped shoulders and downcast eyes conveyed their understanding of the implications of this election for their lives.

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes from the morning of November 9, 2016, demonstrates how the members of Mrs. Durham's history class for ELLs at Washington River High School (WRHS) reflected the shock of an entire country.

The classroom is really dark. Mrs. Durham looks as if she has been crying. I feel the same heaviness and disillusion. Glancing at Gabriela's desk, I recall the photo I had seen posted yesterday on Facebook of her desk covered in 21 bags of Takis—a lime resting atop each bag—in celebration of her 21st birthday. The simple gesture of those gifts from the students offers a counter to the grim reality of a Trump presidency for her birthday. Gabriela is sitting behind her now cleared desk.

Mrs. Durham takes a deep breath, and the students seem to sense the shakiness. I imagine it must feel like the first words she speaks to these students bear the weight of the world—and their futures. "I know today is going to be really hard for some of you," she begins slowly. "I want you to remember that based on the government we have, no one person has all the power." Her voice breaks as she starts to cry. I feel tears welling up in my eyes as well. She takes a deep breath and continues, "Remember...half the country didn't vote for him." It is clear there is an assumption that students know the results of the election.

"If anything happens to you..." she trails off, and then continues, "...this room will always be a safe place." Many students smile. They are all silent as they listen. Mrs. Sánchez translates. I can tell this is so hard for her. Her own life experience so closely mirrors that of many of these students, and I know this hit so close to home.

Mrs. Durham goes on: "I'm going to be watching the news ... like a crazy person..." and "I don't have a very large basement ...but I do have a basement. You can come live with me." There are many giggles in the room after students hear Mrs. Sánchez's translation. *She's implying that students can come and stay in her basement if they fear for their safety or security.* "I love you guys very much," she finishes. Alejandro says, "Thank

³ "Undocumented" refers to a person residing in the United States "without legal permission" (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010, p. 145).

⁴ "Asylee status" is granted to a person who, after arriving in the U.S., seeks protection from persecution based on race, religion, national origin, gender, political opinion, or on being a part of a particular social group. The F4 category of family-based sponsorships for green cards is a recent development for those fleeing El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala (Justice for Our Neighbors, personal communication, October 6, 2017).

you, Mrs. Durham.” Other students offer soft affectionate smiles to her. The room is really still. (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16)

The first executive actions of President Trump crystallized the fears and tears in Mrs. Durham’s classroom that day. The executive order to authorize the construction of the border wall Trump had promised from his campaign podium to build between the United States and Mexico—the border all of these students had crossed—was issued just days after Trump’s inauguration (Executive Order No. 13767, 2017). Days later, Trump’s next order banning the entry of refugees from seven majority-Muslim countries sent a clear message that the Trump administration meant to instill fear of—and in—immigrants, especially those from war-torn and violence-ridden regions (Executive Order No. 13769, 2017). The chaos that ensued at airports and in protest marches across the country (and the world) were an apt reflection of the feelings these students experienced quietly on November 9.

I explored in this study how newcomer students in an English Language Learner social studies classroom constructed citizen identities within this context of political polarization, nativist, racist, and nationalist rhetoric and actions. In this introductory chapter, I provide a description of the sociopolitical landscape framing the study. I discuss citizenship within the polarization of the United States amidst a context of demographic change, and I explain how immigration within this demographic change has been constructed as a problem in the United States. I situate Washington River within the larger discussion of immigration as a receiving community in the New Latino Diaspora (Hamann & Harklau, 2015), and I provide a description of the local context, including the influence of the meatpacking industry in attracting immigrants and a significant anti-immigrant city ordinance. I also describe Washington River High School and frame the problem statement for this study, and I conclude with an outline of the dissertation.

Polarization and Demographic Change in the United States

Democracy in the United States is endangered. The neoliberal conception of citizens as consumers has cultivated competition among citizens and affirmed the ideological notion of rugged individualism. Ironically, these “rugged individuals” advanced a resolution in 2015 to repeal the estate tax, an issue in which the 2017 Congress has also shown increased interest; in other words, they wanted to remain entitled to their family’s enormous wealth without being taxed on it (Ebeling, 2015).

Civic engagement is on a rapid decline (Levine, 2007; Putnam, 2000), and voter apathy—evidenced in the significant decline of voters showing up at the polls in the past decade (McDonald, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2013a; 2013b)⁵—defines the present political moment in the United States⁶. Members of Congress and the public in general are so politically “polarized” (Fiorina & Abrams, 2008; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; McAvoy & Hess, 2013)—voting and collaborating strictly along party lines and even arguing within those divides—as to prevent any sort of democratic deliberation at all, and an ethos of winning and losing prevails. Compromise is noticeably absent in the current political landscape. In addition, demographic change has forced longstanding residents to encounter and interact with people who are socially, culturally, and linguistically different. The struggles of historically marginalized groups to claim rights—especially as Trump’s election has emboldened previously suppressed nationalist, nativist, sexist, and racist rhetoric—has resulted in a deeper fissure of the social landscape.

Democracy is not a static enterprise, and polarization paralyzes the cultivation of the public spaces where deliberation over public issues ought to happen (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; McAvoy & Hess, 2013). Instead, deliberation is thwarted by the noise and financial resources of the powerful

⁵ Relevant to the context of this study, voter turnout in 2012 shows the gap between White voters (64%) and Hispanic voters (48%) narrowed between 2008 and 2012 (Pew Research Center, 2013b).

⁶ While voter turnout remains low, the civic participation in marches in support of women and immigrants and protests against the executive actions of Donald Trump has activated a significant number of citizens (Liu, 2016).

and wealthy groups who pose almost insurmountable political obstacles to grassroots democratic action. The Supreme Court ruling in the *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* case in 2010 granted wealthy groups the legal right to wield financial resources for political goals. This ruling that “spending is speech” effectually granted corporations the same rights as people, allowing corporations to spend unlimited amounts of money to persuade voters (i.e., through campaign ads or propaganda) as long as they do not give money directly to candidates (Dunbar, 2012). The financial resources at the disposal of a large corporation clearly dwarf those of individuals or other less-wealthy groups, thereby privileging corporate interests (e.g., regulations and political agreements involving in their industries⁷) over those of individuals.

An orientation toward social justice, though, implies the belief that all people should have conditions in which they can “pursue their conceptions of the good life” (North, 2006, p. 512) and have those conditions protected by society. Democracy—conceived of as Dewey (1916) imagined, as a “mode of associated living” (p. 50)—requires a citizenry who attend to all people’s right to a “good life.” Each person must acknowledge the influence his or her decisions have on others in all aspects of social life.

Understood as a way of living together, democracy must also be learned; Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Rush both argued for an “educated citizenry” to sustain a democratic republic based in a desire to afford an education to all citizens of the young nation (Labaree, 2010). Dewey (1916) argued that education is a “midwife” of democracy (1916), aiding in giving life to democracy with each successive generation. These early framers of public education—Jefferson

⁷ The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994 between the United States, Mexico, and Canada is one example of a political agreement that benefits corporations. NAFTA reduced tariffs and removed trade barriers, while promising to create jobs in all three countries. While corporations benefitted from their growing markets, workers’ wages stagnated and migration (unauthorized immigration, in particular) from Mexico to the U.S. increased (Hartman, 2010).

and Rush in the late 1700s and Dewey in the early 1900s—paved the way for schools to be seen as makers of citizens.

The democratic citizen—Dewey’s “midwife” of democracy—who is able to sustain a robust and vibrant democracy is central to this study. Parker (2003) emphasizes a citizen’s capacity and disposition to “[pay] attention to and [care] for the public household, the common good” (p. 11).

Parker (2003) offers a description of the qualities of the democratic citizen that informed this study; he explains that the democratic citizen is one who exhibits the following qualities:

- A sense of the ‘inescapable network of mutuality’ and ‘inter-being;’
- Practical judgment (everyday, situated intelligence);
- A shared fund of civic knowledge (e.g., knowing the conditions that have undermined democracies in the past);
- A shared fund of civic know-how (e.g., deliberation skills and the disposition to use them); and
- A thirst for justice for others and for oneself. (p. 23)

This collection of qualities acknowledges the necessary interdependence of democratic citizens, as well as the knowledge and skills democratic citizens need in order to participate in public life in an informed way. Importantly, this definition of the democratic citizen includes an orientation toward justice for all people.

Cultural and racial identities, too, inform how citizen identities are constructed and practiced (Ladson-Billings, 2004), especially given the historical construction of citizenship in the United States. This dimension of citizen identities, therefore, acknowledges the ways in which Whiteness has been used historically as a criterion for citizenship in the U.S., and it insists that “full *membership* in the community” is central to citizenship (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p. 101, italics mine). Historically minoritized and marginalized groups of people, then, have had to claim “the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 402). “Cultural

citizenship” in a democracy insists upon equity among all citizens, even when societal constructions have privileged certain groups over others (Rosaldo, 1994).

Schools in a democratic context, then, face a unique challenge in *consciously* reproducing (Gutmann, 1987) citizens⁸ who can enact democracy in a justice-oriented way (Allen, 2004). Parker (2003) reminds us that schools are “the first sustained *public* experience for children” (p. xviii)—and for *immigrant* minors—so it follows that they are sites of democratic education and political engagement (Allen, 2004; Gould, Jamieson, Levine, McConnell, & Smith, 2011; Labaree, 1997; Labaree, 2010; Gutmann, 1987; Swalwell, 2013). Washington River High School, located in a community experiencing significant demographic change provided a site in which to explore questions about how democracy is learned and how newcomer students construct citizen identities in the practice of everyday life.

Eminent demographic changes in the U.S. speak to the urgency in engaging citizens in constructive political discourse, especially across racial and ethnic groups, and these changes are reflected in our schools. While the United States is currently home to more immigrants than any other country in the world, the demographic portrait of our population is projected to change dramatically in the next 50 years (Pew Research Center, 2015). According to the Pew Research Center (2015), the percentage of the foreign-born population is projected to reach a record-high 18.8% by 2060, and climbing over 15% as soon as 2025. In particular, although 34.9% of Hispanics⁹ are currently foreign-born, this figure is expected to decline as the percentage of U.S.-born Hispanics increases; currently, Hispanic births in the United States account for 78% of the

⁸ My use of the word “citizen” refers to all people who are guaranteed equal protection of rights under the Constitution of the United States; that is, all people living in the U.S. *regardless of legal status* (Chomsky, 2007; Levinson, 2012).

⁹ “Hispanic” is a contested term (Oboler, 1995; Chomsky, 2007) with racialized connotations, but I use it here to reflect the demographic categories used by the United States Census Bureau (2010) and Pew Research Center (2015). “Latino” is a more appropriate term to describe people of Latin American heritage (Oboler, 1995; Chomsky, 2007), although all ethnic and/or racial terminology is subject to debate.

population growth (Pew Research Center, 2015). The population of second-generation Hispanic Americans and Hispanic immigrants, taken together, is expected to reach almost 40% of the total population by 2050; by 2060, the White population will have decreased to 43% (Pew Research Center, 2014a).

Even acknowledging the complexity of accurately projecting population growth, it is hard to dispute that the face of the United States will look very different by the middle of the 21st century. The construction of a widely diverse “public household” (Parker, 2003) will undoubtedly occur—at least partly—in schools. It will be the challenging work of schools to cultivate “political friendship” (Allen, 2004, p. 165), a mode of citizenship in which citizens regard one another as equal under the law and acknowledge and address historical legacies that have minoritized, marginalized, and racialized some groups of the population (Bigelow, 2010; Oboler, 1995).

Constructing Immigration as a Problem

The United States has a long history of immigration policies, but a number of national, state, and local policies have been especially influential in framing the current political moment with regard to immigration, particularly in rural areas (see Figure 1). As far back as the Great Depression of the 1930s, the United States forcibly deported a half million Mexican migrants and their U.S. citizen children—without regard for their legal status—manifesting implicitly racist motivations (De Genova, 2006). Shortly thereafter, finding the country in the midst of a dire labor shortage—due to World War II—the U.S. recruited and ushered in large numbers of Mexican laborers under the Bracero Program, which continued until 1964 under the management of the Department of Labor (De Genova, 2006). Indeed, through this program the United States contracted legal immigrant work from Mexico, but also actively recruited migrant laborers who entered the U.S. without a legal contract (De Genova, 2006).

Since 1965, immigration reforms have vacillated between liberal reforms to facilitate immigration and more conservative reforms to restrict—and criminalize—immigration. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) (Public Law 99-603; 100 Stat. 33-15) focused explicitly on undocumented immigration, and built a profile of the “illegal immigrant”—one who “entered without inspection”—as opposed to an immigrant who entered legally but overstayed his or her visa (De Genova, 2006, p. 76). The Immigration Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-649; 104 Stat. 4978) increased the punitive measures for illegal immigration and restricted immigrants’ rights to due process in deportation cases (De Genova, 2006).

It was in 1994 that immigration reform and legal enforcement was taken up on a state level when California’s Proposition 187 was approved by voters (Castañeda, 2006). Proposition 187’s “Save Our State (S.O.S.)” campaign that grew out of the suburbs of Los Angeles and Orange County aimed to deny basic public services (e.g., public schooling and health care) to “illegal aliens” and to transfer the work of enforcement to civilians (e.g., educators and medical professionals) (Castañeda, 2006, p. 153). The rhetoric implied that public services drew immigrants to California—and by extension, to other states—and rejected blaming employers for hiring undocumented workers at low wages (Castañeda, 2006). Organizations like the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) brought a case against the state of California to dispute Proposition 187, and although a federal judge issued a permanent injunction pending trial, the case did not proceed to trial; however, the idea that states could issue policies to address immigration enforcement had seeped into the public imagination (Castañeda, 2006).

These policies—even in light of more hopeful and inclusive policies¹⁰—had the cumulative effect of criminalizing undocumented immigrants, promoting civilian policing of immigrants, and blaming immigrants for the problems of our immigration system. Policies like California’s Proposition 187 also paved the way for citizens to adopt the notion that state and local civilians had the responsibility of reforming the immigration system. These assumptions, as I will discuss in subsequent sections, are especially significant in the context of Washington River.

Historical Context				
1930s-1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
1930s Great Depression in the U.S. Mass deportations of Mexicans regardless of legal status	1985 Strike at Hormel plant in Austin, MN	1990 Immigration Act of 1990 increases punitive measures for undocumented immigration and restricts due process for immigrants	2006-2008 Eventual 2-term Senator and State Auditor serves on Wind River City Council and advocates for voter ID and stripping prenatal care for undocumented residents	2010 Parts of Wind River’s “Save Our City” ordinance enacted
1945-1964 Bracero Program through U.S. Department of Labor to address worker shortage during World War II	1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act targeting undocumented immigration	1992 Campbell’s Soup Co. opens in Wind River	2000-2010 167% increase in Hispanic population in Lewis County	Increase in arrival of immigrants from Central America, including unaccompanied minors
		1993 Hormel expands in Wind River adding several hundred jobs		
		1994 CA Prop. 187 aims to deny public services to undocumented immigrants and introduces the idea of state enforcement of immigration policies		
		1994 Beef meatpacking plant opens in Wind River		
		1990-1994 Eventual Governor of state sits on Wind River City Council		
		1990-2000 537% increase in Hispanic population in Lewis County		

Figure 1. Historical Context of Immigration

Immigration and the New Latino Diaspora

Returning to the current demographic data discussed in previous sections, large numbers of immigrants from the Central American countries of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras are

¹⁰ Former President Obama’s 2012 Executive Action, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), is one example of such a policy (Mayorkas, 2012). This action allowed undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States under the age of 16, were under the age of 31, and who had lived in the U.S. since 2007 with a clean record to apply for “deferred action” on their removal status for a period of two years. This status also authorized recipients to work and the status could be renewed (Mayorkas, 2012). It is notable, however, that DACA recipients are still subject to the requirements of a clean record, whereas natural-born or naturalized citizens who break the law or do not graduate from high school are not subject to deportation. Trump’s rescinding of DACA on September 5, 2016, has recently placed over 800,000 DACAmented citizens’ lives in limbo as they await Congressional action on the issue.

arriving in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2014a), and—as referenced above—second-generation Mexican immigrants are establishing a more prominent presence. Although the numbers of Mexican immigrants have actually decreased since 2009 (Zong & Batalova, 2016), Central American immigrants most often enter the United States by way of Mexico (Pew Research Center, 2014b). More specifically, the Pew Research Center (2014b) reports that federal and state officials have indicated that the unprecedented numbers of unaccompanied minors¹¹ stopped at the U.S.-Mexico border have taxed the current immigration system. Teenagers represented 84% of the unaccompanied minors detained at the U.S.-Mexico border in a period of eight months spanning the end of 2013 into 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2014b). Then-President Obama requested over three and a half billion dollars to formulate a response to this urgent situation (Pew Research Center, 2014b).

The reasons undergirding these waves of immigration are complex and largely related to the decades of poverty and violence in the home countries¹² (Pew Research Center, 2014b). In a study conducted by Catholic Relief Services (2010) involving interviews of 757 undocumented and unaccompanied Central American children detained in Mexico, the children described the gang violence, rape, exploitation, and dehydration and malnourishment they experienced at home and as they traveled to the United States. According to the same study, most of them left their homes with under \$100. Corruption among border agents and the porosity of the Mexican southern border exacerbate the situation (Washington Office on Latin America, 2014). The experiences of these children reveal the emotional, economic, and physical toll of their journeys northward.

¹¹ An “unaccompanied minor” is defined by the United Nations (1997) as “a person who is under the age of eighteen, unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is, attained earlier and who is ‘separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so’” (p. 1).

¹² For example, Honduras’ murder rate, attributed to violence stemming from gangs and drug trafficking, was almost 90 homicides per 100,000 residents in 2012, and has hovered near that number since then. This is the highest rate in the world (Pew Research Center, 2014b; U.S. Department of State, 2017).

A number of those unaccompanied and/or undocumented minors make it into the United States, seeking employment or reunification with family members (Catholic Relief Services, 2010); indeed, an increasing number of them arrive in U.S. schools, 17% of them speaking only indigenous languages and 90% of them having only four to five years of formal schooling in their home countries (Catholic Relief Services, 2010).

New Latino Diaspora (NLD). Hamann and Harklau (2015) note that “increasing numbers of Latinos (many immigrant and some from elsewhere in the United States) are settling both temporarily and permanently in areas of the United States that have not traditionally been home to Latinos” (p. 4); they use the term “New Latino Diaspora” (NLD) to describe this phenomenon. The term also connotes the “improvised interethnic interaction” (Hamann & Harklau, 2015, p. 5) that occurs in these contexts when newcomer Latin@s¹³ encounter “novel challenges to their senses of identity, status, and community” (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, 2002, p. 1) and the non-Latin@ established residents face the negotiation of new norms in many aspects of their social lives. In addition, it signifies the innumerable economic, political, and religious reasons that Latin@s leave their home countries, and—for those same reasons—settle in new places in the United States (Hamann & Harklau, 2015).

The Midwestern United States in general and the state in which Washington River is located in particular are home to industries that attract immigrants (i.e., agriculture, construction, manufacturing and food processing), especially in rural areas, and Washington River has become a NLD context in the past twenty years (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). The challenges to public services (e.g., schools and health care facilities) in these areas—lacking financial resources and experience in working with immigrant families—have prompted mostly improvised responses to the

¹³ Following a number of other scholars (see, for example, J.G. Irizarry [2007] or C.G. Cervantes-Soon [2014]), I use the gender-neutral “Latin@s” in place of “Latinas/os,” except in reference to census data that uses “Hispanic or Latino.”

arrival of immigrants and migrants (Reeves, 2004; Bigelow, 2010; Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Bruening, 2015; Harklau & Colomer, 2015). This is especially true in schools where the language of instruction is only English and there are few Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), interpreters, and translators (Hamann, 2002; Reeves, 2004; Bruening, 2015; Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Harklau & Colomer, 2015), and where the graduation rates of Hispanics are disproportionately lower than the number of Hispanics enrolled in high school (Hamann & Harklau, 2015).

I have made my home in one receiving community in the NLD for the past ten years. As a Spanish-English bilingual, White, female high school Spanish teacher in the community of Washington River, I lived the “improvised interethnic interaction” myself; indeed, one of my first tasks was to try to enact a more equitable language-learning experience for my already-fluent Spanish speakers who needed world language credits for graduation. This “deep hanging out” (Geertz, 1998; Walmsley, 2016)—that is, being *among* and *with* the people of a cultural site for an extended period of time—has afforded me a long stretch of time during which I have experienced life in a NLD context.

“Save Our City”: The Local Context of Washington River

Washington River, an industrial community of just over 26,000 residents (United States Census Bureau, 2010), is located in the exurbs of a large Midwestern metropolitan city. The town of Riverview, located just to the south, has been absorbed into the community of Washington River, separated only by the still-active railroad tracks over which a viaduct serves as the primary linkage between the two communities. A state highway runs north-south through the middle of the community, positioning the town between two larger cities to the north and south. Washington River’s proximity to an interstate highway makes it attractive to meatpacking corporations for distribution purposes.

Washington River's economy is based mainly in the areas of agribusiness, food processing, fabricated metal processing and electronics manufacturing. The community's public school system and the two large meatpacking plants employ a significant number of residents¹⁴; a disproportionate number of recent immigrants and migrants find employment in the meatpacking plants. In addition, a large number of residents commute to work in the nearby metropolitan area. The median household income of Washington River's residents was around \$43,000 between 2006 and 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), which is slightly lower than the state in which it is located. Fourteen percent of all persons falls below the poverty level for that same time frame, just over two percent higher than the state's total. A large majority of the town's residents live in owner-occupied housing units (United States Census Bureau, 2010).

Washington River has experienced a significant demographic change since the 1990s with the arrival of increased numbers of immigrants, mainly Latin@, making it a context for the NLD (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). The population of persons of Hispanic or Latin@ origin—the majority of whom are of Mexican heritage—jumped to almost 12%, up 8.20% between the 2000 and 2010 census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Notably, children aged 0-19 constituted the largest subset of growth of Hispanic or Latin@ origin, suggesting that immigrants have settled and had families or that whole families are moving to the community (United States Census Bureau, 2010). These figures contrast with the 3.34% decrease in the population of persons not of Hispanic or Latin@ origin, although this population still makes up 89.2% of the total number of residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) (see Figure 2).

¹⁴ In order to protect the anonymity of Washington River, citations from local media and other identifying sources have been withheld.

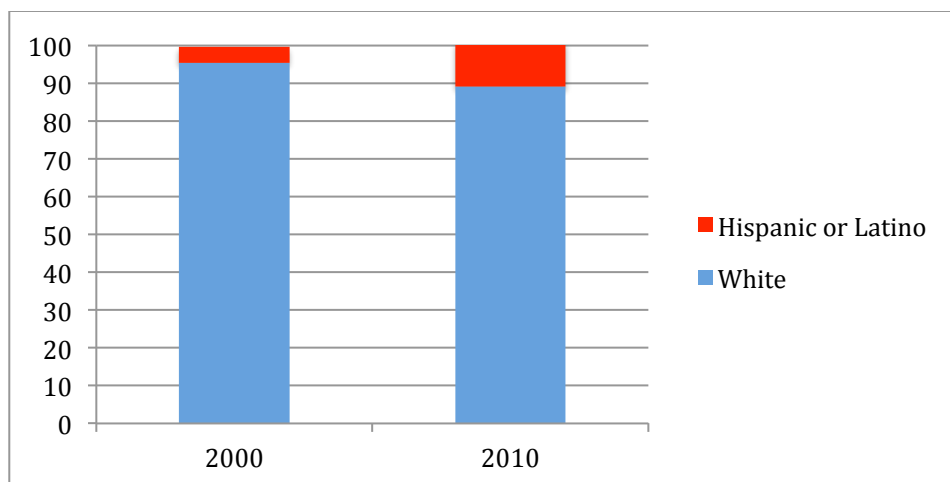


Figure 2. Population Demographics of Washington River in 2000 and 2010.

According to the Pew Research Center (2013c), Lewis County—the county in which Washington River is the county seat—experienced a 167% increase in the Hispanic population between 2000 and 2011, this after having seen an increase of 537% in the Hispanic population between 1990 and 2000. While the county population remains 90% White (Pew Research Center, 2013c), there has undoubtedly been demographic change.

Influence of the meatpacking industry. The city's meatpacking plants have played a significant role in attracting immigrants to the community. The 1985 10-month-long strike at the Austin, Minnesota, plant of Hormel Foods Corporation (a pork production corporation), during which workers went on strike to protest the wage cut and poor working conditions they encountered in their jobs, had consequences in the entire food production industry (Boyce, Edwards, & Wetzel, 1986)—including in the Washington River Hormel plant. Hormel resumed operations with workers who crossed the picket line and with new employees who the corporation brought in with new lower wages; this undermined the strength of the union's bargaining power and opened up opportunities for immigrants to fill those jobs (Boyce, Edwards, & Wetzel, 1986). This ultimately affected all locations of the corporation, including the one in Washington River, in

attracting immigrants to the communities in which the plants are located (Lamphere, Grenier, & Stepick, 1994).

Anti-immigration Ordinance in Washington River. A controversial anti-immigration ordinance in Washington River was an effort by a small but vocal advocacy group to ban the “harboring, hiring, and renting to illegal aliens”; this effort was polarizing and carried undertones of racist motivations. The ordinance passed by special election in the summer of 2010 but was immediately challenged by the ACLU and MALDEF. The court ruled out only the provision banning renting to “illegal aliens,” but ruled the other two provisions lawful. Therefore, the ordinance prohibiting the “harboring and hiring of illegal aliens” in Washington River was enacted. The debate surrounding this issue both in the lead-up to and in the response to the vote was polarizing and revealed deep divisions in the community as people on both sides of the issue defended their stances and garnered national attention (citations withheld).

Kansas’ Secretary of State, Kris Kobach,¹⁵ authored the ordinance; he had recently opposed immigration reform intended to respond to the large numbers of unaccompanied minors seeking refugee status at the U.S. border (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). President Trump considered him for the position of Secretary of Homeland Security in his Cabinet to lead efforts for more restrictive and punitive immigration reform (Dwyer, 2016), but instead appointed him in 2017 to lead the controversial Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity. This commission was created to investigate what Trump claimed was widespread voter fraud in the United States (Fessler, 2017), although civil rights advocates argue that the commission is aimed at voter suppression with its advocacy of voter identification.

¹⁵ Kobach was also instrumental in promoting the recent anti-immigration legislation in Arizona and in writing ultimately failed ordinances similar to this one in other communities as well (citations withheld).

Kobach's involvement in the Washington River ordinance is important because beginning in 2005, he was chief legal counsel to the Immigration Reform Law Institute affiliated with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) (Potok & Beirich, 2011). His work for this thirty-year-old organization is significant due to the overtly racist intentions expressed by its founder, John Tanton, "to preserve 'a European-American majority, and a clear one at that'" (Potok & Beirich, 2011, p. 5). Kobach's affiliation with the conservative and nativist FAIR organization had connected him to the advocates of Washington River's ordinance. FAIR acknowledged that the ordinance in Washington River and in other states and communities were experiments aimed at testing the legality of state and local enforcement of immigration law. Notably, Kobach took on the role of chief defense attorney in each of the cases that were predictably brought against the policies he had crafted. Kobach's involvement with local and state ordinances all over the U.S. indicates a coordinated national effort to advance nativist (and racist) immigration policies.

Historical actors in the community's move toward local immigration enforcement are notable as well. A key member of the Washington River City Council between 1990 and 1994 was credited with bringing "job stability" to Washington River during his service on the City Council—Campbell's Soup Company opened a Washington River plant in 1992, the Hormel plant added several hundred jobs in 1993, and a beef meatpacking plant opened in 1994 near Hormel. According to this same historical account, the City Council was instrumental in resolving a dispute between Hormel and a nearby corncob-grinding mill—Hormel concerned about the dust and rodent problem the mill caused in such close proximity to a meatpacking site. During this same time, the community created a number of new housing projects in an effort to attract and accommodate new residents. This council member went on to serve as State Treasurer for seven years and then moved to Lieutenant Governor from 2002 to 2005, and was ultimately elected as Governor, serving from 2005 to 2014.

Another eventual two-term State Senator and State Auditor was an instrumental member of the Washington River City Council during the years preceding the Council's adoption of the ordinance, from 2006 to 2008. His tough stance on assistance for "illegal immigrants" was a focus of his conservative Republican platform. He also advocated for voter identification at polling places and for stripping prenatal care to undocumented immigrants.

The group of proponents of the ordinance positioned themselves as civilian guardians and enforcers of the law in Washington River. While supporters claimed they wanted to stem the flow of undocumented workers to the community's meatpacking plants, ironically the meatpacking plants—both located less than a half-mile outside city limits—would be exempt from the hiring regulations of the ordinance. One early piece of propaganda I received in the mail cited informally gathered statistics about the impact of "illegal immigrants" in the community, noting that a disproportionate number of "Hispanic-looking" clients utilized the emergency room at the city's only hospital—where patients must be treated, even if they cannot pay for services. Another example of xenophobic propaganda I received was a one-page flier placed under the windshield wiper of my car; its authors challenged the reader to "Take the Test," asking, "Do you?" and then listed 25 bulleted beliefs questions with which the reader could either agree or disagree. These questions asked the reader to consider whether she or he opposed "becoming a sanctuary city" or "becoming another [nearby community]"—a community whose Hispanic and Latin@ population had far outgrown the White population. They also asked the reader to consider whether "organizations such as MALDEF and the ACLU are on the wrong side of immigration enforcement and seldom, if ever, represent your views." They even equated the enforcement of laws against "illegal" immigration with the enforcement of traffic laws, and they ended by urging residents to "preserve our community." No information was included to identify the group(s) who distributed the propaganda.

Proponents of the ordinance claimed that “illegal aliens” ought to be held accountable for breaking federal immigration laws, noting the federal government’s failure to enforce these laws. While they maintained that this was not a racially motivated act, opponents disagreed. They pointed out the relatively small number of immigrants living within the city limits who are undocumented, and expressed concern about what they perceived to be a xenophobic message the ordinance sends to all persons of Hispanic or Latin@ origin, regardless of immigration status.

One especially active anti-ordinance group—One Community, One Future—was established to unite diverse groups in the community who opposed the ordinance for various reasons. The local newspaper reported that representatives of the city’s Chamber of Commerce voted unanimously to oppose the ordinance, worrying about the financial consequences of enacting an ordinance that targeted a specific group of people. Teachers and other stakeholders in the schools were concerned about the divisiveness the ordinance would undoubtedly foster¹⁶. Ultimately, the group aimed to promote a feeling of welcome and inclusion of all residents.

Indeed, this local ordinance prompted considerable attention to the need for immigration reform and to the ideological underpinnings of our current immigration system (Castañeda, 2006). Additionally, it illuminated how civilians positioned themselves as protectors of their communities—especially when immigrants were framed as threatening. However, it also revealed the growing pains new receiving communities experience as they clamor to “preserve” their established way of life. In the next sections, I proceed to describe the Washington River High School context in which I conducted this study.

A Public Gathering Place: Washington River High School

¹⁶ I can attest, however, as a teacher at the high school during this time, school faculty and staff were sternly reminded verbally in a faculty meeting that we could not identify ourselves as official representatives of the school district if we participated in activism for or against the ordinance.

Positioned within this polarized community atmosphere, Washington River Public Schools serve just under 5,000 students in thirteen schools, including seven Kindergarten through fourth-grade elementary schools, two middle schools—one for fifth- and sixth-grades and one for seventh- and eighth grades—one high school, one alternative high school, and one preschool center. Schools, as public spaces that bring together diverse young citizens, have the opportunity to develop a shared community for all students; they are the “lived-in world of engagement in everyday activity” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 47). Washington River High School (WRHS) is a comprehensive four-year high school,¹⁷ and the state’s education department lists the most recent student membership figure from 2014-2015 at 1,381 students in grades 9-12, with 85 teaching faculty members, one principal, and two assistant principals; there are four guidance counselors who serve WRHS students.

The guidance counselors are all monolingual English speakers, and even with the growing numbers of Spanish-speaking families and students, a Spanish-English bilingual counselor was passed over in a recent hiring process—much to Mrs. Durham’s chagrin—for a monolingual English speaker who was previously a science teacher at the school. A teacher who took on the role of football coach as well then filled the vacancy in the science department; the district has an established pattern of privileging the hire of coaches for their athletics teams or for hiring teachers and administrators whose children are talented athletes. Aside from the five Spanish teachers in the school, there are no other teachers who speak Spanish fluently. At the time of the study, there were two bilingual paraeducators who worked with teachers of English Language Learners (ELLs) and in the in-school student assistance center—the Tiger Achievement Center, or “TAC room.” The

¹⁷ Hammack (2004) describes the comprehensive high school as “a single U.S. high school, offering a variety of programs under one roof, [serving] all the youth of a community” (p. 2).

school advertised for a third bilingual paraeducator position just after I concluded my research at the school.

The school building itself was a sprawling two-level structure with hallways branching off from a central lobby area around the main office. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes on my first day at the school describes my initial impressions of the school; although I was a Spanish teacher at this school for four years, I had been gone for five years at the beginning of the study.

A crisp fall Wednesday. The sun—low in the sky—shines brightly over the corner of the brick building and peaks through the massive stone pillars flanking the front entrance to the school. Cars jerk and stop in the morning traffic on the crowded street in front of the school, coffee mug-gripping parents hunched behind the wheel. Groggy-eyed students with still-damp hair jump out of the car in the middle of the street—the congestion does not allow space to pull off the street to drop off students. Most students carry nothing; some carry a small sack backpack on their shoulders.

A small group of students stands in the church parking lot opposite the school front, borrowing lighters and bumming cigarettes from each other; each of them wears a dark-colored hoodie, hood up and sleeves pulled down low over their non-cigarette-holding hand. They glance my way, but take little notice of me. A police car swings into the parking lot entrance beside them and the students scatter, but slowly. They pick up the books they had stacked on the ground and mosey away down the sidewalk. Still-burning cigarettes lay littering the grass next to the parking lot, abandoned when the police car shows up.

This group is a reiteration of the same group every year. The church parking lot stands directly across from the school, but it is not school property; as such, students cannot be held to school rules (i.e., an eighteen-year-old can legally smoke in public but not in school). When I was teaching at the school, there was very little concern about this. However, the church members express their concern perennially about the trash and cigarette butts these students leave behind on their property—but not necessarily about the tobacco use in young adults.

As I approach the building entrance, I notice small groups of students huddled together, some eating granola bars, and others wrap two hands around their thermal mugs and pull the mugs close to their faces. One student bumps shoulders with the person next to him while another runs with arms outstretched toward an approaching girl. “Miranda! I missed you!” she exclaims, and wraps Miranda in a hug.

I approach the front door at the same time as another student; we glance at each other, and I reach for the door. As I open the glass door (and hoping it was the correct unlocked door), the other student slips silently past me. *Not a gesture or word of thanks...ah, good to be back in a high school.* The wide foyer of the school entrance is filled with the bright morning sunshine streaming through the two-story windows and reflecting off the white floor tiles.

I sign in as a visitor to the building, writing my name, the date, and the time I enter. The woman behind the split window writes my name on a “VISITOR” nametag sticker. She

peels it off (*laboriously*) and hands it through the window to me. I stick it to the upper left shoulder of my sweater and with that, I turn in the direction of the classroom.

I proceeded through the lobby space lined with wood-paneled walls and benches and then through the hall aptly named the “Fishbowl.” The floor-to-ceiling windows on either side of the “Fishbowl” hallway allowed the sunlight to stream across the entire width of the area, and the five short rows of beige-painted lockers that stood in the middle of the hallway and perpendicular to the windows cast long shadows across the beige tiles. Midway through this hallway were black tiles inset in a pattern spelling out the initials of the school.

The school was generally—perhaps superficially—welcoming, the airy and bright entrance giving way to dimmer, more artificially lit halls. Some staff members stood smiling and greeting students as they held their cups of coffee, while others rushed between their classrooms and the main office area making last-minute preparations for the day.

Social Studies as a Site for Democratic Citizenship Education

I chose to explore my questions about how students learn democracy and construct citizen identities in a social studies class—given the aims of democratic citizenship education in the curricular program of social studies. The field of social studies, with the aims of citizen development, is an important course of study for all young people, but perhaps even more so for newcomer students. Newcomers in the current sociopolitical context will need to be prepared to claim “identity, space, and rights” by navigating the social, economic, and political systems of this country, but also to ensure that they have a role in negotiating the rules by which we all live (Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Oboler, 2006). Likewise, longstanding residents will need to be prepared and willing to interrogate and sacrifice their own privilege accorded by their identities, space, and rights in a culture that privileges Whiteness if we are to create more just and equitable lives for all citizens (Allen, 2004; Howard, 1993; Nieto & Bode, 2012).

Washington River is exemplary of a national trend in immigration (Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2014a). Given the enormity of the challenges facing schools in the New Latino Diaspora (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, Jr., 2015; Wortham, Murillo, Jr., & Hamann,

2002), a study in this community and school responds to the call for research in schools and communities that receive the “violence-fleeing unaccompanied minors from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador” and all new immigrants and migrants (Hamann & Harklau, 2015, p. 3). Additionally, Hamann and Harklau (2015) note the need “to explore the place of schools as potential sites for community support and advocacy for Latino families in new diaspora communities” (p. 18).

Since newcomers at Washington River High School take social studies in a “sheltered” format (Haneda, 2009; Short, Echevarría, & Richards-Tutor, 2011), essentially segregated from the rest of the student body, I chose to explore how newcomers in the ELL American History class at Washington River High School constructed citizen identities in that space. The school’s segregation of newcomers provided an illuminating context in which to explore this idea in service of facilitating the transition of immigrants and NLD communities responding to changing demographics in their schools.

Given the current sociopolitical context (i.e., nativist and nationalist anti-immigration policies promoting a culture of fear of others—especially Latinos [Santa Ana, 2002], derisive political comedy creating and perpetuating stereotypes of immigrants [Santa Ana, 2009], marginalization of languages other than English [Abedi, 2004; Santa Ana, 2009], and attempts to cut progressive tax reforms), Washington River, especially as a receiving community in the New Latino Diaspora, afforded me a unique opportunity to explore the social construction of citizenship as a lived experience (Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Oboler, 2006) for young people in school.

Citizens are “consciously reproduced” at school (Gutmann, 1987). That is, schools are tasked with the explicit purpose of “reproducing” citizens who can and will sustain a robust democracy (Dewey, 1916; Goodlad, 2004; Parker, 2003); social studies classes are sites for

democratic citizenship education (Parker, 2005). It was appropriate that I explored in this ethnographic case study how students in one ELL classroom construct citizen identities in a sheltered American History class. Additionally, I explored the people who influenced the construction of citizen identities in this context.

Washington River High School was an ideal site to explore these questions, and to learn the questions newcomers have (Agar, 1996) as they negotiate new lives in the United States. Privileging the experiences of newcomers and amplifying the voices of historically marginalized and minoritized people—especially in a site where pockets of the community project vitriolic and xenophobic responses to them (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012)—is a sort of “insurrectionary” project (Butler, 1997) through which the lived experiences of newcomers provide wisdom and insight into how we might co-construct a more equitable and just democratic society. I became aware through my experience in their classroom that my notions of citizenship were unrecognizable in this space, and—as is a hallmark of ethnographic inquiry—my attention shifted to the more nuanced relational, emotional, and cultural expressions of citizenship in the everyday.

Outline of the Dissertation

In Chapter Two, I synthesize the literature on how demographic change has influenced teaching and learning in schools. Included in this review are the challenges of integrating newcomer students who enter relatively stable schools; ideological assumptions about people and language at play in receiving schools; the unique needs of newcomer students; and hopeful policies and practices that are working to integrate newcomer students in an “additive” way (Valenzuela, 1999). I also explicate the undergirding conceptual framework of citizenship and citizen identities and attend to definitions of terms.

In Chapter Three, I describe the commitments, experiences, and epistemological assumptions that prompted me to explore how high school students construct citizen identities in

social studies class, especially in a context like Washington River. I also describe the theoretical framework that combines critical theory, Critical Race Theory (CRT), and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit), and which serves as a lens for every step of this inquiry, including development of the research questions, the selection of research sites, the kinds of data I collected, and the analysis of that data. Finally, I describe the methodological approach (critical ethnographic case study) and study design, and I address the limitations of the study.

In Chapter Four I introduce readers to the student participants in the study and situate them within Mrs. Durham's larger classroom environment, including a discussion of the classroom as a setting for the kinds of experiences and conditions in which newcomers construct citizen identities. Finally, I provide an overview of the American History curriculum for the class.

Chapters Five through Seven spotlight different actors in the context and the ways in which they constructed the classroom community, including the students, Mrs. Durham (their American History teacher), and Mrs. Sánchez (the paraeducator in the classroom). Each of these chapters is constructed with an aim of illuminating the three major themes I discuss in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Eight, then, includes a discussion of the three themes of school as a "mismatch" (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001) for newcomers, the ways in which different people expressed care implied different aims of schooling, and the missed opportunities for a more deliberate cultivation of democratic citizenship. I conclude with major lessons learned from the experiences of the people in this ELL classroom and offer implications for future practice and research.

Chapter Two: Teaching and Learning Amid Demographic Change

The demographic make-up of the United States has dramatically changed as a result of a recent wave of immigrants—both government-authorized and unauthorized (Pew Research Center, 2015). Immigrants have arrived in the United States from all over the world, but relevant to this study, the large number from Mexico and Central America is notable (Pew Research Center, 2014a; 2014b). As more and more of these Latin@ immigrants stay in the United States, the population of second-generation Hispanic Americans and Hispanic immigrants, taken together, is expected to reach almost 40% of the total population by 2050 (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Latin@s have historically settled in “traditional gateway” sites, such as California, New York, and Florida; however, beginning in the 1990s, Latin@s began to settle in areas of the United States where they found employment in food processing, manufacturing, and construction (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, Jr., 2002). Communities and schools in this “New Latino Diaspora” (NLD) have found themselves scrambling to adjust to and serve—and in some cases, merely tolerate—their changing demographics (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, Jr., 2002; Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012). Two colleagues and I compared, in a presentation, the voices of xenophobia, disquiet, and welcome in three similar communities in the NLD (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012). Xenophobic responses included a controversial and divisive anti-immigration ordinance in one community—my own; voices of disquiet manifested in small numbers of “white flight”¹⁸ and a teaching staff not ethnically reflective of their students; and voices of welcome included strong school leadership that attended specifically to the changing demographic, especially with regard to practices of inclusion and equitable learning opportunities.

¹⁸ “White flight” is a phenomenon in which large numbers of White people migrate from a place that is experiencing a demographic change—especially in terms of racial make-up of the place—to a place that is predominantly White (see, for example, Henry & Hankins, 2012). Explicit reasons for the migration typically mask the implicit racial motivations and include better schools, jobs, and increased access to public goods. One relevant consequence of “white flight” is increased segregation—especially in schools (Henry & Hankins, 2012).

While all three responses were present in each of the three receiving communities, the voice that seems most dominant varies from one town to the next (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012). This “improvised interethnic interaction” (Hamann & Harklau, 2015, p. 5) is especially notable in schools that serve newcomers¹⁹, where they encounter a linguistic and cultural “mismatch” (Bruening, 2015; Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001; Erickson, 1987a; Heath, 1983).

Given the increasing number of children who are immigrating and migrating with their families, it has become the task of schools to act as a sort of first responder to newcomers (Pew Research Center, 2014a). As such, schools offer a potential space to offer support to newcomers and opportunities for longstanding residents to make sense of their new community dynamics (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). In preparation to undertake a study in one Midwestern NLD community’s public high school, I reviewed recent scholarship to understand how other schools²⁰ have responded to these demographic changes and how newcomers experience school in such a context.

Included in this review of literature are empirical and conceptual pieces from the past 15-20 years (1999-present). I was most interested in literature that attended to how schools in the Midwestern United States have responded to demographic change, but I also chose to include studies that were situated in NLD communities outside the Midwest (e.g., Georgia or North Carolina)—given the similarities in contexts—and studies that offered insight into how schools respond to immigrant students. While I appreciate the value in including media accounts for the added public dimension they bring to empirical work (Hamann & Reeves, 2012), I chose not to

¹⁹ “Newcomers” here refers not only to people who are new to the country, but also those new to the state or community.

²⁰ I use the term “school” here in the institutional sense. While I appreciate the many contexts in which education happens, I refer the *institution* of schooling as a public space for learning.

include such accounts in this review in order to maintain a tighter focus. Below, I present a thematic review of this literature.

The Challenges of “Mismatch”

Schools responding to demographic change face a number of unfamiliar challenges, especially in previously demographically similar and mostly monolingual communities. Schools in rural areas in the Midwest and in other NLD sites have responded in ways that suggest improvised or temporary arrangements to provide education to their newcomer students. Deschenes, Cuban, and Tyack (2001) note that “schools as currently organized are much better calibrated to serve privileged groups than groups placed on the margin” (p. 527); marginalized and minoritized students thus encounter a “mismatch” between schools and “groups of students who do not meet the ‘standards’ of their day” (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001, p. 526). The implications of naming this mismatch are clear: Students who are not culturally and linguistically similar to the privileged group (i.e., white) will find school to be a space neither familiar nor navigable without assistance.

Newcomers in Schools

As discussed above and in Chapter One, there are innumerable reasons that people migrate to the United States. School-aged immigrants and migrants—especially when their dominant language is not English—are labeled “newcomers.” In an effort to acknowledge and honor the varying “funds of knowledge” (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) different students bring to their receiving communities and schools, a brief description of the diverse life experiences of students who I call “newcomers” is helpful here. I include the transnational student, the sojourner student, and the migrant student as they are most relevant to this study.

“Transnationalism” refers to the social experience of “[developing] and [maintaining] familial, economic, social, organizational, and religious relationships across two or more societies:

the home country and the new nation of settlement” (Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009, p. 5).

Transnationalism has grown recently due to the globalized economy in which migrants, who remain tied to their home countries, move to where there is work (Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009). As such, the transnational citizen lives amidst influences of two or more countries, whether or not s/he returns to the home country or not (DeJaeghere & McCleary, 2010). Transnational students, then, are those who maintain connections to relationships and practices from their home country and to those they learn and live in the new country.

Sojourner students have previously been included in research literature under the categories of “immigrant students, migrant students, English language learners, Latino students, and so on” (Hamann, 2001, p. 34). While sojourner students’ biographies are similar and overlapping with these other categories and that of the transnational student—especially the experience of living with multiple cultural and national influences—they are distinct in “their vulnerability to dislocation and their transnational backgrounds” (Hamann, 2001, p. 32). Sojourner students do not have a deep attachment to a place and may choose to move to where their social, economic, and legal needs are more easily addressed. Hamann (2001) argues that sojourner students are particularly vulnerable to “invisibility and dismissal” at school; it is because of their mobility that schools “[dismiss] their obligation to non-permanent newcomers” (p. 33). Sarroub (2001), in her study of Yemeni American high school girls, describes them as sojourners “with one foot in the United States and the other in Yemen” (p. 391); this description alludes to the sense of non-permanent status of the sojourner. Sarroub (2001) notes that even when the sojourner settles in a host country, “the desire to return to the homeland remains pervasive” (p. 393). Thus, the sojourner constructs an “in-between” identity (Sarroub, 2002) that reflects elements of the multiple cultural influences amidst which s/he lives.

Migrant students, like the sojourner student, are generally mobile and vulnerable to economic need; however, “migrant” also denotes a legal status that accords the student support services in school through the federal Title I Migrant Education funding (Hamann, 2001). This description illustrates the overlapping yet distinct nature of the sojourner and the migrant student: Some sojourner students qualify as migrant students, but not all. Likewise, some migrant students are sojourners, but not all.

While these categories of students are similar, the ways in which they experience school varies, depending upon how the school builds upon their “transnational funds of knowledge” (Dabach & Fones, 2016) and responds to their unique needs. The transnational student, either settled or migrant, draws on a number of resources for navigating their bicultural and sometimes multilingual worlds. The sojourner student, not necessarily migrant but not necessarily settled, is especially vulnerable to the dismissiveness of the school due to his or her mobility—whether the mobility is potential or actual—between relatively stable schools in the host communities. The migrant student, most likely mobile, is afforded extra supports through federal funding in his or her schooling experience due to the legal designation. While these categories are useful in understanding how newcomer students are positioned in school, there is still a need to explore how newcomers navigate their social worlds in the day-to-day experience of school.

Ideologies Guide Schools’ Responses

Ideologies of whiteness, neoliberalism, and conservatism that undergird schooling practices are revealed against the backdrop of demographic change. Ideological assumptions in the broader community contexts also have significant influence of how schools in receiving communities respond to newcomers (Millard & Chapa, 2004; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011). Cervantes-Soon (2014) observes that “neoliberal trends increasingly shape the communities of the new Latin@ diaspora” (p. 64), commodifying especially the linguistic resources of the newcomers

through the uncritical implementation of programs like two-way immersion bilingual education. Indeed, this ideological thread is evident in the decision of Washington River Public School's decision to gradually implement a dual language program on an exploratory basis in one of its elementary schools; the Executive Director of Student Services and Business Affairs in the district explained the action, adding, "I think there's value in being able to speak multiple languages and this would give some of our native English speakers the opportunity to learn Spanish at a very deep level" (citation withheld). This neoliberal orientation toward newcomers' linguistic resources is also evident in high school Spanish classrooms where they are often valued as interpreters and tutors for the groups of privileged White students who enroll in advanced courses (Harklau, 2009; Harklau & Colomer, 2015).

Terminology and labels adopted and used by schools and their staff members also illuminate the ideological underpinnings of their approaches to serving the newcomer students. Categorizing terms like Limited English Proficient (LEP) and English Language Learner (ELL) belie the school's emphasis on many Latin@ newcomers' deficiency in English; further, confounding "Latin@" or "immigrant" with "ELL" reveals how language racializes many students (Millard & Chapa, 2004; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011; Hilburn, 2014). Millard and Chapa (2004) observe that while residents of receiving communities and schools often used "Anglos" and "Americans" interchangeably, "Latin@" was used in a way that distinctly implied "non-American." Furthermore, these terms allow students to be categorized in a way that enables non-ELL teachers to shirk the responsibility for educating them (Hamann & Reeves, 2013).

Ideological assumptions about language. While the United States does not have an official national language, English is the *de facto* national language. Deficit-based assessment about what newcomer students *need* in order to achieve in school assumes that English is the language of instruction and that students' languages are secondary to their achievement in school;

this manifests a “benevolent racism” (Villenas, 2001) in its ignorance of the students’ “funds of knowledge” (Moll, et al., 1992). Even acknowledging that students will need English as a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1999) in the United States, privileging one language over any others—especially as a medium for learning—clearly perpetuates the dominance of English. López and Velásquez (2006) assert that benevolent racism veils a paternalistic view of English as the dominant language; the emphasis on the acquisition of English as a primary goal of newcomers’ schooling experiences demonstrates the dominance of the English language. They note that benevolent racism occurs “where ‘good intentions’ and compassionate altruism reproduce and reify a highly racialized discourse” (López & Velásquez, 2006, n.p.). Reeves (2004) states that instruction in English to all students was considered equal, and the school in her study thought full immersion in English was helping its students, reflecting good intentions but harmful outcomes. Peralta (2013) argues that, spurred on by assimilationist ideologies, “racist discourses are perpetuated by English-language dominance in schools” (p. 241). Moreover, the regime of standardized testing and punitive accountability measures ushered in with the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001—along with replacing the Office of Bilingual Education with the Office of English Language Acquisition—placed added import on the speedy acquisition of English for newcomers in school (Abedi, 2004), effectively institutionalizing English as the *de facto* language of instruction in U.S. schools.

Ironically, newcomers’ experiences in Spanish classes—where one would logically assume some degree of comfort for monolingual Spanish-speaking students—are often alienating and delegitimize their Mexican and Central American varieties of Spanish (Colomer & Harklau, 2009). The “essentializing” approach to teaching culture and emphasis on “high culture” (Harklau, 2009, p. 228) in these classes leaves many Latin@ newcomers feeling “distanced [...] from their own linguistic and cultural heritage” (Harklau, 2009, p. 233). Further, Spanish classes where there

are no adaptations to the existing curriculum serve to perpetuate the dominance of European forms of Spanish, as well as reinforcing social hierarchies in which bilingualism is viewed as a competitive advantage reserved for privileged White students (Harklau & Colomer, 2015); for monolingual Spanish-speaking newcomers, the acquisition of English supersedes the maintenance of Spanish language (Harklau & Colomer, 2015; Valenzuela, 1999, Valdés, 2001).

Indeed, bilingualism and bilingual education are political issues that are often veiled in the ideological cloaks of benevolent racism (López & Velásquez, 2006; Peralta, 2013, Hamann, 2002) and conservatives' romantic assimilationist notions of a country united by their belief in English as the dominant language (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). When the national Office of Bilingual Education was essentially dissolved by the 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation, it was replaced with services oriented solely toward English language acquisition (No Child Left Behind, 2001) for "Limited English Proficient" students. This approach ignores the benefits of bilingual education (especially two-way immersion²¹, which is considered "one of the most promising approaches for English learners to date") to language-minority students, including the development of a healthy "bicultural identity," more effective English language development, and more positive attitudes toward school (Cervantes-Soon, 2014, p. 67). The location of bilingual education and ELL classes under the umbrella of "foreign" language departments further perpetuates the idea that the content of these courses is outside of the everyday lives of students (Cervantes-Soon, 2014).

Ideological assumptions about newcomers. While not all receiving communities respond to newcomers negatively (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012), the underlying assumptions about who newcomers are emerge consistent: Newcomers are non-Americans who are deficient in

²¹ Two-way Immersion (TWI) is an approach to bilingual education in which language-minority students (i.e., non-English speaking students) and native English speakers learn together in dual-language classrooms (Cervantes-Soon, 2014).

English (López & Velásquez, 2006; Roxas & Roy, 2012; Santa Ana, 2002), and who need to assimilate linguistically and culturally to the American standard (i.e., Whiteness) (López & Velásquez, 2006; Garza & Crawford, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Overwhelmingly, newcomers are received into communities and schools as a problem, especially in NLD communities where the longstanding residents have little (or no) experience in interacting with people who are different from them (Deschenes, Tyack, & Cuban, 2001; Millard & Chapa, 2004). Millard and Chapa (2004) note that most longstanding residents of receiving communities believe that immigrants bring new problems (like drugs, poverty, and violence) with them, ignoring the possibility that these problems are often extant and are then exacerbated by the conditions in which most newcomers live (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008; Millard & Chapa, 2004).

Ideological assumptions of deficiency also influenced how schools define success, and thus, successful students (Evans, 2007). Both *de jure* and *de facto* education policies for LEP newcomers define academic achievement in terms of English proficiency (or deficiency, as the case may be) rather than achievement of content standards (Godina, 2010; Merchant, 1999). Garza and Crawford (2010) assert that success “is defined quite narrowly in terms of immigrant students’ level of assimilation, fluency in English, and performance on standardized tests” (p. 599)—standardized to an ideological norm. Additionally, the home literacies (e.g., translation competencies or orality) of newcomers are as routinely neglected as educational resources (Bhatia, 2010; Bigelow, 2010; Stewart, 2013; Godina, 2010). Bigelow (2010) describes how Somali refugee students’ traditions in orality were systematically ignored in school, instead privileging print literacy. In my own experience as a Spanish teacher proposing the implementation of a heritage Spanish course in an NLD community, district officials required me to align the course design with goals for English language development (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012); the course was deemed necessary and valuable only if it worked toward the goal of English acquisition.

Additionally, Bhatia (2010) notes that many immigrant youth manifested behaviors that earned them favor with other students, but which were problematic in the eyes of their teachers and administrators.

Finally, ideologies guiding understandings about newcomers influenced definitions of parent involvement in school. Lowenhaupt's (2014) textual analysis of interviews with school principals and teachers reveals their perceptions of a lack of parental involvement, as manifested in their reluctance to attend events in which active participation was required. The teachers and administrators in Lowenhaupt's (2014) study did not seem to acknowledge the differences in gender roles at play (i.e., that fathers may not attend school events because the education of children is considered the mother's work), nor did they recognize the culturally different ways parents made sense of their roles in their children's schooling or the obstacles that may prevent them from attending school events (e.g., transportation, work schedules, ineffective communication) (Bohon, Macpherson, and Atilas, 2005). Villalba, Brunelli, Lewis, and Orfanedes (2007), in their focus group study with Latin@ parents, observe the many ways in which these parents see themselves contributing meaningfully to their children's schooling (e.g., spending time as a family, teaching manners and respectful behaviors, and participating in cultural heritage activities) that are not valued at school. Instead, parental involvement is conceptualized as a one-way relationship in which the school solicits involvement when they deem it appropriate or necessary (Lowenhaupt, 2014).

Disruption of the Status Quo

Erickson (1987b) explains that schools have a distinct culture, in contrast to but in conjunction with school climate. School culture, he argues, "is essentially ideational—not behavior itself but a set of interpretive frames for making sense of behavior" and is "transmitted across generations through socialization" (Erickson, 1987b, p. 13). As such, newcomers to schools may

have their own interpretive frames through which they understand school and their role in it, but it is likely their frames would be different from those of members of the new school. Schools in receiving communities are likewise crafting impromptu or improvised responses to a demographically changing student body; students who are culturally and linguistically different arrive at schools that are often not equipped with the resources to serve them well (Wortham, Clonan-Roy, Link, and Martínez, 2013; Bruening, 2015; Hamann & Harklau, 2015). Students who enter schools in these contexts prompt a disruption of the status quo, often requiring linguistic and cultural accommodations, as well accommodations in meeting standards and navigating their social worlds. Staff in these receiving schools face a disruption in their routine of schooling and uncertainty or lack of awareness in understanding newcomers' needs.

Lack of appropriate resources. Schools' improvised responses are often frustrating due to the lack of appropriate resources at hand to assist in serving newcomers. Issues of communication with students and parents are of immediate concern when there are no bilingual staff members equipped to interpret discussions and translate paperwork (Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011). Bohon, Macpherson, and Atilas (2005) contend that, in addition to more bilingual, bicultural, and Latin@ educators, schools in NLD need more English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes, as well as more time in which students can work toward English proficiency. Also, as drugs and gang violence motivate migration for Latin@ families with kids—not to mention the thousands of unaccompanied minors arriving in NLD sites—schools lack appropriate counseling services to address these issues (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). Additional staff, such as paraeducators (bilingual or not), strain already tight budgets in many receiving communities as well (Villalba, Brunelli, Lewis, & Orfanedes, 2007; Albo Carabelli, 2009).

Low-incidence contexts. Schools that have a very low number of English Language Learners or newcomers often respond in ways that promote low expectations for academic

achievement, but these contexts also offer staff-student relationships that encourage student success. Bruening (2015) describes the cases of two Latino English Language Learners (ELL) in what she calls a “low-incidence context” (p. 29), a school where Latino ELLs comprise less than 0.2% of the student population. She notes the improvised nature in which individual actors within the school stepped in to serve these two students. She explains that a paraeducator in the school was assigned to assist one of the students with linguistic obstacles to academic performance (i.e., read tests and quizzes aloud), but notes that the paraeducator was both untrained to offer appropriate strategies to ELLs—as evidenced in her watered-down modifications of tests and quizzes, narrowing each question’s possible answers to one—and that the paraeducator worked in an unsupervised role (Bruening, 2015). A guidance counselor in Bruening’s (2015) study, on the other hand, illuminates the importance of relationships in fostering positive schooling outcomes; his weekly check-ins with an ELL student encouraged him to complete academic assignments and to plan for post-secondary options. Clearly, relationships matter in low-incidence contexts, but it is important that the relationships cultivate high expectations.

District standards. Garza and Crawford (2010) explore the tensions teachers face in providing appropriate experiences for newcomers and meeting district standards. While the school community in their study expressed their dedication to multiculturalism, their instructional practices devalued these qualities in the name of equality for all, holding fast to the importance of their district standards and exams for newcomers. This, Garza and Crawford (2010) describe as “hegemonic multiculturalism,” the “transitional nature of a school culture defined by dissonance between the ideology of multiculturalism and the school’s pervasive assimilation agenda” (p. 599).

Prejudices between ethnic groups. Clemente and Collison (2000) describe how sudden changes in student population demographics are often marked by prejudicial relationships among different groups in the school. They note that European American students viewed Hispanic (or

Latin@s or Mexicans—all terms used by the Euro-American students) as being associated with gangs, based on language and appearance, even describing Latin@s as “scary.” The Euro-American students avoided interactions with Latin@s in order to avoid tension; as such, there were few inter-ethnic friendships. Euro-American students also expressed frustration when Latin@s used Spanish, claiming that their use of Spanish was meant to exclude them (Clemente & Collison, 2000).

It appears that inter-ethnic relationships do not fare any better in instances in which interactions are necessary, such as in Spanish classes. Harklau (2009) and Harklau and Colomer (2015) note the alienation and marginalization that Latin@ students experience as a result of the “cultural tourism” approach to foreign language instruction, as well as the often wide academic and social gulf that separates the two groups in advanced classes (Harklau & Colomer, 2015, p. 159).

Linguistic Mismatch in the Content-area Classroom

As described above, language is a central issue in schools’ responses to demographic change (Wortham, Clonan-Roy, Link, & Martínez, 2013). The dominance of English is assumed, and students’ proficiency in English defines notions of academic success. When students and their families do not speak English, the problem of language is especially evident in the work of teachers as they work with students and their families. I discuss the unique work of ESOL and bilingual Spanish teachers in subsequent sections, so I have focused this section on teachers who are monolingual English speakers who approach linguistic mismatch as a problem.

Privileged positionality. Perhaps the most telling description of the privileged positionality of most teachers in receiving schools comes from López and Velásquez (2006): A teacher in the Midwestern school in their study expressed frustration about the difficulty of communication with Spanish-speaking parents; she lamented the time and effort it takes for newcomer parents to learn English, but when asked whether she were learning Spanish, said that it is just “not realistic” to

expect her to do that. Her comfort in an English-dominant context afforded her the privilege to not have to learn the language of her students and their families.

Some teachers also shirked the responsibility for teaching newcomers the hidden curriculum of schooling, relegating that duty to the ESOL teacher or paraeducators (López & Velásquez, 2006). Reeves (2004) explains that while many of the teachers in her study recognized inequities in instruction (i.e., no access to content instruction in a language understood by the students) and assessment practices (i.e., culturally and linguistically biased standardized tests), they tolerated them in light of what they saw as a temporary situation. Moreover, even though most teachers asserted that inclusion is a good thing, they were resistant to changing their instructional and assessment practices to accommodate the newcomers on grounds of equity (i.e., that it was not fair to other students) (Reeves, 2006).

Limited knowledge of second-language acquisition (SLA). One area in particular in which teachers lacked adequate training and experience is that of SLA. Reeves (2006), in her analysis of survey responses of 279 subject-area high school teachers, notes that most teachers has positive feelings about inclusion in theory, but when inclusion translated to actual practice—requiring specific training in coursework modification and strategies for working with ELLs—their attitudes were less positive. Godina's (2010) study in a rural Midwestern context reveals subject-area teachers' limited knowledge of SLA; they withheld materials in Spanish and prohibited the use of Spanish in class, insisting instead that students use English-language materials. Clearly, the teachers in her study were unaware of the value of the first language as a scaffold to a second language; their misconceptions about SLA guided their practice in counterproductive ways.

Drawing on Extant Bilingual and ESOL Resources

Spanish teachers and teachers of ESOL, along with bilingual paraeducators have played important roles in schools' responses to demographic change in NLD communities. The roles of

these professionals and paraeducators have shifted in response to the changing needs of the schools and students they serve.

ESOL teachers. ESOL teachers and classrooms in the NLD have become a sort of makeshift home base for ELLs and newcomers. Harklau (2000) observes that the ESOL teacher in her Georgia-based study handled everything related to ELL students—from registration duties normally handled by guidance counselors to communication with lawyers and health care professionals—even the role of affectionate care-giver, offering encouragement and support to her students. Harklau and Colomer (2015), in a later study in Georgia, note that ELL teachers and paraprofessionals were the point people for school communication with ELL students and families. ESOL teachers offer strategies to content-area teachers for working with ELLs in mainstream classes (Ilieva, 2011), and become *de facto* experts in Spanish language and culture (López & Velásquez, 2006). Additionally, Paciotto and Delany-Barmann (2011) assert that ESOL teachers become *de facto* language policymakers, transforming official language policy as they enact micro-level reforms in their schools and classrooms (e.g., shifting one-way bilingual education to two-way immersion). Clemente and Collison (2000) assert that ESOL teachers operate a “self-contained school,” as neither they nor their students have much sustained or meaningful interactions with professionals and students outside the ELL program. Clearly, these descriptions imply the very powerful role of ESOL teachers in the lives of newcomer students and their families in NLD communities.

Teachers of Spanish. Colomer and Harklau (2009) assert, “Spanish teachers are assuming significant new responsibilities in the education of Latino students in new immigrant communities”(p. 668). They note that Spanish-speaking immigrants get placed into Spanish classes because of an assumption—and we have seen this assumption to be false—that they will be comfortable there. As such, Spanish teachers are some of the only teachers other than ESOL

teachers who have contact with newcomers, serving as cultural interpreters and homeroom teachers for Spanish-speaking students; they also serve as *de facto* school counselors for Spanish-speaking students and advocates for Latin@ students and families (Colomer & Harklau, 2009).

Colomer and Harklau (2009) also describe the numerous impromptu translating and interpreting²² tasks that Spanish teachers undertake. These “dual role interpreters” (Colomer, 2010, p. 492) and translators work with a number of student documents (e.g., immunization records and transcripts, handbooks, calendars, and course syllabi), as well as handle a range of office-referral issues (e.g., student apparel concerns, absence excuses, telephone calls to parents). They serve as interpreters during meetings for special education matters, registration and withdrawal, parent-teacher conferences, and administrator-student meetings, as well as during police questioning or arrests (Colomer & Harklau, 2009). Requests for translation and interpreting come from all corners of the school, from teachers, counselors, administrators, students, and parents, to school-related community agencies (e.g., clergy, police, and truancy officers, hospitals, and jails) (Colomer & Harklau, 2009). Given the range of situations in which they are asked to serve as a bilingual resource, Spanish teachers express concern about being the “Spanish-speaking voice of institutional authority” (Colomer & Harklau, 2009, p. 668), especially when they do not always feel adequately qualified to serve in this role (Colomer, 2010).

Colomer (2014) later explored how a Latina high school Spanish teacher in an NLD context negotiated her work. Colomer (2014) describes how this teacher drew on forms of *capital* to serve Latin@ students in her school; her association with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) offered social capital and her position as an “institutional agent” (p.

²² Translation refers to written work; interpretation is spoken work.

358) served as symbolic capital. Additionally, she used her knowledge of the rules of schooling to help students navigate the unfamiliar system of U.S. schooling.

Bilingual paraeducators. Bilingual paraeducators have also played important—although lamentably marginalized—roles in the school experiences of newcomers (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006). Despite the wealth of cultural and linguistic resources they offer ELL students in NLD schools, Godina (2010) cautions that bilingual paraeducators do not necessarily have ESL strategies to make their work more productive. Bruening’s (2015) description of a paraeducator—although a monolingual English speaker—worked mostly unsupervised and with little training in her work, which resulted in low academic expectations and improvised accommodations.

The changing (and expanding) roles of ESOL teachers, Spanish teachers, and paraeducators in the NLD manifest the many ways in which schools have scrambled to accommodate the linguistic mismatch between new Latin@ students and the extant structures of schooling.

Newcomers’ Access to Equitable Educational Experiences

Given the overwhelming evidence demonstrating ideological resistance to newcomers in demographically changing schools, I questioned whether immigrants and newcomers have equitable access to a quality education. Newcomers face a number of obstacles in their experiences of life and school, and it is necessary to consider these challenges in examining their access to quality educational experiences. Feuerverger (2011) asserts that students’ experiences and backgrounds in violent and oppressive contexts are enduring, and intensifies the trauma of suffering and loss associated with leaving home. In addition though, students who have encountered violence and oppression often demonstrate resilience and “cautious hope” (Feuerverger, 2011, p. 357). Many, if not most, newcomers in the NLD have been forced to leave their home countries of Mexico and Central America for economic, political, or religious reasons

(i.e., poverty, lack of employment, or civil war) (Hamann and Harklau, 2015), all of which imply an added dimension to the unique needs of newcomers in these contexts.

Unique Needs of Newcomers

Newcomers have a range of experiences that shape their life histories, and both positive and negative experiences imply unique needs in serving newcomers. They experience trauma and stress from having left their familiar home countries and from the journey to the United States, and they negotiate and renegotiate identities as they establish themselves in their new country, community, and school.

Trauma and stress. Trauma, violence, and poverty leave lasting impressions on young immigrants. Bal and Perzigian (2013) claim that immigrant youth suffer a number of stresses, and that taken together are unique to the experience of immigration. “Migration stress” occurs as a result of leaving a familiar environment; “acculturative stress” describes the tensions of adapting to new contexts without opportunities to escape the newness; and “traumatic stress” occurs as a result of political, economic, and social burdens (p. 7). The cumulative stress that comes just with the experience of immigration amounts to a considerable challenge in facing school for newcomers. Unaccompanied minors, youth who have made their way into the United States without an adult caretaker, have an added stress of assuming adult responsibilities as they navigate life in a new country. Hilburn (2014) adds that hostility (in receiving communities), acculturation challenges, absences (often to attend immigration hearings), and familial separation are also results of unaccompanied and/or unauthorized immigration.

Once newcomers arrive in schools—often with wide gaps or complete absences in their formal schooling (Bigelow, 2010)—they are faced with an unfamiliar school routine and overwhelming amounts of “work” and the stress of testing and English-language learning (Roxas & Roy, 2012; Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Villalba, Brunelli, Lewis, & Orfanedes, 2007). Roxas and Roy

(2012) relate how a Somali immigrant student internalized the low academic expectations his teachers had for him when he was unable to keep up with all the work assigned in their classes. Although the student calculated points in order to prioritize which work to complete, his teachers were unaware of this, and they saw only that he often did not turn in assigned work (Roxas & Roy, 2012).

Indeed, the length of time an immigrant has been in the U.S. has decided implications for school success. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) note that first-generation immigrant students who are able to “float between” identities (p. 307), are decidedly more likely to be classified as high achievers. However, this “immigrant paradox” has shown to be mediated by strong relationships and academic engagement within school (Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). Crosnoe (2005) echoes this finding, adding that third generation (i.e., more assimilated) students tend to like school more, even though they tend to be less academically successful. Predictably, higher achieving students attend schools with high populations of Latin@s, and predictably, they have parents who are formally educated. “Generation 1.5,” immigrants who came to the U.S. as young children, are “caught between two generations and two cultures, a product of both yet completely fluent in neither” (Asher, 2011, p. 43). These studies conclude that the longer an immigrant is in the U.S., the less academically successful they tend to be in school.

Taken together, these unique needs of newcomer students imply a dire need for community agencies to work alongside and in schools in order to support their social, emotional, and physical health (Cooper, 1999). Cooper (1999), a superintendent in Mississippi, unabashedly proposes “[i]nclusive coordinated school health programs that [involve] the entire roster of community resources [which] can supply the academic opportunity deserved by and guaranteed to the children and youth of America” (p. 201).

Negotiation of identity. Newcomer students find themselves negotiating new bicultural and bilingual identities as they acculturate to and assimilate into their receiving communities and schools (Asher, 2011). Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) add that since schools historically have been sites for “Americanization” of students—with all the value-laden connotations that implies—schools have long been attempting to identify those characteristics of minoritized persons’ lives that are “safe” and which are “dangerous” in light of this aim of Americanization. In light of this historical legacy of schools, newcomers face an added challenge as they seek to understand themselves within the United States.

The stigma associated with immigration status implies an added dimension of deviance as newcomers make sense of their new life situations. A number of scholars have attended to “how being undocumented, and the in-between and ambivalent legal and social status this embodies, influences immigrant youths’ educational aspirations, experiences, and opportunities” (Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014, p. 195; see also Bohon, Macpherson, & Atilas, 2005; Gonzales, Heredia, & Negrón-Gonzales, 2015; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Harklau (2000), drawing on an ethnographic case study of immigrant youth in NLD Georgia, asserts that labels—and newcomers have a number of labels attached to them—require a renegotiation of identity. Each label carries a range of defining characteristics that influence how newcomer students see themselves and their abilities.

Hamann and Reeves’ (2012) exploration of “cultural models” of children, educators, and schools in the wake of raids conducted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in several Midwestern towns reveals implicit labels that emerge from media portrayals of these raids and subsequent related events. “Cultural models” of children as “innocents,” educators as “stand-in parents,” and schools as “refuges” serve as “representations” that perpetuate ideological

assumptions about undocumented or unauthorized immigrants and the responses of the United States government in enforcing immigration law (Chomsky, 2007).

The isolation resulting from placement in ELL programs imposes a liminal identity at school (Valdés, 1998; Clemente & Collison, 2000; Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014); Valdés (1998) bitinglly calls this marginalized existence the “ESL ghetto” (p. 154; 2001). Torres and Wicks-Asbun (2014) express concern about the “liminal citizenship” (p. 195)—the space between belonging and exclusion—that many newcomers embody as a result. Bedolla and Fraga (2012) echo this concern, noting the civic education most newcomers need and advocating the election of Latin@s to positions of power in order to cultivate a vision of Latin@s as civic beings. Indeed, with schedules dominated by ELL courses, ELLs have limited access to content area classes, thwarting or post-secondary aspirations (Bohon, Macpherson, & Atilas, 2005; Gonzales, 2010; Jefferies, 2014).

Spanish classes are ironically just as alienating for Latin@ newcomers; the Central American and Mexican varieties of Spanish spoken by most newcomers in the NLD are often discriminated against in Spanish classes, where European versions of Spanish are privileged and Spanish-speaking cultures are narrowed to holidays and foods (Harklau, 2009; Harklau & Colomer, 2015). These experiences reflect back to Latin@ newcomers representations of who they are at the same time that they internalized deficient perspectives about themselves as LEP.

Constructing Citizenship in School

One of the central aims of public schooling is to educate a citizenry capable of sustaining a healthy democracy (CIRCLE, 2003). “Schools are the only institutions with the capacity and mandate to reach virtually every young person in the country. Of all institutions, schools are the most systematically and directly responsible for imparting citizen norms” (CIRCLE, 2003, p. 5). “Citizen norms,” as this implies, are the everyday practices of citizenship. CIRCLE’s 2003 report,

The Civic Mission of Schools, offers a useful and relevant definition of “competent and responsible citizens” (p. 10). “Competent and responsible citizens...are informed and thoughtful; participate in their communities; act politically; and have moral and civic virtues” (CIRCLE, 2003, p. 10). The “informed and thoughtful” citizen is one who is a critical thinker capable of dialogue and deliberation about public issues and who seeks multiple perspectives in making decisions for the common good. “[Participating] in their communities” means that citizens are active in groups dedicated to public service and collaborative action on public problems. “[Acting] politically” means that they have the “skills, knowledge, and commitment needed to accomplish public purposes” including the communication skills and the knowledge of how to navigate the systems of the American democracy (CIRCLE, 2003, p. 10). Finally, “moral and civic virtues” include a concern for the “rights and welfare of others,” listening to others, a willingness and ability to take action, and perhaps most importantly, the ability to “balance between their own interests and the common good” (CIRCLE, 2003, p. 10). Social studies, as a program of study with the primary aim of citizenship education, takes on increased importance in the education of newcomer students (Parker, 2005).

Membership and belonging. A number of studies have explored how schools have taken on the challenge of educating high school newcomers for citizenship in the United States. Ríos-Rojas (2011) conducted ethnographic work in high schools in Spain, and while not situated in the United States, her research illuminates immigrant youths’ conceptions of their own citizen identities as outsiders, even when they understand the country’s systems of government. This points to the importance of citizenship education for inclusion and belonging for all people, a foundational tenet of “cultural citizenship” (Flores & Benmayor, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2004). “Cultural citizenship,” first theorized by Rosaldo in a 1987 paper, “names a range of social practices which, taken together, claim and establish a distinct social space for Latinos in this country” (Flores &

Benmayor, 1997, p. 1). These sociocultural practices are ways of “claiming membership” in the U.S. (Flores & Benmayor, 1997); Ladson-Billings (2004) adds that when these cultural practices are enacted in the United States, it is inevitable that they are also racialized.

Claiming membership is also a way newcomers have challenged the liminal citizenship many Latin@s (Salazar, Martinez, and Ortega, 2016; Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014)—especially those Latin@s who are undocumented immigrants—experience. Salazar, Martinez, and Ortega (2016), specifically studying the school experiences of undocumented Latin@ students, note that while it is exceedingly important that young immigrant youth have opportunities to develop as “critical multicultural citizens” (i.e., justice-oriented citizens who work to identify and transform structural forms of inequality), the youth in their study were sometimes confronted with unsupportive teachers and negative peer relationships. However, despite the many obstacles the youth faced, they were resilient ; they note that “the seeds of critical multicultural citizenship for Latina/o undocumented youth were sowed in school and out of school via mentors, social justice advocates, and students’ own critical consciousness” (p. 101). Since relationships were key in helping immigrant youth develop a justice-oriented citizenship, Salazar, et al. (2016) advocate for a greater understanding amongst educators of immigration policies, high academic and civic expectations for undocumented students, and opportunities for undocumented youth to participate civically. Abu El-Haj (2009; see also Abu El-Haj, 2007) echoes this concern for justice-oriented citizenship education, especially in light of the many transnational students in U.S. schools. She argues that rather than conceptualizing citizenship as a static status, schools ought to be thinking about citizenship in more global terms; that is, citizenship should be conceptualized as a set of “critical practices” (p. 274) through which young people will learn to confront and challenge inequalities and injustices.

Latina (i.e., female) youth encounter an even more complicated experience of membership and belonging, even when they have legal status (Bondy, 2015). Echoing Santa Ana's (2002) notions of the dangerous immigrant, Bondy's work demonstrates that Latinas confront labels of exclusion, including "criminal, invader, and [face] cultural/racial/sexual threats" (Bondy, 2015, p. 369). Latinas in her study developed their identities through "stereotypical images and language ideologies" (Bondy, 2016, p. 234). These young women negotiated these labels by distancing themselves from the identity of Latina or immigrant, embracing education, by taking up social action projects in support of human and immigrant rights, and by resisting a national citizenship altogether, identifying as transnational citizens (Bondy, 2015; 2016). Bondy (2015) suggests that schools ought to interrogate the curriculum surrounding immigration and citizenship in order to interrupt ideological tendencies toward assimilationist practices. She also advocates for the development of critical literacy in order for all students to become adept at identifying and problematizing the social construction of labels and identities.

Socializing for citizenship. Callahan, Muller, and Schiller's (2008) study drawing on longitudinal data of civic participation of immigrant youth investigated if and how informal or formal curricula influenced political participation (e.g., voting). Their analyses demonstrate that "[p]erformance in social studies coursework predicts active civic participation, an indication that our high school curriculum is in fact relevant and contributory in our increasingly disconnected society" (p. 24). They note that the formal curriculum and informal practices included in schools can all be leveraged to "socialize" immigrant youth into a culture of active political participation. This conclusion carries heavy implications for the integration of all students in social studies classes, as opposed to tracked courses that disproportionately isolate students of color and other historically disadvantaged groups (Oakes, 1985) and, relevant to this study, students who are learning English (Callahan, 2005; Valdés, 1998; 2001). Callahan and Obenchain (2012) also assert the important

socializing role that school plays in the lives of immigrant youth, finding that school—and social studies classes specifically—provided a site in which students encounter models of civic and political participation; importantly, this study demonstrated that immigrant youth integrate their civic role models at school with those at home to develop their own “civic voices” (p. 3). This opportunity to construct and enact “cultural citizenship” (Flores & Benmayor, 1997) allows them to bring their whole selves into their citizen identities.

Gonzales, Heredia, and Negrón-Gonzales (2015) echo the socializing role of schools for immigrant youth, especially in light of the 1982 Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe* that protected undocumented students’ right to an education regardless of immigration status. Their analysis of data from a number of studies conducted in California demonstrates that while the *Plyler* decision has helped thousands of immigrant youth go to school, the lack of resources, inequitable tracking structures, and rote, passive civics learning experiences limit the influence these courses have on immigrant youth and their civic identities. Gibson (2017), asserting that traditional approaches to social studies instruction marginalize bilingual and bicultural students mainly due to the neglect of their linguistic funds of knowledge (Moll, et al., 1992), offers a narrative portrait of her own pedagogical approach to teaching civics in a dual-language American school in Mexico. Her focus on social action and project-based work in their own community enacted through translingual strategies—acknowledging and valuing how bilingual students “draw on their languages in fluid, flexible, and interconnected ways” (p. 17) allowed students to integrate their languages and sociocultural identities into their citizenship experiences. Levinson (2012) also describes her approach to social studies teaching in an inclusive middle school classroom. She engaged students in civic action projects through her classes, which bolstered students’ sense of civic efficacy; she also explicitly taught students to “codeswitch,” or “represent and express themselves in ways that members of the majority group—those with political privilege and power—

will naturally understand and respect” (p. 87). It is thus clear that while social studies courses are important predictors of civic participation, the quality of the learning experiences—including attention to identities and power—are even more important.

To this end, Yoder, Kibler, and van Hover (2016), in their meta-synthesis of studies among ELLs in social studies classrooms²³, concluded that ELLs need instruction in social studies courses that is relevant and meaningful in the context of their lives. It follows, then, that preservice and inservice teachers and other educators need more professional development opportunities for working with ELLs (Yoder, Kibler, & van Hover, 2016). They also advocate for more research in social studies courses in which ELLs are enrolled (Yoder, Kibler, & van Hover, 2016).

Hopeful Policy Responses to Demographic Change

While most of the recent scholarship paints a bleak picture of schools’ responses to demographic change, there are hopeful signs that schools are trying to adapt to their changing populations. *De jure* policies in teacher professionalization, like the Oklahoma law requiring pre-Kindergarten teachers to hold a Bachelors degree and an endorsement in early childhood education *and* which pay pre-Kindergarten teachers the same as K-12 teachers, have produced encouraging gains in Latin@ children’s school readiness (Jacobson, 2003). Another school district, this one on the East Coast, experimented with an alternative school that would serve as a six-week orientation to U.S. schooling for newcomers and a site for intensive English immersion, with the goal of transitioning students into mainstream classes with ELL support after the initial six-week period (Merchant, 1999). Although the school was closed after one year of operation and against the professional judgment of the staff members who worked there (Merchant, 1999) *and* although it wreaks of *de jure* segregation, I include it in a discussion of *hopeful* policy responses because it manifests imagination and a willingness to try something different on the part of the district.

²³ None of the studies in their meta-synthesis were conducted in New Latino Diaspora receiving communities.

Cautiously Hopeful *De facto* Policies

There are studies of receiving schools and communities that manifest the kind of “critical care” Valenzuela (1999) illuminates. Valenzuela (1999) asserts, “The inflexibility of bureaucracies often places caregivers in the problematic position of having to break rules in order to be caring”(p. 81). This insight is reflected in the ways in which teachers, students, and other educators in demographically changing communities enact *de facto* policy in efforts to make their schools and communities more inclusive. I do, however, acknowledge the caution with which we must regard these practices. Any practice, especially impromptu responses by unprepared and under-resourced schools—especially schools in new Latin@ diaspora receiving communities—pose the risk of becoming institutionalized when deployed uncritically.

Inclusive strategies for English language development. The acquisition of English is crucial to newcomers’ life chances in the United States (Valdés, 2001). However, newcomers’ experiences with learning English can be more respectful of their “bilingual literacies” (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011), encouraging ELLs to think about concepts through and within both languages. Fránquiz and Salinas (2011) explore how a teacher integrated language and content in social studies in an ELL newcomer class to promote “historical thinking,” which is, to exercise agency, empathy, and moral judgment as they interacted with digitized historical primary source documents. Allowing students to use their first language or English to respond fostered meaningful engagement, and the digital sources provided “visually rich environments” (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011, p. 74) for integrating language and content.

Ilieva (2011) describes the collaboration of an ESOL teacher with the mathematics teachers in her Utah school in an effort to support ELL student learning in mainstream classes. Through the practice of “noticing,” this ESOL teacher identified areas in which the math teachers could adjust lesson plans and instructional strategies, and she offered nontraditional content

strategies that would employ language teaching strategies; this collaboration resulted in more student-centered planning for math classes at the school, including attention to structured group work, explicit modeling, authentic, hands-on learning experiences, and more integrated use of vocabulary, as well as encouraging a more social learning context in which students would be expected to talk to each other (Ilieva, 2011).

Inclusive strategies for building academic literacies. Indeed, most of the emphasis in educating newcomers is on building English-language competence, presuming that English language skills are a prerequisite to learning in content areas (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2013). Countering deficit-based approaches to newcomers' education must include equitable opportunities to integrate the more complex and particular language and knowledge of different academic areas (Cummins, 2000; Echevarría, Short, & Powers, 2006; Haneda, 2009). To this end, there are instances of promising and inclusive strategies for content area learning.

"Sheltered instruction" is "teaching that provides access to the core curriculum using techniques that make lessons more understandable to students" (Echevarría, 1995, para. 5). Sheltered instruction, then, is specifically aimed at integrating English language development and academic literacies (Echevarría, Short, & Powers, 2006). It is an approach borrowed from special education and includes practices like speaking more slowly, repetition of key vocabulary words in a contextualized way, adaptation of curriculum, and hands-on activities (Echevarría, 1995); in the case of ELLs, it includes drawing on the students' native languages in learning and demonstrating ideas (Echevarría, 1995). Studies utilizing the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Short, Echevarría, & Richards-Tutor, 2011) over a ten-year time span support this approach with a number of qualifications: first, the teacher must be committed to the approach and be willing and able to employ it within a standards-based accountability regime in the current context of U.S.

education; and second, teachers must have sustained and active professional development in maintaining a sheltered instruction program (Short, Echevarría, & Richards-Tutor, 2011).

Fránquiz and Salinas (2013) describe a sheltered high school social studies classroom in which the teacher drew on non-text heavy primary sources while using their dominant language to express their ideas as a way to engage newcomers in historical thinking. Their research demonstrated that when the teacher in a sheltered social studies classroom had the autonomy and flexibility to adapt the prescribed curriculum and select resources and pedagogical strategies aligned with her students' background experiences and funds of knowledge, students conceptualized history as a more complicated and contextualized story that needs to be told from multiple perspectives; they also developed relevant and meaningful vocabulary that connected to their own identities. On the other hand, when the teacher was required to adhere to the mandated and standardized curriculum the following year, the students' thoughts were articulated less clearly and their expressions of "empathy, moral judgment, and agency" were diminished (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2013, p. 355). This study also illuminated how students were able construct longer and more thoughtful written responses when they were allowed to write in their native languages or a hybrid of English and their native languages (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2013).

Higher education and continuing teacher education have also influenced how schools respond to the need to create more inclusive educational experiences for all students, including newcomers. Hamann and Reeves (2013) describe the efforts within their university-based teacher education program to prepare elementary teachers who are ready to cultivate learning for all students by integrating English-learning strategies into all methods courses; these opportunities to understand how they can facilitate academic learning for ELLs communicates an expectation that they share responsibility in teaching ELLs.

“ESL coaching” has also been a promising strategy for building ELLs’ academic literacies. ELL teachers who partner with general education classroom teachers provide opportunities to “assist, diagnose, offer advice, and even model teach” (Hamann & Reeves, 2013, p. 86). This kind of collaboration is a more productive and meaningful response to teacher complaints of ineffective and short-term professional development opportunities (Hamann & Reeves, 2013).

Acts of resistance. Jefferies (2014) documents how one principal in Boston used his knowledge of students’ immigration status to identify those students who needed reassurance that their school supported their learning and that they had viable options for post-secondary pursuits. He invited immigration legal counsel to come to the school once a month to meet privately with unauthorized students and their families, and he worked to correct students’ misunderstandings about the implications of their immigration status, as well as to inform students about college options and the steps they needed to take to pursue those options (Jefferies, 2014). While the effort to support unauthorized students was not implemented as a school wide effort—several teachers refused on ideological grounds—the principal did insist that teachers become more aware of the “symbolic violence” that happened in their midst (Jefferies, 2014). In this way, he demonstrated characteristics of Valenzuela’s (1999) conceptualization of “critical care,” which affirms students’ multicultural and multilingual identities, seeing them for who they are, and often reflect the Latin@ notion of *educación*, valuing respect, morality, and loyalty (Villenas, 2002).

Peralta (2013) investigates how Mexican immigrant and first-generation youth in rural California and Idaho “resist, conform to, and persist in schooling” (p. 228). Framed by Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit)—both of which privilege stories of the experiences of communities of color—he notes that “language and culture are often as important as skin color in separating privileged groups from oppressed ones” (p. 231). He asserts that

communities of color draw on “funds of knowledge” (Moll, et al., 1992) to resist and negotiate oppression.

Valdés (2001) offers “not-learning” English as a mild form of student resistance, “not to be confused with failure” (p. 3), and explores the subtle ways in which the four students in her ethnographic study expressed it. “Not-learning” English, according to Valdés (2001), demonstrates that English, a crucial factor in students’ life chances, cannot be learned in two years. She implores schools and ELL programs to “help students to find and create insurgent voices—voices that question the reality that surrounds them” (p. 159); through this insistent language, she demonstrates that all work in educational settings is political.

Grady (2002) tells the story of Latin@ students in rural Indiana who, when placed into an isolated and makeshift ELL classroom, created a culturally relevant curriculum for themselves through the medium of “lowrider art”—“a distinctly Latino art form” which grew out of the Mexican-American culture of urbanization and which represents lowrider cars alongside other images of Latino culture (p. 175). Grady (2002) asserts that the practice of drawing images, trading them for critique, photocopying, and preserving the artwork from a lowrider magazine in plastic sleeves was a way of making themselves and their cultures visible. In this way, these students created a “discourse [group] of cultural pride and positive identity” (Grady, 2002, p. 182), their own culturally relevant curriculum.

Similarly, Irizarry’s (2007) study of a teacher and students in a classroom in which culturally responsive pedagogy was extended to include aspects of “urban youth culture” (p. 26) (i.e., ways of talking, social experiences, music, creative language) emphasizes the importance of seeing and knowing students’ cultures in order to help them imagine possible lives for themselves. Irizarry (2007) argues that drawing on the students’ cultural resources helps them carve positive

identities for themselves; this practice of noticing students and the spaces between their realities and their possible futures constitutes a “*culturally connected* teacher identity” (p. 27).

Non-Latin@ students also played a role in resisting negative images of demographic change in their communities and schools, and even small steps paved the way for more meaningful interactions between longstanding residents and newcomers. Middle school students in a rural Midwest school planned a basketball tournament in which teams consisted of inter-ethnic pairs (Millard, Chapa, & Crane, 2004). Millard, Chapa, and Crane (2004) assert that community events like the basketball tournament are valuable opportunities to bring people together in a public way, but they note that communities need support from local governments, schools, and other organizations in planning and advocating these kinds of events.

One ELL teacher in a rural NLD context in the eastern United States implemented what Wortham and Contreras (2002) call “spatiotemporal fluidity” (p. 138) as a culturally responsive teaching practice. “Spatiotemporal fluidity” refers to a “culturally relevant way of organizing time, space and participation” (p. 138), with lots of conversations happening simultaneously, more freedom in movement, and a more generative approach to discussions; these practices made the space much more “culturally familiar” and welcoming for the students (Wortham & Contreras, 2002, p. 133). While many Anglo teachers resisted and resented the spatiotemporal fluidity in her classroom, Wortham and Contreras (2002) observe that students felt at home and a pride in their identities, which built community through caring and supportive relationships.

Finally, DeStigter (1998) describes what he calls a “democratic project” with the aim of engaging Latin@ ELLs and so-called “at-risk” Anglo students in a 10-week collaboration in reading and writing; this project, called “Tesoros Literacy Project,” involved sharing poetry and stories in both Spanish and English about their personal histories. Students learned to critique each other’s work in respectful ways, and the project revealed the importance of developing relationships with

people from whom they were normally separated. DeStigter (1998) concedes that a ten-week program is not enough time to cultivate lasting relational change, but argues that it was a transformative experience for the youth involved.

Agents of Positive Change

Given that policy is enacted on the ground in schools, teachers and students are positioned as agents of *policymaking* as official policy is transformed in practice (McLaughlin, 1987). It is clear that teachers, students, administrators, and other educators—in small measures—are carving out spaces oriented toward inclusiveness and critical care (Valenzuela, 1999). These unceremonious steps are happening in schools all over the United States, but their impact has been isolated and at times, fleeting. Nonetheless, they offer hope and encouragement in the early years of transition for communities like mine, where the shrill voices of conservative activists wistfully yearn for the monolingual, monocultural community they knew in years past.

Situating My Study in Recent Scholarship

A number of studies in recent scholarship, many of them ethnographic or narrative in nature, explore the experiences of ELL students and teachers in relation to shifting roles and language development. A smaller number of studies attend to parent perspectives of their children's experiences in school; even fewer studies illuminate the perspectives of school leaders in NLD contexts. The obstacles and challenges of newcomers are documented in broad strokes, but few studies tell the students' stories from their own perspectives. Calls for further research in this area point to the need to explore students' experiences beyond linguistic needs (Hilburn, 2014), as well as to attend to the experiences of the many minors—some undocumented—arriving from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). Given that this surge of immigration from Central America is relatively new, studies of these newcomers experience school is also noted as an absence in recent scholarship (Hamann & Harklau, 2015). More specifically,

focused studies in new receiving communities are needed. Given the isolation from mainstream classes most newcomer students experience in school—their own unique form of tracking (Oakes, 1985)—and especially in social studies classes purportedly aimed at citizenship education, more research is needed in these contexts.

I situate my study in the “gap” I see within the larger context of recent scholarship addressing responses to demographic change in the Midwest (Merriam, 2009, p. 61). In particular, the experiences of young people (longstanding residents and newcomers) need to be explored in this unique community context (i.e., enacting a distinctly anti-immigration local ordinance through a divisive and vitriolic process). As I outlined in the opening sections of my literature review, young people in America will need to be adept at “talking to strangers” (Allen, 2004) if they are to recover and sustain a healthy democracy. Taken together, these points revealed a need to explore how students in this particular school in the context of Washington River construct citizen identities. How are they learning to be together? How do they interact? How do they regard each other, and for what reasons? Furthermore, from whom do they learn how to be together? These questions are but an entry point for understanding how we can foster “political friendship” (Allen, 2004) among young people, and to arm them with strong citizen identities and skills with which to care for the “public household” (Parker, 2003). In the next chapter, I describe the research design—including gaining access and my complicated journey toward getting approval for the study from my Institutional Review Board—and position myself in the study, as well as explicate the theoretical framework that I drew on as a lens for this research.

Chapter Three: Newcomers as “Creators and Holders of Knowledge”²⁴ in the New Latino Diaspora

Schools located in communities within the “New Latino Diaspora” (NLD) have struggled to adapt to their changing demographics (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, Jr., 2002; Hamann & Harklau, 2015; Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012). The resulting changes in the social fabric of NLD communities are especially evident in the public high school in Washington River. The community of about 26,000 residents—almost 90% of whom are White, recently voted to enact a local ordinance to ban hiring or renting to “illegal aliens,” which prompted vitriolic public debates and divisive public discourse²⁵. Therefore, in addition to the school’s task of responding to the needs of a changing social and linguistic demographic—including a number of accompanied and unaccompanied minors from Central America—the “improvised interethnic interaction” (Hamann & Harklau, 2015, p. 5) is compounded by the effects of the political animosity surrounding the ordinance and, indeed, the election of Donald Trump. Moreover, Trump’s defense of White nationalists and the so-called “Alt-Right” ideologues has emboldened a segment of the population who spew nativist and racist rhetoric (Gray, 2017).

As a researcher, I have a choice to make about what it is I want to understand or be able to do at the end of my study. Silences and calls for research in recent scholarship include studies that explore 1) students’ experiences beyond linguistic needs (Hilburn, 2014); the roles of schools in NLD contexts in responding to demographic change; 3) the experiences of newly arriving unaccompanied minors (Hamann & Harklau, 2015); 4) social studies classes in which ELL students are enrolled (Dabach & Fones, 2016; Yoder, Kibler, & van Hover, 2016); and 5) citizenship education and practices in schools (Abu El-Haj, 2009). Responding to these calls, the purpose of

²⁴ I follow Delgado Bernal (2002) here, in the epistemological assumption that students both “create” knowledge through their experiences, and that those experiences “embody knowledge” that is often disregarded in school; this disregard of students’ funds of knowledge (Moll, et al., 1992) is most often perpetrated against students of color and other minoritized groups.

²⁵ Citations from local and identifying media withheld.

this study was to explore how newcomer students in a high school in a New Latino Diaspora community construct citizen identities.

I drew on Parker's (2003) description of the democratic citizen as someone who is aware of his or her interdependency with fellow citizens, exercises "practical judgment," has a sense of how and why democratic societies are sustained, is competent in civic skills like deliberation and is willing to practice those skills, and whose participation in public life is oriented toward justice (p. 23). Levine (2007) uses the term "civic engagement" in place of citizenship in order to avoid notions of citizenship status; he summarizes, "a person who is *civically* engaged somehow connects to the civic domain so that she can affect it" (Levine, 2007, p. 3). Again, meaningful participation and political voice in public life are central to the construct. He cites examples of atypical behaviors that are indicative of civic engagement—"atypical" because they are less often viewed as expressions of citizenship but are no less significant: protesting, identifying with one's tribe, providing sanctuary to undocumented immigrants, caring for siblings or translating for family members, standing in solidarity against oppressive speech and actions, or even simply following the news (Levine, 2007, p. 2). I appreciate that these examples illuminate the ways in which citizenship is enacted in everyday life experiences.

Noting the political debates surrounding immigration in the U.S. in 2017, I follow Abu El-Haj (2009) in her assertion that "citizenship may be better described as a guarantor of rights than a marker of national identity" (Abu El-Haj, 2009, p. 279). Thus, simply being human within a country affords one the rights of citizenship. This gets at the important ideas of membership and belonging associated with "cultural citizenship" as well. "Cultural citizenship," explains Rosaldo (1994), "refers to the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense" (p. 402). The notion of Rosaldo's (1994) cultural citizenship offers an honest acknowledgement of the institutionalized forms of oppression that are at play in the U.S. (i.e., racism, classism, sexism, nationalism,

nativism, White privilege); his insistence on the “right to be different” implies a referent from which one might be different (i.e., those who have historically been afforded the rights and privileges of full citizenship).

Research within a community that has been resistant to demographic change (Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012) can inform policy and practice in schools and classrooms like this one, as well as the community as a whole. For example, this study offers insight to teacher educators—especially in the area of social studies, but not necessarily limited to this field alone—about how teachers and other education professionals can be prepared to work for more equitable learning opportunities and to create and advocate for arrangements in schools that facilitate inclusiveness and belonging for all students. In addition, the study contributes to the body of scholarship exploring citizenship, informing an understanding of how newcomers construct and experience citizenship in the U.S., especially in NLD communities. This purpose, along with my research questions and theoretical framework, directed my focus in the study and implied a compatible methodological approach through which I explored this context.

Research Questions

The context of a community in the New Latino Diaspora provides fertile ground to explore a number of possible research questions. Luker (2008) advises that research questions should frame relationships that “[help] us explain something important about social life” (p. 51, emphasis in original). She adds that a research question leaves space for “a *range* of possible answers” and “advances...an intellectual conversation” about the topic in the scholarship of the field (Luker, 2008, pp. 51-2, emphasis in original). Given these criteria and the absences noted in my review of recent scholarship, I set out to explore in this study two questions about how students in Washington River High School construct citizen identities. How do high school newcomer students construct citizen identities in social studies? Who are key individuals who influence the construction of

citizenship and how do they influence students? A third question emerged through my analysis of the data: Given the institutional nature of schooling, how do newcomers transform the school and how does the school transform them? These questions positioned the students as creators and holders of knowledge (Delgado Bernal, 2002) to inform schools and communities in responding to their changing demographics. As is common in ethnography, my research questions were molded by what I observed in Mrs. Durham's classroom. Thus, having entered the research with my own cultural and contextual understanding of citizenship, exercising "epistemological humility" (Spradley, 1979) allowed me to see the how the *conditions* in which newcomer students constructed citizen identities mattered.

Rationale for a Qualitative Design

Exploring how newcomers construct citizen identities required that I observe and talk with them about their lives within the context where they go about their daily lives—the "naturalistic environment" of their lives (Bogdan & Biklan, 2007). All qualitative inquiry focuses on *understanding* (or *verstehen*²⁶), but there are significant differences in how the researcher approaches a research problem. Research questions that aim to understand or explain "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5) lend themselves to qualitative inquiry. My research questions aimed to explore how immigrant youth described their experiences in school (and, more specifically, in social studies class) and to understand how they make sense of and give meaning to these experiences.

As noted above, my study also aligned with an essential attribute of qualitative research—that of *verstehen*—situating my study in the "experiential context" of school (Stake, 2010, p. 48). My need to select participants "purposively" based on their particular experiences (i.e., being a

²⁶ *Verstehen* "is an experiential understanding action and context" (Stake, 2010, p. 48).

newcomer, being in school), and then to be close to the participants in my study—developing rapport and asking them to describe how they navigate their social world—also rejects the detached objectivity of quantitative research (Merriam, 2009). Hatch (2002) advocates for utilizing a qualitative methodology when the purpose is “to understand the world from the perspective of those living in it” (p. 7). My attention to how students and teachers experience school within this demographically changing community in the NLD aligns with qualitative research’s concern with context and getting close to the individuals under study (Merriam, 2009).

As Crotty (1998) advises, “[O]ur research question, incorporating the purposes of our research, leads us to methodology and methods” (p. 13); I turn now to discussing the methodology of critical ethnographic case study I employed to explore my questions.

Positioning Myself

Qualitative research requires that I—as the primary research tool—explicitly describe the position from which I observe, participate, and write, as well as to represent myself and the intent of my study truthfully to the participants and readers. Hatch (2002) notes that all knowledge is “political” and is “mediated” through the political values of the researcher (p. 16). In the following sections, I lay bare my commitments and position myself within the study and context. I then articulate my epistemological orientation, and explain and justify the theoretical orientation of my study before describing the methodology I employed.

Washington River has been my home for the past ten years. Having grown up in a rural Nebraska community—with a graduating class of 19—I am positioned as an insider to the “Midwestern” way of life that is prevalent in Washington River. As a formally educated bilingual White woman who grew up with married parents and shared family dinners around the table, I am mostly aware of the privileges that come with those identities in the United States (e.g., the privilege of not *having to* think about the color of my skin within a mainstream culture that privileges

Whiteness). That said, I have been an educator for 20 years, during which time I experienced the triumphs and trials of teaching in an urban high school in which 85% of the student population was African American. It was in this school that I first felt the sting of frequent gang violence and overcrowded classrooms staffed by almost all White teachers. Teaching Spanish in a public school located on an American Indian reservation in northern Minnesota taught me to listen to students and their families and to appreciate the collective nature of tribal life. The years I spent in Cass Lake, Minnesota, remain among my most formative years, and the students, families, and colleagues there who patiently and lovingly taught this *gichi-mookomaanikwe* (White woman) to see myself and my way of life as Other.

When my family relocated to Washington River, I found a previously absent utility for my Spanish proficiency—the community having recently experienced a growth in Spanish-speaking residents. It was against the backdrop of the political debate about the proposed city ordinance—which I viewed as a deeply racialized issue—that my family and I struggled to make sense of the resistance to the newcomers in the community. As newcomers ourselves, we felt no such resistance to our being there—and we even had a visit from a local “Welcome Wagon” representative who brought a gift basket full of coupons and information about resources in Washington River and the surrounding areas. I doubted whether this Welcome Wagon visited the newcomers in the trailer parks in nearby Riverview. Although I was a Spanish language teacher, I worked with Latin@ families and students, providing linguistic and cultural translation and interpretation in a range of situations. I also designed and implemented a Spanish course for proficient Spanish speakers, a process through which I came to know intimately the subversive tactics the school district deployed to stay under the radar of surveillance of the small but shrill conservative body politic.

My role as a mother to two young children (who are now in their teens!) prompted me to imagine the kind of future I wanted for them and the kind of world I hoped they would enjoy. I knew that I (and my partner) needed to model activism and care for others if that is what we wanted to cultivate in them, and as such, they were placed in a position to be different from many of their friends at school. They often expressed conflicting emotions about befriending someone who called all Spanish-speakers “Mexicans” or about our decision to vote for Barack Obama in 2008 when their friends (or more accurately, their friends’ parents) told them that Barack Obama wanted to kill babies before they were born. Indeed, raising these small souls who I hoped would value human rights and fight for social justice for *all* people was (and still is) difficult amidst a very conservative community. Thus, the lens of motherhood informs my work in important ways, especially in my efforts to understand and appreciate difference and to be an active participant in my community.

Finally, my partner’s position as the executive editor of the local newspaper has afforded me the opportunity to be privy to the underground discourse of the community of Washington River. While not all letters to the editor are published and not all events in the community are reported on and written about, our discussions in the evenings often involved commiserating about the racist and hateful letters community members wrote so shamelessly. That said, my relationship with him also held implications for how I could be involved in the community; we could not display signs in our yard that might be construed as political statements lest it influence how others viewed the objectivity of the newspaper, nor could I write letters to the editor to counter the incessant barrage of letters describing the perceived threat immigrants posed to “our” community.

I resolved that I would not be silent in the public discourse that perpetuated racialized identities of immigrants and nativist portrayals of who counts as American. My roles as citizen, mother, partner, and educator all inform how I see the world and my role in it. My identity as a

citizen is based on the idea that my freedom depends on the freedom of others, regardless of their immigration status or other identities (Biesta, 2007; Freire, 1970; Levinson, 2012). As a mother, I want my children to understand that we cannot stand idly by in situations of injustice. As an educator, I see in the young newcomers the many students I have worked alongside whose hope, courage, and perseverance still inspires me. Clearly, given my values and commitments, this study is deeply personal to me, and I enter into it with tremendous humility, care, and hope.

Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework situates a study in a broad context; Anyon (2009) asserts, “[O]ne needs to situate schools and districts, policies and procedures, institutional forms and processes in the larger social contexts in which they occur, in which they operate and are operated upon” (p. 3). Further, theory serves as a lens through which to make sense of and interrogate data (Anyon, 2009). In this section, I first bring to bear my ontological perspectives and then discuss how my epistemological orientation follows from them.

A “worldview” (Creswell, 2013) suggests an image of the researcher as a temporally, spatially, and contextually positioned individual. A worldview is a set of constructed understandings about how the world works and what counts as knowing; therefore, a worldview suggests a way of positioning the Self in relation to the Other in the world (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). My worldview prompts me to ask questions about who or what is the Other and about what role the Other plays in my world. As I locate myself within a particular ontological perspective, I draw on Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba’s (2011) view that reality is “socially constructed” and “[free] from objectivity” (p. 102). This perspective is tempered by the critical sensibility that “historically situated structures” have “a real impact on the life chances of individuals” (Hatch, 2002, p. 16); that is, historical structures influence the realm of possibilities in how individuals uniquely and relationally construct their realities.

Epistemology

This research is grounded in a critical constructionist epistemology (Gibson, 2014); according to Crotty (1998), constructionism is “the view that *all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context*” (p. 42, italics in original). This orientation toward knowing and the knower assumes that meaning is constructed through engagement with the world (Crotty, 1998). Constructionism is unique in its careful attention to the interplay between the subjective knower and the object of consciousness, quite distinct from the pursuit of an objective, stable and unchanging truth “that can be measured and studied” (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, p. 102). Experience, as such, is subjective, but it is experience *of something* (Crotty, 1998); this orientation is especially helpful in contextualizing knowledge and in understanding how people of color make sense of their experiences in a raced, classed, stratified society (Carspecken, 1996).

A critical epistemology is undergirded by a *value* orientation toward justice and equality (Carspecken, 1996); epistemologically, though, a critical orientation assumes that knowledge is mediated by and embedded in ideological, hegemonic, and political social constructions (Dennis, 2009). Thus, critical constructionism offers a theory of knowledge and knowing that is contextual and social, and in which humans have agency as they navigate the durable structures of a stratified social world. This critical epistemology assumes that all people are knowledge creators and holders—including the researcher, which implies a “dialogical/dialectical” (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, p. 100) relationship with study participants, including the voices of both the researcher and the participants in “democratic dialogue” (p. 105). Again, this is quite distinct from the objectivist paradigms that seek the “discovery” of pre-existing objective reality (Creswell, 2013).

Apple (2009; 2013) argues that the critical educational scholar must act as a “critical secretary” to groups challenging power and connect education policy discussions to societal injustices; likewise, Dennis (2009) argues that critical research “must include people, ideas, and methods that might be (at any given time and place) marginalized by the politics of knowing” (p. 17). As a privileged White woman, I enter into this role humbly. Critical scholars must also draw on and seek to advance critical social theories through their research and to be more inclusive of a broader audience for their work (Apple, 2009; 2013), including those who are part of the research. I turn now to articulating the critical theoretical framework that guides this research.

Critical Theory

Critical social theory grew out of the scholarship of the Frankfurt School, a group of scholars working in Germany during the early to mid-20th century who were dedicated to societal transformation for the public good (Levinson, 2011). Their work was closely aligned with that of Karl Marx’s critique of liberalism’s reification of individualistic and meritocratic understandings (i.e., capitalism) of the social world (Levinson, 2011). Liberal ideologies are manifested in modern education policy that assumes equality of opportunity (i.e., ignoring the positionality of students) (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2011); these policies, particularly relevant to students of color, impose deficit perspectives of students by blaming them for their failure to meet arbitrary standards of success (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Nieto & Bode, 2012).

Antonio Gramsci greatly influenced critical social theory with his theories of “common sense²⁷,” “hegemony²⁸,” and “critical consciousness²⁹” (Gross, 2011); these ideas remain relevant in research in the social world today. Critical social theory, as Anyon (2009) explains, “references

²⁷ “Common sense,” as distinct from “good sense,” is “an incoherent set of generally held assumptions and beliefs common to any society” (as defined by Gramsci in Gross, 2011, p. 52).

²⁸ “Hegemony” refers to domination by consent rather than coercion (Gross, 2011).

²⁹ “Critical consciousness” makes hegemony visible through reflection on one’s position in society in relation to broader social structures (e.g., schools, government, religion) (Gross, 2011).

systematic thought attempting an explicit analysis toward social justice, which distinguishes it from typical mainstream theory” (p. 2). As such, critical social theory can serve as a useful lens through which to examine deep structural issues and the agentic responses of social interaction within a stratified institution like school (Neuman, 2011).

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) grew out of the intersection of critical legal studies, radical feminism, and civil rights thinking (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The concept of “legal indeterminacy” from critical legal studies advanced the idea that interpretation of justice is mediated ideologically; from radical feminism came the notion of the social construction of roles embedded in power structures; and from civil rights thought, the use of theory to guide practice and a focus on collectivity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Taken together, the CRT community is made up of “activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 3).

While there is not a fixed set of tenets of CRT, most CRT scholars agree on the following unifying ideas (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2009):

- 1) Racism is deeply embedded in our societal consciousness;
- 2) Race and racial stratification is socially constructed; and
- 3) Society “racializes different minority groups at different times³⁰” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 9).

Thus, epistemologically, CRT acknowledges the situated and contextual nature of knowledge and knowledge production (Delgado Bernal, 2002), which aligns with my

³⁰ This is closely related to Derrick Bell’s (2009) theory of “interest convergence” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 8), which holds that advances for oppressed groups happen only when it benefits the dominant group (e.g., Civil Rights legislation allows privileged groups to shirk responsibility for oppressed groups’ position in society, given “equal opportunity.”). Critics of this theory argue that it is fatalistic and unproductive (Litowitz, 2009).

epistemological orientation of critical constructionism, outlined above. Delgado Bernal (2002) asserts, “Through a CRT and LatCrit lens, students of color can be seen as holders and creators of knowledge who have the potential to transform schools into places where the experiences of all individuals are acknowledged, taught, and cherished” (p. 121). CRT, then, values the experiences and voices of people of color as knowledge.

CRT holds that Whiteness is normative—the standard and a “signifier” of goodness—which is precisely why race matters in discussions of equity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2009). Particularly relevant in my study is the fact that Whiteness was defined in the context of immigration law, “as courts decided who was to have the privilege of living in the United States” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 85); not only is Whiteness valuable, it is also “shifting and malleable” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 87). This is important because the United States has historically operated on assumptions of property rights rather than human rights; Whiteness as property implies inequality in the eyes of the law, which perpetuates unequal access to quality education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

It is in light of the import and value of Whiteness that CRT becomes an “an important intellectual and social tool for [...] deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power” (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 19). CRT educational scholars draw on racial analysis to identify barriers to education and to illuminate how students exercise agency in overcoming these barriers (Taylor, 2009; Delgado Bernal, 2002).

Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit). Latino Critical Theory is an extension of CRT, rejecting the binary of white/black experiences often interpreted in CRT scholarship. Instead, LatCrit focuses on how the experiences of Latin@s can complicate discussions of racial justice; for example,

LatCrit scholars seek to illuminate the “nativist”³¹ impulses behind anti-immigration legislation (such as the local ordinance in Washington River) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Pérez Huber (2009) notes that LatCrit, used alongside CRT, makes space for attention to “immigration status, language, ethnicity, culture, identity, and phenotype,” and provides a “more focused lens” (p. 643).

Critical Race Theory and LatCrit offer a theoretical framework that aligns well with my critical constructionist epistemology, and provides a productive way to engage in research that promotes social justice and equality of opportunity and outcomes in education. In the next section, I describe the critical ethnographic case study methodology I employed in the study.

Critical Ethnographic Case Study Methodology

My central concern with methodological selection was in its compatibility with my research questions and theoretical framework, including my value orientation, epistemological assumptions, and CRT and LatCrit (Crotty, 1998). Importantly, as Ladson-Billings (2009) reminds me, “Adopting and adapting CRT as a framework for educational equity means that we will have to expose racism in education *and* propose radical solutions for addressing it” (p. 33). My selection of a critical ethnographic case study methodology allowed space for understanding the experience of schooling for immigrant students *and* for imagining and articulating what better looks like.

Qualitative Case Study

A qualitative case study design for this research meant that it was an “in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system”; the *boundedness* of the “case” in a case study defines what is the “object of study” (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). This study was, therefore, a case of how immigrant high school students construct citizenship in a social studies class in an NLD context. The case was “bounded” in several ways. First, it was bounded by time in that it was a study of one semester

³¹ “Nativism” is the “[v]iew that the United States should give priority to its current citizenry and limit immigration” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 168).

of a social studies class for ELL students. Second, the case was bounded by the participants included in the study because participants were all members (students and teachers) of one of two classes at Washington River High School. Third, the case was also bounded by space in that the study focused on one particular classroom.

This case study was also “instrumental” (Stake, 1995, p. 3) in the sense that, while the focus was on understanding the experiences of the students and teachers in this classroom, I also sought to inform the conversation about how schools in demographically changing NLD contexts respond to these changes and about how communities can more productively and equitably work together to serve the needs of newcomers. So, while the wisdom gleaned from understanding this one classroom is in the interests of the students and teachers in it, their story is “instrumental” in its capacity to teacher education, education policy, and curriculum development.

Ethnography

The goal of ethnography is to understand the culture from the perspective of the people who live it and in their own words (Agar, 1996) in order to better understand the “human species” and to “[serve] the needs of mankind” (Spradley, 1979, p. 16). Spradley’s (1979) conception of ethnography implies that meaning is encoded in language, and that language “is a tool for constructing reality” (p. 17). Spradley (1979) states simply, “Ethnography is the work of describing a culture” (p. 3). As such, the ethnographer pays attention to how people in the culture talk and act, and to the objects they employ in their daily lives, inferring meaning from these experiences (Spradley, 1979). Spradley (1979) argues that because “systems of meaning constitute [...] culture,” ethnography “always implies a theory of culture” (p. 5). Following Spradley (1979) I define culture as “*the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior*” (p. 5). Mrs. Durham’s classroom demonstrated how students learned and taught each other norms they would live by in the classroom, and their background experiences were at play as

they constructed the shared norms in the classroom. Thus, Mrs. Durham's classroom lived a culture that was observable and able to be described.

Ethnographic data collection occurs through participant observation, interviews, and the collection of artifacts that people in the culture use (Spradley, 1979). As such, ethnography is a situated study of a group; that is, the ethnographer must be immersed in the social context of a culture for an extended amount of time (Agar, 1996; Spradley, 1979; Creswell, 2013). The ethnographer does this in order to produce a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the cultural patterns of a social group, which lend authenticity (Merriam, 2009) to the account.

Carspecken (1996) does not find a conflict between ethnography and a critical epistemology such as critical constructionism; rather, he argues, "critical ethnography" is a way of theorizing a cultural description with an awareness of the societal structures that stratify and privilege some people over others. Critical ethnography, then, is ethnography (Spradley, 1979; Agar, 2013) undergirded by a critical theoretical framework, including a critical epistemological orientation (Carspecken, 1996). This was an appropriate fit for this study because it allowed me to explore the cultural constructions while also acknowledging the ways in which power, race, and privilege influenced these constructions.

Erickson (1984) supports the unique possibilities of "school ethnography," which is relevant to my study. He asserts that the goal of ethnography is to make sense of a culture "by placing the behavior complex in its sociocultural context" (Erickson, 1984, p. 61); this situatedness is particularly lacking in current discussions of educational policy (Apple, 2013). He further privileges the perspectives of the participants in asserting this aspect as central to what makes a study ethnographic (Erickson, 1984). Moreover, ethnographers are obligated "to portray the actors in the situation as humans—not as stick figures or monsters. Maybe not nice or good or wise people but human people" (Erickson, 1984, p. 61). I appreciate this sensitivity to the everyday work of schools

and the people who work in them because it was especially difficult to critique Mrs. Durham's pedagogy and stance as it was clear she was acting with good intentions; Erickson (1984) reminded me to describe her (and Mrs. Sánchez and the students) as "human people," all products of their experiences and situated in place and time.

Ethnography offered, among many, two key affordances in relation to my study and the theory that frames it. First, Spradley's (1979) delineation between "*studying people*" and "*learning from people*" (p. 3) is no slight distinction; this positioned me as a learner and privileged the participants as knowers, implying "epistemological humility" (Spradley, 1979, p. 11). Embodying a stance of "epistemological humility" was a reminder that my understandings were tentative and evolving and that I needed to defer to the participants' interpretations. This resonated with CRT's concern with disrupting dominant epistemologies. Another affordance of ethnography was the need for "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) to tell a story; CRT advocates drawing on methodologies of story in order to bridge the gap at the "rich points" (Agar, 1996) between our experiences of reality. This was particularly useful given my position as a white woman doing research with Latin@ youth.

Ethical Considerations

Ensuring an ethical investigation required that I obtain permission from my university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendix A). I requested and received permission via email from the school district and principal to conduct the study in Mrs. Durham's classroom. I recruited the teacher and paraeducator by explaining the study to them and inviting them to participate. They both signed consent forms as their agreement to participate.

Ensuring that participants agreed to participate without feeling coerced or obligated to participate was also important. Due to the high stakes (i.e., possible detainment and/or deportation) attached to exposing immigration status, I requested a waiver of written assent from students; although I took great care to avoid provoking them to reveal their statuses to me, I wanted them to

feel assured that there is no legally binding document that they had signed in relation to their participation in this study that could or would identify them to government authorities (Lahman, Mendoza, Rodriguez, & Schwartz, 2011; Office of the United Nations, 1997).

I first explained the study to students in Spanish and sent a letter explaining the study home with them to give to a parent or Legally Authorized Representative (LAR). In that information I asked the parent or LAR to call me to arrange to meet me in person at school to learn more about the study (via the consent process) so that they could decide whether to consent for their child's participation. The teacher verified via school record that the parent or LAR of the student was indeed the LAR of record, rather than someone who may be speaking on behalf of them. I reviewed the information in Spanish to ensure they understood what the study involved and how their student would participate. In order to confirm their understanding of the study and what would be asked of their student if he/she participated, I conducted a short consent interview (see Appendix B) using the following questions:

1. What will I ask your child to do?
2. Where will your child participate?
3. How long will it take for them to participate?
4. Will your name or your child's name be recorded?
5. Are you required to allow your child to do this as part of a school activity?

Through this consent interview, I clarified any misunderstandings they had. If they wished to consent, I documented the day and time in an encrypted document on my computer, which was password protected. Students were identified through a pseudonym on this documentation. Parents or LARs kept a copy of the recruitment/consent script.

After receiving parent/LAR consent, I invited the student to participate. Students also received a paper describing the study, and I asked students to tell me if they would like to participate; I noted the date and time that students verbally assented to participate. Only students who assented to participate and whose parents or LARs granted consent were included in the

study. In addition, at the beginning and end of each interview, I confirmed students' assent to participate. I remind participants before and after interviews that they were free to discontinue participation at any time; Lahman, et al. (2011) refer to this continual check-in with participants as "process consent" (p. 316).

Seven students agreed to be part of the study, and I received verbal consent from their parents or guardians. There were several more who expressed interest to me in participating, but whose parents or guardians did not provide consent. In some instances, it was difficult to ascertain whether or not the parent or person authorized to provide consent understood what I was asking, and in those cases I did not include them; most often, even though I recruited students and conducted the consent interviews in Spanish along with an interpreter, language differences were an obstacle in gaining informed consent. Some parents—mainly people from Guatemala—spoke Mam or K'iche and asked a Spanish-speaking son or daughter to interpret. Even though I would not have been able to confirm understanding under the terms of my Institutional Review Board protocol, none of the parents for whom Spanish was not their dominant language wished to allow their student to participate.

Although I speak Spanish, I recruited an interpreter with whom many of the students were familiar with the hope that she would make students feel more comfortable; she and I worked together to complete the Limited Research Worker Training Course through the Collaborative Institutional Training Program (CITI). Upon completion of the course, she signed a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix C), which also served as a contract stating that I would pay her \$25.00 per hour for her service.

The issues of privacy and confidentiality are essential in qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). This was especially true for the students who participated in this study given the ways in which undocumented immigrants have been criminalized. I assigned pseudonyms to the students,

which I used in my jottings, fieldnotes, and interview transcriptions. Interviews were conducted in Spanish with an interpreter facilitating the discussions. Because of the legally binding connotations of the word "citizen," I did not use that word in my interactions with participants. Rather, I used words like "classmates" or "peers" or "yourself" when I spoke with them in order to avoid provoking disclosure of immigration status.

Gaining Access and Entering the Site

I gained access to Washington River High School by making contact with Mrs. Durham, with whom I had shared a classroom for one year seven years earlier, when I was a Spanish teacher at the school. I explained the study, and she enthusiastically agreed to have me observe in her classroom. Mrs. Durham's willingness to participate allowed me to enter her classroom and begin to invite students to participate; as such, I am indebted to her for facilitating the introductions and for encouraging students to talk with me. Mrs. Sánchez readily agreed to participate as well, and her enthusiasm for the project also encouraged students to participate.

Participants

The participants in this study were one teacher, one paraeducator, and seven students at Washington River High School. Mrs. Durham, the teacher, had ten years of teaching experience and had grown up in the Washington River area. Mrs. Sánchez, the paraeducator, was in her second year at WRHS and was just a few years older than most of the students in the classroom, as she celebrated her 21st birthday in November of 2016. The students ranged in age from 15-19 years of age and they came from Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. Each of the participants graciously shared their classroom and their stories with me, and I am humbled to have earned their trust.

I recruited the participants in this study from a single classroom in WRHS. I employed "purposive sampling" (Merriam, 2009) based on the criteria of them being students in one of two of

Mrs. Durham's sheltered social studies classes, and that they had been in the United States for less than two years. I describe the participants more fully in the next chapter in order to offer a fuller and personalized account of their biographies.

Methods

Data collection. Ethnographic methods of data collection include interviews, fieldnotes, and artifacts. Spradley (1979) explains that ethnographers make "cultural inferences" from three sources: "(1) from what people say; (2) from what people do; and (3) from the artifacts people use" (p. 8). My "ethnographic record" (Spradley, 1979) for this study consisted of 28 sets of fieldnotes generated from almost 600 pages of jottings, nine interview transcriptions, and 24 documents.

Semistructured interviews (Merriam, 2009) provided opportunities to ask questions (see Appendix D) about things I had observed or to clarify something I heard. Patton explains that "we interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe" (as cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 88). I—along with an interpreter—interviewed each participant one time for approximately one hour in a private room at the school; I recorded these interviews with the participant's permission, and I personally transcribed the interviews and using pseudonyms and clarifying with the interpreter when I could not understand a Spanish word or phrase. I gave students a \$15 gift card to a store of their choice after the completion of the interview. I gave Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez \$50 gift cards at the end of the study because they had spent a considerable amount of time talking with me and answering my questions, in addition to their interviews.

Observations, on the other hand, "represent a firsthand encounter with the phenomenon of interest rather than a secondhand account of the world obtained in an interview" (Merriam, 2009, p. 117). I attended Mrs. Durham's first two classes every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning between September 28 and December 16, 2016, arriving at 7:30a.m. and leaving around

11:00a.m. I recorded “jottings”—“a brief written record of events and impressions captured in key words and phrases” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 29)—in a field notebook during each visit, and I wrote my notes throughout the classes unless I was helping students or grading or sorting papers for Mrs. Durham. I scribbled notes down as quickly as I could between class sessions when I was not interacting with students in the hallway. I developed my jottings into more fully developed “descriptive fieldnotes” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) as soon as I could after leaving the school. I sometimes recorded fieldnotes on my drive using my cell phone because of my lengthy commute my community and my university. These I later transferred to written fieldnotes. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) offer useful guidance in writing fieldnotes: “This process of recalling to write involves reimagining and replaying in one’s mind scenes and events that marked the day, actively repicturing and reconstructing these witnessed events in order to get them down on a page” (p. 51). Writing up fieldnotes was an onerous and time-consuming process, but capturing sensory details and my reactions to things that happened—in the form of “asides” and “commentaries” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) became my first level of analysis.

I also collected documents as sources of data, given that they are objective sources that provide meaningful background information (Merriam, 2009). Merriam (2009) describes documents as “just about anything in existence prior to the research at hand” (p. 140). The documents I collected included a copy of the textbook (which I purchased), copies of test review guides, slides of student notes, and the school handbook. These documents were helpful in triangulating (Merriam, 2009) data among multiple sources.

Data analysis. I began analyzing data as soon as I began the study by including “asides” and “commentaries” in my jottings and fieldnotes; these consisted of “brief questions, ideas, or reactions” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 80) I had to what I was writing. “Asides” were more like an interjected thought or question, such as, “I saw them do that yesterday, too,” which I set off

in italics in my fieldnotes. Commentaries, on the other hand, were more extensive notes on the background or issues relevant to the day's events; these I also set off in my fieldnotes in italics to represent my interpretations. I vividly recall writing an extensive commentary on the day after Trump's election, reflecting on the ways in which his loathsome behavior and speech had been amplified and encouraged by his election. I attempted to capture through commentary the dystopic fog much of America (and the world) experienced that day and in the days that followed—and alas, still today.

I read through my completed fieldnotes like a novel, intuitively searching for story lines and sub-plots. I wrote brief “in-process memos” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 124) that included observations of patterns and interesting episodes and dialogue; these observations guided future fieldwork and were especially helpful early in the study. The writing of the fieldnotes and in-process memos was itself a level of analysis. I then turned to the process of “open coding” in a line-by-line approach—assigning a short phrase that captured the meaning of each “meaningful unit” (Merriam, 2009)—that generated hundreds of codes. I attended to what participants were doing as I coded; I consulted Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) in making sense of the codes through in-process memos. Their questions, especially those that follow, guided my thinking in helpful ways:

- What are people doing? What are they trying to accomplish?
- How, exactly, do they do this? What specific means and/or strategies do they use?
- How do members talk about, characterize, and understand what is going on? What assumptions are they making? (p. 177)

These questions helped me ask questions of the fieldnotes as a data set, and “code memos” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, p. 185)—which I wrote as short, bulleted lists on the last page of each set of fieldnotes—provided me a space to make observations about patterns and about which codes seemed to fit together.

Code memos illuminated which fieldnotes passages were significant, and I color-coded selected sets and portions of fieldnotes. I consulted these code memos to analyze participant interviews, color-coding passages and quotations that spoke to emerging themes. I wrote “integrative memos” to “elaborate ideas and begin to link or tie codes and bits of data together” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, p. 193); these descriptions of the participants and the context based on these fieldnotes excerpts and interview segments became Chapters Four through Eight. I then returned to coding, this time employing “focused coding” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) to identify significant passages that spoke to emerging themes. This analysis of my descriptive chapters constructed the three themes that emerged from the study that I discuss in Chapter 9; this “emergent” and “iterative” aspect of data collection and analysis is a hallmark of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009).

Rigor of the study. The notion of validity in a qualitative study is questionable, but I have taken steps to conduct an ethical and rigorous investigation (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). I have included several elements in this study to “promote validity” (Merriam, 2009) and lend authenticity to the study (see Table 1). First, I have included in this study a variety of data collection methods (i.e., interviews, observations, documents), which ensures “internal validity” of the study through “triangulation” (Merriam, 2009, p. 215). This is to say that I got as close to a firsthand understanding of the experience as I could during data collection; for example, I followed up on a significant observation with a question of the participant to validate my interpretation. Conversely, I also validated my interpretation of what the participants shared in interviews through observation or by consulting corresponding data.

Next, I conducted “member checks” (Merriam, 2009, p. 229) in which I sought validation of my initial findings from the participants. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez were able to validate the data included in the chapters I had written about each of them, and most of the students—some

had moved out of Washington River shortly following the end of my fieldwork—confirmed the validity of what I had written about them. This member checking with students required that I translate into Spanish what I had written in English. The only correction requested was regarding Mrs. Durham’s hometown; I thought she grew up in Washington River, but she actually was raised in a smaller town 15 miles outside of Washington River.

Another element ensuring rigor of the study is that I allowed myself “adequate engagement in the data collection” (Merriam, 2009, p. 229); I spent over 100 hours in the classroom, observing and talking with students and teachers. This provided me with an immersive experience through which I had frequent opportunities to observe patterns, and to challenge or confirm my analytical hunches.

Lincoln and Guba (2000) define “reflexivity” as “the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher” in order for the investigator “to explain their biases, dispositions, and assumptions regarding the research to be undertaken” (p. 183, as cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 219). This is particularly important in this study because I previously worked in Washington River High School and had established my own understandings about the ways in which different actors in the school went about their work. My prior experiences sharing a classroom with Mrs. Durham also influenced how I saw her work in this study, so writing my thoughts as asides in my jottings and fieldnotes was a helpful strategy for illuminating my preconceived ideas about her and her classroom.

Regular discussions about my research with my adviser proved to be productive in understanding the themes that emerged; although she was my adviser, I still call this “peer debriefing” (Carspecken, 1996). Discussions about my writing with other colleagues—and my patient office mates—allowed me to think through my data verbally and to question my interpretations of it.

Finally, as is integral to any qualitative research, I used “rich, thick description” (Geertz, 1973) in my observation notes to address the study’s “transferability” (Merriam, 2009, p. 227). I have represented my study with a clear and detailed account of the context and participants and have provided adequate evidence—including quotations, fieldnotes excerpts, and documents—to support my findings (Merriam, 2009, p. 227). “Transferability” refers to the idea that “what we learn in a particular situation we can transfer...to similar situations subsequently encountered” (Merriam, 2009, p. 225). Assertions of my findings are included throughout these chapters, which can help relate the story to specific contexts—especially other NLD contexts.

Table 1

Data Validation Techniques

<i>Data Validation Technique</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Action(s) Taken</i>
Triangulation	Using multiple sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple data collection methods (i.e., interviews, observations, documents)
Member checks	Asking participants to review data and tentative interpretations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shared my initial fieldnotes with Mrs. Durham, Mrs. Sánchez, and four of the students Consulted participants directly when I questioned my own interpretation
Adequate engagement in data collection	Fieldwork was immersive and extensive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engaged in fieldwork for over 100 hours Questioned and confirmed analytical hunches
Reflexivity	Critical self-reflection by the researcher regarding her relationship to the study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Included my thoughts as asides and commentaries within my jottings and fieldnotes
Peer debriefing	Discussions with colleagues regarding data interpretations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shared my data and fieldnotes with my adviser regularly throughout data collection and during the write-up of the study
Rich, thick descriptions	Providing enough description to allow others to fully envision the context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Took careful observation notes (jottings) and wrote up full fieldnotes and in-process memos as soon as possible after leaving the research site in order to describe the context

Table adapted from Merriam (2009, p. 229)

While data validation in qualitative research is questionable (Luker, 2008), the data validation techniques that I included in this research design further ensured a rigorous study. The techniques I included allowed me to represent the experiences of the participants in this study as clearly and as authentically as possible (Creswell, 2013).

The following chapters describe the participants and the themes that emerged through my analysis.

Chapter Four: The Students, the Classroom, the Program, and the Curriculum

Washington River High School offered a unique context in which to explore the experiences of newcomers in school, and to understand the conditions in which they construct citizen identities. This chapter will describe the students, the classroom, the ELL program at Washington River High School and the daily classroom routine, as well as provide an overview of the American History curriculum.

The Students

The students in this classroom were a vibrant mix of backgrounds and personalities. Some days, they shuffled quietly and slowly into the classroom, shoulders drooping; other days, they exuded boundless energy that reverberated throughout the room. The students made this classroom theirs, and they welcomed newcomers into their community, serving as ambassadors by “showing them the ropes” and fostering belonging in the classroom and cafeteria. While there were many times I clearly saw the students as the teenagers they were, at other times, I found myself in awe of their strength, resilience, and perseverance as they encountered their new realities in their new school—many of them after having made stressful and dangerous journeys to the United States.

The students in this classroom ranged in age from 15 to 19 years old. They wore many of the outward symbols of the all-American teen: acid-washed skinny jeans, Converse low-top sneakers scuffed just enough but not too much, track pants, white Reebok sneakers reminiscent of the style of the 1980s (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). Most of the girls wore their long dark hair piled on top of their heads in a messy bun or slicked back into a tight ponytail. The boys sported short-cropped hairstyles ranging from sleek and styled to purposely mussed. Most of the girls wore meticulously applied make-up each day, highlighting their eyes and framing their lips.

Mrs. Durham sat with me in her empty classroom on a wintry mid-December afternoon, having just finished cleaning up the last vestiges of a holiday party for the students. She leaned back in her chair with a soft smile spread across her face as our conversation began. I asked, “What do you wish people knew about your students?” She paused thoughtfully, looking down at her desk:

I think they're the bravest human beings I know. People think they just came here because they want a better life, but it's more than just a better life. I mean, people think 'better life'—yeah, that means more money or better living conditions, but it's so much more than that for them. It is money for them, but not just money for *them*. Money for their family back home who may not have a reliable source of income every day. Um, so that somebody in their family back home is eating...there's a steady meal there. So they can have an education, that they actually finish or go through 'cause so many of them are coming in with limited formal education. It's not just, you know, yeah, better life, but it's so much more than that...and they're so brave. They have gone through and seen more things than any person in their entire lifetime should, and that's at a young age. They're the most amazing human beings. They make me a better person everyday. (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

I was grateful that I had the opportunity to get to know these students during my time in this classroom.

Although Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez were important parts of the story of this classroom, I foreground the stories of the students here; I include background information about Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez in later chapters. Five young women and two young men from Mrs. Durham's classroom shared their stories with me. The seven students in the study came to Washington River from Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras. In all but one case (Alejandro's), students came to the United States in order to escape the economic challenges and safety concerns in their home countries. The students ranged in age from 15-18, and the length of time they had lived in the U.S. was between three and fifteen months. Their stories were as diverse as their personalities, and each of them illuminated a unique experience of immigration and migration (see Table 2). The profiles that follow aim to describe students' personalities, the journeys they took to get to the U.S., and their general disposition toward their schooling

experience in Washington River; the information included is, of course, dependent on how much and what kind of information each student wished to share.

Student Participants					
Name	Gender	Home country	Age	Time in the U.S. at time of study	Job
Anyelín	Female	Guatemala	17	Less than 1 year	McDonald's
Saraí	Female	Guatemala	15	3 months	None
Sayra	Female	Mexico	18	15 months	None
Jesús	Male	Mexico	16	Approximately 1 year	None
Isabel	Female	El Salvador	15	Approximately 15 months	None
Alejandro	Male	Costa Rica	15	Less than 1 year	None
Caterín Michelle	Female	Honduras	18	Less than 1 year	None

Table 2. Student Participants

The profiles provide important insight into the different kinds of stories and experiences that students brought to their shared classroom.

Anyelín

Anyelín arrived to the classroom each day shortly before the warning bell sounded. She would nod her greetings to friends as she passed between the rows of desks, a hint of a smile touching her lips and her eyes tired and downcast. Her dark hair was normally pulled back into a tight ponytail, and it fell over her face as she placed her books on her desk and lay her head down on top of them. While many girls in the classroom wear carefully applied make-up, Anyelín either wore none or wore subtle touches of eye make-up, making her already large brown eyes appear even bigger. She dressed simply each day in blue jeans, a sweatshirt or long sleeved shirt, and sneakers or flat-soled slip-on shoes. She was shy and looked particularly uncomfortable when speaking with adults; during one class period in which students were asked by a substitute teacher to read aloud from the textbook, she read so quietly that I could not hear her from three seats behind her. After she finished her page, she slouched back and looked around timidly at her peers.

Anyelín was from the northwestern part of Guatemala—the western highlands—near the border with Mexico’s state of Chiapas, where the landscape is speckled with small villages. At 17 years old, she had been in the United States for almost two years at the time of the study, but she remained frustrated by what she saw as her slow progress in learning English. When asked what she wished she could learn, she noted, “Quiero aprender más. (*I want to learn more.*)” When I asked her to elaborate, she clarified, “Quiero aprender el inglés. (*I want to learn English.*)” She clearly felt an urgency to learn English as well, noting, “Ya solo dos años más y...no se me quedado nada. (*I only have two years left, and nothing has stuck with me.*)” She felt that not knowing English was an obstacle for her in her everyday life, explaining that in her new job—while the work was easy—not knowing English made it quite difficult.

Saraí

Saraí was also from the northwestern region of Guatemala. She had lived in the city of Huehuetenango for most of her fifteen years before coming to the United States in September of 2016; she had been in the U.S. for three months at the time I interviewed her. Saraí spoke softly with classmates around her, her bright red lipstick outlining her words and illuminating her frequent smile. Her straight black hair was brushed shiny each morning, and she tossed it playfully over her shoulder as she chatted with friends. She often wore slim-fitting blue jeans with a signature black and white sport jacket that snapped up in the front. Saraí was quick to partner with classmates when the teacher allowed it, and she freely shared her finished homework and test review sheets with others.

Saraí, having recently arrived in Washington River explained that her life there was quite different in Guatemala than it was in Washington River. The biggest difference, for her, was that she felt less freedom in Washington River. As an example of this freedom, she noted that even though she had always had to wear a school uniform in Guatemala, she could choose to attend

school or not; what she saw as rigid attendance policies in the U.S. made her feel less freedom. She said, "Allí si queríamos ir a la escuela podríamos, si no, no lo hicimos. (*Over there if we wanted to go to school we could, if not, we didn't.*)" Her school in Guatemala also did not allow telephones or make-up, and the uniform needed to be at least knee-length. Even with these rules, she still felt that her school in Washington River in which students did not wear uniforms granted her less freedom. She noted the difference with rules in Washington River High School, observing that "in a lot of cases people get in trouble, they go to the office, they come back. In Guatemala, it's like, you break a rule, you have to go home." This she had learned after three months in the school.

Sayra

Sayra, close to 19 years old at the time of the study, was the oldest student in the study. She was from the city of León in the Mexican state of Guanajuato, where I had spent time as an undergraduate college student. She had been living in Washington River for close to a year at the time of this study, and her dark eyes sparkled and her wide smile beamed as we reminisced about walking the plazas—she as a little girl with her grandmother and I as a college student.

Sayra had a small group of close friends in the class, and they often shared answers and collaborated on assignments. I frequently observed them laughing and *platicando* (chatting) as they came into class and sat down in a group. While Sayra talked freely with her friends, she did not often volunteer to talk in class. One exception was when she verbally responded to a question Mrs. Durham had posed, seemingly thinking that others would respond at the same time; her voice rang out clearly in the quiet of the room, and Mrs. Durham smiled at her in surprise. Mrs. Durham praised Sayra for having known the answer when it appeared that no one else had, and Sayra slouched in her chair with a slight grin spreading across her face as she looked sheepishly at her friends.

Sayra's father had lived in Washington River for almost five years, and it wasn't until later that his wife and daughters joined him. Like many migrants from Mexico, he had work in Mexico, but it was not stable. Indeed, Sayra believes that her father's stable work was why the family stayed in the United States—even accounting for how much they missed Mexico. She thought her father felt as if he could take care of his family better in the United States; she added laughing, "Porque es más tranquilo. ¡Prefiere tenernos en la casa! (*Because it's more tranquil here. He'd rather have us at home!*)" Her shiny, long black hair danced from side to side as she giggled and shook her head at her father's protectiveness.

Sayra, however, did not plan to stay in the United States; she hoped to eventually return to Mexico. While her future plans were unclear, she thought that she would like to finish school in Washington River, then perhaps move on to college to pursue a career in graphic design or some other career in the arts. She also hoped to visit other places in the United States, like Florida, Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. Safety was also a reason Sayra's parents like Washington River, noting that her uncle told stories of young people in California getting robbed or killed on their way to school; they felt safe from that threat in Washington River.

Jesús

Jesús was from Mexico as well, and at 16 years old, had been living in Washington River for approximately eight months. He and his family had moved to the Midwest from New York, and Jesús noted the stark difference between the two ways of life. He described Washington River as a "tranquil" place compared to New York, and explained that the slower pace of life in the Midwest—along with the abundance of good jobs—was what made his family want to stay. "Está bien aquí porque hay buenos trabajos y pagan bien. (*It's good here because there are good jobs and they pay well.*)" (Jesús, 12/13/16).

I often saw Jesús extending kindness to his classmates—sharing his bag full of grapes or offering a handful of chips. He attributed his kindness to Christian teachings he learned at church. When he started going to church almost a year earlier, he said that his heart was changed. “Because at church they teach us and in the Bible it says we should love others. Dios me cambió. (*God changed me.*)” His earnestness bespoke his devout dedication to his Christian faith.

Jesús was affected by Cerebral Palsy and he walked deliberately and with a slight limp. He was often the first to volunteer when Mrs. Durham sought a “big strong man” to help move a piece of furniture or unload the boxes of soda from her car. He joked with other students that he was stronger and more handsome than they were, proudly flexing his arms to show off his muscles, his eyes twinkling with his smile. Indeed, he seemed to take pride in his appearance, wearing neatly pressed blue jeans and button-down shirts, sparkingly clean tennis shoes, and slicked back closely cropped black hair.

Jesús was also quick to volunteer to answer a question in class, to post his answer to a question on the white board at the front of the room, or to read aloud from the textbook. He was diligent and laser-focused in his pursuit of education; he said simply, “Estoy en la escuela para aprender el inglés y para tener un buen futuro. (*The reason I’m here is to learn English and to have a good future.*)” When I asked him what a good future might be for him, he shrugged and said, “Pues, algo que sea...que sea bien pagado y que no me cuesta mucho. (*Well, something that’s good-paying and that isn’t too difficult.*)” A future to him meant a job, but he was quick to clarify that ultimately, “Éso está en el plan de Dios. (*That is in God’s plan.*)” Although his home life appeared financially stable, he acknowledged that financial resources would be an obstacle to going to college; college, he believed, would be the route to the kind of good job to which he aspired.

Isabel

Isabel was a personable student with a ready smile and laugh. She was a close friend of Sayra, and they sat together in Mrs. Durham's class. She, like Sayra, enjoyed having friends in her classes, admitting with a giggle that she really loved her classes with Mrs. Durham "porque tengo a todos mis amigos. (*Because I have all my friends.*)" Isabel's bubbly personality was magnetic, and she was rarely ever alone; their group of friends sat together in the back seats of several rows of desks. Even with her very outgoing personality, Isabel was attentive and diligent in her coursework, and worked studiously to take notes and complete assignments.

Isabel was 15 years old at the time of the study; she had been in the United States for almost a year and a half, having come from a small village in El Salvador in 2015. She had lived with her grandparents in El Salvador, her mother having left for the United States when Isabel was only a month old. For nine years she attended school—where each school day consisted of two classes and finished before lunch time—and her parents corresponded with an occasional card or letter and when her parents felt that she and her sister were old enough to make the trip to the United States, they sent for the two girls. The differences between her life in the U.S. and in El Salvador were many, including a much more rigorous school day and the faster pace of life in a larger community. She observed, "Aquí trabaja la gente y allá no. (*Here people work and there they don't.*)"

After a year and half of learning English, Isabel was transitioning to non-sheltered classes—among those classes, Spanish 1. When Isabel arrived in Washington River at 14, she was placed in the middle school, and she explained that her school life there was more stressful and lonely as she remembered feeling like she "did not understand anything." The high school, in contrast, was much bigger than the middle school and while she described the classes as "more advanced," she liked the smaller sheltered classes in which she had a lot of friends. She also had

joined the high school's track team, which afforded her opportunities to meet students who were not in the sheltered English Language Learner program classes.

Alejandro

Alejandro was a gregarious 15-year-old young man from Costa Rica. He was unique in this class for a variety of reasons: 1) he spoke English very well and often translated for Mrs. Durham when Mrs. Sánchez was absent or out of the classroom, 2) he was a voluntary migrant, having come to Washington River to stay with an aunt and uncle as a sort of study abroad experience, and 3) he tried out for and made the boys' basketball and track teams. His facility with English afforded him the respect of his peers in the class, as they saw him as more intelligent because he could quickly answer questions and translate for them. Indeed, Mrs. Durham relied on him to translate often, and because she could converse easily with him without the mediation of a translator, they enjoyed jokes and conversations with each other that most other students missed.

Alejandro was handsome, with a wide, sparkly smile, dark brown eyes, and sleekly styled black hair. Alejandro was exceedingly likeable, and students and teachers were quick to forgive him his moments of occasional disrespect. His charismatic personality endeared him to his peers, teachers, and coaches. Alejandro was also privy to information to which most students were not, simply because he could understand the whispered conversations between teachers and even the announcements over the intercom. This afforded him a privileged position in the class; however, he was inclined to share the information he understood rather than withholding it from his peers. His stay in Washington River was not long-term, and he intended to return to Costa Rica at the end of the 2016-17 school year.

Caterín Michelle

Caterín Michelle, with her large brown eyes and tight-spiraled curls of long black hair, was—at 18 years old—a motherly figure in the class. Speaking about her classmates, she told me,

“Son muy especiales...he llegado a quererlos porque se dan el querer. (*They are very special...I have come to love them because they give me love.*)” She laughed then, adding that sometimes they show their love by bothering and teasing her, which she did right back. When I asked her about why she thought her peers regarded her with the tremendous respect and deference I had observed, Caterín Michelle grew more serious. She decided that it was her honesty with her friends that had earned her their respect, and she offered the example of her friendship with Saraí: “Me llevo bien, y hay muchas cosas que tal vez no me gusta de ella, y ...se los digo a ella...tal vez para que ella cambie. (*We get along well, and there are a lot of things that I’m not comfortable with that she does but I tell her that I don’t like those things, maybe so she can learn to change and act differently.*)” This honesty she said she had learned from her mother, and from her father before he passed away nine years earlier.

Caterín Michelle was from Honduras and had been in the U.S. for six months at the time of our interview. Her mother had been living in Washington River for three years before Caterín Michelle and her three siblings arrived. Caterín Michelle also found Washington River to be quite different from her life in Honduras. Gangs and gang activity had often dictated where and when she could leave her home or even go to school; indeed, this gang activity was the main reason they left Honduras. Now in Washington River, her life was very different. “Ha cambiado bastante. Porque vengo a la escuela...con más libertad. No vayan a robarnos. (*It has changed a lot. Because I come to school...with more freedom. They’re not going to rob us.*)” She found the smaller size of Washington River to be more “peaceful” with less traffic and noise.

She had, though, attended school in Honduras from “kinder” to the first year of her career preparation, which is equivalent to 10th grade in the U.S. When I asked her about her future aspirations, she sighed deeply and said plainly, “Poder graduarme. (*To be able to graduate.*)” She hoped that she would be able to secure a good job so that her mother could stop working. She

appreciated that her mother had worked hard to take care of her children since the death of their father. Caterín Michelle admitted that she had considered college, but she had heard that it was expensive; while she had once wanted to be a doctor, she did not think college would be affordable to her.

These seven students shared a variety of common experiences in their backgrounds. First, they shared a sense of urgency in learning English. Anyelín stated over and over that she needed to learn English so that she could understand other coursework and communicate well in her job. Caterín Michelle approached me during my third visit to the classroom, whispering shyly, “Miss, quiero aprender el inglés. (*Miss, I want to learn English.*)” Jesús, too, was intent on becoming proficient in English before he graduated, asserting that he would need it in order to have a good job.

The students’ journeys to the United States were similar in many ways as well. Most of them had spent a significant amount of time apart from their parents—their parents or older siblings traveling to the U.S. first. Economic challenges in their home countries seem to have been what prompted most of them to come to the U.S., and then to send for their children when they had established a stable life in their new country. Anyelín and Saraí, both from Guatemala, noted the lack of good jobs in their home countries; Sayra, too, explained that her father had not been able to find steady work in Mexico. Jesús talked about the better pay and steady work in the Midwest compared to the available jobs in New York, and Isabel described the lack of jobs in El Salvador as well. This resonates with Sánchez and Machado-Casas’s (2009) description of the transnational citizen who migrates to where there is work. While their journeys were surely unique, they had in common the traumatic experience of leaving what they knew to start a new life in an unfamiliar place.

Finally, they were similar in their aspirations for their futures. Almost all of the students indicated that graduation from high school followed by a well-paying steady job would be an important achievement in their futures. College was a goal that most of them seemed to think was out of their reach, mainly for financial reasons. A stable job seemed to assure them that they would be able to take care of their parents, which was important to almost all of them.

While there were a number of similarities in the students' life experiences, there were some interesting differences as well. For example, the older students—Anyelín (17), Sayra (18), and Caterín Michelle (18)—all talked about their desire to graduate and to get on to working to help take care of their families. Their primary concern was being able to stay in school long enough to learn English. The younger students, in contrast, did not seem to feel this same pressure of time.

Another notable difference among the students was the length of time that they had been in the United States at the time of the study. Sarai had been in the U.S. a mere three months, and Alejandro for almost six months, while Sayra and Isabel had been in the U.S. for almost 15 months. Isabel had been in Washington River long enough to have attended part of her eighth-grade school year in the middle school. Jesús had been in the U.S. for about a year, while Anyelín, Alejandro, and Caterín Michelle had all been in Washington River for just under a year.

Anyelín was unique in that she had a job outside of school. Notably, this was typical of the rest of the students in the classroom—most students worked between 30-50 hours each week—but out of the students in the study, Anyelín was the only one who was currently working. She worked between five and six hours each day after school, and she insisted that the work was manageable with her school schedule. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez kept close track of how much students were working, knowing that some of the employers had a reputation for requiring their young workers to stay extra hours. However, the majority of students in this study were not obligated to hold jobs to support their families.

Finally, Sayra was unique in that she demonstrated the characteristics of a “sojourner student” as described by Sarroub (2001); Sayra longed for the life she lived in Mexico and she intended to return there. Like the Yemeni girls in Sarroub’s (2001) study, Sayra had “one foot in the United States and the other” in her home country of Mexico (p. 391). The rest of the students in the study seemed to see their futures in the U.S., whether that be because of the threat of violence or financial hardship in their home countries or because they truly wished to establish their lives in their new country. While each student’s journey and background was unique, the commonalities they shared fostered an empathetic understanding of one another.

The Classroom

Mrs. Durham’s classroom was filled with touches and routines of home, and it was clear that the classroom was designed to offer students spaces to relax as well as to work. Mrs. Durham described her room during an interview: “I’ve always tried to make this room a family. I’ve tried to make it more homey, so that it’s a safe environment” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16). A student new to the classroom in late October, who stood timidly at the front of the classroom with Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sanchez, within minutes of his arrival and a brief introduction, heard a cheery, “Make yourself at home,” delivered with a flourish of her hand around the room. Mrs. Sanchez translated, and the new student scoped out the various spaces to sit and found an empty desk nearby (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16).

The Classroom as a Sanctuary

Together, the students and adults created a classroom community that reflected the elements of “sanctuary,” as defined by Bloom (2005): “‘Creating sanctuary’ is the shared experience of creating and maintaining *physical, psychological, social and moral safety* within a shared environment—any social environment—and thus reducing systemic violence” (p. 16,

emphasis added). Mrs. Durham's classroom was a carefully constructed *sanctuary* in which students and staff experienced comfort, security, and a sense of belonging.

Comfort and security. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes describing my first morning in the classroom demonstrates how the classroom space communicated a sense of welcome and comfort:

As I crossed through the window-flanked doorway to the hallway in which Mrs. Durham's classroom was located, I immediately recognized the familiar scent of the lavender laundry detergent I remembered from my adopted home in Mexico. The scent carried a flood of memories of my time as a college student in Mexico during which I lived with a host family; a second wave of memories rushed over me as I recalled the scent of my own high school Spanish classroom full of Latin@ students.

Students lined the walls of the hallway; some sat on the floor with their feet splayed out or crossed in front of them, some stood, and others gathered in small, close huddles. The hall was a flurry of activity but oddly quiet save for the occasional slam of a metal locker. Students spoke in whispers and low voices, and giggles surfaced from one group of girls.

Several students looked to be trading homework; I watched one girl shyly approach another who was sitting and quietly speak with her, her head bowed low toward her peer. The girl stood, went to her locker, extracted a piece of lined paper with math equations on it and handed it to the other girl, nodding her acknowledgement of the quiet "gracias" the girl expressed to her and sat back down to rejoin the conversation she had left. The girl who now held the paper sat down and began to copy the answers onto another paper.

Mrs. Durham arrives with her arms loaded with 12-packs of soda—Coke and Sprite—along with her personal belongings—two bags hanging from her shoulders. She manages to free one hand as students who are crowded around her door reach for the soda packs to help her. Her keys jingle and unlock the door as she greets her sleepy-eyed students warmly with smiles and a "good morning" for each of them.

The room is dark as students enter—passing underneath the stars and stripes of the small United States flag hanging low over the doorway—and they all begin clicking the switches on each of eight floor lamps placed around the perimeter of the room. Simultaneously, the ceiling illuminates with string lights in the doublewide classroom—having had the middle wall between two classrooms removed a few years ago when the numbers in the English Language Learning program at the high school grew out of their one classroom. The vinyl floor tiles where the wall used to be still show residual dark marks of its existence.

The rest of the room is comfortable, and clearly divided into different spaces. A stacked set of mailboxes sits atop one shelf along the wall, along with other bookshelves and file cabinets. One cabinet sports an Obama/Biden 2012 bumper sticker and several scattered Pete the Cat stickers. There are two mini-refrigerators on opposite sides of the room—one with a microwave sitting on it, and the other with a coffee maker and various kitchen utensils beside it.

Posters of all kinds lined the walls of the room: many displayed simple phrases and words in Spanish and English. Students sink into the rows of desks fashioned with the connected chair and writing surface. The back of the room is divided into three smaller spaces by two half-walls—a round table with chairs around it is positioned in the space next to the long window, a higher rectangular table and stools fill the middle space, and a wicker sofa sits in the space leading to the other door of the classroom. Around the perimeter of the rows of desks are a number of other seating options: Three students flop onto the small, worn sofa, almost on top of each other, and share earbuds connected to one of their cell phones. Framed photographs of students and the teacher and paraeducator sit atop the end tables that flank the sofa. Other students put their books on their desks, and then lay their heads down on top of them. One student—the hood of his sweatshirt pulled up—grabs a blanket from the shelf behind Mrs. Sánchez's desk, then sits in the rocker, feet up on the ottoman, spreads the blankets over his legs, leans his head back, and closes his eyes. Other groups cluster around desks or the tables at the back of the room. Students are laughing and talking, some are eating, and others are just being.

White boards hang on the walls at each end of the room, and someone has drawn a Mexican flag with a stick figure in the middle on one side. A white board at the front of the room displays announcements and leftover notes from the previous class session or day. There are also a number of scattered notes proclaiming, "I love you, Ms. Durham," and reminding students to leave \$1.00 on Mrs. Durham's desk if they take a soda from the refrigerator.

Mrs. Durham's large desk sits diagonally in a corner at the front of the room. Natural light streams in through the slim floor-to-ceiling window behind her desk. A tall bookshelf and two tables hold her computer monitor and keyboard, stacks of papers, books, and the classroom telephone. A furry stuffed Chewbacca doll sits on top of the bookshelf.

Mrs. Sánchez's desk is similar to Mrs. Durham's and is located along the far wall in the middle of the room and faces the rows of student desks. Her computer and keyboard share the desktop with a large desk calendar on which she has marked meeting times in magenta ink. The short bookshelf behind her desk holds folded blankets, textbooks, and coffee mugs, and neat stacks of papers and folders.

The school bell sounds in four intermittent muffled beeps, and students in the hallway slam lockers and scramble into classrooms. This, I learn, is the "warning bell," which signals that class will start in two minutes. There is a gradual calm and quiet that settles over the room, and students begin opening books and arranging notebooks beside them. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

The soft lighting, the comfortable seating options, and the accessories like blankets and appliances all created a physical space that was hospitable and homey. Students seemed to feel welcome to make themselves comfortable: the use of the two classroom microwaves to heat their breakfasts and/or lunches, the readily available purchase of a can of soda for \$1.00, and the personalized mailboxes all made the room a space where they felt comfortable.

A sense of security following the 2016 election. The days following the U.S. general election in November 2016 were perhaps the most noteworthy in how safety was fostered and felt in Mrs. Durham’s classroom. On the morning following the announcement of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, the somber mood in the classroom was palpable. Mrs. Durham, after her brief reminder to students that one person cannot make all the decisions, modeled how their lives needed to go on:

“Let’s try to think of other things today,” she says. “I didn’t get much sleep last night.” *I’m in the same boat.* Many students go to the hall to get their materials for class. Mrs. Durham shouts after them to remind them that they needed to switch from history to math today. The normalcy of pencils sharpening and lockers slamming is oddly comforting as students begin to go about their lives in spite of this new reality full of uncertainty for them. Students get out their math books. They are moving on. It’s time for math—Trump or no Trump.

The sense of normalcy she fostered that morning felt, to me, like a form of resistance; students also felt reassured. Caterín Michelle recalled her feelings as she got ready for school that morning, noting, “Sentía como a la vez nerviosa, miedo...sorprendida...me dije, ‘wow.’ (*I felt at the same time nervous, fear...surprised...I was like, ‘wow.’*)” However, Mrs. Durham’s reassurance (and Mrs. Sánchez’s hug in the hallway right away in the morning) calmed her; she explained that she felt “mucho más tranquila...por lo que Mrs. Durham nos ha hablado, de lo que nos dijo Mrs. Sánchez...que no solo [Trump] toma decisiones. (*much calmer...from what Mrs. Durham told us, from what Mrs. Sánchez told us...that [Trump] does not alone make decisions*).” She had arrived at school feeling apprehensive and nervous, but her fears were calmed—if not completely assuaged—with a few reassuring words from Mrs. Durham and a hug from Mrs. Sánchez.

Freedom. Students were able to move between the classroom and their lockers in the hallway with relative freedom, and they often left the classroom during independent work time (i.e., not during instruction) to use the restroom, to get a drink from the water fountain, or to visit the vending machines—which were locked and turned off when school started—in hopes of finding

them still operating. Students enjoyed freedom of movement within the classroom itself as well. This freedom aligns with Glasser's (1992) assertion of the importance of allowing students freedom in the classroom in order to maintain a productive learning environment that is cooperative instead of coercive.

Trust. Another characteristic of this classroom as a sanctuary was the number of ways in which Mrs. Durham, Mrs. Sánchez, and the students fostered a sense of trust in one another in order to cultivate this classroom climate. Indeed, the range of things that the students and teachers knew about one another required a tremendous amount of trust. The deliberate family atmosphere fostered a strong sense of belonging and commitment to the group; just like a supportive home, students knew the classroom was a space where they could come for help with anything having to do with school or their lives. Students knew this classroom was a space where their needs would be met.

Students shared sensitive information about themselves with Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez in this space; sometimes this information could incriminate them or jeopardize their immigration court cases or jobs. It was an enormous risk to trust that these adults would not betray their confidence. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes demonstrates the kind of sensitive information students divulged to Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez:

Many of the students work in a local meatpacking plant on the overnight cleaning crew. *Wow—that's grueling and filthy work. The floors are covered in discarded animal parts and drained blood from the slaughter and rendering completed during the day shift.* It seems that many (most?) students who do work do not have legal work status. They work under legal names—names like Doug Smith or Aaron Johnson³²--and Mrs. Durham shakes her head at the ethnic mismatch of these names. They provide their employers with identification cards on which the photos look nothing like them, and they often work overtime hours without overtime pay. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez have doubted whether these students are getting paid for the hours they work, so they have been keeping track of the hours students work and comparing their records to the students' paychecks. Students often stay past their ending time of 9:30p.m. until 12:30a.m.

³² These names are not actual assumed names of any of the students in the class.

Mrs. Durham has arranged for students to get school credits for work, so they have to deliver copies of their “cheques de trabajo (*paychecks*)” to her as documentation. She chuckles as she talks about knowing two names for all of her students, their names in her class and the names they cover with white-out on their paychecks before delivering the copies to her. I wonder how this feels to know something like this about your students, and how the students feel about so easily giving this information to her. They have to believe that she can't or won't turn them in for working under false names. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

I wondered about the anxiety I thought these students must feel, but this also demonstrates an acknowledgement of the realities of students' lives and the complicity of the corporation in hiring unauthorized workers.

Belonging. It was clear the students experienced *belonging* in this space, that their full histories were valued here. The sense of belonging is an important element in constructing a sanctuary (Antrop-González, 2003; Bloom, 1994). Mrs. Durham described the community in her classroom powerfully when I asked her what she thought was the most important thing students learned in her classroom:

Most important thing about this classroom is that it's a family. Like having that sense of belonging, and I know it probably sounds weird thinking that's what the most important one of the things they learn, but I think coming from their countries where they might have been with only one person or their parents being gone that we develop such a family in the room and that learning how to deal with others I think sometimes is one of the most important thing.

It's just, um, I never thought you could love so many people, but...it's something I've always, I guess I've also told the kids, “You know you have your family you're born with and then you have your family that you create—not necessarily through marriage—but you have your own family, and that's what this room is...” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Indeed, a “familial type environment” helps to create an inclusive space, which is one of the dimensions of schools—and in this case, classrooms—as sanctuaries (Antrop-González, 2003, p. 243). Attending to the cultivation of a familial classroom community fosters a sense of belonging and is “conducive to healthy student relationships” (Antrop-González, 2003, p. 246).

Looking around the room it was clear that the classroom reflected the stories of those who inhabited it and affirmed students' biographies. The multitude of photographs clustered on

laminated poster boards documenting the lived experiences of students and adults in the classroom were reminiscent of the kinds of photographs hanging on the walls of my own family's home. Photo albums were piled high in one of the cabinets, and students often looked through them, marveling at how Mrs. Durham had changed and asking about people they may have recognized. A cluster of maps hung on one wall of the classroom, with maps' of students' home countries; students had written their names on adhesive arrows and placed them with the tip of the arrow pointing to their hometown.

Sitting atop the counter-height shelves in the back of the classroom rested three tiny embroidered blouses. The blouses, sewn from raw cotton and embroidered in Oaxacan style—with reds, greens, yellows, and blues threaded into intricate designs—were crafted by three students for an art project, and they wished to leave them for decoration in Mrs. Durham's classroom. The integration of the students' artwork was another way that made the space theirs.

Mrs. Durham also hung up work that students had completed for her class. Figure 3 below shows Sayra's illustrations of her "I Am From" poem that hung in the hallway outside the classroom, along with the work of some her classmates. Three faces illustrated her poem: one face is covered with images of her experiences in the United States, one face is covered with images of her experiences in Mexico, and the middle face is constructed by one-half of each of the Mexico and United States faces.

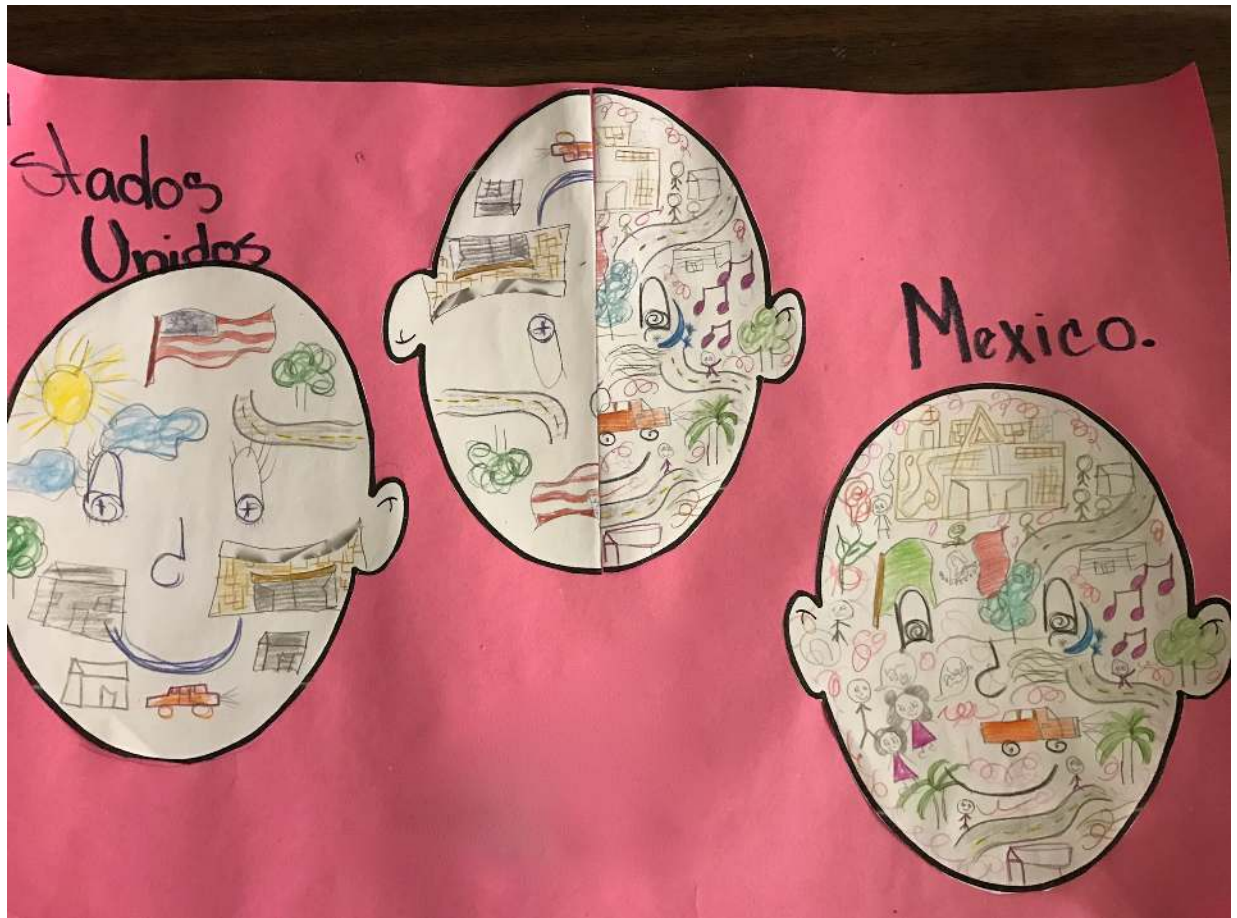


Figure 3. Sayra's illustrated "I Am From" poem.

The face depicting her experiences in the United States shows relatively abstract happy images, like her school, trees, and a bright yellow sun. Her Mexico face includes much more detail, including images of people walking and talking together. The juxtaposition of her life in Mexico with her life in the United States is a powerful illustration of the multitude of rich experiences these students brought to the classroom. These images and poems showed how students were encouraged to bring their whole selves into the classroom and to acknowledge and be proud of their histories.

Exploring urban high schools, Antrop-González (2003) explained that "a school is a sanctuary when it (1) fosters student-teacher caring relationships, (2) provides a familial type environment to insure that its students are not marginalized, (3) provides a gang-free safe space,

and (4) affirms students' racial/ethnic identities" (p. 243). The physical safety and emotional security students experienced in this ELL classroom fostered an environment built around trusting relationships and respect for the group. Students who arrive in the U.S. as children and adolescents need a safe "in-between space" (Sarroub, 2002) in which they can negotiate their "hybrid" identities. "[H]ybridity" is "the fusion of various cultures to form new, distinct, and ever-changing identities" (p. 160). This classroom was a space in which all aspects of students' lives were affirmed and valued, and they were encouraged to acknowledge their full biographies as they transitioned into a life in the United States.

The ELL Program at WRHS

Newcomer immigrant and migrant students at Washington River High School are tested for English proficiency when they enroll at the school since English is the language of instruction. English Language Learners (ELL) comprised 4.34% of the student population at Washington River High School, according to the state department of education. Last year alone, there was increase in the number of immigrant students who came to the United States as unaccompanied minors seeking asylum (Mrs. Durham, 2/27/15); even in the months since I have left the site, they have welcomed more than twenty new students into the program—that was within two months (Mrs. Sánchez, 2/16/17). When new students who do not speak English fluently register at the school they are tested in English proficiency and placed into one of four levels in the program: newcomer, beginner, intermediate, and advanced (Mrs. Durham, 2/27/15). The newcomer and beginner levels have English-language learning classes everyday at the appropriate levels; intermediate students have one class a day in ELL during which they receive assistance on core class material (i.e., English, history, mathematics, and science).

There were 105 students who qualified for an English Language Learning class—levels 1 (newcomer) and 2 (beginner)—during this study. 34 students were on a "tracking/monitor" status,

which meant that Mrs. Durham needed to keep track of their progress and intervene when necessary. There were, thus, a total 139 students in the program at the high school, with two full-time ELL teachers (teaching three classes per day) and two part-time ELL teachers (teaching one class/day). Considering the paperwork required to maintain for each student in the program, this is a substantial load. By comparison, the middle school in the district employed one full-time ELL teacher at the middle school who had eight to twelve students at levels one and two.

The two full-time and two part-time ELL teachers in the school's ELL program are considered a part of the World Language Department. One of the school's full-time Spanish-English bilingual paraeducators works in the newcomer/beginner ELL classrooms. The school runs on a block schedule consisting of four 88-minute classes. ELL students take "sheltered" (Haneda, 2009; Short, Echevarría, & Richards-Tutor, 2011) core classes—two from each of the full-time ELL teachers—thereby maintaining progress toward graduation while they also took intensive English language classes. Sheltered classes are those in which "efforts are made to make grade-level academic content more accessible to ELLs through various instructional strategies" (Haneda, 2009, p. 339). The two full-time ELL teachers were certified in four content areas under the High Objective Uniform State Standard of Evaluation (HOUSSE) portfolio system, which grants certification to ELL teachers who have earned the requisite number of college credits for each content area. This special certification—established by the No Child Left Behind (2002) legislation—permits students to earn content-area credits for their work in their ELL classes. To this end, the school had adopted middle school level *Access* textbooks in math, science, English language arts, and history that align with high school curriculum standards (Mrs. Durham, 9/28/16).

Mrs. Durham, in whose classroom I conducted this research, taught math and history to the newcomer/beginner students. The other full-time ELL teacher taught science and English language arts. While students were officially scheduled to have all four sheltered classes in one

day, both teachers alternated the days on which they taught each of their content classes. For example, Mrs. Durham taught history on Mondays and Wednesdays, and taught math on Tuesdays and Thursdays; Fridays alternated between math and history. The other teacher alternated her schedule in the same way, but with science and English language arts (Mrs. Durham, 9/28/16).

Three ELL classrooms were located in one hallway of the school, and one was located on the opposite side of the building in the hallway with other English classes; the teacher who taught in that classroom was assigned to teach general education English part-time and intermediate ELL part-time. Since the newcomer and beginner ELL students began their day in ELL classes, the hallway outside the full-time ELL classrooms was a “home base” to them. Each morning ELL students crowded the hallway waiting for the arrival of their teachers, but it was seldom that non-ELL students passed through this hallway.

The Structure of the Day

The majority of the students normally arrived at school before 7:30a.m.—well ahead of the 7:50a.m. start of classes—and lined the hallway outside Mrs. Durham’s classroom. I observed that this hallway was the ELL students’ “neighborhood” because very few non-ELL students even walked through it, opting instead to traverse through another parallel hallway to get through the area. Spanish words and phrases floated above the quiet din of the morning preparation for classes, and spoken English was a marked difference.

Mrs. Durham’s and the other full-time ELL teacher, Mrs. Burton’s, classrooms faced each other from opposite sides of this hallway. The four-block schedule meant that general education students completed an academic year’s worth of credits in one semester, but the alternating schedule of the sheltered ELL content classes meant that it took newcomer ELL students a full

year to complete the course credits for each of four classes: science, math, English Language Arts (ELA), and history.

Half of the newcomer students started their day in Mrs. Burton's classroom and the sheltered content alternated daily between science and ELA; the ELA class mirrored the general education 9th grade ELA class which aimed to improve grammar and vocabulary skills and to engage students in a novel study. The other half of the newcomer students were placed in Mrs. Durham's alternating sheltered history and math classes for their first block. Students switched classrooms for second block, which meant that newcomer students juggled four classes within their first two blocks of the day throughout the week. Newcomer and beginner level students had ELL class—with the explicit focus on English language development—during their third block, and they took varying general education (e.g., Physical Education, Art) or elective classes (e.g., Spanish) during fourth block. The students' lunchtime depended on the classroom to which they were assigned during third block. Lunchtime (when students went to the school's cafeteria) and fourth block were the only times students regularly ventured outside of this hallway.

The Class Routine

I attended Mrs. Durham's first and second blocks on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from late September to mid-December, 2016. I learned the class's routine fairly quickly and had frequent opportunities to observe and talk with students as a result of regular attendance. The students in Mrs. Durham's classroom learned and enacted a number of routines throughout their day at school. Since they started the day in Mrs. Durham's class, I arrived most mornings to find students lining the walls of the hallway outside of their classroom—congregated in small groups—chatting quietly or reading while they waited for Mrs. Durham or Mrs. Sánchez to arrive and unlock the classroom door. I often sat alongside them on the cold tiled floor, leaning back on the red brick walls. Mrs. Durham usually arrived first—arms loaded with bags and supplies—and the group of

students closest to the door scurried around her to lift the bags from her shoulders and to help her unlock the door (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16). Once the door was opened, students flooded into the room and scattered into desks and chairs and sank into the small sofa. The following fieldnotes excerpt demonstrates how students set about plugging in the lamps and string lights around the periphery of the classroom and then settling in themselves. While some mornings the room took on a mellow and calm atmosphere, this morning was one in which the room buzzed with adolescent energy.

The students are waiting in the hall outside the classroom when Mrs. Durham arrives. She was gone all of last week, and the students greet her warmly with smiles and a pat on the arm or shoulder. When she opens the door, students stream in and plop their books onto a desk and sink into the attached chair.

Mrs. Durham and Alejandro begin plugging in lamps and string lights around the room. When those are all illuminated, Mrs. Durham turns off the overhead light and sighs, “Aah.”

The room is full of kids today—there are 32 students in here. It’s noisy...lots of boisterous and excited chatter. Boys greet each other by slapping hands and exchanging handshakes. The girls sit with their phones and gather in a circle. *It’s nice to see them all talking and acting like teenagers.* They’re talking about soccer, girls, boys, some are pretend fighting, and many are speaking indigenous languages from Guatemala—what they call “dialects” in the classroom. (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16)

When the warning bell signaled two minutes before the start of classes, half of the students in the classroom filtered out of the classroom and headed across the hall to the Mrs. Burton’s classroom where they alternated between ELA class and Science class—both sheltered ELL content classes. My in-process memo from a couple of days later conveys how I was beginning to think of the ELL classroom as a gathering place for students, even when they were not in class:

This room is definitely the gathering place of the school for Spanish speakers—not just ELLs. There are so many kids! Everywhere...on the couch, chairs, in desks, sitting atop desks, lining the cabinets on the side of the room, and surrounding the tables at the back of the room. As always, a cluster of students stands around Mrs. Durham’s desk. (Memo, 10/26/16)

I had counted 38 students in the room that morning before school started, so there were also some students from the other ELL morning class in there as well. There were officially 23 students in

Mrs. Durham's first block class, and while some were there early, others scurried in just before the bell.

Students settled into the day slowly, sharpening pencils and running back to their lockers for a pencil or notebook. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez typically settled in slowly as well, checking in with each other and with students. These quiet moments were especially notable on the day following the 2016 election, when the normalcy of pencils sharpening and lockers slamming was oddly comforting as students began to go about their lives in spite of the new threat of Trump's "America First" policies (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16).

The class started each morning with Mrs. Durham offering a "Good morning" as she surveyed the students' moods and body language from her chair behind her desk. She called the students' names as she documented attendance at her computer. Students responded as she called their names with "here" or "sí," sometimes answering "no here" when they noticed a classmate's absence (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16). When Mrs. Durham finished calling attendance, she prompted them to get out their notebooks to start on their "bell ringers." Bell ringers were short warm-up activities that usually consisted of a few written questions that were projected on the front board and aimed to review the previous day's material. Students had a few minutes to work the problems or write responses to the questions before Mrs. Durham asked for volunteers to share their answers with the class. A handful of students volunteered their responses by raising their hands and waiting for Mrs. Durham to call on them. As students shared what they had written, other students copied down the answers or made corrections to what they had already written (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16).

Following the bell ringer, students opened their textbooks to the specified page, usually pausing to joke and chuckle about Mrs. Durham's pronunciation of the Spanish word, "página (*page*)." This normally meant mimicking her pronunciation—in which she placed the spoken

emphasis on the wrong syllable—or making attempts to pronounce it incorrectly in a different way (Fieldnotes, 10/19/16). This never seemed to get old for the students, and Mrs. Durham laughed along with them, practicing the correct pronunciation they modeled for her.

The remainder of the lesson almost always proceeded in the same way: Mrs. Durham read a few sentences from the textbook, and then paused for Mrs. Sánchez to translate the sentences to Spanish. (When Mrs. Sánchez was absent, Alejandro translated during first block unless the other bilingual paraeducator was free to help in the class. A school-to-career student often helped translate during second block in this situation.) Mrs. Durham read the remainder of the paragraph or page, and Mrs. Sánchez again translated. Most students appeared to follow along with the reading, and then looked up toward Mrs. Sánchez as she translated. Mrs. Durham then projected a slide, upon which students groaned and several students predictably asked, “Copy?” Mrs. Durham affirmatively answered this question consistently each time they asked, “Sí,” and then the students’ heads bent over their notebooks as they wrote.

When they had made their way through the reading and notes for the day, Mrs. Durham distributed a textbook supplement worksheet as the students groaned in protest; the worksheets reviewed the highlighted vocabulary and concepts from the reading and notes. Students often worked in small groups, turning toward one another in their desks; they were also often allowed to use their phones to listen to music as they worked (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16). When the bell signaled the end of class, students scrambled to gather their books and other materials and rushed into the hallway to chat with friends or to visit the restroom. Students rarely ventured out of their immediate hallway, instead leaning against the walls or their lockers and chatting.

The second block was similar in size to the first block with 22 students, but most students arrived in the classroom with plenty of time before the bell since they were coming from the classroom across the hall. This class followed a similar routine except for the time right after the

bell signaled the beginning of class. As soon as the bell sounded, the intercom beeped again and the students stood upon hearing it. The speaker asked students and staff to stand and recite the “Pledge of Allegiance” and then provided announcements, sometimes lasting for as long as five minutes. The following fieldnotes excerpt demonstrates how the students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom enacted this routine quite respectfully, in spite of the fact that the announcements were spoken only in English.

Second block begins with the same monotone bell. Immediately, the intercom emits a short beep. “Good morning, Washington River High!” exclaims a boisterous male voice from the speaker. *He sounds like a newscaster who’s had too much coffee!* All the students in the classroom stand and face the doorway—I quickly noticed they were facing the flag—and the speaker continues, “Please join me in reciting the ‘Pledge of Allegiance’.” One student mumbles a few words of the Pledge, mostly the ends of the lines. Mostly, though, it’s quiet in the room.

The speaker says, “Thank you. And now for your announcements...” That seems to be the cue for students to tune out and resume their conversations, as most of them begin to chat with those around them. Those who aren’t chatting are sitting staring straight ahead. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

The ritual of reciting the “Pledge of Allegiance” was always a moment that gave me pause. The students stood respectfully and some even attempted to recite the words intermittently, which provided a stark contrast to the pledge that the country the flag represented was making to them as immigrants.

At the conclusion of the announcements, second block proceeded almost exactly as the first block, with the same lesson and generally the same schedule. The main difference between the two classes was that the students in the second class were much more energetic and active in general; this may have been because they had had time to wake up their teenage brains or simply because of the mix of personalities in the classes.

The Curriculum

School is a place where young people have the opportunity to construct “fundamental principles of living together” (Oboler, 2006), and the primary aim of social studies as a curricular

area within schools is to educate democratic citizens. “Democracy,” Parker (2005) notes, “is not a perpetual motion machine that runs on its own. It is a human invention that must continually be reinvented. Without democratic citizens, there can be no democracy” (p. 68). The context of school in which diverse students live together in a shared public space is a site for citizenship construction, and social studies as a program of study lends explicit attention to the skills and concepts of citizenship.

Standards are an accountability measure for schools and also define the content areas through what is included and excluded from standards frameworks (Apple, 2004; Posner, 2004; Proefriedt, 2008). Standards “describe what students should be able to do and [...] describe processes towards achieving the learning outcomes” within a given curricular area (Posner, 2004, p. 6). The social studies curricular standards for the state in which Washington River is located—newly constructed in 2012 by teachers, administrators, parents, and other stakeholders—includes four perspectives considered integral to the development of citizens:

- The historical perspective requires students to “master and be able to use knowledge of” national, state, and world history;
- The civic perspective includes attention to the American government and political systems;
- The geographic perspective explores “spatial patterns” in the world; and
- The economic perspective examines the way resources are produced and used, especially within the free market system (citation withheld).

Taken together, the standards listed within these four areas aim to prepare students—by grade level—to be informed and active citizens of the world.

Social studies in the ELL classroom at WRHS focused on American History and closely followed the *Access American History* textbook (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005). Mrs. Durham worked closely with general education social studies teachers to align curriculum outcomes for the course. The content in this textbook was simplified and condensed, moving quickly through American history, and Mrs. Durham typically moved through one unit in approximately three weeks. The text clearly indicated a focus on “breadth over depth.” For example, the first unit in the text included three lessons: “The First Americans,” which described the settlement of the North American continent in just eight pages; “European Exploration,” which explained how “the search for new trade routes” prompted Christopher Columbus’s (and others’) explorations of North America during the 1400s and 1500s; and “The Thirteen Colonies,” which covered the establishment of the original thirteen colonies and the eventual expansion and colonization of what would become the United States, including a mere four paragraphs dedicated to explaining the slave trade (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005).

The second unit of study explored in the first lesson the steps leading up to the American Revolution, including the writing of the Declaration of Independence. The description of the American Revolution in the second lesson described the colonists’ victory over Britain even with fewer numbers of soldiers and supplies, and briefly described the help from European countries of Spain and France. The third lesson described the process of setting up a new government in a fledgling country and the debates that involved, with explicit attention to the ways in which the framers of the Constitution sought compromise. The fourth and final lesson of the unit described the efforts of the new United States to explore (Lewis and Clark’s expeditions) and to establish itself on the world stage, identifying boundaries and policies concerning its relationship to other countries.

The next unit explored the westward expansion of the United States and briefly discussed the ways in which technology facilitated this movement. The second lesson explored how Andrew Jackson prompted the establishment of the Democratic Party and described his presidency as oriented toward “the common man” (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 118), but dismissively described the Trail of Tears as “Moving the Native Americans” (p. 122)—implying that Native Americans were not included as “the common man.” The period of the mid-1800s was explored in the third lesson and included information about industrial expansion and the wave of European immigration that expansion prompted, as well as a brief description of the beginnings of the suffrage movement.

Unit Four explored how Texas and California came to be new states in the young nation, noting “A war with Mexico gave land to the United States” (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 139). The next lesson described how slavery became a divisive issue for the United States, with the North wishing to outlaw slavery and the South wishing to preserve it. The Civil War was the topic of the third lesson of the unit, which briefly included attention to the significant battles during the war and Lincoln’s eventual signing of the Emancipation Proclamation to lead to the end of the war.

The time period between 1865 and 1914 was the focus of Unit Five. The first lesson of the unit described Reconstruction, the process of integrating the South back into the nation, as well as the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and the challenges prompted by Lincoln’s assassination. The second lesson focused on the next wave of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. from Northern Europe. The third lesson, “Becoming a World Power,” described the U.S.’s victory in the Spanish-American War, as well as Hawaii’s eventual statehood.

Unit Six included just two lessons, but spanned the years between 1914 and 1945. The unit included in the first lesson a discussion of World War I, the “Roaring Twenties,” the Great

Depression, and President Roosevelt's "New Deal." The second lesson described the development of World War II, and explained the many fronts of the war in Europe, the Pacific, and the ways in which the war influenced life on the mainland of the United States.

Unit Seven covered the Cold War, including a brief discussion of communism in the Soviet Union and the effects of the Cold War in the United States. The second lesson superficially explored racial prejudice—oddly the first point at which race was explicitly discussed as a cause of conflict in the U.S.—and described the Civil Rights Movement and how the African American struggle for equality prompted other historically marginalized groups (e.g., women, Mexican Americans) to fight for equality as well. The third lesson of the unit explored the time from the 1990s forward, exploring the new world powers and "threats to world peace" (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 262).

The eighth unit of the *Access* textbook was entitled, "Civics in America," and included a lesson on the United States Constitution and the three branches of the government. The next lesson described the Bill of Rights and the rights and freedoms these amendments guarantee; Mrs. Durham included this information in the second unit in which students learned about the establishment of the Constitution. The third and final lesson discussed "Responsible Citizenship," including the rights and responsibilities fundamental to United States citizenship.

During my fieldwork, the students explored Units Two, Three, and Four, and Mrs. Durham included a two-week-long unit she had designed on elections in the weeks leading up to the 2016 general election. This unit included a description of the two major political parties in the U.S., as well as the candidates from each party who were running for President of the United States. Students explored election issues through the *ISideWith.com* website in order to reveal how their stances aligned with the different candidates; notably, this website included all candidates for President including those from third parties.

This “official” curriculum (Posner, 2004), while an important frame for the activity in this classroom, became background during my study. Curriculum is always planned and mediated by the teacher (Apple, 2004; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988) and taken up by students in response to lived experience (Dewey, 1934; Dewey, 1938; Greene, 1971). However, the “hidden curriculum” (Jackson, 1968)—situated in the quotidian life of the classroom—provided a window into the ways students constructed citizenship in this space.

Chapter Five: The Students

The students in this classroom were a vibrant mix of backgrounds and personalities. Some days, they shuffled quietly and slowly into the classroom, shoulders drooping; other days, they exuded boundless energy that reverberated throughout the room. The students made this classroom theirs, and they welcomed newcomers into their community, serving as guides by “showing them the ropes” and fostering belonging in the classroom and cafeteria. While there were many times I clearly saw the students as the teenagers they were, at other times, I found myself inspired by their strength, resilience, and perseverance as they encountered their new realities in their new school—many of them after having made stressful and dangerous journeys to the United States.

Being Teens

The students in this classroom ranged in age from 14 years old to 19 years. They wore many of the outward symbols of the all-American teen: acid-washed skinny jeans, Converse low-top sneakers scuffed just enough but not too much, track pants, white Reebok sneakers reminiscent of the style of the 1980s (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). Most of the girls wore their long dark hair piled on top of their heads in a messy bun or slicked back into a tight ponytail. The boys sported short-cropped hairstyles ranging from sleek and styled to purposely mussed. One particularly stylish young man, Armando, wore combat boots most days with his skinny jeans, his patterned shirt buttoned all the way to the top. His hair was always perfectly coifed, and he often helped style his peers shirts in just the right balance between tucked-in and untucked (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16); a heavy waft of strong musky cologne preceded his entrance into the classroom and immediately permeated all corners of the room (Fieldnotes, 10/12/16). Most of the girls wore meticulously applied make-up each day, highlighting their eyes and framing their lips.

Being Teens Together

Most of the students—indeed, all those who I interviewed—spoke about their peers fondly. Caterín Michelle said with a soft smile, “He llegado a quererlos porque se dan el querer...(*I’ve learned to love them because they show me love*).” This love she spoke of came out of their shared experience of being new and being in this classroom together. She explained, “Algo que no entiendo ellos me ayudan a que le entienda...(*Something that I don’t know they help me to understand it*).” Their friendships and fondness for one another also manifested in a typically adolescent way; Caterín Michelle laughed, “They’re always bothering me in a way that they bother me but not in a bad way” (12/13/16). I could see this in the ways many of them pretended to steal another’s seat or phone or teasingly tug on a strand of hair of the person seated in front of them, sometimes even poking him or her in the side to see him or her jump in surprise.

Students in this classroom participated in a small number of extracurricular activities at the school and outside of school, which provided them with a chance to interact with students who were not in the ELL program. On one occasion, I noted a group of students talking about going to play soccer after school; they teased Isabel about being lazy because she had decided not to go (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). Washington River’s large soccer complex—although not within walking distance of the school—provided a great place for them to gather to play. Mrs. Durham encouraged students who played soccer to play for the school’s teams (Fieldnotes, 12/05/16). Alejandro was excited to play basketball with the school’s team. I heard him mumbling to himself as he wrote in his notebook one morning, “Tomorrow! Basketball practice starts” (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). Isabel and a few other girls were interested in joining the track and field team, and I saw them running the hallways for conditioning early in the winter.

Other sure markers of adolescence were the loquacious Monday morning conversations about what they had done over the weekend. Few of them saw each other outside of school, so

they were eager to catch up with one another after two days apart. The following fieldnotes excerpt describes one such Monday.

Students gather in groups and chat happily. Others lay their heads down on their desks for a brief respite from school. Two boys talk quietly on the rocking chair and teal chair, which they have moved closer together. There's lots of giggling and chatting in the room. Six students sit in a group at the front of the room. One female student's hand and elbow are propped on another student's knee as he sits atop a desk next to her. They are all talking and laughing. *It feels nice to see them being teenagers.* (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

They talked about who had been seen with whom over the weekend, and discussed the food they had at family gatherings. Students were almost always in good spirits on Mondays, which contrasted with the slumped shoulders and frowns I noticed on Mondays when I was a high school teacher.

Teasing and Humor

Teasing and humor were important parts of the students' classroom lives. They delighted in a well-timed joke or one-liner, and they found a wide range of topics to be worth a laugh—even if it was not necessarily funny. Alejandro took particular pleasure in performing imitations, often entering the room with a smirk and saying to Mrs. Durham in a perfect impression of the school's principal, "Morning," his voice deep and resonating (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16).

There were also instances of wry humor that bespoke the students' observations of the world around them. In one such instance, the morning announcements had seemed to go on for much longer than usual—of course in English and thus incomprehensible to most of them. When they finally came to an end, Diego dramatically looked and pointed up at the intercom device on the wall and asked, "¿Qué dijo (*What did he say*)?" Everyone giggled and chuckled, and I could not stifle a smile myself as I realized his question was a sarcastic rhetorical nod to the fact that the school's announcements were not accessible to them (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16).

Other times, there were jokes that prompted a sad laugh; the content of the joke was funny only because it made light of their realities. For example, when Jorge made a joke about the wall Donald Trump promised to build on the southern U.S. border with Mexico—“They gotta deport immigrants so they can help build the wall in Mexico”—students laughed. Mrs. Durham lamented, “Only in this room can you laugh about issues like this.” Observing this interaction, I noted, “*This makes me so sad. It’s funny, but it’s so not funny*” (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16).

The election and the prospects of their lives in a Trump presidency served as material for sarcasm and moments of levity. Mrs. Durham attempted to reassure students the morning following the election that they would be safe in the United States in a Trump administration. After some serious words about how he did not have all the power just because he was president, she paused and said with a grin, “I don’t have a very large basement...but I do have a basement. You can come live with me” (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16). Mrs. Sánchez translated, with a smirk on her face, and when she finished speaking, students giggled and looked around at each other. This idea of Mrs. Durham’s basement as a space for them was recurrent that day and in the days and weeks following. Later that same morning, Alejandro looked around the room and asked where Mrs. Sánchez went, and Mrs. Durham explained that she was in the office registering another new student. He responded with mock seriousness, “God, Mrs. Durham, your basement really is gonna get full” (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16). Students around him smiled and giggled.

Weeks later, just after students had returned from a long Thanksgiving weekend, students worked quietly in groups, chatting as they completed a worksheet. One student periodically broke out into loud song, and Mrs. Durham gave him an admonishing look to quiet him the first few times. When he started to belt out the song’s chorus one more time, Mrs. Durham looked at him seriously and said, “If you sing like that, you’re not moving into my basement.” Students—including the singer—laughed at the reference to her basement and at the implication that the quality of his

singing would prohibit him from her basement (Fieldnotes, 11/28/16). These moments of levity were a sort of “gallows humor” as they watched a volatile political spectacle—over which they had no influence or control—unfold.

The range of things that students teased each other about was wide and diverse. There was a pattern of teasing involved in their note-taking routine in which someone would yell, “Next!” seconds after Mrs. Durham projected a slide for them to copy. Predictably, most students would protest, retorting, “No!” or “Digo, hol’ on (*Hold on*)” (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). No matter how many times they enacted this routine, Mrs. Durham ignored them and kept the slide projected. Students also teased each other about their English proficiency, especially when a substitute teacher asked them to read aloud. The differences in proficiency remained a sore subject, and students like Alejandro—whose pronunciation, fluency, and comprehension were quite developed—read loudly and confidently, whereas students who had less time learning English were teased for their quiet voices as they stumbled through the passages (Fieldnotes, 10/19/16). They seemed to take this teasing in stride, but the language teacher in me wanted so badly to intervene; language learning is such a vulnerable experience and the stakes for learning English were so high.

Competition in the Classroom

Another part of their classroom life that resonated with my own experience of having taught high school students was the pervasiveness and intensity of competition among them. The students’ competitiveness also influenced how Mrs. Durham planned her lessons. When we talked one morning about alternate ideas for test review, she acknowledged that the review guide was mundane and routine. However, she noted that while she was familiar with a number of games she could play to review course material, she found that the students with higher levels of English proficiency always had an edge over students who needed more time to understand the English in order to answer a question about content. Competition turned bitter, in her experience, because

games revealed the differences in English proficiency too markedly. Because Mrs. Durham wanted to maintain a supportive and collaborative environment in her classroom and in the ELL program, she aimed to diminish competition over academic achievement.

While students faced the everyday challenges that come with being a teen, they also faced a substantial challenge in that they were newcomers to Washington River and—in the case of most students—to the United States. The next section explores how “being new” was an experience students shared and the ways in which being new constructed their daily lives.

Being New

Welcoming new students was a part of the classroom routine. During the approximately three months I was in the classroom, I counted over 20 times that Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez enrolled new students; when I saw Mrs. Sánchez in late January, she told me they had enrolled 38 more new students since the start of the second semester (personal communication, January 26, 2017). Students in the classroom were well aware of what it felt like to be new—and the long list of things a new student must do—and they also were instrumental in making newcomers feel as if they fit in.

New Everything

The experience of being new to Washington River and to the U.S. meant that *everything* was new: Immunizations were required, school uniforms were *not*. They used lockers to store their personal belongings, which involved learning to open the locker with a combination lock. They had to learn their lunch code and to navigate the lunch routine in the cafeteria. They needed to complete and submit paperwork for free and reduced-price lunches and a number of other enrollment forms. Some students were even attending school for the first time or for the first time in many years. As if this long list of “newness” was not enough, students were encountering each day in English, a language that was brand-new to most of them. Alejandro—even with his well

developed English proficiency—remembered the feelings of alienation he felt when he was new to Washington River, noting, “Cuando recién llegue aquí todo era extraño. Las personas hablaban extraño, las escuelas de aquí tienes que usar locker y no ropa de uniforme. (*When I first arrived here recently, everything was strange. The people spoke strangely, the schools here—you have to use lockers and there’s no uniform.*)” (Alejandro, 12/14/16). For him, entering the new school brought a number of changes and unfamiliar routines.

The first order of business in getting students enrolled was to ensure that they had been immunized according to the district’s policy. Since most of them had very few—if any—immunizations before coming to the United States, they had a long list of shots to receive (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). At one point, the local clinic was unable to keep up with the demand for vaccinations, and they ran out of the polio vaccine. Students had to wait until the clinic received more doses before they could return for the shot.

Obtaining transcripts from previous schools students attended was complicated and challenging. In instances in which students had not been to school or had not attended for a long period of time, it became even more difficult to place them in appropriate high school-level classes. Mrs. Durham relied on Mrs. Sánchez to help interpret the transcripts they did receive, and they tried to award graduation credits to students whose transcripts listed comparable classes from other schools, either schools in their home countries or within the United States.

How it feels to be new. Caterín Michelle, remembering her first days at Washington River High School, said that although the experience of being new was lonely and strange, she appreciated the help of the students and teachers—Mrs. Sánchez included—in making the transition. “Llegué y...cuando vi que ellos...los otros compañeros...se hablaban con confianza. (*I arrived and...when I saw that they...all my other classmates...would talk to each other with a lot of confidence in each other*) (12/12/16). Anyelín admitted that it was daunting to imagine herself fitting

into this tightly-knit community, but she noted that new students should not worry—that others were there to help them: “Nosotros los ayudamos, ustedes los dicen como aprender, como hacer las cosas (*The students, we help them, and the teachers tell them how to learn and what they have to do*)” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). She offered the advice to new students who may feel isolated or anxious about being new: “Que no se sentiría mal, que aquí estamos nosotros para ayudarlos, que acepta ayuda...(*To don't feel bad, that we are here to help him or her, to accept help...*)” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). She acknowledged the important role current students served in helping new students learn to do school at Washington River High School.

Saraí recalled that she felt nervous and strange as a new student; her first day at lunch was when other students started talking to her and that helped her feel less isolated (Saraí, 12/13/16). Sayra, too, pointed to lunchtime as an important social time to get to know each other. She said, “Al principio me sentí extraña porque todo fue diferente (*At first I felt strange because everything was different*).” However, when lunchtime rolled around, one of her classmates raised her hand and waved at her from a table in the cafeteria, motioning for her to join them; this, she said, was when she began to feel accepted (Sayra, 12/14/16).

Caterín Michelle acknowledged that it just took time to get to know each other: “Me sentía nerviosa...pero...poco a poco...fui hablándoles, y...ya somos amigos. Y no para de molestar (*I felt nervous...but...little by little...I started talking to them, and...now we're friends. And they don't stop bugging me*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16). She laughed and rolled her eyes as she recounted how Diego would steal her seat or snatch her pencil from her desk when she was not looking.

New students are also in the position of having to trust others. They must give up a substantial amount of personal information in order to be enrolled. Since many of the new students wish to hold jobs and earn graduation credits from their work, many of them entrust Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez with the names under which they work; these names are most often not their

given names (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). They trust that their teachers will not betray this information.

They are likewise in the position to have to trust the translators when they visit the nurse, counselors, or office.

Learning English

The students in the classroom felt very quickly the urgency to learn English. Even as they were earning credits toward graduation in the sheltered content classes, their primary concern was not earning a diploma but learning English. Anyelín was particularly frustrated by what she viewed as her slow progress. “A mí, no se me queda el inglés. Quiero aprender el inglés. *(English just doesn't stick. I want to learn English.)*” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Caterín Michelle agreed, explaining that learning English was the most important goal for her because it would make everything so much easier. She noted, “Em...el inglés es importante. Cuesta mucho...cuando el miss está dando la clase y no sabe...*(English is important. It's hard when the teacher's giving us a class and we don't know what she's saying.)*” (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16).

Both Anyelín and Caterín Michelle felt that life in general would be so much easier if they just spoke English. Anyelín listed the specific contexts in which knowing English would be helpful for her: “Cuando estoy en una tienda, trabajo, necesito mucho. Me cuesta mucho en el trabajo *(Like when we go into a store or at work, we need to speak English....It's very hard at work)*” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). For Caterín Michelle, knowing English would even make it easier to enjoy time with her mom out shopping. She explained, “Me gusta ir bastante con mi mamá a las tiendas a ver, pero...cuando llevamos a pagar es solo que me pone nerviosa porque hablo nada de inglés...que me van a preguntarme algo y yo no sé responderle. *(I like so much to go shopping with my mom, but...when we go to pay it's just that I get nervous because I don't speak any English...like they're going to ask me something and I won't know how to respond)*” (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16). Sayra, who seemed adept at critically understanding the structures that privileged English, noted, “Tienes

que hablar inglés para conocer a las gringas. (*You have to speak English in order to be friends with the 'gringas.'*)” (Sayra, 12/14/16). She used the word “gringas” to refer to White girls who speak English; it is notable that she held no expectation that “las gringas” ought to learn Spanish in order to be friends with *her*.

All around the classroom I saw the students working to learn English. Sayra described the structure of the sheltered classes as generally helpful because of the repetition of writing the same words, she acknowledged that it was still hard to speak it. She clarified in Spanish, “I can understand it more when I’m reading it rather than speaking” (Sayra, 12/14/16). I could empathize with this experience of language learning, as I still struggle with confidence in my Spanish-speaking proficiency. I was again reminded of the everyday struggle of living daily life in an unfamiliar language when I saw Dario reading a book called *2,001 Palabras Inglesas para Hispanohablantes* (2,001 English Words for Spanish Speakers) in between copying notes in history class (Fieldnotes, 10/31/16). On another day, I watched Jorge as he wrote his name on his worksheet, mumbling quietly as he wrote, “Hello, how are you? My name is Jorge” (Fieldnotes, 10/19/16). These students clearly were trying to learn more English in order to address their everyday needs.

I knew from my own language learning experiences that there are a number of humorous anecdotes that come from mispronunciations and mistaken vocabulary. I recalled the time I tried to convince my host family in Mexico that I was so embarrassed when I fell on the stairs at school that day and kept using the false cognate “embarazada” to express my embarrassment. It took a drawing and several repetitions of the story to realize that “embarazada” means “pregnant.” However, these humorous anecdotes are not always funny to those who are trying so hard to learn.

One troubling aspect of learning English in this classroom was that the students equated knowing English with being smart. Alejandro, who was easily the most proficient in English, was able to master the course content quickly; he often used his knowledge of English to mislead his classmates when they were answering questions from the review guide. Alejandro's ease with the language naturally made it easier for him to learn the content. Because of this, his peers viewed him as the smartest in the class; Caterín Michelle verbalized what many students appeared to think: "Lo único de que pido ayuda a veces es Alejandro...es el más inteligente...porque sabe más inglés. (*The only one I ask for help sometimes is Alejandro...he's the smartest...because he knows more English.*)" (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16). Knowing English gave Alejandro faster, easier access to the content, but students perceived his mastery of the content as a signal that he was smart.

Students all spoke about feelings of alienation and of not fitting in at their new school. The language, the classroom norms, and the group dynamics made them feel as if they did not fit in—no *encajaban* (Isabel, 12/14/16)—and they expressed relief at having had someone reach out to them to invite them to join. The next section discusses the ways in which students served as guides to newcomers, walking alongside them to teach them how to do school.

Help: Needing It, Finding It, Accepting It, and Giving It

As I described above, newcomers encountered a range of tasks they needed to do in order to attend school (i.e., get immunizations and provide transcripts and identification); however, there were also things students and their families needed to do as residents of the United States as well. Newcomers needed help in finding health insurance, registering for Social Security, and Selective Service. In the absence of a birth certificate, they needed to sign an affidavit confirming their identities; this affidavit needed to be notarized, and since the notary public at the school refused to continue to notarize these affidavits, they needed help finding a notary public who would sign for them.

Newcomer students also needed help finding jobs, and while this was not an official part of the work of the school, Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez helped their students find openings and fill out applications (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). Many students also needed glasses, and Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez kept careful watch for the students who squinted as they looked at the white board as they took notes. Many students were also in need of dental care, often complaining about toothaches at school. Because many of these issues required that newcomers pay fees, what newcomers—and especially refugees—needed most, according to Mrs. Durham, was money (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Finding Help

While Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez worked to provide assistance with a range of needs to newcomers, the students were actually quite adept at finding help for themselves—whether it was with school-related needs or with situations outside of school. Even on my first day in the classroom (and before I had even been introduced to the students), a student approached me with a question about his math review; it was clear that he saw me as a resource, and he did not hesitate to ask me for help (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). Students continued to ask me for help on their assignments throughout my time in their classroom. This help involved translating, guidance in responding to questions, and showing them how to use the glossary in the back of their textbooks (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). I also attempted to help a student understand correspondence his family had received from the County Attorney, but the translation was not enough because I was not familiar with the systemic issue the letter addressed. Mrs. Durham ended up making a phone call to clarify the situation (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16).

ELL students enrolled in general education classes sought help in Mrs. Durham's classroom for a range of situations. A student in the general education American Literature class came to the classroom to express concern about understanding the English language version of

novel they were reading. Mrs. Durham knew that the school library did not have a Spanish language version of the book, so she helped the student download a digital Spanish version from Amazon for 99 cents using Mrs. Durham's account (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16).

Others came to work on assignments for their general education classes—they asked to have tests read to them or to have questions translated (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). Sometimes students jokingly asked me to finish their tests for them, as was the case with Alexis, who asked me, “You finish my test? I pay you.” I shook my head at him, so he walked to Mrs. Durham with his computer and asked, “You wanna make some money?” and she swatted him away (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16).

There were typically extra students in the classroom who had come from other classes to get assistance or to take a quiz or test in a quiet environment with access to help if needed. They seemed to know the routine of this help: enter the room, explain what they had to work on (i.e., test or assignment), surrender their cell phones, and then sit spread out from one another and begin their work (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). Sometimes they utilized the resources available to them (e.g., a dictionary or a textbook) if they were allowed (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16).

Although students flocked to Mrs. Durham's classroom for help, Sayra admitted that she did not talk much with Mrs. Durham because she would “rather look for somebody that can translate” (Sayra, 12/14/16). Indeed, translation was a primary concern for most students, especially those who were enrolled in general education courses. Students who were more proficient in English helped each other when they were available, and Mrs. Sánchez often translated for an entire group of students at a time. Sometimes when students saw a peer getting help from someone, they would slowly gather around that person in an effort to “share” the help.

El Pasaje Subteráneo: A connection of secret places. It was clear to me that students knew how to find help; at the same time, students' behaviors and movements were policed and they had to find ways to get around the restrictions. When I helped Mrs. Sánchez find a translation

for the Underground Railroad during a unit on the Civil War, it occurred to me that the students had their own connection of secret places within the school. The substitute teacher described the Underground Railroad as “a system that helped slaves escape,” and Alejandro suggested, “Like the office.” The sub explained that there was a *connection of secret places*. It clearly resonated with some of them that they, too, had a connection of secret places (Fieldnotes, 11/16/16).

The following fieldnotes excerpt describes an episode in which a student came to the classroom for help on a test, and when Mrs. Durham left to ask the general education teacher to clarify the accommodations she could offer him, he set about finding the next stop for help.

Alexis comes into the classroom to take a final exam and Mrs. Durham tells him that she needs to find out what she is able to do to help. She leaves to go talk with the teacher, and Alexis rolls his eyes dramatically. A few minutes later, Mrs. Durham returns and says him, “I can’t read ‘cold reads’ but I can read and translate questions.” The student’s shoulders fall, and then he asks, “Can I go to the TAC room?” *This is a room where all students can get assistance with any of their classes*. Mrs. Durham shoots back, “They aren’t going to help you any more than I am,” and she turns away. She mumbles, “Let me go somewhere else to see if I can manipulate...” and her voice trails off. It must get to her to have to police this kind of thing.

The student leaves and Mrs. Sánchez goes to the TAC room to tell the paraeducators there about the limitations of the help he can receive on the work he has.

Mrs. Sánchez returns a few minutes later and reports that Alexis was already getting help from the bilingual paraeducator in the TAC room. They roll their eyes in mutual frustration. (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

The student had come to Mrs. Durham’s classroom from a general education class, and upon hearing that he would not get the help he wanted, went to the TAC room to see if he could get it there.

Other stops in this connection of secret places were the library—where students could get together and share answers—and the empty classroom next to Mrs. Durham’s room—where students entered quietly and left the lights dim in order to go unnoticed as they worked together on assignments. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez seemed to be aware of the various places to which

students might go to get help, and they were often able to head them off by getting there first; at times, they caught students as they were in the process of cheating (Fieldnotes, 12/02/16).

Accepting Help

Most students were also willing to accept help, given the range of their needs. Anyelín listed the many people from whom she had accepted help since she had arrived in Washington River: classmates, teachers, and complete strangers (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Indeed, teachers and coaches alike helped students at different times; Mrs. Durham noted that Mr. Richards, the boys' soccer coach, had paid for Diego's physical the previous year. She doubted that he would do the same for a less talented soccer player, but nonetheless, Diego was appreciative (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16).

Students accepted help from community organizations as well. A local philanthropic organization, the Kiwanis Club, had contacted Mrs. Durham earlier in the school year to ask what students in her classroom needed and to offer their help. She asked for help with transportation, so the organization donated 15 bicycles, helmets, and bike locks (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). These bicycles provided a quicker way to school for students who lived between two and three miles from school, given that they normally walked the distance. The local Salvation Army and the Children's Fund—provided by donations from the teachers in the district—were also sources of help for things like glasses and dental care (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Giving Help

The students in this classroom served as guides to newcomers. They made sure the new students knew how to open their lockers and enter their lunch codes, and they checked in with the new students throughout the day (Anyelín, 12/03/16). When I asked Isabel how they know how to help new students, she explained that someone had done the same for her when she was new. She emphasized the importance of showing the new student “how classes go and how things in

the school are” rather than just telling them (Isabel, 12/13/16). Saraí echoed this, recalling that Anyelín had helped her when she was new: “Anyelín showed me how to go through the lunch line and enter my code...twice...and she explained the rules to me” (Saraí, 12/13/16).

I routinely saw the students helping new students in the classroom as well. One morning, Alejandro sat down and talked with a new student about Mrs. Durham. He acted out what she does when she gets angry, placing his hands on his hips and talking loudly. The new student smiled and nodded, and when Alejandro sat back down, he offered his paper to the new student, suggesting, “Copy?” The student took his paper and started to copy onto his own paper. I noted as an aside in my fieldnotes, “*He’s teaching the new guy how to get it done*” (Fieldnotes, 12/12/16).

The students—with few exceptions—took care of each other in this classroom, even if they were not new students. Almost unanimously, the students thought that they helped each other because that is what “buena gente (*good people*)” do. The ways in which they took care of each other ranged from answering a quick question to providing a place to live. I observed students as they worked together on a test review, and I noted them leaning across the rows to show each other where to find vocabulary words in their notes or in the book (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). In another example, Mrs. Durham called on Alejandro to share the answer he wrote on a math worksheet: “Alejandro, what did you write down?” He began, “Eleven,” and then looked to another student and asked, “¿Cómo se dice ‘menos’ (*How do you say ‘menos’*)?” The other student answered, “Minus,” and Alejandro’s face lit up with recall (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16).

The following fieldnotes example demonstrates a more dramatic example of the way students took care of each other. Mrs. Durham had been worrying all day about finding a student a place to live because his father was in jail and the student was living with an uncle who forced him to pay rent to live with him.

Mrs. Durham is still working on finding a place for her student to live without paying rent. Just before lunch, the third block students are entering the classroom as I am leaving. Mrs. Durham asks two of the students if they could take him in; one, without hesitation, nods and says, "He can live with us." (Fieldnotes, 12/09/16)

I was surprised to hear such ready willingness, but in retrospect, it aligned well with the collectivist nature of the students' relationships.

The students also helped Mrs. Durham throughout the day in different ways. Alejandro helped her plug in the lamps and the string lights almost every morning and he often helped her load supplies from her car into the classroom (Fieldnotes, 10/31/16). I surmised that Mrs. Durham asked Alejandro to help more often than others because she was able to communicate with him in English without a translator. Other students helped pass out papers and file papers into students' mailboxes (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16). Alejandro often willingly translated in Mrs. Sánchez's absence as well, and Mrs. Durham appreciated his assistance. School-to-career students were drawn on to translate in Mrs. Sánchez's absence as well. They, however, did not do so as readily as Alejandro, and they appeared uncomfortable translating. Students were not paid, however, for the translating duties they performed in the classroom.

In the next section, I explore the ways students treated and talked about each other and how they described their reasons for such beliefs and behaviors.

El Respeto in the Classroom

The cultural notion of *respeto* has much deeper and more complex implications for behavior than does its English counterpart. Valdés (1996) offers a definition that helps explain how the concept guides interpersonal interactions:

Respeto in its broadest sense is a set of attitudes toward individuals and/or the roles that they occupy. It is believed that certain roles demand or require particular types of behavior. *Respeto*, while important among strangers, is especially significant among members of the family. Having *respeto* for one's family involves functioning according to specific views about the nature of the roles filled by the various members of the family (e.g., husband,

wife, son, brother). It also involves demonstrating personal regard for the individual who happens to occupy that role. (p. 130)

This concept provides guidance in understanding the culture of this classroom because the concept of family was purposefully cultivated among the members. Students, drawing on their cultural understanding of family, transferred the notion of *respeto* into the space; in fact, many of them used the word to describe the behaviors they hoped to live out in their daily lives.

How to Treat Others

When I asked students to discuss how they treat others in the classroom, they described themselves in relation to *respeto*. Anyelín offered that it was alright to play and joke around to a certain point, but that it was important to stop when it was inappropriate (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Jesús, too, asserted, “Respeto de todos...cuando lo tiene respeto, me van a tener el respeto a mí (*I respect everyone...when we have respect for others, they will have respect for us*)” (Jesús, 12/12/16). He explained that because he respected others, it meant that he behaved well; he described his behavior using the phrase “comportándome bien,” the reflexive form of the verb, which carries the implication that he behaved in the way that *was expected of him*.

Caterín Michelle echoed the reciprocal nature of *respeto* when she said, “Me gustaría que como yo soy me trataron (*I would like that people treat me the way I treat them*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). She also made reference to her family when she described her reasons for treating others well: “No me gustaría que tal vez mirara mal a mis hermanos porque yo mire mal a alguien...o por la forma de quien soy. (*I wouldn't want anybody to look down on my siblings because I wasn't being good to the others...or because the kind of person I am*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16).

The students were inclusive of everyone when they discussed *who* they ought to respect. Anyelín noted that elders were deserving of respect, but that also those younger than she because

this was key in helping children learn respect. She explained, “Respeto a los chiquitos, así por la respetan, nos respetan (*I respect children, through respecting them, they will respect us*)” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Jesús made no exceptions to whom was deserving of respect, restating, “Respeto a todos (*I respect everyone*)” (Jesús, 12/12/16).

Students consistently referenced their families—mainly parents and grandparents—when they described where they had learned how to treat others. Caterín Michelle explained that she had learned how to treat others “de mi mami, de mis abuelos...y de mi papá mientras que vivía (*from my mom, from my grandparents...and from my dad when he was alive*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). Although her father had died ten years earlier, she still acknowledged the important role he played when he was alive. Anyelín echoed the important role of her parents in teaching her how to treat others; she explained that she had learned *respeto* “de mis papás (*from my parents*)” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Sayra, too, asserted that she had learned how to treat others from her parents (Sayra, 12/14/16).

Jesús, while acknowledging that his parents had taught him how to treat others, also pointed to the teachings of the church: “Porque en la iglesia nos enseña la palabra de Dios dice que debemos respetar a todos (*Because at church they teach us that we should love others*).” When I pressed for what that meant, asking how one learned to do that, he again pointed to his faith, noting, “Dios me cambió (*God changed me*)” (Jesús, 12/12/16).

***Respeto* Meant Sharing**

Given the significance of the notion of *respeto* in the students' lives, I began to explore how their behaviors and words revealed what *respeto* meant in practice. One clear manifestation of *respeto* was that students shared with everyone—and they shared almost *everything*. They shared food, money, music, blankets and chairs, homework, and even brought gifts to share with Mrs. Durham.

Diego often brought a bag of Doritos that he shared with everyone as he walked around the room visiting with his classmates (Fieldnotes, 11/14/16). Jesús, too, often brought food that he shared with his classmates. One morning he carried a Walmart grocery bag, reaching in and plucking a few red grapes at a time from the package. Others near him reached in and grabbed grapes from the outstretched bag (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16).

Students also shared blankets in the chilly classroom space. I often observed them sharing blankets when they shared the sofa or the wicker sofa at the back of the room, but they also stretched blankets across separate chairs as well (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16). One morning, I saw two boys sitting on the wicker sofa at the back of the room sharing a blanket spread over their legs, and I smiled at the way they reminded me of two elderly men sitting next to each other in a park and talking over coffee (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16).

Students also routinely shared homework and—less often—test answers. They often worked in groups on worksheets and study guides, and as Sayra explained, “Sometimes we explain them to each other; sometimes we just share the answers” (Sayra, 12/14/16). One morning, Saraí even lent her study guide—which she completed during the first block—to Diego—who took it out during second block, showing me and another student his prize (Fieldnotes, 11/30/16). Other times, the sharing was more covert—as in the case of sharing answers on tests. The following fieldnotes excerpt demonstrates an example of sharing answers in this more secretive way.

The students have been working on their tests for about ten minutes. I notice two students exchange sideways looks. Saraí lifts her paper slightly, and the boy looks at it. He leans over, even lifting out of his seat a little. He’s clearly looking at her answers. Mrs. Durham is taking a phone call at her desk. (Fieldnotes, 12/05/16)

In another example, I observed Diego as he went to the front to submit his test and on his way back to his desk, walked behind Isabel and looked at her test; he covertly whispered answers as

he walked away (Fieldnotes, 12/05/16). While the testing situation warranted a more surreptitious form of sharing answers, the students nonetheless found ways to do it.

Students often brought gifts of food or beverages to share with Mrs. Durham. It was rare for a morning to pass without a student stopping in to deliver something to Mrs. Durham. They knew that she loved Takis—a brand of spicy rolled tortilla chips—and Jarritos—a Mexican brand of fruit-flavored sodas made with real cane sugar, and they periodically delivered these treats to her. Toward the end of the first quarter, I noticed an abnormally large pile of gifts on her desk; there were pupusas wrapped in foil, fresh-baked bread, and two bags of Takis and a two-liter bottle of fruit punch-flavored Jarritos. Mrs. Durham graciously accepted each gift as they were delivered, saying an enthusiastic “thank you” and even sometimes giving the student a hug. This gift-giving seemed to be an important part of *respeto*, the gesture communicating their appreciation of the role of the teacher.

The notion of *respeto* helped illuminate the interactions of students within the classroom, and even though most of their behaviors purported to be valued in the district given their focus on being respectful, the students remained in the margins of the school community. In the next section, I turn to exploring the ways in which the rules and structures of schooling kept these students marginalized.

Living in the Margins of School

The students in this classroom lived a vibrant life in their classroom, to be sure. They enjoyed one another’s company, balanced work with play, and were rewarded for hard work. However, they seemed to be a peripheral part of the wider school community. They encountered outright discrimination and more subtle microaggressions like being underestimated, being accused of wrongdoing, and being ignored or neglected.

Being Discriminated Against

Alejandro articulated how he felt others viewed him in the school; he explained, “Cuando la gente mira que hablas español te queda biendo raro como si tuvieras un gran moco en la cara (*When people see that you speak Spanish, they keep looking at you strangely, as if you had a big booger on your face*)” (Alejandro, 12/14/16). Clearly, he felt that being a Spanish speaker wrought prejudice and discrimination. Sayra felt excluded in whole-school contexts—like the lunchroom—explaining,

“There’s some days, every time we sit down, we’re just a little Hispanic group. Some of them even have talked about they had to sit in a group where some white kids were sitting and the other kids just stood up and basically left the table, so that’s why it’s weird. I haven’t had the experience to see it, but they say that happens.” (Sayra, 12/14/16)

She sensed that she (and other “Hispanics”) were not welcome in places where the “white kids” had already laid claim. Even though she had not seen for herself this phenomenon in which white kids left a table when Hispanic kids sat down, this story was part of the lore of belonging for her.

Jorge explained to me a situation for which he had been disciplined—unfairly, he thought—for standing up for himself in a racist verbal attack:

There was a fight last week involving Jorge and some White students in his art class. When the teacher pointed out an area of the classroom that needed to be tidied, one of the White students said to him, “You’re Hispanic. You clean it up.” Jorge got angry (*rightly so*) and started yelling back at the kid. Another student (a bilingual school-to-career student) was translating, but Mrs. Sánchez said the translation was wrong—that the translator was purposefully inciting trouble by miscommunicating what was said. Jorge was disciplined for his role in the altercation.

Mrs. Sánchez questioned whether students ought to be interpreting in classes. This is something a number of Spanish-speaking students do for school-to-career experiences. *I wonder if they want to or if they are tracked into that work? I also wonder how often this happens.* (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

Jorge was clearly very justifiably angry at the whole situation, and when he discovered that the school-to-career student might have fabricated the trouble, he felt betrayed and even more vulnerable because of his developing English proficiency. He did not understand why he had been disciplined when he was the one who had suffered the attack.

Students were also underestimated because of their English language development. For example, when a substitute teacher found herself unclear about the structure of the United States Congress—that the two houses were the Senate and the House of Representatives and that jointly, they were called Congress—she wondered if that was not too much for the students to understand. “That’s probably too much for them, don’t you think?” she asked *me*—not Mrs. Sánchez. I answered hesitantly, “No, I don’t think so,” then looked to Mrs. Sánchez and asked, “Don’t you think...?” Mrs. Sánchez, smiling, asserted firmly, “They need to know it.” The sub nodded and walked back to the front of the room (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16). That episode left me feeling sick that the substitute had consulted me before Mrs. Sánchez, and that she assumed that because it was not something *she* remembered that the students probably would not be able or need to understand it.

Sayra talked with me about the lack of challenging course content she experienced. She noted, “What we have learned here are things that we learned in elementary already, but [now we’re learning] in English” (Sayra, 12/14/16). She was, of course, referring to the experience of students who had attended school, and I wondered how much of American history students in other countries learned, but the fact remained that Sayra felt the expectations for their learning were low.

Students also felt that they were accused of cheating or of being rude when they spoke Spanish. Mariaelena complained to Ana about Mrs. Burton, their other ELL teacher: “She doesn’t speak Spanish so she always says we’re copying” (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). They both thought it unfair that the teacher would assume they were doing something inappropriate just because they were speaking Spanish.

Being Ignored and Overlooked

The students were also ignored and neglected within the school community. It bothered me to watch them each day as the announcements blathered on and on in English with no acknowledgement that there were students in the school who could not understand them. On my first day in the classroom, the announcements reminded students to obtain and display parking passes in their cars and to register for classes to prepare them for the ACT, a college entrance exam (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). Although Mrs. Durham said that many of the ELL students would not be college bound (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16), I still thought they ought to understand the options available to them. That the school made no effort to communicate this information to *all* students was troublesome to me, even though Mrs. Durham tried to communicate relevant announcements to students in her classroom.

On another occasion, the assistant principal reminded “all junior and senior social studies classes” via the announcements that Washington River’s representative in the U.S. House of Representatives would be at the school that day to speak with them in the school auditorium. While I assumed it would be more of a “talking to” than a “talking with,” it seemed appropriate that the students in the same age-range as the juniors and seniors be able to attend and to have the speech made accessible to them (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16). Their exclusion seemed like a missed opportunity for a civic education experience.

Even in the curriculum, there were moments when I lamented the missed opportunities to make connections between the students and the content. The following fieldnotes excerpt describes one such episode.

Mrs. Durham, sitting at her desk, finishes the passage in the textbook about U.S. immigration in the 1820s and when Mrs. Sánchez finishes translating it, she asks, “So, who are immigrants?” There is laughter from all the students. She smiles, “I know we have a roomful...” and Alejandro suggests, “Nosotros.” She nods, and rephrasing her question, asks, “Which two countries had the most immigrants?” Someone shouts, “Guatemala!” and they all laugh again because clearly, he was right. The room was full of Guatemalan

immigrants. Mrs. Durham clarifies, "...in 1820?" and someone mumbles, "Ireland and England," and Mrs. Durham praises their answer. (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16)

This seemed like a good time to show different groups and waves of immigration through our nation's history—placing these students in the national narrative of the United States; however, no connection was made to the more recent wave of immigrants from Mexico and Central America.

While the students spent the majority of their day in ELL classes—both language and sheltered content classes—they were enrolled in classes outside ELL for the last block of the day. Isabel was enrolled in Spanish, and knowing that I had designed and taught a class at this very school for proficient Spanish speakers just like her, I was surprised to hear that she was in Spanish 1—the introductory class. When I asked what she did in the class given that she already knew how to pronounce the words and what they meant, she admitted through a laugh, "Pues, hago lo mismo que los güeros, repito todo (*Well, I do the same as the White kids, I repeat everything*)." When I asked whether the teacher had mentioned that perhaps she ought to be in a different Spanish class, she shrugged and answered, "No. No me dijo nada (*No, he hasn't said anything to me*)" (Isabel, 12/13/16). While I was frustrated that the class I had worked so hard to build had been left unassigned, I was more frustrated that students like Isabel spent precious class assignments "learning" something they already knew.

Until Mrs. Sánchez started fielding attendance phone calls from Spanish-speaking parents, the school had ignored some parents, too. According to Mrs. Durham, some parents were not notified for months that their child had been absent from school (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16); finding out months later—or after multiple absences—made it difficult to address the issue before it became a larger problem.

The field trip to the zoo had been Mrs. Durham's idea in an attempt to give them a "childhood experience." Students needed to raise funds to be able to go, and so Mrs. Durham

organized a fundraiser—*una colección*—to that end. “For the first time since I’ve been here,” she explained proudly, “we will be selling shirts with Spanish on them. This is the first time we’ve had Spanish on shirts,” she repeated. The shirt they would be selling was gray with gold writing; the school colors were black and gold. The front of the shirt read, “Hear us, see us,” the words shaped into a tiger paw to symbolize the school mascot. On the back of the shirt, the lines alternated between Spanish and English, reading:

ESE MOMENTO (*THAT MOMENT*)
 WHEN YOU START
 PENSANDO EN (*THINKING IN*)
 DOS IDIOMAS (*TWO LANGUAGES*)
 AT THE SAME
 TIEMPO (*TIME*)

Mrs. Durham explained—while Mrs. Sánchez translated and clarified—what sizes and styles of shirts and hoodies were available and how to fill out the orders. The field trip had been Mrs. Durham’s idea, and I wondered where they might have chosen to go if given the choice. Moreover, given their proclivity for going unnoticed—as I will discuss in the next section—I wondered whether the “Hear Us, See Us” message on the shirt was what they wished to say or was a message projected on them.

In the next section, I explore the ways in which these students lived dual lives as adolescents and adults, as students and workers, and as dreamers and realists.

The Dual Lives of Students

The students in this classroom lived dual lives in many different ways. Some were by age adolescents, but by life experience, adults. Some worked full-time jobs and attended school full-time, and I argue that all of them had dreams but tempered those dreams with a realist perspective about what was plausible for their futures.

The Duality of Adolescence and Adulthood

Many of the adolescents in this classroom had more life experiences than most adults have ever imagined. In their young lives, they had traveled great distances—many of them alone—and seen violence and tragedy through no fault of their own. The students in this classroom, under the “no cell phone policy,” found themselves needing to break the rule in order to field a phone call from a parent who needed their help or an attorney with questions pertaining to their immigration case. In one instance, I observed Carolina walk quickly to Mrs. Durham with her cell phone in her hand as it buzzed insistently. Mrs. Durham asked who was calling and Carolina told her quietly that it was her attorney. Mrs. Durham nodded and Caroline walked to the corner of the room to take the call. She was on the call for only one minute and then returned to her desk where her history worksheet awaited her (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16).

In another instance, Mateo’s phone buzzed in his pocket, and seeing that Mrs. Durham was busy talking with another student, caught Mrs. Sánchez’s attention and gestured to his phone, jumping out of his desk and walking to the back of the room to answer the call. When Mrs. Durham noticed him holding his phone to his ear, she yelled, “What the heck, Mateo?!?” Mrs. Sánchez was quick to explain, “It’s his father.” This was a game-changer; Mrs. Durham nodded and walked back to the front of the room. Mateo’s father’s attorney, actually, had called him—in school—to discuss his father’s case (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16).

The Duality of Work and School

Many students in the classroom left school to go to work. Some of them—those who were able to get an identification card that listed an older age—worked at a local meatpacking plant on the overnight cleaning crew (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16).

Others worked shifts at McDonald’s, and some worked cleaning out semi-truck trailers. Students were able to earn elective credits for work experience, and they submitted their timesheets to Mrs.

Durham to document their hours (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). Those who worked under names that were not their given names masked those names and wrote their given names (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16).

Jorge walked in one Monday morning and said sleepily to Mrs. Durham, “I trabajo (*work*) all weekend.” Mrs. Durham replied sympathetically, “O mi gatos...O-eme-je (*both expressions like ‘Oh my gosh’ and ‘OMG’*.)” She had a brief conversation with the student about getting enough sleep and not working too much (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). Anyelín, who worked five to six hours each night, insisted that it was “easy work” and that five or six hours each night was “not a lot” (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Working hours like those did not leave much time for participation in extracurricular school activities.

Sometimes students had to choose between being a student or a worker. Mrs. Sánchez described one student who quit school because he was offered a morning position at Hormel. He was 18 years old, and an opportunity to work daytime hours instead of overnight was more productive to him than staying in school with limited prospects to finish before he aged out of the system. Mrs. Sánchez shook her head and said, “Everyday stories...” her voice trailing off. Her husband worked at the same plant as she, too, had done, and she understood well how infrequently the coveted daytime positions at Hormel became available (Fieldnotes, 11/16/16).

The Duality of Dreaming and Being Realistic

All of the students in the classroom were immigrants, and some were either seeking refugee status or were caught up in immigration court. While American history textbooks often describe immigration as an inspirational, hopeful experience, the students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom recognized their own experiences when they learned about Dred Scott, who lived when “a slave was *not a citizen and had no rights*” because the “Constitution protected slavery.” Being “not a citizen” and “having no rights” resonated with many of the students in the classroom, and those words felt heavy as the students copied them into their notes (Fieldnotes, 11/28/16). While

many of them told of their dreams to become a graphic designer (Sayra) or just to have a good job to be able to take care of their parents (almost all of them), they also acknowledged the reality that college was expensive and that they were in more immediate need of financial resources.

The anti-immigrant rhetoric and the promise of mass deportations of the Trump presidential campaign and eventual victory no doubt influenced how these students imagined their life chances. In the days following the general election, the students had an opportunity to write concerns and questions they had about what Trump's election would mean for them. Indeed, they worried about deportation—whether they had immigration papers or not—and how Trump's policies would affect their opportunities to work. One group asked, “Will remove (*sic*) work permits from hispanics (*sic*)?” They referenced “hispanics” here, and not all immigrants; to them, the anti-immigrant rhetoric was aimed at people like them.

Some students worried that they might lose the right to sponsor a family member after being granted legal status, and some were concerned about what would happen to undocumented parents of American citizens. Others worried more generally about the ways Trump could institutionalize discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. They also felt as if Trump's rhetoric had opened the door to more overt everyday racism and discrimination, asserting, “People judge by how I loock (*sic*).” They described feelings of fear, anger, sadness, surprise, and betrayal; they wondered why some Hispanics voted for Trump (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16).

The students acknowledged the way they were positioned in the context of a Trump administration, and dreams seemed to be a luxury they could not afford. Caterín Michelle admitted that she had thought about college and even talked with her mom about it, but her mom had told her that college “is so expensive.” She tilted her head and explained that “ever since [she] was little, [her] dad always told [her] that [she] would be a doctor someday.” Now, though, what she

wanted for her future was a “good-paying job,” one in which she would get along well with her boss (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16).

Jesús, while asserting that his future was “en la mano de Dios (*in God's hands*),” could see himself working in an office—maybe a bank—or even in a grocery store. College, he said, would be difficult because of “recursos económicos (*financial resources*)” (Jesús, 12/12/16). Saraí said that what she wanted was a “good future.” When I asked her what that meant, she explained that she wished to help her mother because she had helped Saraí and her sister so much, and she wanted to be able to give that back to her. Had Saraí remained in Guatemala, she would have been starting her career training as a nurse; here in the United States, she did not know how she could go about pursuing a career in nursing (Saraí, 12/13/16).

The dual lives of these students asked them to imagine more realistic dreams for themselves, and to understand how the context in which they lived in the United States limited the possibilities of what they could count as dreams. Their marginality at school perpetuated a marginal existence in the larger community. However, even given the limitations projected onto them, the notion of *respeto* carried implications of caring for each other through helping, sharing, and emotional support. In the next chapter, I describe Mrs. Sánchez’s background and her work in this classroom.

Chapter Six: Mrs. Sánchez

Mrs. Gabriela Sánchez was a Spanish-English bilingual paraeducator who worked at Washington River High School and was assigned to Mrs. Durham's classroom; her official capacity was that of a translator/interpreter although she was often called upon to tutor and assist students, teachers, and other staff members with a wide range of tasks. She translated a number of communications between the school and students' homes and class materials (e.g., exams and notes outlines), and she interpreted in meetings for enrollment and registration, special education, and attendance concerns. Unofficially, Mrs. Sánchez's position as a paraeducator also positioned her as an assistant to Mrs. Durham, as she helped with or took care of managerial classroom tasks and routines.

Mrs. Sánchez was, in many ways, a mirror of the students with whom she worked. She was a 21-year-old Latina, an immigrant, a recipient of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and her first language—like that of most of the students in this classroom—was Spanish; as such, she thought of herself as an English Learner as well. These intersecting identities were important to her role in the classroom and school space and, in important ways, influenced how she sponsored citizenship—especially in the midst of a Trump presidency that has shaken the security and stability of most immigrants' and refugees' lives. She was also a young mother and wife whose two small children and husband were all American-born citizens. Gabriela had also taken in a foster daughter who was a student at Washington River, and she treated her as a member of her family. In this chapter, I explore how Mrs. Sánchez's multiple and intersectional identities modeled the construction of a citizen identity for students.

The Intersecting Identities of Mrs. Sánchez

Mrs. Sánchez's multiple and intersectional identities played an important role in this classroom. That is, the person she was mattered in how she influenced students and modeled the

construction of citizen identity in this space. In important ways, she modeled what Rosaldo (1994) calls “cultural citizenship” because she lived a life that so closely paralleled students’ experiences.

“Cultural citizenship” is

the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense. It claims that, in a democracy, social justice calls for equity among all citizens, even when such differences as race, religion, class, gender, or sexual orientation potentially could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others. (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 402)

All the various parts of her “being” brought important experiences to bear as she went about her work in this classroom, especially within a political environment emboldened by Donald Trump in which immigrants and people of color are positioned as “less equal” than others and whose rights are deemed negotiable and conditional.

Being a Mother

Gabriela’s first child, her son, was four at the time of the study; she was almost seventeen years old when she became a mother. Having no help from the child’s father in raising her son, she dropped out of high school to care for herself and her young son. She acknowledged that becoming a mother at a young age changed the course of her life.

“I mean, there’s a lot of things that make me who I am. I mean...I see myself in the kids because they’re really young and they’re...they wanna be rebellious. They wanna be bad. And I used to be like that. And that didn’t take me to any good. But I mean, I was 16 when I was pregnant and 17—almost 17—when I had my first child. I had to—I chose to drop out because I was embarrassed to come to school while being pregnant. My mom always told me, ‘You need to go to school, you need to go to school.’ She was the main part of me that had me go and get my GED (General Educational Development diploma)—‘cause that’s what I have. I think after having my son, everything was just very different. I saw myself as a different person.” (Gabriela, 12/15/16)

Gabriela acknowledged that as difficult as the journey had been, she treasured her children and even when she imagined how things might have been if she had not dropped out of high school

and pursued a General Educational Development (GED) diploma, she could not imagine a life without her kids.

Gabriela had also opened her home to a high school-aged foster daughter the previous February, which had come about through her work at the school. She explained how her foster daughter came to be a part of her family:

“I didn’t know her... ‘cause I wasn’t working with ELL kids. I think I had just seen her twice. And...we were in class one day—I was helping Mrs. Jelanek (another ELL teacher) and her class that year, and um, [the girl] came up to me to ask permission to leave [school] because she had an appointment. And I saw that the whole time while she was sitting in the back of the classroom, she was covering her mouth and she never—I mean, as much as I’d seen her—she was never like that. And...I told her ‘no,’ and she went back [to her seat] after I told her she couldn’t leave. We have to have somebody come and check you out in order to be able to let you leave, and she went and she came back and she kept covering her mouth and...she asked, ‘But can I please leave? ‘Cause if I don’t leave my stepmom’s gonna get mad.’” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Gabriela sensed the girl’s anxiety, and asked her to talk in the hall; through this conversation it became clear that the girl did not feel safe at home. Eventually, the police got involved and when the social worker was unable to find any of the girl’s relatives nearby, Mrs. Sánchez took her home without even consulting her husband. She admitted, “I was really scared. I was shaking my whole way home” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). Gabriela’s single-handed decision to take in this young girl had changed their family. It was clear that Gabriela had grown to love her foster daughter—even through all the frustrations of parenting a teenager—and felt that she was a part of the family.

Being Latina

Mrs. Sánchez had moved to the United States from Mexico with her parents when she was five years old. She did not remember a life in Mexico, but she did value her Mexican heritage. She delighted in showing me photos of her children participating in her church’s celebration of the Feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe; her son was dressed in a crisp raw cotton tunic and matching pants with huarache sandals in the style of Juan Diego of Mexican legend, and her daughter wore a

matching dress along with a crown of flowers. I had also observed Gabriela browsing Facebook photos on her phone of Mexican parades celebrating El Día de los Muertos (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). It was clear that she held a deep emotional attachment to Mexico, even after having grown up in the United States.

Part of being Latina was that Gabriela lived out the cultural expectations for women, especially wives, to be submissive to their husbands. I noted on two separate occasions that Gabriela had referred to her deference to her husband's decisions for her. The following fieldnotes excerpt describes how she had to choose a Halloween costume that was acceptable to her husband.

Today is Halloween and Gabriela is dressed like the Disney princess, Jasmine, with long flowing pants that tighten at the ankle and gold bangles hanging from the edges of her shirt. She wears a loose sweater over the top, given that "it took forever" to find something at the store that her husband would "let" her wear; most of the things she tried were too low-cut or too tight, she said. (Fieldnotes, 10/31/16)

Her husband had decided what was appropriate for her to wear as she participated in the school's dress-up day. Another instance of her deference to her husband occurred when Mrs. Durham wanted to take Mrs. Sánchez out for drinks to celebrate her 21st birthday. "He said 'no!'" Gabriela defended when Mrs. Durham teased her about not wanting to go. "I'm not going to argue with him—he'll tell my parents" (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). A couple of days later, Mrs. Durham invited me to go along to celebrate Gabriela's birthday, as Gabriela's husband had decided to "let her go" out to celebrate with them (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16). Gabriela explained: "I think...the culture that we have is more like, once you're married, your husband has control over you. I think that's kind of what the Hispanic culture is. I really hate it. Because, I mean, I see, like...American marriages and...they seem like...they can both take their own decisions So...I really wish it was more like that" (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). I was taken aback by her reference to "American marriages" distinguished from her own, even though she was married in the U.S.

I observed often, however, that Gabriela encouraged the young women in the classroom to be strong and to not shrink under “the gaze” (Foucault, 1977) of the young men or other women in the class. During one such instance, Gabriela praised the “mujeres (*women*)” in the class for their willingness to volunteer and for their work on their mathematics.

Mrs. Durham, after having given students time to work on a section of the math review, asks for “brave volunteers” to put their work on the board. Students volunteer, all girls except for one, and Gabriela observes aloud from her desk, “Las mujeres están dominando el día de hoy. (*The women are dominating today.*)” Using the word “mujeres” was a strong message. She didn’t call them “girls.” Mrs. Durham agrees—it appears that she understood the Spanish—saying, “We might not have a woman in the White House, but we have them in the ELL room!” (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16)

Mrs. Sánchez, having noticed the young women’s leadership, used her position in the classroom to affirm that leadership.

Being Latina also meant that Mrs. Sánchez was racialized as a Brown person. The morning following Trump’s election, Mrs. Sánchez was subjected to taunts from a small group of Trump supporters as she walked into the school. She sat next to me and asked if I had seen the students with flags outside the school that morning.

Mrs. Sánchez sits near me and asks if I saw the students with flags outside the school this morning. I had seen a group outside but had not taken notice of what they were doing or saying. She explains that on the way into school, a small group of White students (four to five) wearing homemade Trump t-shirts were waving U.S. flags toward them, pronouncing, “We did it!” and laughing as they walked by. She and her foster daughter had walked quickly into the school. *So this is what we’re in for during this presidency?* (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16)

Even the very morning after Trump’s election, Gabriela and her foster daughter were forced to walk through a small crowd of Trump supporters acting as if his election somehow granted them the right to try to intimidate people who had been targeted by Trump’s slurs and dog-whistle speeches throughout his campaign. Again, this episode was notable in that Mrs. Durham did not have the same experience walking in the same doors.

Being an Immigrant

Mrs. Sánchez, like the students in the classroom, was an immigrant to the United States. As such, she could relate to students' immigrant identities in a way that none of their other teachers could do. Mrs. Sánchez held a strong tie to her Mexican heritage, but she thought of the United States as her home (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). Mrs. Sánchez's immigration status was a constant concern for her. She had applied for and received DACA, and she was hopeful that she would continue on to obtain her residence and then legal citizenship status. The process was long, though, and the vitriol incited by Donald Trump toward immigrants during the 2016 election campaign—especially those who are undocumented—was emboldened by his election. I listened incredulously as she translated for Mrs. Durham the morning after Trump's election. Mrs. Durham assured students, "If anything happens to you...this room will always be a safe place." Many students smiled, and they were all silent as they listened. When Mrs. Sánchez translated, I could tell it was so hard for her. Her own life experience so closely mirrored that of the students (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16).

Two days later, I sat talking with Mrs. Durham when Mrs. Sánchez approached us with tears in her eyes.

Mrs. Durham takes her hand and just listens. Mrs. Sánchez is afraid. I don't know what to do. I kind of feel like I'm intruding, but it's her story to tell when and where she wishes. She discusses the fear and anxiety she feels about the possibility of her own family being separated with the election of Donald Trump and the promises he made to deport the millions of people living in the U.S. without documentation. It's infuriating that he gives no time to understanding the family dynamics at play, the role of the U.S. in creating this situation, the economic impact of such a bold enforcement of deportations, or the shortcomings of our government's ability to handle immigration cases in a speedy way. People's lives go on, even if their court dates are years away. It must be terrifying to have your life feel so uncertain. (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16)

Overnight, her recent stability gained through DACA had become questionable. Her family became one of the thousands of families making contingency plans for the possibility of being separated.

And yet, she stood each day to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. She,

along with the classroom full of immigrant students, pledged allegiance to a country that they felt did not want them.

There were moments, though, when Mrs. Sánchez's calm demeanor cracked enough to be able to see that she held some resentment toward the country she called her home. The morning when Mrs. Durham asked students to write their concerns about how this election would affect their lives, Mrs. Sánchez translated between the teacher and the students, but she added her own opinions and perspectives about the topics throughout the discussion. For example, one group of students asked, "Will the Americans replace the jobs of Hispanics?" Before Mrs. Durham responded, Mrs. Sánchez interjected spitefully, "Nobody's gonna go work with the pigs at Hormel." Students nodded in agreement (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). There was agreement all around that no "Americans" would choose to do the work immigrants did in the meatpacking plants in Washington River. Students wondered whether visas would be canceled, and Mrs. Sánchez explained "due process" to them when Mrs. Durham was at a loss for how to explain it. Mrs. Sánchez, it was clear, knew the process too well (Fieldnotes, 11/14/16).

One group expressed their general anxiety about what could happen with their question: "¿That things is going to happen with the new president?" Mrs. Sánchez responded in Spanish, "Mexico is not gonna pay for the wall—they're not gonna hire immigrants to build that...can you see the White people doing that work?" She repeated the question, "Can you see Americans doing that work?" Students responded in unison, "NO" (Fieldnotes, 11/14/16).

That was not the only time that Mrs. Sánchez equated being American with being White in her translations. I observed her use this translation during lessons as well. When students copied notes about the United States' role in enslaving people in West Africa and bringing them to the U.S., Javier asked, "Why?" The substitute teacher explained that Americans wanted free labor for

their plantations; Mrs. Sánchez translated “Americans” as “Whites” (Fieldnotes, 11/16/16). I was saddened, but not surprised, to hear her equate being American to being White.

Donald Trump had positioned immigrants throughout his campaign as targets for contempt within the United States, and I asked Mrs. Sánchez what she would say to Donald Trump if given the chance. She paused thoughtfully and then spoke:

“Don’t judge us...by the way people want you to see us. Get to know us and really understand what we’re going through...because we’re not all—like he says—we’re not all rapists, we’re not those people. Some of us have really big hopes to be somebody in life and...we can’t because of people who judge us because of the color of our skin or from where we are from. I mean, I would just say, ‘Don’t judge us.’” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

These words revealed that she felt unfairly judged by Trump and his supporters, and her use of “us” conveyed her solidarity with all immigrants against the vitriol of “them.”

Being an English Learner

Mrs. Sánchez could also relate to students’ experiences of being English learners. She explained:

“I came here to the United States when I was five, so until I was five years old, I took kindergarten with a teacher that spoke both English and Spanish and it’s maybe when I was in second grade is when I kind of started learning...more English. I could communicate in first grade but I still remember that I was struggling.” (Gabriela, 12/15/16)

She could recall the experience of not understanding and not being understood in English, and she drew on this experience in her interactions with the students. Although her English was fluent and she rarely struggled for words in translation, there were times that pronouncing unfamiliar words gave her pause. For example, she would often pause to check her pronunciation of unfamiliar names—like Elizabeth Cady Stanton—with me when I sat near her desk. She tested out the pronunciations with a furrowed brow, and I was reminded of my own experiences of pronouncing unfamiliar words in Spanish.

Mrs. Sánchez understood well how students felt when their language was viewed as a deficiency in learning. She recalled that her kindergarten teacher had been frustrated by her pace in her English language development, noting that she “didn’t have anybody at home that spoke English, so it was a struggle” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). She continued, “But so that’s why I try to help the kids more and...explain things to them more so they understand and they don’t have that same struggle” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). She drew on these experiences of learning English—and feeling *deficient*—as she interacted with students in the classroom.

Mrs. Sánchez admitted that she still thought of herself as an English learner: “Every day I’m learning more words. There are some words that I don’t know what they mean so I just look them up so I know what it means” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). However, I was fascinated by her facility with Spanish and English, especially when I watched her read from an English textbook and speak the meaning in Spanish! The words went in in English and came out simultaneously in Spanish.

Mrs. Sánchez leveraged her experience of learning English in her translation work with students as well. I observed that sometimes she would translate exactly what Mrs. Durham or other teachers said, but other times she would add details or offer an alternate word. I asked her to explain why she did that and she explained that she had been observing students in the time she had been working with English learners at the school; in this way, she was informally assessing their understanding and adapting what she said to accommodate their language needs.

“We have kids that haven’t had any previous schooling, so if [Mrs. Durham] says something about like ‘the sum’ of this number, I know they’re not gonna understand what ‘the sum’ means. So I try to go more in detail. Just...if I can’t really understand it in English, I mean I understand English, but if I can’t figure it out myself, I know they’re probably not going to be able to figure it out, so I try to explain it to them more. Or when I’m saying something and I see on their faces that like, ‘What did she say?’ or even if they’re talking amongst each other, they’re like, ‘What does that mean?’ that’s when I know I have to explain it to them more because they’re not understanding it.” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Mrs. Sánchez knew well the experience of needing more clarity or even simple rephrasing, and this experience allowed her to see and address the same needs in the students. As I will discuss in later sections of this chapter, Mrs. Sánchez's translation was a form of teaching in itself.

Being a Spanish Speaker

Mrs. Sánchez, being a Spanish speaker, was able to communicate with families and parents that many school personnel could not. She was able to do much of the work without having other professionals present; rather than translating or interpreting in these situations, she did the same work as the guidance counselor, nurse, or attendance clerk, but she spoke to the students and families in Spanish instead of English. Thus, Mrs. Sánchez did the same work as many of the professionals in the school.

Enrolling new students was a constant job for Mrs. Sánchez. Mrs. Durham explained to me that they had decided to do all new registrations on Wednesdays because daily enrollments were so disruptive to their classes. Registration of new students required that they test new students' language proficiency and place them in the appropriate level of English class, and also that they collect necessary transcripts and health records (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). Rather than having a guidance counselor say everything and then be translated, Mrs. Sánchez was able to independently enroll and register a new student. She delivered health documentation to the nurse and thus, took on responsibilities of the school nurse as well.

Mrs. Sánchez also did the work of an attendance clerk. Because the attendance phone calls from Spanish-speaking parents and students had been routed through Mrs. Durham's classroom phone, Mrs. Sánchez fielded those calls and also made calls to families to verify absences. After Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez spent four hours calling families at the beginning of the year, it was decided that all attendance phone calls from Spanish-speaking families would go to Mrs. Durham's classroom phone, and Mrs. Sánchez would field those phone calls.

These examples demonstrate how Mrs. Sánchez did not necessarily function as a translator at all times, but rather, that she actually did the work of other school professionals in Spanish. Her multiple roles speak to the necessity of bilingual or multilingual professionals across the school staff and faculty.

Mrs. Sánchez brought to bear in the classroom multiple intersecting identities and experiences, including being a mother, being Latina, being an immigrant, and being an English Learner and a Spanish speaker; in the next sections, I turn to exploring the work that she did within the classroom and school.

Mrs. Sánchez at Work

“I think everything is part of my job. I mean, working with the ELL kids, that’s what I was really hired for, and I think that’s the main part. I mean, everything else that I do for the office and any other teacher that’s just extra.” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Mrs. Sánchez was rarely seated for long stretches of time while she was at work. She was the quintessential multitasker as she translated lessons and course materials, ran errands for Mrs. Durham, and made phone calls to verify absences with Spanish-speaking parents and caretakers; she also assisted students when they needed to communicate with the administration and guidance counselors or with the school nurse. When she was seated, she usually had a student sitting beside her who she helped with coursework in a range of subjects or for whom she translated correspondence they received in the mail.

Mrs. Sánchez was able to simultaneously complete a dizzying array of tasks each day. One day, I documented how many different things she did in the space of only about fifteen minutes:

Mrs. Durham moves on reading in the book. Mrs. Sánchez translates while simultaneously printing (to the other room) a giant star for a student from another class. Minutes later, a student runs out of the classroom and Mrs. Sánchez follows her to the bathroom after being alerted by another student that the girl is probably sick. Mrs. Sánchez returns to the classroom and looks at the papers on the sick girl’s desk. She tells Mrs.

Durham that the student is sick and Mrs. Sánchez sits down while Mrs. Durham calls the nurse to request that the student be allowed to go home.

The girl comes back in, walks to her desk to collect her things, and walks back out. Mrs. Durham asks Mrs. Sánchez, “Did she call?” Mrs. Sánchez answers, “No...I told her to call.” She gets back up and goes to the hall to tell the student (again) to call home. *Gabriela has been up and down a lot today.*

Mrs. Sánchez returns to her desk a few seconds later, and the student taking a test at the back goes to her with a computer. Mrs. Sánchez begins to answer a question for him, then turns, translates for the class what Mrs. Durham had just read from the textbook, then goes back to finish answering his question for him. *Holy cow—she’s amazing.* (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16)

Most days, attendance phone calls to the classroom phone added to this up-and-down routine; when the phone rang, Mrs. Sánchez hopped up from her desk and scurried to the phone behind Mrs. Durham’s desk. When she was not able to make it to the phone, or if she was preoccupied with something else, she would handle the voicemails when she had a spare moment during the day (Fieldnotes, 10/19/16).

Mrs. Sánchez also helped Mrs. Durham with paperwork throughout the day, and she was able to sit and translate as she sorted or filed or graded papers (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16). When Mrs. Durham was absent, Mrs. Sánchez’s multitasking abilities were put to the test because more students came to her with questions. She could switch between helping a student with American Literature and translating from the history textbook in an instant (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16). I was struck by her ability to switch between tasks so easily. Mrs. Sánchez was also called upon to assist the substitute teachers to make sense of the lesson plans and instructions left by Mrs. Durham. Typical days during which both Mrs. Sánchez and Mrs. Durham were present were still busy, but the days when Mrs. Durham was absent, Mrs. Sánchez took on even more responsibilities to assist the substitute teacher in understanding the procedures in the classroom.

Mrs. Durham often called upon Mrs. Sánchez to go to the school’s administrative office or to another teacher’s class to inquire about an assignment or to return tests or quizzes students had submitted in the ELL classroom; she also went to the faculty work room to make copies or retrieve

printer paper when necessary. Even as Mrs. Sánchez was running errands for Mrs. Durham, she attended to multiple tasks at once. One morning she went to the faculty workroom to make additional copies of a worksheet, and when she returned, she spoke to a student who had fallen asleep on one of the chairs in the back of the room (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16).

Mrs. Sánchez's Desk: A Hub of Activity

Mrs. Sánchez's desk was situated toward the middle of the long wall of the classroom, and it (and the space around it) was a hub of activity throughout most of the day. At the beginning of the school year, her desk was positioned perpendicularly to the wall and allowed students to gather around it and to access the drawers. Midway through the semester, she moved it so that it sat parallel to the wall, and she sat facing the classroom with her back toward the wall. She had positioned it this way in order to try to "get some privacy" (Fieldnotes, 10/19/16).

On any given day, at least one student was using the outlet next to Mrs. Sánchez's desk or her computer to charge their cell phone. One morning when Alejandro had plugged in his phone beside her desk, Mrs. Sánchez greeted him warmly and asked about his morning when he came to check his phone charge (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). When students entered her desk space, she took the opportunity to talk with them and to connect in one-with-one conversations.

Students who came to the classroom from other classes to take a test or quiz or to get assistance with coursework often sat beside Mrs. Sánchez's desk. The student would sometimes seek help from her, but other times would just sit nearby to complete the work. Mrs. Sánchez was there to clarify words and phrases, but most of the time students seemed to find comfort in knowing they *could* ask for help if they needed it. Mrs. Sánchez kept two makeshift mailboxes on the wall near her desk, one into which students could deposit "finished" tests or quizzes, and another into which students could place "unfinished" work to which they needed to return (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). Mrs. Durham often purposefully placed students next to Mrs. Sánchez to take a test or quiz if she

knew they might need extra help or if they needed a deterrent from copying answers from other test-takers: “Germán, you’re going to sit by Mrs. Sánchez” (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16).

Mrs. Sánchez’s desk was also a space where students went to just talk with her as well. Jorge, a particularly gregarious student, often sauntered back to Mrs. Sánchez’s desk to sit in the chair next to her and tell her about something that had happened in another class or at home (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). One morning he was particularly agitated because he had gotten in trouble with the office; a student in his art class had said that Jorge ought to clean up the supplies because he was Mexican—even though Jorge was from El Salvador—and they had exchanged heated words. Jorge was angry that he had been punished for standing up for himself against the bigoted remark—using the strongest English words he knew, and he went to Mrs. Sánchez to explain his side of the story. He plopped down in the chair beside her desk and ranted for five minutes while Mrs. Sánchez just listened (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). Jorge and other students clearly saw her desk as a safe space for them to vent about their frustrations, and they saw her as a safe person in whom they could confide.

On Mrs. Sánchez’s 21st birthday, she entered the classroom to find her desk covered in 21 bags of Takis—a lime resting atop each bag of the spicy chips—as a gift from the students and Mrs. Durham; it was appropriate that the gift be waiting for her on her desk, the place where she gave so much of her time and energy to the students. When I entered the dimly lit classroom a couple of days later on the morning following the election, Mrs. Sánchez sat at that same desk—now cleared of the chips and limes. Absent any evidence of celebration, Mrs. Sánchez’s desk served that day as a podium from which she translated to students the grim reality with which Donald Trump’s presidency threatened them (Fieldnotes, 11/09/16).

Translating Words: Facilitating Communication

A significant part of Mrs. Sánchez's job was translating and interpreting. She explained that she was paid differently for different parts of her day that involved translating and interpreting outside of the responsibilities of the ELL classroom to which she was assigned. The translating and interpreting pay for extra duties was significantly higher than what Mrs. Sánchez earned for her work in the ELL classroom. It seemed unfair to me, since she was interpreting and translating all day in the ELL classroom, that she was not paid that wage for the entire day.

The beginning of the school year was the time when most teachers sought Mrs. Sánchez's help in translating materials. She was inundated with course syllabi, course materials, and forms that teachers wanted translated, but because she was also working with the students in the classroom, she found it difficult to keep up with their requests.

“At the beginning of the year there were a lot of teachers that would just send me...more and more stuff to translate. I think I delayed some of them, getting back to them...like right away because I had to work with the kids here in class, and they're my priority.” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Clearly, one person was not enough to fill the requests that teachers had. I wondered if they were able to translate all the materials they distributed to their students. Mrs. Sánchez's work was important in giving students and their families access to the information they needed to understand for their classes, and while she worked tirelessly to do it, the school needed more than one person to fill the requests.

Teachers also asked for impromptu interpreting from Mrs. Sánchez when they needed to address an issue with a student immediately. One morning before school started, another ELL teacher came into the classroom with a student and walked straight to Mrs. Sánchez's desk where she was seated; she asked Mrs. Sánchez to “ask him why his homework is still not finished.” They were in the classroom for a mere two or three minutes, and then the teacher thanked Mrs. Sánchez

and they left (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16). Mrs. Sánchez did not document moments like this, but I wondered if she should in order to provide a more accurate account of—and pay for—her work.

Mrs. Sánchez was also called upon to interpret during meetings. The administrators asked her to interpret in parent meetings or in disciplinary issues with students. Special education teachers and case managers asked for her interpreting skills in meetings, and guidance counselors asked that she interpret for meetings to discuss registration and new student enrollment.

“Interpret-wise, in the office when they need or they have a parent that comes in and they can’t speak to them because of their language, if, even if it’s just talking about their kids that aren’t ELL kids, if they have to talk to the principals because they have some concerns, I go and do that.” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Indeed, Mrs. Sánchez’s calendar was littered with reminders of times of meetings for which she was needed to interpret (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16).

Translating American History. The bulk of Mrs. Sánchez’s work in translating was in the course of the daily activities of the ELL classroom. She explained:

“For the whole class, the whole class day, Mrs. Durham—she says her lesson in English and then I just interpret it in Spanish so the kids can understand...or even when the kids need to ask her a question and they don’t know how to ask her, I interpret that for them.” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

This was a rather simplistic description of what was actually a very complex task. Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez did have a practiced lesson routine in which Mrs. Durham would read, pause for Mrs. Sánchez to translate, project a slide of notes that she would also read, and again wait for Mrs. Sánchez to translate; the students would then copy the notes from the slide. However, the ease with which Mrs. Sánchez seemingly accomplished those translations was deceiving.

A day when Mrs. Durham introduced a new unit in the weeks leading up to the 2016 election aimed at helping students understand elections and political parties in the United States provides a useful demonstration of the complexity of the Mrs. Sánchez’s translation work in class lessons.

Mrs. Durham has introduced students to the Democratic and Republican political parties in the United States, and briefly discussed the occasional strong third-party candidate. She directs them to a website called ISideWith.com which allows a person to make selections in response to their values and views on a range of social, economic, and environmental issues, and then it tabulates to which presidential candidate their responses most closely align.

When all students are successfully logged on, they work through the questions. The topics run the gamut of our shared lives. How do they feel about Affirmative Action, “decriminalization” of drugs—which Mrs. Durham contextualizes by offering, “like if we caught a student smoking marijuana in the restroom.” Should presidential candidates be required to release their tax returns? *Wow! Mrs. Sánchez is expanding the explanations so that students understand the responses; she has to have so much background knowledge to translate these real issues.*

They spend extra time on the abortion question, taking time to click “other stances” so that they have more nuanced options from which to select. *She didn’t do this for any other question.* Students listen closely as Mrs. Sánchez translates. They compare answers on this one. Mrs. Sánchez asks Mrs. Durham about what she thinks about that one while the students are making their selections. Mrs. Durham sighs and answers, “It’s a hard one.”

The next question is about fracking. Mrs. Sánchez asks me what that is before she translates. Mrs. Durham tells her to click on the button “Explanation below”; she does and translates that. *But saying the words doesn’t mean it prompts understanding.* Mrs. Sánchez translates and students make their selections as they shrug their shoulders. (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16)

Mrs. Sánchez took on the task of explaining some deeply thorny and nuanced issues; most of the questions assumed background knowledge—at least having heard of the issue—and Mrs. Sánchez built that knowledge as she translated. The translation here went beyond merely providing students with the Spanish words for what they were reading; she wanted them to understand what these unfamiliar concepts and diverse perspectives were. As my asides in my fieldnotes revealed, Mrs. Sánchez’s task in this lesson was daunting and complicated, but she helped them construct understanding of these very real issues by going beyond mere literal translation to offer them a conceptual interpretation as well.

Mrs. Sánchez also inserted Spanish into the notes slides when she had enough time to do it ahead of the lesson. Most of the time, though, she and Mrs. Durham fell into the rhythm of reading, translating, projecting a slide, reading and translating it, then allowing time for the students

to copy it. The students mostly appreciated this routine because it provided structure to they could anticipate—they knew the drill. Of course, there were always complaints about taking more notes and having to do so much writing, but they understood and accepted the routine.

Translating relationships. Mrs. Sánchez also translated interpersonal interactions in the classroom between Mrs. Durham and the students. When Mrs. Durham noticed Anyelín wearing a shirt similar to one she owned, she asked her in English about where she had purchased it. Anyelín looked back at her confused, and Mrs. Durham turned to Mrs. Sánchez for help: “Tell her I have a shirt just like that; I wanted to know what brand.” Mrs. Sánchez translated and Anyelín responded with the brand. She and Mrs. Durham nodded at each other and smile (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). In this instance, Mrs. Sánchez facilitated a simple conversational exchange, the nonthreatening kind of exchange upon which relationships begin to build.

Mrs. Sánchez played an important role in helping new monolingual Spanish-speaking students adjust to the culture of the classroom. I observed one morning as a new student sat quietly beside Mrs. Durham’s desk; when Mrs. Sánchez came into the room she immediately went to him and translated what Mrs. Durham wanted to tell him. When Mrs. Durham finished with a wave of her hand, “Make yourself at home,” Mrs. Sánchez watched as he found an empty desk. She smiled when he looked back at her and then put a notebook on his desk (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16).

Translating business. Mrs. Sánchez also facilitated communication about grades, attendance, and missing homework in the classroom, and about other issues students faced in the school. One morning when Mrs. Durham changed her plan in order to accommodate an unexpected visit from the guidance counselors for registration meetings, she wanted to give students updates on their grades so that they could use the time to complete missing work or to

study for missed exams. Mrs. Sánchez sat beside Mrs. Durham and translated the updates (Fieldnotes, 11/21/16).

Sometimes Mrs. Sánchez's translations served to clarify what Mrs. Durham had asked of a student. For example, when Mrs. Durham sent Alejandro to get one of the school-to-career students, he stopped at Mrs. Sánchez's desk to clarify that he understood what was asked of him. Mrs. Sánchez nodded and he thanked her and left the room (Fieldnotes, 10/12/16). This momentary interaction provided clarification for Alejandro as he wished to ensure he had understood the request correctly.

Not translating. Mrs. Sánchez also chose not to translate in some instances, mostly when a student said something that she did not translate into English for Mrs. Durham or a substitute teacher. For example, Mrs. Durham complimented Diego in Spanglish, "Me gusta (*I like*) your haircut," and then considered what she had said. She asked, "How do you say 'haircut'?" Mrs. Sánchez replied, "corte de pelo," and Mrs. Durham tried out her pronunciation. Diego added with a smirk, "cortapelo de arriba y abajo (*haircut above and down low*)," and all the students laughed. Mrs. Sánchez, having heard his comment, did not translate it to English. She gave him a stern look, a smirk teasing at the corner of her mouth (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). I asked her why she chose to not translate in moments like this one:

"I mean, I'm not very strict with them 'cause I know they're kids and I was their age and I know what they're gonna be like, but sometimes I know when *they* know they said something they just look over at me and I'll just look at them and give them the look, like, "I heard what you said." [chuckles] So they know that I heard. They know that I was listening to them, so..." (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

Rather than translating these moments, she chose to remind Diego subtly with her stern "I heard what you said" look that she had understood him.

In later sections, I discuss how Mrs. Sánchez's translation made her another teacher in the classroom. First, however, I discuss the interpersonal and intercultural "brokering" she did through translation.

Translating Worlds: Cultural Brokering

Mrs. Sánchez's bilingualism also facilitated understanding of culture; that is, she did not just translate words—she also translated the norms, values, and routines of the diverse cultures in the classroom. Gentemann and Whitehead (1983) describe the "cultural broker" as a "bicultural [actor]" who is "able to straddle both cultures, to take mainstream values and communicate them to the ethnic cultures, and communicate the ethnic culture to the mainstream" (p. 119). The cultural broker, therefore, is able to function within and between cultures in a multicultural context. Mrs. Sánchez was a cultural broker in this classroom and school space, helping Mrs. Durham understand the cultures in which her students lived and helping students acculturate to the culture in the United States.

Mrs. Sánchez helped with new student enrollment for Spanish-speaking students. Part of the enrollment process was to analyze the new student's academic transcripts in order to determine the appropriate grade level and class registration. Mrs. Sánchez's assistance was essential to this process, given that she needed to interpret and explain the way the school system was set up (i.e., she explained that a grade of 9 or 10 was equivalent to an A.)—even though she herself had never attended school outside of the U.S. The following fieldnotes excerpt reveals how Mrs. Sánchez was able to distill important information from the transcript that Mrs. Durham may not have been able to do without her help.

Mrs. Durham says to Mrs. Sánchez, "I need you to tell me what grades he has." She is referring to the school file for Miguel, who is a student from Guatemala. Mrs. Sánchez goes to her desk and they both start examining the transcript. It looks very organized and quite thorough. Mrs. Sánchez explains the 0-9 grading system and translates the names of the courses.

Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez are attempting to decipher what to use in the school record (i.e., what classes could count for class requirements in Washington River). Mrs. Sánchez asks Miguel some questions about what he learned in his classes, and she translates that information back to Mrs. Durham. “We can probably bump him up (in grade level),” Mrs. Durham suggests. (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16)

Mrs. Sánchez was able to facilitate the translation of these school documents in order to more accurately position Miguel in his academic program at Washington River. With the number of students who entered Washington River High School with limited formal schooling, any little bit they did achieve was important in helping them earn enough high school credits toward graduation before they aged out of the school system.

Mrs. Sánchez served more often as a cultural broker for the students and their families. She helped them navigate the new and unfamiliar systems in which the students participated. For example, Mrs. Sánchez attended meetings for sports teams in order to convey the information to Spanish-speaking students. However, she also explained to students that they would need a sports physical, which they submitted to the school to show that they were cleared by a doctor for participation in the sport. She also explained the activity fee—which was waived when students participated in the free and reduced-price lunch program.

Mrs. Sánchez also helped students understand systems outside the classroom. Many students were working to get their residence cards with help from an immigration attorney, and they often brought in correspondence to Mrs. Sánchez to seek help in understanding it. The following example illuminates the nuanced familiarity Mrs. Sánchez had with the students’ experiences.

A student brings paperwork in an envelope to Mrs. Sánchez and takes out the paper, disposing of the envelope in the trashcan next to her desk. Mrs. Sánchez glances at the envelope and tells the student to keep the envelope so that she has the postmark date documented, and the student fishes it out of the trash can. Mrs. Sánchez points to the corner of the envelope to show her where the date is on the envelope and the student nods in understanding. *Where did she learn that? How does she know to do that?* (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

Mrs. Sánchez knew that keeping the envelope was important in proving dates received, should the need to do that arise. The student learned an important lesson in self-advocacy with a small, but powerful teaching moment.

Mrs. Sánchez explained to me that she knew that many students were trying to get their residence status, so she tried to add information about the systems and structures in the United States—including privileged knowledge—based on her own experiences that would help them in that process. I observed that she added in subtle details and cues when she translated, such as when Mrs. Durham asked about who George Washington was. When Alejandro asked, “He is on the dollar bill?” Mrs. Sánchez confirmed that and added that they should know that for the citizenship test (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16). I asked her why she decided to add that information: “It just comes to me ‘cause I’m working on eventually getting [U.S. residence]. And I think knowing who the first president was is very important” (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). She took advantage of the tiny moments in which she could add this important teaching, and the teaching was based in her own experience.

Students recognized that Mrs. Sánchez was a resource for cultural brokering. Saraí noted that Mrs. Sánchez gave them help with a number of things; she explained, “Nos ayuda en los trabajos cuando no entendemos y nos explica. (*She helps us with our work when we don’t understand and she explains it*)” (Saraí, 12/13/16). Sayra echoed this, adding that Mrs. Sánchez is a resource outside the classroom as well, saying, “Pues, si necesitaramos, que es como...como hablar en la oficina...o con otras cosas en la escuela (*Like, if we need her for like, how to talk in the office...or with other things in the school*)” (Sayra, 12/14/16). Indeed, Mrs. Sánchez even accompanied five students and another ELL teacher on an out-of-town college visit (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16). When Mrs. Durham planned a trip to the nearby zoo for the spring and needed to have

the students raise money for the trip, Mrs. Sánchez explained the process of selling to other people, the sizes and styles available, and how to record the sales and payments on the order form (Fieldnotes, 10/12/16).

It was clear that Mrs. Sánchez was a role model for students who wished to be able to operate within both the U.S. culture and their own. Gentemann and Whitehead (1983) explain that cultural brokers serve as role models through language and through what they do:

The cultural broker not only carries out communication functions, but he or she is also important as a role model for those in the ethnic community who aspire to participate in mainstream activities. The model helps to shape behavior patterns which when exhibited in the appropriate setting will be interpreted as successful by the wider community. (p. 119)

Mrs. Sánchez humbly acknowledged that she was a role model for students, and she felt strongly that she needed to be a support to them. She explained: "These are kids that want to be able to be part of society, and they struggle every day to be able to be there because not everybody's gonna be able to take them in and understand them" (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). She admitted that the society in which these students wished to claim rights and belonging was one that would not easily accept them; to her, it meant that she had an obligation to help them understand this new world as she straddled the space between cultures.

Being "Maestra"

Mrs. Sánchez was a teacher in all ways but credentials inside and outside this classroom space. Aside from translating skills, Mrs. Sánchez was another teacher in the classroom, manifested in ways ranging from helping a student understand the math lesson he had missed to policing behaviors in accordance with the student handbook; students also saw her as an authority figure with whom they could speak Spanish. She built relationships with the students through humor and tough love, just as a teacher might do. There were moments in which I observed her

thinking like a teacher, assessing students' understanding and deciding whether or not they were ready to move on.

Mrs. Sánchez's bilingualism afforded her opportunities to add information to a lesson or to clarify points Mrs. Durham made, and her English learning experiences also helped her understand what students might need in a given situation. She acknowledged her important role in the classroom while also pointing to the difference credentials made in the system of schooling: "A lot of times I feel like...like I am their teacher. And I mean, the kids make me feel that and they make me see that I...I am a teacher to them" (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16).

Translating and being *maestra*. Mrs. Sánchez described the delicate way in which she gained entree into the students' lives and learning worlds in this classroom, and continued to navigate midway through the year:

"I know at the beginning last year when I first started they—a lot of them—didn't like me. I don't know why. I think because I was meaner, or more serious, and I wouldn't joke around with them like I do now, but um...I wasn't the same. Like, I was getting to know them but I felt very out of their ELL circle, that I wasn't really in it, and I think, they didn't know me. So I knew a lot of them didn't wanna talk to me or just didn't take me serious, but now I think a lot of them have gotten to know me and it's really...nice because they can see somebody that they probably thought was a really bad or mean person, you know?" (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

From the students, though, I heard something very different. Anyelín pointed to Mrs. Sánchez as a main reason this classroom is different than her other ones; motioning toward Mrs. Sánchez, she explained, "Es bien diferente porque ella explica las cosas, ...para que ayuda uno...*(It's very different because the way she explains things and then she's here to help us)*" (Anyelín, 12/03/16). Caterín Michelle, too, noted that Mrs. Durham *and* Mrs. Sánchez were helpful in the class because "nos están enseñando *(they're the ones teaching us)*" (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). She went on to assert that "if it weren't for Mrs. Sánchez, we wouldn't learn *anything*" (12/12/16). Saraí also acknowledged the important role Mrs. Sánchez played in the classroom, echoing that if Mrs.

Sánchez were not there, “we wouldn’t understand what Mrs. Durham is saying” and explaining that “if we don’t understand what Mrs. Durham is saying, Mrs. Sánchez helps us understand better” (Saraí, 12/13/16).

Mrs. Sánchez created opportunities for students to understand the material more deeply and to be someone they could ask when they had questions. Mrs. Sánchez opened these opportunities by expanding on or breaking down what Mrs. Durham said—usually by connecting ideas to students’ lives, rephrasing questions, affirming students’ responses, and creating space for students to ask questions. In this way, her translation and interpretation were their own form of teaching.

Mrs. Sánchez often added information into what Mrs. Durham said; in this way, she connected the curriculum to students’ lives. One example of this was when they were studying women’s suffrage. Mrs. Durham noted as she projected the slide, “Now in America, anyone over 18 can vote.” Mrs. Sánchez translated that and then added, “as long as they are American citizens” (Fieldnotes, 11/16/16). Clearly, this was relevant and meaningful information in these students’ lives. *Not* everyone over 18 can vote in the United States, and many of these students were among them. Sayra explained that Mrs. Sánchez enriches an otherwise simple curriculum. This allowed them access to information and more “details” about what they were learning:

“There are things that we understand but in a short version and [Mrs. Sánchez] kind of prolongs it and explains it to us better. She gives us more details. We understand Mrs. Durham but there are certain words that when Mrs. Sanchez explains it better we’re like, ‘Ah! Yes, we understand what she’s trying to say now.’” (Sayra, 12/14/16)

Sayra valued Mrs. Sánchez for the extra information to which she gave them access.

Mrs. Sánchez also often rephrased Mrs. Durham’s sentences and questions in a way that was more accessible to students. For example, when Mrs. Durham was checking for students’ understanding about the Great Compromise, she asked, “What did they debate?” Mrs. Sánchez

repeated the question, and then rephrased it, asking, “What were the steps?” (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16). She knew they were meant to answer with the steps leading up to the Great Compromise, so she lead them in that direction. Another time I noted that Mrs. Sánchez rephrased one of Mrs. Durham’s questions without prompting from Mrs. Durham (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16). This teaching strategy—rephrasing a question to be clearer about the intent of the question—is common among very experienced teachers.

Sayra gave an example of how Mrs. Sánchez helped in class, explaining: “Es difícil cuando nosotros queremos hacer comentario a que la maestra pregunte (*It’s difficult when we want to make a comment about what the teacher asks*),” but “Mrs. Sánchez nos ayuda traducir lo que queremos decir, y pues, es fácil porque nos ayuda Mrs. Sánchez (*Mrs. Sánchez helps us translate what we want to say, and well, it’s easy because Mrs. Sánchez helps us*)” (Sayra, 12/14/16). Clearly, Sayra felt that Mrs. Sánchez created space for her intelligence to be recognized; Mrs. Sánchez allowed for Sayra’s voice and thoughts to be heard.

Mrs. Sánchez also validated students’ learning when they volunteered answers to questions in class; she nodded her encouragement when students reluctantly ventured an answer. The following fieldnotes excerpt illuminates how Mrs. Sánchez’s affirming support of Alejandro’s answer did much to tamp down the dubious reaction of the substitute teacher.

The first part of the worksheet—the part that asks them to give the main idea of the paragraph—they work through together. In response to the question, “What is ratification?” Alejandro gives the correct answer in Spanish. Mrs. Sánchez translates and the sub praises him. “Woohoo!” he says with smirk and a brief pump of his fist.

The sub asks the next question, and Mrs. Sánchez translates it as she reads off of Alejandro’s paper. Alejandro says an answer in Spanish to her, and she tells him he’s correct. He volunteers the answer to the sub, and the sub says jokingly, “She told you!” gesturing toward Mrs. Sánchez. Mrs. Sánchez shook her head adamantly, insisting, “No! He knew it!” *Oh, man. I wish the sub hadn’t said that, but I can see why she may have. It looked like Gabriela spoke, then Alejandro spoke, then she nodded and he raised his hand. But what did that say to him? Ugh.* (Fieldnotes, 10/21/16)

Alejandro did not seem to react to the sub's teasing accusation, but I was affronted by it. So many non-Spanish speakers tend to assume that something covert is happening when people speak Spanish together, and I was frustrated that this was yet another microaggression they had to tolerate in school. At the same time, I was thankful that Mrs. Sánchez had been so supportive; I hoped that was what would stay with him.

Building relationships. Mrs. Sánchez built caring relationships with the students in the classroom. She supported their needs, learned about their backgrounds, and connected with them through humor and teasing; she also used tough love with the students when necessary. When I asked the students about their relationship with Mrs. Sánchez, Caterín Michelle noted that she felt Mrs. Sánchez was a good person, and that “nos apoya bastante...siempre (*she supports us so much...always*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). She cited as an example of this care the morning following the election when Mrs. Sánchez had hugged her in the hallway. “Pues, la vez que venía llorando...la verdad no pensé que Ms. Sánchez se fuera acerca de mí...y me abrazó y me sentí bien (*Well, the time that I came to school crying, and the truth is I didn't know Mrs. Sánchez was near me...and she hugged me and I felt better*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). Anyelín said over and over that Mrs. Sánchez had helped her in so many ways, and it was clear that she felt Mrs. Sánchez cared for her. “Me ayuda mucho...con mis tareas, y me ayudó a buscar trabajo también (*She helps me a lot...with my homework, and she helped me look for a job too*)” (Anyelín, 12/03/16).

Mrs. Sánchez made connections among students in a quiet way, and in this way, built community in the classroom. She drew on what she knew about their background experiences, their home countries, and the languages they spoke as she connected students to each other. One example of this is demonstrated in the following fieldnotes excerpt, in which she sought out Mateo to tell him that she had just registered a new student who spoke Q'anjobal.

Mrs. Sánchez tells Mateo there's a new student who speaks Q'anjobal; his face bursts into a huge smile and he raises his arms. *I wonder how that feels? The far northwest area of the map of Guatemala hanging at the back of the room only has two arrows pointing to it—one is blank and the other is Mateo's. Now there will be three. It seems like such a tiny area where Q'anjobal is spoken; it's no wonder there aren't a lot of people here who speak it.* Mrs. Sánchez sits beside Mateo and talks with him about when the new student will start, where he's from, and the family members she met. (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16)

Mateo's excitement at meeting someone else who spoke the same indigenous language he did was obvious. He went back to Mrs. Sánchez's desk to ask more questions after she had gone to sit down, and she smiled softly as she observed his eager anticipation.

There were times, however, when Mrs. Sánchez adopted a more rigid and unsympathetic demeanor when dealing with students; this was a noticeable change from her gentle and caring personality. When she sensed that a student was trying to make her feel sorry for him or her, or that the student was wallowing in self-pity, she changed how she interacted with them.

"When the kids tell me, 'You know, I'm gonna drop out. I don't wanna go back to school.' The first thing—I don't know if you've heard me tell them, 'You have to stay in school. It's either school or go work somewhere where...where you're not gonna like the job.' You know? And...I always tell them, 'You know, you just have to...either way, you have to get your education and think about yourself first.' I think they need to hear that from somebody else that's not their guardians or their parents.

Even if they come in to tell me, 'You know, I'm gonna leave. I'm gonna drop out.' There comes to a point, like today I had with one of the kids and he's like, 'You know what, miss? I'm just gonna drop out. I'm not coming back to school.' I was like, 'Okay. Tell me when and I'll fill out the applications. Just turn in your books and you can just leave.' He's like, 'You're not gonna tell me that I have to stay?' And I'm just like, 'No, because you're always telling me this. If you really wanna do that, if you really want your life to change that way, then I'm okay. I'm not gonna be the one that's telling you stay if next thing you know you're gonna be like, 'I'm leaving again.' You know? If you want to, just tell me when and we can do it.'

And then I'm like, 'But...just so you know, we're working on your transcripts and we might get you to another grade to go higher in a different grade and...but if you're gonna leave just tell me and I will stop doing that...'cause I took so much time yesterday to do that.' Like, 'Just tell me.' And he said, 'Really?' And I'm just like, 'Yeah!' He's like, 'So what grade do you think I will be in?' And I'm like, 'I think you'll get some credits to be able to graduate earlier.' He's like, 'Nevermind, miss. Don't...just forget about that.' And I'm just like, 'Yeah, that's what I thought.' [laughs] But sometimes I'm just like, 'Okay. Just tell me when and I'll just fill paperwork out.'

I think sometimes they just wanna ask my attention and I think they want us to be sorry for them. But I think sometimes they need somebody to just be like, 'Okay. Do

whatever you want, but you know, this is gonna happen, this is gonna change, and you can't come back'—even though I know they can come back, I tell them, 'You can't come back, so this is your final decision if you wanna make it or not.' That normally makes them stay." (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16)

This form of "tough love" was important in encouraging students to stay in school; she seemed to know just when to offer them a little kernel of hope that they were making progress and would be able to finish high school.

Seeing Worth in Her Work

Mrs. Sánchez was a support for the students in this classroom; she could empathize with students because in so many ways, her identity intersected with theirs. Her immigration and English learning experiences cultivated understanding of what students were going through and helped her equip them with what they would need to move forward. Her liminal DACAmented status allowed her to empathize with the many students who felt that their lives were on hold as they awaited immigration hearings and court dates, and she leveraged her own experiences with an unjust and outdated immigration system to be sure the students were prepared to claim their rights as citizens. She was indeed a support to students, noting that what students needed most was support: "It's support from somebody. Just feel that support. Feel that no matter what you're going through that there's somebody that you can go to all the time." (Mrs. Sánchez, 12/15/16). She was also a role model, a cultural broker, and a teacher. Her daily life was a testimonial of her role *en la lucha* for a more just United States for all citizens.

The next chapter describes Mrs. Durham and the ways in which she influenced how students constructed citizen identities.

Chapter Eight: Mrs. Durham

Mrs. Durham put her whole self into her work at Washington River High School. When students entered her classroom, they became a part of the “family tree” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16) within the room—an intricate web of relationships that spanned states and countries. Having been employed at Washington River High School for ten years, Mrs. Durham was the thread that wove the relationships together. She scurried about the classroom, managing the needs of different groups of students and keeping a lesson moving, while at the same time making a cup of coffee.

The students are working on a review guide for their upcoming test. Mrs. Durham makes a phone call to inquire about health insurance for a former student. Two students enter from another class to take a test in her room, and she gets them settled and reminds them that they may not use notes. She goes back to her desk—stopping beside a student’s desk to answer a question—and makes another call to fix a student’s birth certificate because the mom’s name is not on it. (Fieldnotes, 12/02/16)

In this chapter, I explore how Mrs. Durham influenced the construction of citizenship within this classroom. She was responsible for many of the ways in which the classroom was a sanctuary. In addition, I describe how she led a “sacrificial life” (Antrop-González, 2003, p. 253) so typical of teachers in sanctuary spaces in order to meet her students’ needs and to encourage them to thrive.

The “Sacrificial Life” of Mrs. Durham

“For me, my day’s never done. Whether it’s taking something home, grading, or whether it’s trying to find a resource for a student, or just worrying about them. I used to say I needed a pen and pencil next to my bed every night to write down things I would randomly think of when I couldn’t sleep—that helping students. An old para and I used to joke that we’d have these random shower thoughts and we wish we had a note pad in there, you know? Like how can I help? How can I change?” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

Mrs. Durham realized the wide scope of needs of her newcomer students, and she spent long hours completing a multitude of tasks in order to help meet their needs. She explained that although the students were in her classroom in order to learn English and to earn graduation

credits for 9th grade history, the most important things she felt students learned in her classroom were survival skills:

“Obviously learning English, it can be tops, but for me, it’s ...[sighs] learning how to survive. A lot of these kids are not going to be college bound, and not because they’re not able to, but because when it comes to needing work to send money home, college becomes not an option. But survival skills—just the things that so many kids don’t know when they come here—how to manage the system. I mean, it’s just...we have a society of rules and...[sighs long]...that, if you’re a newcomer to this country, you’re not aware of. Um, especially coming I think sometimes from the countries where they’re coming from. They don’t have those in place. I always think like brand-new kids come in, they’ve never opened a locker before...so like, teach ‘em how to open lockers on the first day, you teach ‘em how to go work the lunch system. I mean, and through that we’re always gonna be learning English, but I think for kids I think that’s probably one of the most important things that they may get out of this. Survival skills.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

Indeed, the list of things with which students needed her help in order to “survive” was extensive and daunting. In the sections below, I detail Mrs. Durham’s work and I demonstrate how this work sponsored citizenship as she occupied an “in-between” (Sarroub, 2002) space, her work at once directed inward toward her students and outward from her classroom.

Working Inward

Much of Mrs. Durham’s work was aimed inward toward her students as she tackled the challenges of each new day. She demonstrated care (Valenzuela, 1999) for her students through patience and humor, as well as in the ways she complimented and encouraged students. She provided a physical space that was comfortable and flexible for the students, offering frequent breaks, infusing the space with humor, and planning field trip experiences. Mrs. Durham also provided structure in the classroom, helping the students practice—and sometimes subvert—the rules, but she recognized the individual students’ realities and needs within this structure; this often positioned her as a sort of “watchdog” as well.

Mrs. Durham also took great care to prepare students for upcoming tests and schedule changes, which spared them the stress of surprise. However, she also prepared students for more

long-term endeavors, like understanding their rights in the United States—especially in a United States with a President Trump—and helping them learn the symbolic rituals of American citizenship, like reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, voting, and standing up to show respect for the flag. The following sections explore how she cared and prepared students in more detail.

Caring for students. Mrs. Durham cared for students as she learned and attended to their unique needs. Her students spoke fondly of her. Anyelín (12/03/16) described her teacher: “Que buena persona. Pues, su forma de ser. Le gusta hacerme sonriente. No le gusta ser enojona, pero se enoja si se enojamos. *(She’s a very good person. The way she is. She doesn’t like to be cranky, but she gets angry if we make her angry. She likes to make me smile.)*.” Clearly, her students saw her as a human being just as she saw them—generally cheerful but able to be angered if pushed to it; Anyelín’s description, however, revealed how the students accepted the blame for causing Mrs. Durham’s anger.

Mrs. Durham was exceedingly patient, especially when it came to allowing students time to acculturate to their new classroom when they first arrived in Washington River. She understood that newcomers needed time to trust her, and she allowed them as much time as they needed. She had faith, though, that her students would indeed come to trust her:

“I know they feel safe in the room...when they start coming to me for help. When they come to me to ask a question instead of maybe a para or another student. I think it helps the kids see how other kids have built a relationship with me and so the kids talk and they know.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

She trusted that they would, in time, accept their position in the “family tree” of her classroom.

Another aspect of Mrs. Durham’s personality that fostered relationships with her students was her ever-present humor. It was a part of her that infused the room with laughter and provided levity in darker moments. Taking a cue from her students, she was also able to make light of situations that were unfair or frustrating, and together, they found humor in the mishaps and

misunderstandings that occur with language development. One such instance occurred when Mrs. Durham used an idiom and the student—who generally understood most of what Mrs. Durham said in English—looked at her blankly:

Mrs. Durham starts to hand out papers. “¿Examen?” one student asks with a worried look. “No!” she answers. Two students look at the paper and comment, “No speak English.” Mrs. Durham responds, “¡Chancla!” (a cultural reference to the threat of using a sandal to punish someone) and they all laugh. Mrs. Durham walks to a student sitting in a chair next to Mrs. Sánchez and talks to him about being in his seat. “I no talk here but my desk yes!” he protests. “When pigs fly!” she retorts. The student stares blankly at her—I think he didn’t understand the idiom—and then we all laugh. Mrs. Sánchez explained the idiom in between giggles. (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16)

Mrs. Durham laughed delightedly when she used phrases that seemed to her students so nonsensical. Their ability to laugh about the absurdity of such phrases gave them meaningful moments to refer back to as they learned.

Mrs. Durham also gave frequent compliments to her students, ranging from compliments on haircuts to good work in class. She sat at her desk one day and began calling attendance. “Mario?” she called. “Sí,” he answered quietly. She looked up at him and pointing to her hair, said, ““Me gusta (*I like*) your haircut.” The student smiled and smoothed his hair as he looked down at his desk sheepishly (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16). In another example, Mrs. Durham was walking to her desk and paused beside a male student and gestured to his new glasses. “Mucho guapo,” she said, meaning “very handsome,” although the literal translation was “much handsome.” He knew what she meant, and he smiled and nodded back at her (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16).

Mrs. Durham also complimented their academic successes, particularly when she knew they had worked hard to achieve the expectations. For example, she was excited to share with them the results of their standardized test scores for reading. “EVERYONE raised their scores! One person even raised her score by 700 points!” The students cheered and looked around to see if they could identify who had earned such a jump in her score (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16).

Mrs. Durham rewarded students with encouraging notes, GROWL tickets (laminated paper “tickets” that students could drop in a jar in the office to be eligible for a drawing for free lunch items and admission to school activities), and high-fives. She always wrote a supportive message on a sticky note that she attached to tests before returning them. The sticky notes could then be transferred to a bulletin board at the back of the room; the class that accumulated the most notes at the end of each quarter earned a party.

Mrs. Durham also provided structure, a much-needed element of sanctuary (Bloom, 1995). She insisted that students know the school and classroom rules, and she enforced them. One persistent problem she encountered was students arriving tardy to school. Students who arrived after the tardy bell had to visit the attendance clerk in the main office in order to get a pink “tardy pass” that served as a pass to their first class and that indicated the thirty minutes the student was obliged to serve after school as the consequence for having arrived late. Mrs. Durham, although she understood very well the number of circumstances that could cause students to be late, enforced this school policy.

Mrs. Durham also insisted that students take care of the physical space of the classroom. She provided comfortable chairs and side tables infused the space with a touch of home, and she did not allow students to abuse these items. When three students were teasingly pushing each other and one fell onto the low-lying coffee table positioned in front of the sofa, she refrained from lecturing them on classroom behavior, and instead, she told the three students they would be staying after school to fix the table. Other times, she would shout, “Move your nalgas (*butt!*)” when too many students piled into a chair. She reminded them that they needed to take care of the furniture if they wished to have those options.

There were many times that I described Mrs. Durham in my fieldnotes as a “watchdog.” She was constantly on the watch for students who were breaking the rules. Sometimes she

dutifully enforced the consequences of the rule-breaking, but other times she handled the offenses herself. The use of cell phones for music or videos during instruction, for example, almost always resulted in Mrs. Durham confiscating the phones and taking them to the office, where the students would be able to pick them up after school.

Most often, however, Mrs. Durham handled disciplinary issues on her own—directly and simply. The following fieldnotes excerpt illustrates one such example of this.

The students are chatting quietly as they wait for the school bell to sound. Mrs. Durham is outside the classroom in the hallway, and her voice suddenly rises above the quiet din in the classroom as she enters with a student. “And you! No más skipping school!” The student had posted photos of his girlfriend and himself on the day he skipped school; he had previously added Mrs. D. as a friend on Facebook. When Mrs. Durham walks away, he whispers to a friend sitting nearby, asking about the photos she had seen. Apparently, the girl with whom he spent the “skipped days” had tagged him in a photo, allowing Mrs. Durham to see what he was doing those days. (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16)

She had communicated with a simple stern message that the student had been caught. The student heeded this warning and was present for the rest of the week.

Student chattiness was also a transgression Mrs. Durham handled on her own. When the students were talking with each other when they were supposed to be watching a movie, which Mrs. Durham deemed as more fun than taking notes, she was direct in her threats to them: “You guys...if we’re not watching the movie, I have plenty of work for you to do,” or “Chicos y chicas (*boys and girls*)...princesas y príncipes (*princesses and princes*)...if you’re not watching the movie you’ll come in after school” (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16). These threats were effective in quieting the students for a few minutes and redirecting their attention to the movie.

There were a number of students who came to Mrs. Durham’s classroom for assistance with assignments and tests from other classes. Mrs. Durham collaborated with the general education classroom teacher to understand which accommodations she could provide (i.e., defining words, reading the questions aloud to the student, etc.), as the students often misinformed

her when they came to her room. In the following example, Mrs. Durham listened dubiously to the students insisting they could use their notes on the exam.

Two students enter the classroom, explaining that they are there to take a test. Mrs. Durham takes their test papers to the hallway and calls to catch the other teacher in order to ask about accommodations. The students run to the other classroom door—which is open and close to the teachers' position in the hallway—to eavesdrop on the teachers' discussion. They listen and exchange worried glances with each other.

Mrs. Durham returns to the classroom and says to the students, "I can't read 'cold reads' but I can read and translate questions." The students' shoulders fall—realizing they would not get the help they wanted—and then one asks, "Can I go to the TAC room?" (The Tiger Achievement Center—TAC—is a place for students to go for individual assistance and tutoring.) Mrs. Durham shoots back sternly, "They aren't going to help you any more than I am," and she turns away.

She mumbles to Mrs. Sánchez, mocking the students' attempted manipulation, "Let me go somewhere else to see if I can manipulate..." and her voice trails off. *It must get to her to have to police this kind of thing.* The student leaves and Mrs. Sánchez goes to the TAC room to inform the paraeducators there of the limitations of the help he can receive on the work he has. (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

I observed that Mrs. Durham was frustrated by the students' attempt to scam her, and then to find another place where he could manipulate someone else into helping him. The warning to the TAC room workers seemed to be enough to foil the student's attempts at manipulating the system in his favor, and to be enough to satisfy Mrs. Durham's duty to enforce the rules.

The structure Mrs. Durham provided, though, was tempered with her acknowledgement of students' realities and their individual needs; sometimes, this meant that the rules needed to be subverted or broken. Most often, students were granted a temporary pass on the rule that students could not use cell phones in class. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes demonstrates one instance in which Mrs. Durham nodded her approval for a student to use her cell phone:

The class works on their homework assignment—it's really quiet in here this morning. A girl suddenly stands and walks quickly to the teacher and asks to take a phone call on her cell. Mrs. Durham asks who's calling and the student tells her quietly. The teacher nods and the student walks to the corner to take the call. She is on the call for one minute, hangs up, and returns to her seat. (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16)

The teacher's nod signaled her acknowledgement that the student's need to take the phone call was greater than the rule that stated she could not use it.

In another instance, I watched as Mateo held his phone up in an effort to gain Mrs. Durham's attention, and presumably, her permission to take a call. Mrs. Durham, however, was preoccupied in a conversation with another student, and so the student stood and walked to the back of the room, answering the call. Mrs. Durham saw him after he had been speaking with the caller for only thirty seconds and called out to him. He turned and gestured to her that his father's attorney was on the call. She nodded and later explained to me that the student had to serve as a translator between his father and his immigration attorney; this required making himself available during school hours.

Mrs. Durham acknowledged students' realities in her enforcement of the rules. She took students' biographies into account before she enforced the policy-driven consequences for infractions. She was aware of students' lived realities because she asked often about their lives; while this is a seemingly simple gesture of care, it is also one that I found difficult to do with every student every day when I was a high school teacher. The fact that she made time to "touch base" with her students demonstrated that she found this to be an important part of helping students.

Mrs. Durham was also apt to change her lesson plan when she knew it was in the students' best interests. After having taken class time to talk to students about the election of Donald Trump, she had gone on to teach a math lesson. Math, she had decided, would take their minds off of the election. However, two days later on the Friday following the election, Mrs. Durham had consoled two students in the hallway before school started. The election results and the implications of it were clearly still weighing heavily on students' minds. She made the quick decision to postpone the history lesson she had planned and to allow students an opportunity to discuss their concerns and ask questions in a safe environment. There were a number of questions

to which she did not have the answer, but just having time to discuss them made the students feel more comfortable, or as Caterín Michelle said, “Mucho más tranquila (*Much calmer.*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16).

Mrs. Durham also arranged for the students to raise money for a day trip to a zoo in the spring. She distributed order forms and explained that they would be doing a fundraiser—*una colección*—in order to earn money toward the trip. They would be selling tee shirts and hoodies for \$10.00 or \$20.00. She explained proudly:

“For the first time since I’ve been here, we will be selling shirts with Spanish on them. This is the first time we’ve had Spanish on shirts,” she repeats. *They sell shirts often—every year, I think.* This year’s shirt/hoodie is gray with gold writing—resonant of the school colors. *School colors are black and gold.* The front reads, “Hear Us, See Us,” above the school name and mascot, the words shaped into a tiger paw to symbolize the school mascot. On the back the lines alternate between Spanish and English, reading:

ESE MOMENTO (*THAT MOMENT*)
 WHEN YOU START
 PENSANDO EN (*THINKING IN*)
 DOS IDIOMAS (*TWO LANGUAGES*)
 AT THE SAME
 TIEMPO (*TIME*)

There is an image of both sides of the shirt on the order form and Mrs. Durham explains—while Mrs. Sánchez translates and clarifies—what sizes and styles of shirts and hoodies are available and how to fill out the orders; she writes the prices on the board.

Students inquire about the trip to the zoo, asking when they will go—“sometime in the spring when it’s warmer outside”—and if everyone in the ELL program will get to go—“only if you sell three shirts.” (Fieldnotes, 10/12/16)

Students were moderately excited about the prospect of a day out of school, and the trip to this zoo was indeed one that all the district’s students enjoyed as a field trip during their elementary school years. Having arrived in Washington River as high school students, Mrs. Durham wished for them to have the experience as well. She noted, “Most of them don’t have a childhood” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16); she aimed to give them what she viewed as a childhood experience with the trip to the zoo.

Preparing students. Many of Mrs. Durham's interactions with students also had to do with preparing them—either for the short-term or the long-term. This also provided structure and routine and avoided surprises for the students. For example, when Mrs. Durham knew she would be gone for four days in a row in mid-October, she alerted students of it two weeks prior to her absence. She explained who the substitute teacher would be and reminded them of her expectations for good behavior in the days leading up to her absence. Mrs. Durham also informed students early of when tests were scheduled in her classroom and in their general education classes. She took extra care to prepare students for the quarter-final exams, giving them an entire week's time in class to prepare for the final exams they would take for the end of the quarter; Mrs. Durham also prepared students for how their exams would look, sometimes pausing in instruction to note, "There will be a question like this on the final" (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16).

Mrs. Durham also prepared students for changes in the schedule, including alerting them to vacation days. As she prepared them for the extended Thanksgiving holiday break on the Monday preceding it, she checked in with each individual student about their grades, printing and highlighting the missing assignments they needed to complete before the break, and Mrs. Sánchez sat beside her translating the information (Fieldnotes, 11/21/16). She reminded them throughout the week that there would be no school on Thursday or Friday. In addition, she generally made time each day to ask students about their appointments for immunizations or court dates, and reminded them of those as the time approached.

Mrs. Durham also prepared students for long-term issues and events. She emphasized parts of the curriculum that she felt were particularly relevant to the students' lives. For example, she paid special attention to the rights bestowed upon people in the United States when they studied the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. In her discussion of the Fifth Amendment—the rights of the accused—she asked Mrs. Sánchez to translate: "I would always recommend that you guys

remain silent...don't speak...don't say 'yes' or 'no.' Ask for a lawyer." They nod in understanding.

She continued:

"If you are arrested, you have the right to remain silent...Don't say anything. Don't say 'ya' like you do with me when you don't understand me." *I think she means when they don't understand her but say 'ya' in response to her questions...I do that sometimes in Spanish conversations.* (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16)

Mrs. Durham took this opportunity to remind students that they have rights as human beings in this country, and that they should exercise them.

Students also learned symbolic gestures of American citizenship, like reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. Each morning after the bell sounded, the intercom beeped and a boisterous voice boomed into the room: "Good morning, Washington River High!" Students stood at the sound of his voice and faced the small flag hanging over the doorway—even on days when Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez were outside of the room. I recorded in my fieldnotes the experience of watching the students recite (most of) the words of the Pledge of Allegiance:

That announcer sounds like a newscaster who's had too much coffee! All the students in the classroom stand and face the doorway—they were facing the flag hanging over the doorway—and the speaker continues, "Please join me in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance." He recites the Pledge: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." One student says a few words of the Pledge, mostly the ends of the lines. Mostly, though, it's quiet in the room. The speaker says, "Thank you. And now for your announcements..."

That seems to be the cue for students to tune out and resume their conversations, as most of them begin to chat with those around them. Those who aren't chatting are sitting staring straight ahead. *I wonder how they get their school-wide announcements? Does Mrs. Durham act as the intermediary for the news they receive about school events and other announcements?* The speaker talks about ACT test prep classes, reminders to display parking passes, and other odds and ends about team practices and meetings. The speaker on the intercom declares after four minutes of announcements, "Thank you, and have a marvelous Wednesday!" and clicks off. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

Indeed, Mrs. Durham did serve as the intermediary, delivering announcements and other news that she thought relevant to the students. To her, however, learning to stand up for the flag and to recite

the Pledge of Allegiance was an important way of preparing students for citizenship in the United States. They had the opportunity to practice this every day when second block started.

The students learned about the U.S. elections and politics in Mrs. Durham's class as well; this was another way in which she prepared them for long-term American citizenship in the United States. She taught a two-week unit on politics and elections in the two weeks leading up to the 2016 general election. She stated emphatically, "I cannot say enough...this election *will* affect your life, one way or another. I've never said that before about any other election" (Fieldnotes, 11/02/16). She knew the gravity of the implications of the election for the students and their families. She began by cautioning students about the political polarization in the United States:

"Politics," Mrs. Durham says, are "a taboo in society." She gives an example of her family holding differing political opinions. She advises that they never discuss politics at work; it "won't get a person fired," she says, but it "can hurt relationships." She adds that it can also cause a divide or make it hard to work with each other. (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16)

Later, the students completed a worksheet. "On #9," she told the students, "write in Spanish why politics are taboo. Then get a computer and get logged on" (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16). I watched as students scribbled in answers to number nine. "Miss, ¿está bien?" a student asked me as she held her paper out to me. I read in Spanish, "Porque puede hacer daño a las amistades (*Because it can damage relationships*)." I nodded, because I knew that is what the teacher had explained to them (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16). It was difficult for me to agree with that response, but I knew Mrs. Durham merely wished to convey wisdom to them that would benefit them in the workplace. It might be more justice-oriented to tell the students that they should speak their truths loudly and with conviction, but she seemed to believe it would certainly not gain them favor in the very conservative political context of Washington River. She did not, however, invite students to share their experiences from within the community, and thus, to provide insight into their realities.

Being an Intermediary

Mrs. Durham served as an intermediary between students and their school, their teachers, and their community. She delivered news and announcements to students and informed them of special activities and deadlines in the school and community, and she also communicated messages from other teachers, coaches, and extracurricular sponsors in the school. In addition, she completed paperwork about each student and provided a bridge between community resources and students.

Mrs. Durham and I discussed the school's practice of delivering announcements solely in English over the intercom once a day, and it was clear she felt responsible for figuring out how to integrate her students into the school announcements and other activities:

"I think we need to do so much more in both languages, and I think there's...I don't know if there's a fear of that... but like...announcements, perfect example. There's gotta be a way...you know, they miss *so much* of that stuff because it's not in their language. Same thing with pep rallies or an assembly. There just needs to be more done in both languages. And...I mean, it's time-consuming." (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

Mrs. Durham already felt overwhelmed by the tasks she took on in order to meet her students' needs, and it was clear that getting the school announcements translated into Spanish was not something she felt she could do. To her, it would mean asking an already over-burdened bilingual paraeducator to do it on a quick turnaround; it would also mean that the information would not necessarily come through her.

Mrs. Durham communicated messages on a range of topics from the school administrators to the students. For example, in the days following the general election, she explained to the class that she spoke with the principal about some of the racist and nativist slurs that were directed at them, and he was planning to make an announcement during their TST meetings. Mrs. Durham told the students that the "school [was] not going to stand for" the kinds of negative comments they had heard. She also urged students to report any incidents of racism they saw or experienced (Fieldnotes, 11/14/16).

Mrs. Durham also attended meetings for the school's sports teams so that she could be informed and help communicate the information her students needed. At a recent meeting of the soccer team, she was able to explain—with Mrs. Sánchez translating—that students needed sports physicals in order to participate in school sports. Knowing that many students did not have a sports physical on file at the school, they took time to explain and translate the information about physicals offered at a local clinic for discounted fees (Fieldnotes, 12/09/16).

The ELL classroom was also a space where other teachers sent information they wanted to communicate to students, like when many boys were turning the bathroom lights off and on repeatedly. Sometimes, though, Mrs. Durham was also caught in the uncomfortable position of having to defend her classroom policies to her students *on behalf of* other teachers. “Other teachers have different policies. Just because you can do something in here doesn't mean you can do it in other classes. I am this way because I've been doing this a long time” (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16). Mrs. Durham later explained to me that another teacher had complained that students expected to have breaks and to be able to leave the classroom in *her* classroom. It was fine for Mrs. Durham to offer that to students, but the other teacher did not feel that she should be expected to grant them the same freedoms they had in Mrs. Durham's class. Mrs. Durham agreed to explain to them that all teachers have different expectations that ought to be honored.

Coordinating Help

Mrs. Durham's classroom often reminded me of triage in a hospital emergency room, each morning assessing the needs of the students and the urgency and immediacy of those needs. Her desk was often littered with reminder notes about who needed what: Lupita needed glasses, and Mario needed a lawyer; Pedro needed a place to live. Mrs. Durham coordinated help in meeting those needs from resources within the community and within the school, as well as among

students and their families. Students needed help with situations involving their homes and families, the school offices and personnel, and resources in the community.

Mrs. Durham handled a number of needs students brought from home and the community, including understanding a piece of mail they had received, securing housing arrangements, getting the correct paperwork completed (e.g., Social Security numbers or passports) with the correct accompanying documentation, communicating with a relative in jail, and securing legal counsel as well as communicating with their attorneys. Mrs. Durham rattled off a list of things she had been doing to help meet students' needs:

“Um, doctor’s appointments, um, setting up immunization appointments, when a student needs a physical, finding different places for physicals. Um...how to get to the Social Security office. I’ve gone with parents to pay bills. I find that every day there’s something I need to do that was not on my plan, but it’s a dire need. Recently, we had a student whose brother got taken by ICE and so we’re trying to find the location of him, so I’ve had to call on that. And even last year I had a student who got arrested and we had figured out how I could talk to him in jail to find out what he needed because he had nobody here. Another student last year who was also arrested, he needed to get his police report and had no clue how to do it, so I met him down at the police station to go up and go through that with him. Helping them find a lawyer when they don’t have anyone to help them find a lawyer or they can’t afford one...um, finding someone to go translate for them at a lawyer.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

The list was long and continually growing. The day I interviewed Mrs. Durham she had been busy coordinating a holiday party for her class and another ELL class, but in the background she was managing a web of contacts involving the father of one of her students; the father had been in a car accident and no one knew to which hospital he had been taken. In addition, she was fielding phone calls from an attorney who was trying to help her find financial assistance to keep a student in school (Fieldnotes, 12/16/16). She reiterated how long the list was of things she had learned to do in order to help students. “God, I don’t know, there’s SO many random things. I always think I should write a resume of the weird things I’ve learned how to do” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Seeking appropriate medical care for students was also something that took up a lot of her time. Mrs. Durham discussed with me how so many students have eye trouble when they arrive from Central America. She wondered if it were a burn from the long trip through the sun. Indeed, I had read a lot about “La Bestia, a train that runs through Mexico from the southern border northward to the U.S. border. People ride atop it, and some carry pieces of cardboard boxes to put over their heads. Many people die each year as a result of slipping off the moving train, many of them having fallen asleep (Sayre, 2014). Mrs. Durham, shaking her head, noted that she had taken “a bunch of students” to the eye doctor last year (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16).

Mrs. Durham also coordinated with the school to allow students to earn graduation credits for the hours they worked. Students delivered their hourly time cards or paycheck stub copies to her, as in the following example.

Another student comes in with his work timesheet to document his hours for high school credit. He hands it to Mrs. Durham and leaves. She laughs and tells me that she once had a student from Guatemala who worked under the name, “Doug O’Brien.” She laughed again at the hilarity of this name being used by this young man from Guatemala. I asked her how she remembers all those names, and she says, “They take up most of the room for remembering things.” (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16)

This, too, was another task she took on outside of her teaching duties. She documented the hours students worked and communicated that information to the program coordinator.

Mrs. Durham also helped coordinate housing arrangements for students when necessary. She explained that there was a student whose father was in jail and the lawyer would not proceed with his case until all debts were paid; the debts totaled \$6,000. The son, therefore, was living with his uncle and was told he had to pay rent. Mrs. Durham was not happy about that situation, and she hoped to find another place for the student to stay where he would not have to pay rent. It preoccupied her all day as she went about her work. Later that day, I noted:

Mrs. Durham is still working on finding a place for her student to live without paying rent. She asks two students if they could take him in; one, without hesitation, nods and says,

“He can live with us.” And that was it. *This reminds me that Mrs. Sánchez told me the foster system is struggling to accommodate the large numbers of Spanish-speaking minors.* (Fieldnotes, 12/09/16)

Mrs. Durham moved full-force ahead to look for a place for the student to stay; she was not shy about asking anyone. With that task accomplished, she moved on to the next thing.

Mrs. Durham also coordinated help that was offered to her and her students from outside the school. A local philanthropic organization had contacted her at the beginning of the school year to find out what her students might need—they wanted to help. She was quick to express her appreciation and explained to them that students could use help getting to school. They donated 15 bicycles, helmets, and bike locks, and Mrs. Durham decided who would receive them. She explained this to me after one of the last students to receive a bicycle came to pick his up.

A student comes to the door, and Mrs. Durham takes him to another room to get a bike. This student was one of the last ones to pick up his new bike and gear. Mrs. Durham told me that students who had received theirs all together earlier in the month had taken a ride together around the main atrium down the hall from her classroom, much to the dismay of several staff members. She clearly had no time for a few disgruntled staff members to dull their joy. “It was fun, dammit!” she declared. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

The staff members’ negative response to her students’ impromptu celebration also weighed heavily on Mrs. Durham. They clearly did not appreciate the excitement the students felt at having received a reliable mode of transportation.

Mrs. Durham also coordinated help within the school in order to meet students’ needs. She worked with the school guidance counselors on registering new students and scheduling students for subsequent semesters, she assisted the school nurse with updating health records and maintaining medications, and she worked with the office personnel (including administrators) to document absences and mediate discipline issues.

Mrs. Durham’s classroom served as a proxy attendance office for Spanish-speaking students and families. She explained to me that all absence phone calls for students whose

families speak Spanish came through this room; the attendance associate had declared that she would not call Spanish-speaking home because she did not speak Spanish. Mrs. Sánchez was assigned to be in Mrs. Durham's classroom, but was expected to field these phone calls and return phone calls whenever she could fit that into her schedule during the day. She explained to me that documenting absences had gradually become their job:

“Well, basically the [Spanish-speaking] population's gotten higher and higher, and last year we found out that a lot of parents were not getting contacted when their child was missing school because there was nobody in the office who could communicate that to them in their language. And, for me, I mean, a parent needs to know if their child's not in school. And so, this year they were able to get a new phone in place because we got a new phone system for the whole district, where they can leave voicemails in my room and we can call out and they call directly in.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

This somewhat makeshift solution to the attendance dilemma allowed parents and caretakers to have communication with the school, but it burdened Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez as well. Other teachers may have pushed back against this extra duty, but Mrs. Durham added it to her long list of duties.

Mrs. Durham also assisted the school nurse with documenting immunizations and updating other health records. It was part of Mrs. Durham's daily routine to ask students in each class if they had “immunizations” to give to her (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). One day, I observed as the nurse entered and handed to Mrs. Durham her “most wanted list”; the list included those students who had not yet gotten the required immunizations. The students on the list would not be allowed to return to school until they had documented them. This list had grown due to the local Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) clinic having run out of one of the vaccines, which left many of the newcomers waiting for it to arrive (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16).

Mrs. Durham's room was the first call the guidance office made for assistance in enrolling Spanish-speaking newcomers. One day, three new students came to enroll during the three hours I was in the school (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16). She explained:

“From the day a student comes in, we do enrollment, we do the free and reduced lunch forms, we do, you know, are they driving to school, you have to get ‘em a sticker, you know? Lunch accounts, putting the money on, all of that. Then I do scheduling when they’re a new student; I decide what classes they’re gonna go into. If a class is full, it is my job, or it’s expected of me to go talk to that teacher and see if they’ll take one more student.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

Mrs. Durham also mediated “freshmen conference meetings,” during which 9th grade students would meet with their guidance counselor to prepare their schedule for the following year. Her involvement also extended into the following years of the students’ high school scheduling: “We sit with the counselors, we discuss what classes they should be doing next year and what classes they’re actually able to do. And what ELL class they should be in, but whether are they ready for English 9” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16). It was clear that the guidance counselors relied on Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez to help decipher transfer paperwork (i.e., transcripts) and to place students in the appropriate classes as well.

Mrs. Durham also served as a mediator between the administrators and the students. She explained that the students’ English language proficiency was challenging for the administrators when they needed to communicate with the students and/or their caretakers. She explained that one of the principals—when he was new to the school—did not feel comfortable talking with the kids when it came to discipline issues, so Mrs. Durham was called in to be there to mediate the conversation. She added that when students got in trouble at school, either she or Mrs. Sánchez was called in to help communicate that with them and to broker their understanding of the rule they had violated (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16); the language was only sometimes the greatest challenge in these situations because sometimes they needed to understand why they had to submit paperwork or to learn the attendance policies of the state.

General education teachers also relied heavily on Mrs. Durham for advice about how to modify coursework or which accommodations to provide on tests, and sometimes just for

communicating with a student. Mrs. Durham appreciated when general education teachers sought out her help; it showed that they wanted to help the students in their classroom rather than sending them to her for modified instruction in an area in which Mrs. Durham may not have possessed the same expertise as the other teacher. When I asked her about what the general education teachers needed from her, she acknowledged that it varied widely depending on the course and the teacher—from reminding students about test dates to helping students learn to access online textbooks (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Some teachers, however, preferred to send their students to Mrs. Durham’s classroom to take tests or to complete assignments after they finished instruction in the general education classroom. Every day that I was in Mrs. Durham’s classroom, students came breezing into the classroom, holding up their paper and explaining simply, “Test.” They knew where to go (to the back of the classroom) and they knew to sit apart from one another, phones stowed away while they took their tests. Sometimes students came for help with an assignment for another class. When her students were busy working on their own assignments or having free time, Mrs. Durham went to the back of the room to help students who had come from other classes.

Mrs. Durham helped coordinate student translators for other teachers as well. Teachers who had large numbers of Spanish-dominant speakers would often come to Mrs. Durham to ask if she could arrange for a student to come and translate in their classes as a “school-to-career”³³ student. Mrs. Durham was regarded as a sort of contractor in this way (Fieldnotes, 10/26/16). Aside from coordinating student translators for other teachers, Mrs. Durham also served as a translator herself. Although she was a monolingual English speaker, she knew key words in

³³ School-to-career was a class in which 11th and 12th grade students were placed with teachers who worked with them to develop an understanding of what the teacher’s job entailed. Some students were also placed in the office and mostly ran errands for the office staff when needed. Students who worked in Mrs. Durham’s room were often asked to translate in her room, but they also translated for other teachers when necessary.

Spanish, Mam, or K'iche, as well as nonverbal cues and gestures, that could get the point across to students. She had an understanding of what her students could comprehend in English, and she also sensed when more than mere translation was necessary. While certainly not ideal, this improvised communication served to handle the immediate dilemma in the absence of an available bilingual staff person.

Coordinating *El Cuidado*

The Spanish noun, “el cuidado,” translates to English as “care,” defined similarly to the English word; however, it connotes that *someone* is *taking* care of someone or something, beyond caring *about* someone or something. Mrs. Durham coordinated *el cuidado* in her classroom as she coordinated help among and between students. She artfully constructed networks of friendships and supports, found peer tutors to assist with general education class work, paired students whose language skills benefitted one another, and in general, drew on the students to help make the classroom go. In the following fieldnotes excerpt, Mrs. Durham had learned that an incoming new student spoke Q'anjobal, and she enlisted the help of one of the only other Q'anjobal speakers in the room to welcome the new student.

The new student—the one who speaks Q'anjobal—enters with another adult—maybe a parent? Mrs. Durham tells Mateo to introduce himself in Q'anjobal; he stands up from his desk, walks to the new student and the accompanying adult, shakes hands, and speaks with them. Mrs. Durham walks over to the newcomers after a couple of minutes; Mateo puts his arm around her shoulders and introduces her to the new student and the adult. He offers a light-hearted description of her, noting that the new student should not make her mad. They all laugh, and then Mateo turns serious, explaining that Mrs. Durham will help him with anything. *This is pretty cool. He's the welcome and he's acting as the bridge between home and school. HE is the face of the school to this new student and parent. Mrs. Durham hanging back allowed this to happen.* (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16)

Mrs. Durham had drawn on Mateo's linguistic resources as a way to build a bridge into her classroom and the school for the newly enrolled student. It sent a powerful message that Mateo then introduced Mrs. Durham to the newcomers, as he was positioned to be an intermediary

between the two—just as capable of providing help and of being a source of information as the adults in the room. Later that morning, Mrs. Durham asked Mateo to help the new student learn how to get his lunch and how to do his locker combination, and Mateo nodded his agreement to help.

Mrs. Durham also drew on students' linguistic "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) to facilitate communication between them. She often called on Alejandro for help translating between Spanish and English because his English language proficiency was strong. The day Mrs. Durham needed to get the last student his bike from the community organization, she asked Alejandro's second block teacher if she could "keep Alejandro for a few minutes" to help translate for the student. The other teacher asked if there were another time he could do it and resisted a bit, but Mrs. Durham answers curtly, "He'll be back in five minutes" (Fieldnotes, 9/29/16). She was frustrated that if the teacher had just agreed, Alejandro would probably not have been late to her class at all.

The Monday morning following Mrs. Durham's one-week absence, she sat at her desk to greet her students. "Did you have a good week?" Mrs. Durham began with a tilt of her head. When no one responded—and in Mrs. Sánchez's absence—she prompted, "Alejandro, ask them if they had a good week." He repeated her question. "Mucho trabajo (*a lot of work*)," a couple of students mumbled. She nodded, smiling, and then flipped through the slides on her computer. "Did you get to this slide? No copy?" followed by another long pause. "Alejandro, ask them." He translated and several students nodded (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16). In this case, translating was Alejandro's way of *cuidando*—taking care of—his peers.

Mrs. Durham also coordinated help with "core" classes; she knew which students to ask about which courses. The school-to-career students placed in her classroom—having advanced proficiency in English—had taken most of the courses the current students were taking. In the

following example, Mrs. Durham attempted to help a student and then realized that one of the school-to-career students might remember her experience of that same course, and asked her to help.

Mrs. Durham works with a student on an American Literature course study guide. She seems to get stuck on a question and calls a school-to-career student to her desk. “Do you remember *To Kill a Mockingbird*?” she asks her. “Yes,” the student answers nodding. “Do you think you could come in this week to help him (gesturing to the student beside her) with his English (class)?” The school-to-career student nods. (Fieldnotes, 10/03/16)

The peer tutoring was set up in a matter of seconds, and allowed the student to get assistance from another student who had recently been in the course. Again, students learned that they had an obligation to use what they had learned in order to provide *el cuidado* for their peers.

Students also pitched in to make the classroom run smoothly, and Mrs. Durham reminded them of what needed to be done to that end when they did not immediately recognize the need. Students met her at the classroom door in the morning when her arms were loaded down with bags and 12-packs of soda, taking a bag or a 12-pack of soda from her to help her carry them. Once inside the classroom, they knew the drill: unload the soda cans into the refrigerator at the front of the room. Students who were not helping unload Mrs. Durham’s bags began switching on lamps and plugging in string lights. Mrs. Durham’s gentle reminders that she was not the only person who made the classroom “go” generally prompted students to help.

Working Outward

Mrs. Durham’s work was also aimed outward from her in-between position. She advocated for students within the school and community, supporting them in their roles as students and as workers at their jobs. She was also active in discussions of education policy among English Language educators. Mrs. Durham’s advocacy work inside the school was notable because of the resistance she met as she worked to better serve newcomer students and to integrate them into

the school. She explained that the hiring of faculty members for their coaching abilities over other skills (like bilingualism) was predictable and frustrating.

Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez discuss the teachers and coaches at this school. They are frustrated that the administration had moved a high school science teacher into a guidance counselor position *over a bilingual applicant* so that, presumably, they could move the football coach from his position at the middle school to the high school to the newly open science teaching position. The bilingual applicant for the counseling position eventually was hired at the middle school, but the frustration remains when they are stretched so thin and doing the work of many offices—including guidance counseling—with their Spanish-speaking students. There's "not enough of us to support all the teachers and students," Mrs. Durham laments. (Fieldnotes, 12/09/16)

Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez felt that their willingness to help was taken for granted when things like this happened. The passing over of a qualified bilingual guidance counselor was a message to them that the school did not sense an urgency in alleviating that part of the work the two did to help the guidance office with Spanish-speaking students and newcomers.

Mrs. Durham encountered resistance from other teachers when she tried to arrange ways to assist them in a more coordinated way. She explained to me how she had proposed to the science department the idea to co-teach a 9th grade class with them. Two teachers had been opposed to the idea, so it failed to go farther (Fieldnotes, 12/09/16). I was surprised that two teachers wielded so much power in a department of nine science teachers. Mrs. Durham spent so much time helping students outside of their science classes, and the sheltered science class they took with the other full-time ELL teacher was certainly not of the same caliber as a class they would take with a teacher who specialized in science (Oakes, 1985). In addition, there is a "didactic tension" in sheltered ELL content classes that privileges the learning of English vocabulary and terms over the practice of the skills of the field (Richardson Bruna, Vann, & Perales Escudero, 2007); notably, I sensed this same tension in the U.S. History class.

Even within the ELL teacher cohort, teachers espoused differing philosophies in how to meet their students' needs. One morning, the other full-time ELL teacher pulled Mrs. Durham into

the hallway for a conversation between classes. She wanted to devise a strict attendance policy for the students in the ELL program, believing that strict requirements would deter the recurrent absences; Mrs. Durham was vehemently opposed to the idea, asserting that the students in their program needed to be handled on an individual basis due to their widely varied circumstances and needs (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16). She felt that increased punitive measures—like suspensions and truancy proceedings—would only serve to cause students to miss more school, which would do very little to further their English language development or their education in general.

Mrs. Durham also felt compelled to reach outward within the school to implore teachers and staff members to show the students that they accepted them. Following the election of Donald Trump—along with the racist and nativist actions of several Washington River students outside the school the day after the election—Mrs. Durham discussed the safety pin symbol with me as a simple gesture for teachers to show their solidarity with immigrants and intolerance of hateful acts. She had talked with the principal and he supported her idea to do something to express support for students who felt both targeted and marginalized in the political discourse following the election. Mrs. Durham talked briefly with students about the safety pin idea—and asked for other ideas—to get their feedback. The students agreed that the safety pin was simple (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). The following Monday, Mrs. Durham covertly placed the safety pins—which the ELL students had helped affix to a flier explaining the gesture—in staff members' mailboxes. She did not want them to know that she was the person behind the effort because she felt that it would sway their feelings about wearing the pin; she admitted, though, that the staff would know it was she who placed them in their mailboxes (Fieldnotes, 11/14/16).

The safety pin effort was met with quick resistance when one teacher sent an email to the entire staff, arguing that students should not have to see a safety pin affixed to his shirt to know they were supported and accepted in his classroom. Thus, the safety pin gesture was dismissed as

unnecessary and redundant. Therefore, even given Mrs. Durham's efforts to advocate for her students within the school, her efforts were not taken up seriously by the majority of her colleagues. However, it also speaks to the disregard for ELLs demonstrated by most teachers in the school.

Mrs. Durham also worked outward to advocate for her students within the education profession. She took opportunities to voice her concerns within the district and at the state level. She attended a meeting at the Department of Education in early October to discuss pathways to graduation for high school newcomers (Fieldnotes, 10/05/16). She also expressed to the teachers' union her wish to hire more bilingual paraeducators.

Mrs. Durham served as an advocate for students by working to ensure that they were being treated fairly by their employers. When she and Mrs. Sánchez heard students complaining about their lack of overtime pay, they began keeping track of the hours they worked to verify that their paychecks were correct. Students were often asked (i.e., required) to stay at work past their ending time of 9:30pm until 12:30am, and Mrs. Durham reminded them often that they should receive overtime pay when they did that. She was also concerned that they were working more hours than allowed for minors by state laws (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16).

Mrs. Durham's efforts to work outward to advocate for her students were less fruitful—at least in the short-term—than her efforts to work inward to meet her students' needs. The bureaucratic layers of *de jure* policy-making amounted to long, drawn-out efforts to make change. However, by keeping one foot in the policy discussion, she was able to insert her students' *de facto* experiences into policy.

Fostering Hybridity

Mrs. Durham fostered "hybridity"—the "fusion of various cultures to form new, distinct, and ever-changing identities" (Nieto & Bode, 2012, p. 160)—in her classroom. She supported and

encouraged students, and she affirmed their identities by welcoming their cultures and their languages into the classroom. She often codeswitched as she spoke with students, sometimes flowing between two or three languages in one sentence (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012).

Mrs. Durham's teasing threat to use the *chancla* to discipline students—as I discussed in previous sections—was a surface aspect of the students' cultures she had absorbed into the classroom. Each time she gestured toward her foot or shoe in a mock display of motherly discipline, students reacted with surprised expressions and mock fear. This lighthearted gesture communicated the necessary message about the undesirable behavior, but it was a code only understood by those who shared the culture. Students even shouted out, “¡Chancla!” to teasingly show their displeasure with something Mrs. Durham had done, like when she accidentally or not accidentally let a curse word slip.

Mrs. Durham also intentionally learned parts of the students' cultures through language. Mrs. Durham's Spanish language proficiency had progressed in the ten years that had passed since we had shared a classroom one block each day. When I first met her ten years ago, her first ELL class of the morning met in the classroom where I taught Spanish for the remainder of the day. I often spent time in the classroom during her class, and she spoke very little Spanish as she worked with the intermediate- and advanced-level students in her class. I was surprised to hear her periodically use Spanish words ten years later, regularly slipping Spanish (or K'iche or Mam) words into her English-structured sentences. She began one morning: “Okay!” and she waited for the students to quiet, adding, “tu respecto (*sic*) y silencio...(your respect and silence)” (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16). On another day, I heard her shooing away a student as she worked with another student at her desk: “Shute...” (*literally meaning 'nosey' but connoting 'go away' in Mam*). She turned back to the student beside her and affirmed what he'd written on his paper, “Sí, mon. ‘Yeah, man’ in

Spanish slang)” (Fieldnotes, 11/21/16). Two girls working together near Mrs. Durham’s desk looked up and giggled as they heard their teacher use slang in their languages.

Students enjoyed when Mrs. Durham learned and used phrases from their languages, even when she used them incorrectly. For example, she often used the phrase “mucho bueno” to praise students’ work; however, the phrase was a mistranslation of “very good” literally translating as “much good.” I noticed a couple of students giggle when she said it to them, and she turned to them, smiling. “Are you laughing at me?” she asked with mock incredulity. The two girls shook their heads vigorously, their eyes wide and twinkling with suppressed laughter (Fieldnotes, 9/30/16).

Mrs. Durham’s relaxed humor blended with her attempts to learn and use phrases in the students’ languages to “hybridize” her classroom space; these attempts positioned the students as holders of knowledge. The context of Washington River, an NLD community, did not always afford them that position—English being privileged over their languages. I was reminded of that as I read a bumper sticker affixed to the car in front of me at a stoplight on the way to the school that morning: “Speak English or go home.” Its message was clearly directed at newcomers who had yet to learn English. These kinds of messages thrive under the Trump administration in the United States, with threats of a revised immigration policy that would require immigrants to earn 30 points from a list of desirable credentials in order to be allowed entry into the United States. Speaking English would earn immigrants between zero and 12 points, depending upon their proficiency (Westneat, 2017). In Mrs. Durham’s classroom, however, students’ home languages were valued as an important part of students’ identities.

Toward a Wider Circle of Care

Mrs. Durham established a network of care in her classroom, perhaps at the expense of her own wellbeing. She spent numerous hours outside of her work schedule to make phone calls, complete paperwork, and coordinate help to meet her students’ needs. However, this “sacrificial

life” (Antrop-González, 2003, p. 253) is both admirable and seemingly unsustainable. As teachers take on more responsibilities within the school, they mask the injustices of social and economic policies outside the school. I questioned the appropriateness of asking teachers to take on the added responsibilities of caring for students’ needs outside the school and allowing society to shirk responsibility for creating and enforcing more just policies for all people.

I asked Mrs. Durham what she would need in order to feel that a broader network of resources supported her work. She admitted that it would be difficult to entrust her students to someone else, but that it would be helpful to have a “go-to person” to whom she could pass off the non-teaching parts of her work: “A ‘go-to person’ where I could say, ‘Hey, I have a student who needs this, this, and this...Can you help me with that?’ Instead of always trying to figure out where to go” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16). I posed the idea of a school liaison to Mrs. Durham—a person who could coordinate between the school and the community resources or do the things Mrs. Durham was doing at 10:15 at night. She admitted that it would be difficult to entrust her students to someone else. She explained:

“It would have to be someone who...believes in why these kids come here...and respects that. I mean you could tell somebody, yeah, I need you to find this for me...but I also need somebody who can then talk to the kid. ‘Hey, this is where we’re goin’,’ and explain that. When and where, and you have to build that trust, and so it would have to be somebody who...knew the kids first, maybe, or was around ‘em at least enough.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

She acknowledged the vulnerability of newcomers, and her reluctance to entrust them to someone else revealed her protectiveness of them. She felt that a trusting relationship was essential to helping students make sense of their new realities in the United States.

Mrs. Durham conceded that while it would helpful to have someone who could coordinate the help students needed, it was difficult for her to reach out to and trust someone else. She explained:

“It’s partly probably my fault too. I’m not good at...telling other people what I need because sometimes I feel like it takes too much time to explain. In the amount of time I take to explain to somebody what I need them to do, I could have done it. But yeah, I just...I need to duplicate myself. And just time. I think [it would be helpful] if I taught half a day and had the other, you know a block of plan but also a block where I could use this time to find the resources I need.” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16)

Mrs. Durham just wished for more time to do the work she needed to do. She did not begrudge her students for needing her; rather, she begrudged that there were so few people tasked with helping them meet their needs. Indeed, Mrs. Durham was fiercely protective of her students. She gave the example of needing to teach students how to take notes in class. She said, “I think about note-taking, they don’t know...those basic skills that [students who grew up in these schools know]. And it’s not because they’re not smart enough. It’s because they *haven’t had those experiences*” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16). She wanted to protect her students from anyone who might devalue the experiences they *did* have.

Mrs. Durham acknowledged that it was tempting sometimes to think about going to a district in which the students’ needs were not so dire and all consuming. She knew, however, that she would not be able to leave Washington River High School. “I’m staying,” she asserted, “because there’s somebody else who needs me. I love what I do” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

I discuss in the next chapter the three major themes that emerged, and offer conclusions and implications of the study.

Chapter Nine: Discussion, Conclusions, and Implications

Mrs. Durham's ELL classroom was a vibrant and busy space in which students found help and guidance with a wide range of needs and issues. I began this study with two research questions about how students in Washington River High School construct citizen identities: How do high school newcomer students construct citizen identities in social studies? Who are key individuals who influence the construction of citizenship and how do they influence students? As is expected in ethnographic work (Agar, 1996) and all qualitative research in which the researcher is the instrument through which data collection and analysis took place (Hatch, 2002) my commitments and experiences influenced what I wrote down and the questions I asked. As such, a third question emerged through my engagement in the site: Given the institutional nature of schooling, how do newcomers transform the school and how does the school transform them?

As I made sense of my data, I learned that what I understood as citizenship was unrecognizable to me in this space. Instead, drawing on Levine's (2007) and Abu El-Haj's (2009) reminder that citizenship practices are situated within the routine of everyday life, I began to understand the relational, emotional, and cultural expressions of citizenship within Mrs. Durham's classroom and the conditions and context in which students constructed citizen identities. In addition, I began to question the school's commitment to integrating newcomers into the school and by extension into the community; in acts both subtle and overt, I observed how newcomer students' experiences of school lacked aspirational guidance and instead focused on meeting newcomers' (many) immediate needs. In this way, WRHS became a context in which newcomers' marginalized positions narrowed their biographies *and* their aspirations for their futures.

I discuss in this chapter the three major themes that emerged in this study, and I offer my conclusions about how these themes speak to the construction of citizen identities. I also share lessons learned from Washington River High School's response to newcomer students. Finally, I

discuss the implications of this study for responding to newcomer students in school and offer ideas for further study.

My analysis of the data I collected in this study yielded three themes that speak to the experiences of newcomers in Washington River High School and the growing pains the school has experienced as it has attempted to respond to its new students. First, it was clear that schooling structures were unwilling to change to adapt to newcomer students' dual realities, brought into sharp focus after the election of Donald Trump in November of 2016. Trump's "America First" agenda and anti-immigrant rhetoric affected students by adding another kind of stress to their already stress-laden life experiences. Second, different people in this classroom—the teacher, the paraeducator, and the students—manifested *care* in different ways, which carried different implications for the aims of schooling for newcomer students. Third, even with the best of intentions, there were missed opportunities to connect school to students' lives and to integrate students into the school and community in meaningful and justice-oriented ways, both on the part of Mrs. Durham and of Washington River High School.

Taken together, these themes speak to the need for schools to transform in order to provide newcomer students an equitable opportunity to construct citizen identities within the full realm of the public space rather than being relegated to the margins. These themes also point to the resistance to change in this NLD community and in the public high school that serves its residents, as well as the need for the community to step up to meet some of the newcomers' needs. Mrs. Sánchez's presence in the classroom also offers useful lessons to schools and communities wishing to move toward more inclusive schooling and community experiences for all students.

“Mismatch”: School Rules Versus Students' Realities

The newcomer students in Washington River High School experienced duality in their everyday realities. They were at once adolescents and adults, being teenagers starting at a new school and also dealing with the stress of acculturation that bespoke their very adult lives—getting the required immunizations, consulting with immigration attorneys, and securing housing and jobs. Students who held jobs faced the duality of being a worker and a student—many of them working under an assumed name that literally marked this duality. Students negotiated the duality of being a human—“equal in dignity and rights” (United Nations, 1948)—and of being an immigrant in the United States—a criminalized identity that racialized them and qualified their rights based on legal status (Santa Ana, 2002). Students also lived the duality of dreaming of a future they would choose for themselves and the need to be realistic about the financial and legal limitations of those dreams. Finally, the newcomer students’ native language(s) were necessary and meaningful at home, but were marginalized at school as they became “English Language Learners,” framing a duality between linguistic and cultural *proficiency* and *deficiency*. The extant policies, expectations, and operational procedures of school did not acknowledge or accommodate these dual realities, and students navigated school by breaking rules and constructing an “Underground Railroad” to work around the mismatches. The school clearly managed newcomers as a problem, and the structure of their classes communicated to them that learning English was their most important goal in school.

Policing at School Required Students to Break the Rules and Hide

Students at Washington River High School had to contend with rules that limited what they could do at school and, therefore, limited how they could function in their adult roles. Students learned either to hide or to overtly break the rules in order to do what they needed to do (i.e., take phone calls under a “no cell phone” policy). They also constructed a network of safe spaces in which they sought help, going from place to place until they got ahead of the policing of their

behavior. For Mateo, the “no cell phone” policy meant that if he wanted to help his father with his immigration case by speaking with his immigration attorney, he needed to frantically gain permission to break the rule or suffer the consequence of having his phone confiscated and withheld from him for the rest of the day.

Mateo’s phone buzzes and he looks at Mrs. Sánchez pleadingly as he holds up his phone to her. He walks to the back of the room to answer the call without having gotten her permission. Mrs. Durham yells, “What the heck, Mateo?!?” Mrs. Sánchez is quick to calm her, “It’s his father.” This is a game-changer; Mrs. Durham nods and walks back to the front. Mateo’s father’s attorney had called him—in school—to discuss his father’s immigration case. Looks like students multitask too. Mateo has handled two ‘adult’ situations—the introductions and the attorney phone call—in the last hour. He is at once a youth and an adult. (Fieldnotes, 11/07/16)

Mateo’s cell phone use—even though it was not during instruction—was policed, and he was forced to break the rule or risk missing the opportunity to speak with his father’s attorney. If I zoom out on the situation, it seems absurd for Mateo to have to apologetically take a phone call to help his father. The “no cell phone” policy and other “rules of school” were clearly not sensitive to the students who handled adult situations like Mateo did.

Students were also policed as they searched for help. ELL students who were enrolled in a general education class often came to Mrs. Durham’s classroom for assistance on their assignments and exams for these classes. Since their general education classes (i.e., art, American Literature, physical education, etc.) were conducted in English, they often sought help in understanding the content. Alexis demonstrated how students searched for help and when they were denied help, went to the next stop on their “Underground Railroad.” They were policed, however, as they scurried from one stop to the next.

Alexis comes into the classroom to take a final exam and Mrs. Durham tells him that she needs to find out what she is able to do to help. She leaves to go talk with the teacher, and Alexis rolls his eyes dramatically. A few minutes later, Mrs. Durham returns and says him, “I can’t read ‘cold reads’ but I can read and translate questions.” The student’s shoulders fall, and then he asks, “Can I go to the TAC room?” *This is a room where all students can get assistance with any of their classes.* Mrs. Durham shoots back,

“They aren’t going to help you any more than I am,” and she turns away. She mumbles, “Let me go somewhere else to see if I can manipulate...” and her voice trails off. It must get to her to have to police this kind of thing.

The student leaves and Mrs. Sánchez goes to the TAC room to tell the paraeducators there about the limitations of the help he can receive on the work he has.

Mrs. Sánchez returns a few minutes later and reports that Alexis was already getting help from the bilingual paraeducator in the TAC room. They roll their eyes in mutual frustration. (Fieldnotes, 10/10/16)

In this case, Alexis was able to get to the TAC room before Mrs. Sánchez arrived to tell the paraeducators there the limitations of the help he could receive. This routine of policing seemed more focused on catching students in the act of “manipulating” the system than on critiquing the system that Alexis felt the need to manipulate. I do not mean to imply that rules have no place in school, but rather that it would be wise to reconsider the rules in response to newcomer students’ realities.

Learning English Was More Important than Learning Course Content

Students learned that mastering the content of their courses was less important than learning English. This was especially problematic in the case of social studies, a program of study explicitly aimed (at least in theory) at developing democratic citizens. Privileging English also meant that students equated knowing English with being smart. Mrs. Durham’s sheltered U.S. History class provided an illustration of how newcomer students were able to earn graduation credits while they were learning English. This structure was an attempt to beat the clock that most newcomer students faced because they arrived with few credits that could be applied toward graduation and had many to earn before they reached 21 years of age (i.e., when the state was no longer required to provide free public education). However, the class also offered important observations about what is actually learned and not learned in these kinds of classes. Mrs. Durham’s history class was conducted in English—with one-time translations in Spanish—and as such, English was positioned as more important than the history content. Furthermore, the

textbook, ironically titled, *Access American History*, was in English only and included content that was included in middle school-level general education history classes in the district. Students took notes in English and regurgitated those same notes on the routine worksheet; the absence of discussions about the course content contributed to a shallow understanding—at best—of U.S. history and the ways that it has shaped our present.

Caterín Michelle noted that she relied on Alejandro for help with history because he “...es el más inteligente...porque sabe más inglés. (...is the smartest...because he knows more English.)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/13/16). Alejandro’s proficiency in English afforded him access to the content because the content was delivered in English. Even with Mrs. Sánchez’s translations in Spanish, the students had only the one opportunity to understand the content in Spanish. If they were to reread the text, their notes, or the study guide as review for an exam, it was all in English. This sent a clear message that students needed to understand English before they could understand the content; English was positioned as a prerequisite to learning U.S. history. Anyelín acknowledged as much when she explained that she did not remember anything from history class because she needed to learn more English first.

Newcomer students clearly need to learn American history (including the evolution of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship) if they are to develop a fuller understanding of their positions and agency in U.S. society. They also need to learn English if they are to navigate the institutional structures that constitute the American democracy. However, in the case of Mrs. Durham’s classroom in which students were engaged with learning U.S. history through English, the experience was counterproductive; students neither felt comfortable with the content nor with their English language development as a result. They looked to Alejandro, whose English was more developed, as the only student knowledgeable about U.S. history. This was problematic, obviously, and supports the idea of a U.S. history class taught in Spanish. The persistence of

English as the language of instruction demonstrated the school's unwillingness to adapt to its newcomers and to draw on their "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) in order to help them learn. I turn now to how the school instead viewed newcomers as a problem.

Newcomers Were a Problem for the School

Spanish-speaking newcomers from Mexico and Central America to this Midwestern community of mostly White monolingual English-speaking residents were viewed as a problem by the school. This was evident in how the newcomer students were segregated, marginalized, and ignored within the school. Their placement in the English Language Learner program meant that they had all but one class in the ELL hallway and rarely ventured outside of it. The school made few—if any—attempts to acknowledge and integrate the newcomer students' cultures and strengths into the school.

The morning announcements were a daily reminder that the school did not acknowledge the presence of its newcomers. The announcements droned on and on, usually for almost five minutes, all in English. Given the ways in which the school leveraged the bilingualism of some students to translate (for free) in classes, it was surprising to me that announcements were never offered in Spanish. The following fieldnotes excerpt demonstrates how the announcements were shared via intercom each day.

Second block begins with the same monotone bell. Immediately, the intercom emits a short beep. "Good morning, Washington River High!" exclaims a boisterous male voice from the speaker. He sounds like a newscaster who's had too much coffee! All the students in the classroom stand and face the doorway—I quickly noticed they were facing the flag—and the speaker continues, "Please join me in reciting the 'Pledge of Allegiance'." One student mumbles a few words of the Pledge, mostly the ends of the lines. Mostly, though, it's quiet in the room.

The speaker says, "Thank you. And now for your announcements..." That seems to be the cue for students to tune out and resume their conversations, as most of them begin to chat with those around them. Those who aren't chatting are sitting staring straight ahead. *I wonder how they get their school-wide announcements? Does Mrs. Durham act as the intermediary for the news they receive about school events and other*

announcements? The speaker talks about ACT test prep classes, reminders to display parking passes, and other odds and ends about team practices and meetings.

The speaker on the intercom declares after four minutes of announcements, “Thank you, and have a marvelous Wednesday!” and clicks off. (Fieldnotes, 9/28/16)

The message was clear that the announcements did not apply to anyone who did not speak English; any access to the school wide announcements for the students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom came through her. The school did not see it as a priority to be certain that *all* students had access to the announcements. Mrs. Durham admitted: “They miss *so much* of that stuff because it’s not in their language. Same thing with pep rallies or an assembly. There just needs to be more done in both languages. And I don’t know how you necessarily do that without...I mean, it’s time-consuming” (Mrs. Durham, 12/16/16).

Some parts of the school actively shirked their responsibility to serve the needs of Spanish-speaking students and their families. The attendance clerk who stopped making calls to families to verify student absences clearly did not think it was her responsibility to find a way to communicate with these families. The nurse’s office and guidance office demonstrated the same kind of response to newcomers. The students’ and families’ Spanish dominance was viewed as a problem; thus, the monolingual English speakers working in these offices bore no responsibility in adapting to meet the realities of the newcomers, and Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez took on their responsibilities as well.

Isabel’s experience of Spanish class—an introductory-level Spanish class—demonstrated how her proficiency in Spanish was ignored. In this class, she said, she did “the same thing as the White kids—repeat everything” (Isabel, 12/13/16). I was frustrated by the unavailability of the course for proficient Spanish speakers that I had designed and taught at WRHS less than seven years earlier, and I wondered how many students sat in an introductory Spanish class that privileged Castilian Spanish over Central American and Mexican dialects; this echoes Eckerson’s

(2015) conclusion that “working class” varieties of Spanish were dismissed in school and in Spanish class. At the same time that the school ignored Isabel’s Spanish *proficiency*, the school labeled her and others like her as *deficient* in English; this deficiency was viewed as a problem to be remedied with her isolation in the ELL program.

Washington River High School and its newcomer students were a “mismatch”; that is, the “social, cultural, or economic backgrounds of students [were] identified as problems” (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001, p. 527) within the longstanding structure of school in Washington River. In terms of linguistic mismatch, the “business” of the school was conducted in English—and with interpreters in Spanish—and prompted an urgency for new students to learn English, but there was not a reciprocal urgency for teachers or other school professionals to learn Spanish. This echoes López and Velásquez’s (2006) anecdote of the teacher in their study who thought it “not realistic” for *her* to learn Spanish to communicate with her students and their families. However, students’ already-established proficiency in Spanish was not necessarily helpful in Spanish classes either; learning English was privileged over developing their Spanish language skills. This is a longstanding debate in the education of newcomer students—whether to cultivate and draw upon bilingualism or to immerse them in English (Valdés, 2001); few would argue that English is not important in the education of newcomers, but privileging English neglects the influence of “bilingual literacies” (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011) in learning.

Next, the students’ dual lives required that they break rules or hide in order to fulfill their obligations as family members and friends, and the policing of students’ behaviors in school mirrored that of the criminalization of immigrants in governmental policies like California’s Proposition 187 (Castañeda, 2006) and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (De Genova, 2006). Finally, Washington River High School problematized and segregated newcomer students, which expands Hamann’s (2003) descriptions of NLD community responses to

newcomers—xenophobia, disquiet, and welcome (see also Hamann, Eckerson, & Gray, 2012)—to include *disregard*. Washington River’s response demonstrates disregard because the school, having segregated newcomer students in a single hallway of the school for the majority of the school day, did not purposefully integrate them into the larger school context in any meaningful way. This segregation provides an apt illustration of Valdés’s (2001) description of the “ESL ghetto”; however, it also speaks to Sarroub’s (2002) concern for a safe “in-between space” in which newcomers can negotiate their “hybrid” identities (p. 160). The students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom clearly felt belonging inside the classroom, but I worry that they did not experience this belonging in other places in the school.

Care in the Classroom

The students in this study described the classroom and their teachers³⁴ as “helpful” and “caring”—qualities they attributed to “good people.” Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez both mentioned on several occasions how much they cared *about* their students; however, their words and actions expressed care very differently. The ways in which different people demonstrated care in the classroom conveyed important implications for the purposes of schooling for newcomer students. Labaree (1997) offers three conflicting aims of schooling that have undergirded educational policy debates in the United States and which provide useful background in exploring care in this classroom:

- 1) Schooling with the aim of “democratic equality” forefronts the development of citizens;
- 2) Schooling with the aim of “social efficiency” prepares students to be workers in a stratified society (i.e., students are prepared for jobs for which they are best suited); and

³⁴ I use the term “teachers” to include Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez because the students referred to both of them as teachers.

3) Schooling with the aim of “social mobility” prepares students to be competitive in the social world (i.e., positioning students to compete for their desired “social positions”). (pp. 41-42)

This framework is useful in understanding how the ways in which individuals expressed *care* in the classroom oriented their work toward different aims of schooling.

Mrs. Sánchez served as a “cultural broker” (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983) and demonstrated “culturally relevant care” (Watson, Sealey-Ruiz, & Jackson, 2016) as she critiqued the position of immigrants in the U.S.; she also demonstrated characteristics of a “warm demander” (Ware, 2006) as she held students to high expectations and employed “tough love” to promote students’ persistence and perseverance in school. I argue that when taken together, her work was oriented toward preparing students for democratic citizenship (Labaree, 1997) because she modeled a critique of oppressive societal conditions and quietly encouraged students to exercise their rights to transform them.

Mrs. Durham’s care for students was motivated by good intentions to help students navigate their new realities, but she reminded them frequently just how much she did for them. She cared *about* her students, but regardless of intentions, the ways in which she sheltered them (e.g., discouraging them from discussing politics and insisting that they come to her for help) were aligned with the aim of “social efficiency” (Labaree, 1997) and perpetuated the production of a working class in school (Willis, 1978).

I also noted throughout my data collection that the students manifested care for themselves, their families, their teachers, and each other by helping each other in all kinds of ways and by serving as guides to the frequent new students. As students demonstrated care for each other, they also modeled how to navigate and manipulate the structures of schooling. The expressions of care manifested by the students pointed to an aim of schooling related to Labaree’s

(1997) “social mobility” in that students learned to take a social position in society. However, while students learned to navigate some of the social institutions of U.S. society and were, thus, “socially mobile,” I problematize the degree to which their mobility depended on how well they learned to remain hidden in society. I suggest that, given the centrality of school as a site for citizenship production (Parker, 2003), the aim of schooling reflective of how newcomer students demonstrated care is more accurately described as “underground navigation.”

Noddings (1988) notes that the caring relation in teaching is motivated by love and a desire to foster growth in others and to connect in meaningful relations; she explains, “From the perspective of caring, the *growth* of those cared for is a matter of central importance (p. 221, emphasis added).” (1996), drawing upon Noddings’s work, demonstrates the challenge of the “reciprocal” relation of caring in teaching—which begins with the teacher communicating “acceptance and confirmation to the *cared-for* student” and becoming complete when the “*cared-for* student” opens up and “[reveals] her/his essential self” (p. 21). Valenzuela (1999) distinguishes between “aesthetic care”—with an orientation toward “things and ideas” (p. 22)—and “authentic care”—with an orientation toward learning through relationships. Schools, she argues, are organized around an ethic of aesthetic care, privileging notions of achievement and overlooking the need to nurture authentic care-based (i.e., relational) learning experiences for students.

The Students: Caring through “Cultural Community Wealth”

The care that teachers demonstrate for their students is much more widely explored in research than the care manifested by students toward each other (Watson, Sealey-Ruiz, & Jackson, 2016). Mrs. Durham’s classroom provided insight into how *care* manifested itself at school and offered a unique context in which to understand how newcomers demonstrate care. Students in this classroom demonstrated care for each other by serving as guides to new students and as “cultural brokers” (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983) to each other. They drew upon and built

their “cultural community wealth” (Yosso, 2005)—encompassing “aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, and navigational capital” (p. 78)—to help each other navigate their new realities and to imagine futures for themselves.

New students enrolled in Washington River High School with dizzying frequency. The students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom served as guides for the new students, helping them navigate their new school. Anyelín explained, “We help [the new students], and the teachers tell them how to learn and what they have to do” (12/03/16); all students in this classroom could empathize with the feeling of being new. As ambassadors, the students helped new students open their lockers, showed newcomers how to navigate the lunch line, and invited them to eat lunch at their table in the cafeteria. Saraí pointed to the importance of walking alongside newcomers to show them the ropes rather than just telling them what to do (12/13/16).

As new students grew more comfortable and gained experience in the classroom, they grew into the role of guide as well. Caterín Michelle named Anyelín as the person who had helped her “learn the ropes” of her new school, and Saraí remembered Caterín Michelle having been her guide when she first arrived. Therefore, Caterín Michelle had been a newcomer and transitioned to guide within the space of only a few months. These relationships continued as more experienced students helped students who had been at WRHS for a shorter time with coursework, translating, and understanding school policies. In this way, students leveraged their various forms of capital to welcome and encourage newcomers.

As students grew to understand the policies and routines of schooling in the United States, they served as “cultural brokers” for newcomers as they navigated their school experiences. Cultural brokers, according to Gentemann and Whitehead (1983), are “bicultural actors” who are able to navigate “both cultures, to take mainstream values and communicate them to the ethnic cultures, and communicate the ethnic culture to the mainstream” (p. 119). This was especially

evident in the experiences of the school-to-career students who routinely translated between monolingual English-speaking teachers and newcomer students. Alejandro, too, was able to function as a cultural broker although he had been in the U.S. for only a few months; however, his school and life experiences in his home country of Costa Rica had provided him with a life that was much more similar to life in the U.S. than the experiences of other newcomers (i.e., those students from Guatemala, Honduras, or El Salvador).

Students also demonstrated care by drawing on “familial capital” (Yosso, 2005) as they navigated their schooling experiences. As Valenzuela (1999) has pointed out, students bring to bear in school cultural notions of *educación*, which means their behavior is a representation of their families—a role they take seriously. Caterín Michelle acknowledged that she did not want others to view her siblings in a poor light because of her actions: “No me gustaría que tal vez mirara mal a mis hermanos porque yo mire mal a alguien...o por la forma de quien soy. (*I wouldn't want anybody to look down on my siblings because I wasn't being good to the others...or because the kind of person I am*)” (Caterín Michelle, 12/12/16). *Educación* implies courtesy, helpfulness, and comporting oneself in a way appropriate to the place and occasion (Valenzuela, 1999). Jesús's frequent willingness to share his food illustrated how he regarded his peers much like a family. Students also drew on the “funds of knowledge” (Moll, et al., 1992) they had developed as family members when they reciprocated help, either by helping with coursework, translating, or by sharing food, and in their roles as guides to new students.

Mrs. Sánchez: Care as a Cultural Practice

Mrs. Sánchez, culturally similar to the students in her care, demonstrated care for students in a number of ways. She served as a “cultural broker” (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983), much like the students, but she also leveraged her position of authority to help students and their families learn and navigate WRHS and the institution of school in the United States. She was the first

institutional representative most new Spanish-speaking students and families met at WRHS; thus, she played an important role in helping families understand the expectations for school entrance and the process for obtaining transcripts from previous schools. Mrs. Sánchez's role as cultural broker also helped bridge families and the school by fielding attendance phone calls, explaining registration procedures and guidelines between guidance counselors and the students, and translating between administrators or teachers and students when necessary. In this way, she provided access to the parts of WRHS that expected English proficiency and a cultural understanding of U.S. schooling.

Being a role model was part of Mrs. Sánchez's role as a cultural broker. She modeled learning as she continued to learn Spanish vocabulary and spelling, and she frequently mentioned facts or ideas that were important to know in relation to pursuing U.S. citizenship. She did not hide from the students what she did not know, and instead modeled how to be a learner. Relatedly, she validated and affirmed students' efforts in class, especially when they volunteered responses to questions about course content. She also advocated for students in her role as a professional within the school and classroom, watching out for fairness in disciplinary actions (such as when she followed through on her word by defending students when she had granted permission to use their phones) and accuracy in translations.

Another way in which Mrs. Sánchez served as a "cultural broker" for students was by policing them in the school and in the classroom (i.e., calling them out when they used their phones when they were not allowed or indicating a violation of the school's dress code to a student). Policing their behaviors was a way of teaching the "mainstream culture" to newcomers. When she commented on a young woman's shirt being too short because it showed a few inches of her belly, she explained that it was not appropriate dress for school. Similarly, when she gave Diego a stern

look for his inappropriate (although hilarious) witticisms, she communicated that the mainstream culture would not condone this behavior.

Mrs. Sánchez's translation and interpretation in Mrs. Durham's classroom expanded and enriched the content of the curriculum for students. She leveraged her experiences of learning English as she identified what to take apart and on what to elaborate and enrich. Sayra acknowledged that Mrs. Sánchez explained the content in more detail, providing background information and scaffolding vocabulary development. She also added information that was relevant to their lives, thereby connecting the curriculum to their lived experiences, as when she explained due process as it relates to immigration cases or reminded students in the wake of Trump's election that "Americans" would probably not do the work they were doing in meatpacking plants and trailer washes. For this work, she leveraged her experiences as an immigrant and a language learner to know what students needed. In this way, she demonstrated what Roberts (2010) calls "culturally relevant critical care." "Culturally relevant critical care" (Roberts, 2010) integrates care theory (Noddings, 1988) with culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory (Ladson-Billings, 1995), an intersection in which the teacher offers a critique of societal structures and how students are positioned within them.

Mrs. Sánchez's high expectations for what students ought to know in order to navigate American life also manifested "culturally relevant critical care." She could empathize with and model what it meant to be a "person of color," an immigrant, and a Latina in the school world and in life. For example, she resisted the substitute teacher's low expectation that students learn the umbrella term, "Congress" and not learn the names of the two houses of Congress, and insisted, "They need to know it." She also noted when something in the curriculum was noteworthy because of its utility on the path to American citizenship status (i.e., George Washington was the first president).

Mrs. Sánchez also knew the importance of encouraging the young women in the class to speak with confidence in their abilities, especially academically. Her quiet verbal observation, “Las mujeres están dominando el día de hoy (*The women are dominating today.*)” (11/09/16), was a message to the young women and men in the class that the women were intelligent and capable. Her own cultural life experiences had reinforced the expectation that Latina women be submissive and deferent to men. In this way, she acknowledged cultural understanding and, viewing it as oppressive, disrupted it at the same time.

Mrs. Sánchez’s Spanish and English proficiency afforded her the opportunity to establish relationships with students from the day they enrolled in WRHS. Caterín Michelle seemed touched that Mrs. Sánchez had extended a hug to comfort her on the morning following Trump’s election. Furthermore, the frequency with which students sat in the chair beside her desk to talk with her was evidence of the trusting and safe relationship she fostered with students. Jorge confided in her about his frustration regarding the incident in art class in which a school-to-career student had escalated trouble between him and another student; Mrs. Sánchez wondered whether the school-to-career student had mistranslated on purpose, and voiced her concerns to Mrs. Durham. At the same time, Mrs. Sánchez was clearly not a “friend” to her students; she described herself as “more strict” than others in her position. Just a look from Mrs. Sánchez could silence or change the behavior of even Diego or Jorge, the most rambunctious of the students. The students’ willingness to talk with her about their daily lives *and* respond to her as an authority figure aligned with Valenzuela’s (1999) “authentic care,” in which the vitality of the caring relation depends on the *cared-for* student opening himself or herself up to the teacher.

Finally, Mrs. Sánchez also acted as a “warm demander” (Ware, 2006) as she employed “tough love” with students who threatened to drop out of school or even skip school for the day. Her first response to students who threatened such action was gentle and pleading, reminding

them that they would give up a high school diploma and commit themselves to a life of work. When they persisted in their threats to drop out of school, she facetiously agreed to prepare the paperwork for them and mentioned offhandedly how she had been working with their transcripts and noticed how much closer they were to graduation. She seemed to know when they needed to hear that there was hope they would finish high school, but she offered it without begging them to stay.

Mrs. Sánchez demonstrated care in the classroom as a “cultural broker” (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983), a “warm demander” (Ware, 2006), and through “authentic care” (Valenzuela, 1999) and “culturally relevant critical care” (Roberts, 2010). She acted as a bridge between the students and their teachers, the school, and the community, and she supported students as they worked toward a high school diploma—which sometimes required tough love. She did, however, help them to see and critique the way they were positioned within the school and society. Although she did not explicitly describe her stance as oriented toward social justice, she fostered an understanding of the stratified and hierarchical society in the U.S. and encouraged them to push back against it.

Mrs. Durham: Care for Survival

Mrs. Durham demonstrated care for her students as well. She worked hard to meet students’ needs and to help them feel welcome in the school. However, the ways in which she demonstrated care were more oriented toward her earning students’ favor than for helping them gain independence. While she worked tirelessly to help meet students’ needs—coordinating help within the school and community—she also reminded them often of how much she helped them. She seemed to thrive on being needed, and she enjoyed the gifts and gestures of appreciation students bestowed upon her. She wished to be understood as “different” from other teachers, allowing students special privileges in her classroom that other teachers did not permit. Mrs.

Durham positioned herself as the gatekeeper for communications between students and the world outside her classroom, which meant that she discouraged students from confiding in other teachers.

Mrs. Durham diagnosed and helped newcomer students with a range of needs. Her classroom was like a triage in which she assessed students' needs and the severity of them before she acted. She prioritized the direst needs and documented those that could wait. She admitted that although her official role was to teach students English, she felt more strongly about the ways in which she could help students learn survival skills for life in the U.S. She was a resource for everything: obtaining health insurance, scheduling immunizations, securing copies of birth certificates, finding notaries for families who signed affidavits in lieu of providing a birth certificate, registering for Selective Service, obtaining a social security number, finding jobs and money. Even former students came to her for help. This kind of "sacrificial life" (Antrop-González, 2003, p. 253) is common for teachers who work with students with a range of substantial needs. She used her own money and resources to provide for her students, and she made the classroom space homey and welcoming to students. Students valued and appreciated her help, but her help positioned the students and their families to need and depend on her rather than equipping them with the knowledge and skills to navigate societal institutions themselves.

Mrs. Durham's classroom was a space that was comfortable and flexible, offering students comfortable places to sit, food and drinks for purchase, and frequent opportunities to listen to music and enjoy some free time. Humor and silliness pervaded the culture of the room, and it was clear that students were comfortable and safe there. The comfort and safety students experienced in this sanctuary-like space were especially relevant to their lives outside of school, in which discussions of "sanctuary" had real-life implications for their security from authorities with

deportation orders. Even authorized immigrants felt anxious and insecure in the current context of Trump's threats of mass deportations.

Mrs. Durham demonstrated care in her interpersonal relationships with students, complimenting their haircuts or new glasses, and there was no doubt she cared about them. She also acknowledged that students' life situations did not fit well within the structure of school, and therefore, bent rules (i.e., allowing cell phones at appropriate times) to make it possible for students to navigate school while serving as an interpreter for a parent or as a caretaker for a younger sibling. However, she also rewarded students with parties and GROWL tickets—tokens that students could submit to a drawing for prizes—when they demonstrated behaviors that were valued by the school and mainstream society. In addition, she had observed that so many of her students “did not have childhoods,” and so she worked to give them what she thought of as childhood experiences (e.g., riding bicycles in the hallway or taking a field trip to the zoo). The newcomers did, in fact, have childhoods; their childhoods were just not what she imagined or acknowledged as a childhood.

Mrs. Durham also demonstrated care in more symbolically supportive ways. For example, on the morning following Trump's election, she took time to reassure students that Trump would not alone have the power to rule. She joked that students could come and live in her basement if necessary; while they all giggled at that invitation and joked about it in the days to come, the idea that they would be safe from deportation (or the racism Trump's election emboldened) in her basement was misguided and false. Similarly, her advice to students that they come to her if they felt threatened or experienced racist attacks—while born of good intentions—conveyed that she alone was the person who could save them from the attacks. She repeated these promises to protect students when they felt threatened—as in the example of Jorge's situation in art class with a classmate's bigoted implication that he should clean up the table because he was “Mexican”

(although he was actually Salvadorian). Jorge brought his concern to Mrs. Durham but opened up to Mrs. Sánchez because he could speak Spanish with her and did not have to utilize a translator. In this way it was Mrs. Durham's classroom, not Mrs. Durham per se, that served as the safe space.

Another symbolic gesture of care Mrs. Durham demonstrated was her occasional effort to learn phrases in the students' languages. Students taught her short phrases that were relevant to what they were doing or phrases they said often, but she learned them playfully with no earnest attempt at being able to communicate with students and their families in their dominant languages. So while it was fun to play with the language—learning rhymes and playful phrases like “I love you”—Mrs. Durham spoke English the vast majority of the time. When pressed because of Mrs. Sánchez's absence or when another translator was unavailable, she attempted to thread Spanish words into her communication with students, and for the most part, students understood enough to rely on the more proficient English learners to translate for them.

Mrs. Durham's roles as the helper, the comforter, and the advocate were focused on making school a place where students felt safe, secure, and cared for. Her efforts were oriented toward building relationships with students, but her efforts yielded relationships that were more self-serving (i.e., earning students' favor) as she enjoyed being needed and reminded students often about how much she had helped them. Their relationships, though, were more utilitarian than authentic. Valenzuela (1999) notes that because immigrant students want to respect their teachers' positions, they accept the “aesthetic care” that perpetuates the idea that school is “impersonal, irrelevant, and lifeless” (p. 22). While the relationships were clearly important in Mrs. Durham's classroom, they were quite separate from the learning they did about American history, and the message was clear that school *outside* of this classroom was not a welcoming space.

The ways in which the students, Mrs. Sánchez, and Mrs. Durham demonstrated care in this classroom were oriented toward different aims of schooling. This is especially important to analyze because of the important role that school plays as a “public space” (Parker, 2003) for newcomers. As the students helped each other to navigate the school in a way that allowed them to “play the game” of the institution that was dismissive of their presence, they worked toward an aim of “underground navigation”—learning to map the safe spaces within the school while also remaining unnoticed. Mrs. Sánchez—through “critically relevant care” (Watson, Sealey-Ruiz, & Jackson, 2016) and her roles as a “cultural broker” (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983) and a “warm demander” (Ware, 2006)—oriented her work toward “democratic equality” (Labaree, 1997) and fostering a sense of belonging for students. Finally, Mrs. Durham’s care was oriented toward an aim of “social efficiency” (Labaree, 1997)—helping students learn to assume a position within society’s already stratified structure. I turn now to how this care disregarded opportunities to integrate students’ lives into the curriculum and the life of the school.

Missed Opportunities in the Classroom and School

The arrival of newcomer students to a school most certainly prompts some growing pains; however, Washington River High School’s response to newcomer students was more focused on fitting students into the existing structure of the school than on transforming itself to integrate newcomers’ lives. Throughout my research in WRHS, I noted a number of missed opportunities to integrate newcomers into the classroom, the curriculum, and the daily life of the school. What I viewed as opportunities were regarded by the school as problems or sometimes overlooked altogether. First, the school dismissed students’ linguistic skills in Spanish and other languages indigenous to Guatemala as a deficiency in English; the school did not acknowledge their linguistic “funds of knowledge” *unless* these skills could be deployed to translate. Second, there were missed opportunities to integrate newcomers into U.S. history and the national narrative. Third,

there were missed opportunities to cultivate civic education, especially following Trump's election when students had to grapple to understand life in "America" and to simultaneously make sense of life in "America under Trump." Finally, there were missed opportunities to integrate newcomer students into the school community.

Missed Opportunities to Draw on Students' "Funds of Knowledge"

Newcomer students to WRHS came to school with "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) learned through their experiences in their home countries, on their journeys to the U.S. and Washington River, and in the brief time they had lived in Washington River. Students had developed proficient linguistic skills in one or more languages; almost all students from Guatemala spoke at least two languages. Most students had attended school—many with gaps and interruptions—in their home countries, and thus, held understandings of schooling. The ways in which newcomers made their way to the U.S. and to Washington River varied, but the knowledge they learned and practiced during their journeys "al Norte" provided opportunities to connect new learning to these experiences.

Students' deficiency in English was evident as soon as they enrolled in WRHS and were labeled "English Language Learners (ELLs)." The goal of learning English was forefronted through this placement, especially because it comprised the majority of their school day. Students took "sheltered" content courses during the first part of the day, then took a full block of "ELL"—focused explicitly on English language development—and during the last block of the day, students were enrolled in elective courses like physical education or art or Spanish. Students' proficiency in Spanish was valued only in instances in which it served utilitarian purposes (i.e., translating for other students or for teachers in relation to school). School-to-career students who spoke Spanish were rarely offered the opportunity to participate in classrooms for purposes other than translating. Students who had previously completed general education courses (e.g., American Literature)

were utilized as a resource for helping students who were currently enrolled in those courses. The expectation that students serve as translators (without being compensated in a way equal to the service they provided to the school) exploited their linguistic skills.

Isabel's experience in an introductory Spanish class was illustrative of another way in which students' funds of knowledge were neglected. Having attended school regularly in El Salvador, her Spanish literacy skills were quite developed. She was, however, placed in a Spanish 1 course during the fourth block of the day, during which she "learned" introductory vocabulary (words and phrases that were most likely among her first words as a toddler) and simple grammatical structures. She explained, "Pues, hago lo mismo que los güeros, repito todo (*Well, I do the same as the White kids, I repeat everything*)" (Isabel, 12/13/16). Her teacher had not questioned the appropriateness of her placement in this Spanish class—or at least had not achieved an alternative placement for her—treating her with the same expectations as the non-Spanish dominant learners in the class.

The Spanish program at WRHS privileged Castilian Spanish, which differed in important ways from Isabel's Salvadorian Spanish, so even when she should have had the opportunity to experience academic success, her "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) in Spanish were dismissed. This placement in an introductory Spanish class completely disregarded her Spanish proficiency and literacy, and the absence of attempts to differentiate the curriculum to acknowledge her linguistic skills communicated that her Spanish was "less than" Castilian Spanish and sometimes even incorrect. This missed opportunity to draw on her linguistic skills in Spanish class was culturally insensitive and unresponsive, and her placement in the introductory class simply "filled space" in her schedule. Moreover, the school's erasure of the Spanish class for proficient speakers (which I had developed and taught) took away the opportunity for her enrollment in Spanish to further develop her Spanish literacy skills.

Another example of a missed opportunity to draw on students' background experiences in a meaningful way, although deployed with good intentions, was when Mrs. Durham asked students to explore the duality of their experiences of living in their home countries and in the United States. Sayra's drawings representing her life in Mexico and in the United States (see page 106) were meaningful, but the face in the middle in which her Mexico face and United States face were cut down the middle and joined to create a new face was a simplistic representation of how newcomers construct identities. The nuanced ways in which their experiences in their home countries influence and transform their lives in the U.S. were lost through this crude mash-up of their identities. Attempts to bring students' cultures into the classroom—such as the maps displaying students' home countries and the miniature dresses completed as art projects—were largely symbolic and depicted a shallow dimension of culture (Lee, Menkart, & Okazawa, 1998).

Missed Opportunities to Integrate Newcomers into U.S. History

I also noted missed opportunities to integrate newcomers into United States history and the national narrative of the U.S. In some instances, students seemed dumbfounded by the neglect of how the course material related to their lives. As students were learning about the wave of immigration from Northern Europe during the mid-1800s, Mrs. Durham referenced a chart from the textbook that depicted Ireland and Germany as the two main "sources of immigration" between 1820-1860 (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 132).

Mrs. Durham, sitting at her desk, finishes the passage in the textbook about U.S. immigration in the 1820s and when Mrs. Sánchez finishes translating it, she asks, "So, who are immigrants?" There is laughter from all the students. She smiles, "I know we have a roomful..." and Alejandro suggests, "Nosotros." She nods, and rephrasing her question, asks, "Which two countries had the most immigrants?" Someone shouts, "Guatemala!" and they all laugh again because clearly, he was right. The room was full of Guatemalan immigrants. Mrs. Durham clarifies, "...in 1820?" and someone mumbles, "Ireland and England," and Mrs. Durham praises their answer. (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16)

The passage in the textbook most certainly resonated with the students in the room, including sentences like, “[Immigrants] came in search of jobs and freedom,” and “The immigrants left their home countries to escape huge problems. Some people left because of wars” (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 132). However, the connections to current immigrants searching for jobs and an escape from the “problems” and “wars” in their home countries were completely neglected. The opportunity to explore current immigration in relation to the broader history of U.S. immigration and to validate their own reasons for im/migrating was lost as the immigrants of the mid-1800s were isolated in time.

Another example of a missed opportunity to integrate newcomers into the narrative of U.S. history came when they were learning about the Civil War era. The experience of Dred Scott, an enslaved man who had been taken from Missouri (in which slavery was allowed by law) to Illinois (in which slavery was outlawed) and then back to Missouri, served as fertile ground for an honest discussion of the United States’ racist history. Scott and his wife, Harriet, who argued that they became free when they entered Illinois, sued for their freedom in Missouri. The Supreme Court’s “Dred Scott decision” of 1857 ruled that “a slave was not a citizen and had ‘no rights which the white man was bound to respect’” (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 157). The way in which the status of “citizen” was equated with having “no rights” begged for discussion, especially in light of the many students who did not have legal status; however, the students simply copied the statement into their notes and they quickly moved on to the next page of the textbook (Fieldnotes, 11/28/16). Mrs. Durham ignored the blatantly racist Supreme Court decision and the legacy of such racism in the modern world.

The brief passage included in the textbook about the Underground Railroad would have provided an important connection to students’ lives as well.

Other people worked together in secret to help slaves escape from the South. They let runaway slaves hide in their houses, barns, and *basements*. At night, the slaves would travel from one house to another. Eventually, they reached the North—and freedom. This way of escaping to freedom was called the *Underground Railroad*. (Duran, Gusman, & Shefelbine, 2005, p. 134, emphasis added)

The students' experiences of school mirrored the description in the passage and begged for connection, especially in light of Mrs. Durham's earlier reference to her basement as a safe space for immigrants following Trump's election. In addition, the passage would have served as an entry point into discussing "La Bestia," the train that runs northward through Mexico into the United States and which is named "the beast" because migrants ride atop it in the blistering sun and many are injured or killed on the journey. This comparison may have helped students conceptualize the danger and urgency of the enslaved persons seeking freedom.

One final example of missed opportunities to integrate students into the American historical narrative came when they learned about the women's suffrage movement that led to women earning the right to vote in 1920. Mrs. Durham concluded matter-of-factly, "Now in America, anyone over 18 can vote." Mrs. Sánchez's translation offered an important caveat, adding, "as long as they are American citizens" (Fieldnotes, 11/16/16). Mrs. Durham's statement was an idealistic portrayal of the country, but completely left out the millions of citizens who do not have legal status that would afford them the right to vote. Mrs. Sánchez's quick addition to the translation clarified this, but there was still no discussion of the implications for how people without legal status could participate as citizens. This is related to the next section in which I discuss the missed opportunities to cultivate civic education, a critical facet of immigrant students' education with the aim of democratic equality (Labaree, 1997).

Missed Opportunities to Cultivate Civic Education

Even though Mrs. Durham's class was a history class, there were missed opportunities to integrate civic education into the course. Students learned symbolic gestures of American

citizenship, like standing and reciting the Pledge of Allegiance each day. However, amidst an enormously impactful historical moment, students grappled with learning to do life in America *and* to do life in America under Trump. Trump's election added to the stresses that students already experienced, as Caterín Michelle explained that she felt "at the same time nervous, fear, surprised..." when faced with living in the U.S. during a Trump presidency (12/13/16). They wondered if they would be deported and if their work permits would be removed or if their immigration cases would be disrupted. They questioned the politicization of their bodies in the U.S., asking, "Why doesn't Trump like Hispanics?" (Fieldnotes, 11/11/16). The historical moment was ripe for discussion of civil rights and civic participation.

Students, however, were discouraged from participating in political dialogue. Mrs. Durham advised them with a serious tone as she introduced a short unit on elections in the two weeks leading up to the general election of 2016, "Politics are a taboo in society" (Mrs. Durham, 10/26/16). She explained that discussion of politics can damage relationships and even asked students to explain back to her in writing why discussing politics was dangerous. This was contradictory to what they had learned about the Bill of Rights earlier in the semester. The First Amendment, it seemed, guaranteed freedom of speech and expression *unless* the speech was political. By discouraging political dialogue and action, Mrs. Durham negated the activism of people like Dolores Huerta and César Chávez, who fought for the rights of migrant farm workers during the 1960s, and encouraged students to remain hidden in the margins of society. The expectation seemed to be that students learn the rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution but that they not exercise them. This dangerously implied that "We the People" was not inclusive of people like them. The tension, though, between teaching to amplify students' voices and acknowledging the reality of a political context that limits the rights of people who do not have legal status is real and one with which Mrs. Durham grappled.

Trump's promises to remove "bad hombres" (Salama, 2017) carried implications for how newcomer students saw themselves (Hamann & Morgensen, 2017). Du Bois (1903) reflected on how this "double-consciousness" positions oneself in the world:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (p. 3)

The racist alienation and nativist claims to the privileges of U.S.-born citizens most certainly prompted students to experience this "double-consciousness," positioning themselves as a "person of color" and sensing the implications of their "dark bod[ies]." The absence of any discussion of racism—even amidst the promised intolerance of "racist" comments—assumed a shared understanding of the experience. Understanding one's positionality and agency within a raced, classed society, such as the U.S., requires critical analysis of the concept of racism and the forces that work to perpetuate it.

Missed Opportunities to Integrate Students into the School Community

The school as a whole segregated and distanced newcomer students and their families in a number of ways. The missed opportunities to integrate students into the school community pointed to the way the school regarded newcomers as problems—with deficiencies in schooling and in English—and managed the problems by isolating them from the rest of the school. Newcomer students rarely left the hallway in which the ELL classrooms were located, and when they did, they seldom did so alone. As I noted earlier, non-ELL students rarely walked through the ELL hallway, and there was no interaction between them and ELL students when they did. This physical segregation from the rest of the school distanced students from the daily life of the school and literally relegated them to the margins—as their hallway was located in a corner of the school.

The administration's decision to route attendance phone calls from Spanish-speaking families from the main office to Mrs. Durham's classroom distanced families from the office of the school. The attendance clerk's refusal to continue to make and field phone calls from Spanish-speaking parents and caretakers was dismissive of an entire swath of the student population. Mrs. Durham's willingness to accept the phone calls in her classroom—a task that was then relegated to Mrs. Sánchez—was an attempt to serve Spanish-speaking families in the same way that English-dominant families were served. However, this added to the already long list of tasks Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez had taken on and lifted from the duties of the main office. In this way, newcomer students were out of sight and out of mind.

Similarly, the school wide announcements broadcasted over the intercom each morning were solely in English, ignoring the student population who were non English-dominant. Broadcasting announcements in Spanish would have communicated to the whole school community that Spanish was a part of their school and community. Although Mrs. Durham recognized the inequity in English-only announcements, she admitted that most of the announcements (i.e., where to get parking passes or how to register for ACT-preparation courses) did not apply to newcomers anyway. Diego's cheeky question, "¿Qué dijo (*What did he say?*)" after an especially lengthy series of announcements—and the ensuing laughter from the rest of the students—indicated that the students recognized that they were not the intended audience for the school wide announcements. Likewise, the rest of the school was allowed to ignore that a portion of the student body was marginal to their own existence at school.

Another example that pointed to the marginalization of newcomer and ELL students was on the occasion of a visit to the school from the district Representative in the U.S. House of Representatives. "All junior and senior" social studies classes were invited (i.e., required) to go to the school auditorium to hear him address the group. No ELL students attended because "they

wouldn't understand what he was saying anyway" (Fieldnotes, 10/24/16). ELL students could have benefitted from the experience of coming face-to-face with the Representative from their community who had a voice in Washington, DC, and English-dominant students would have benefitted from seeing ELLs in the same public space with them; moreover, keeping the ELL students out of the auditorium during this meeting allowed the U.S. Representative to ignore their presence as well. However, the additional logistical considerations of translating the monolingual Representative's remarks outweighed the perceived benefits to ELLs, the school, and the legislator.

Finally, the curious decision on the school's part to overlook a qualified bilingual applicant for the position of guidance counselor in the school—and instead choosing to shift personnel so that the high school football coach could be placed at the high school—belies the school's purported commitment to serve all students well. Instead, they continued to rely on Mrs. Sánchez to enroll new students, evaluate transcripts, and register students for classes. Although Mrs. Sánchez was dedicated to helping students and their families navigate WRHS, ELLs and their families did not have access to the same professional guidance non-ELL students had. The disregard for the need to recruit and hire bilingual professionals—in addition to more bilingual paraeducators—revealed their lack of concern for transforming the school to accommodate the needs of its newcomer students.

Conclusions

The themes of mismatch, the implications of care, and missed opportunities speak to the ways in which newcomer students were marginalized and problematized at WRHS. The assumption was that newcomers ought to integrate into the extant practices and structures of the school. While Mrs. Durham worked tirelessly to meet students' needs, she did so with a deficit-based perspective (Nieto & Bode, 2012) about newcomers. Mrs. Sánchez offered a more critical

perspective of the students' experiences (and her own) in the United States, and she worked toward more aspirational aims of belonging and claiming rights (Flores, 2003). The students supported each other by carving out space in the "underground" of the school and guiding each other through it. Finally, there were missed opportunities throughout the school to leverage students' "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) in order to help them make meaningful connections to their lives, and to make them visible and relevant in the lives of longstanding residents.

Disrupting the Durable Institution of Schooling from Within

Washington River High School was a "mismatch" (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001) for newcomer students in this NLD context. It would be simplistic to blame the mismatch on the durable institution of schooling because institutions are not static structures. *People* make up institutions, and it is through their actions that institutions are transformed—or not. Institutions are not unchangeable, but it takes political will to act in service of change; efforts to integrate newcomer students were noticeably absent—or at best makeshift—throughout WRHS.

Care in WRHS was demonstrated in different ways and implied different aims of schooling. Mrs. Durham's care was oriented toward what Labaree (1997) calls "social efficiency," while Mrs. Sánchez's care was oriented toward Labaree's (1997) aim of democratic equality. However, the ways in which students demonstrated care positioned them to navigate the underground of school—and by extension, community—life, teaching each other to move quietly and unnoticed from safe space to safe space in order to accomplish what they needed to do.

This prompts the question: Toward what aim ought we to orient schooling for immigrant students, especially those who arrive as high school-aged students? Labaree's (1997) aim of democratic equality seems suitable but insufficient; an explicit aim of critical democratic citizenship (Abu El-Haj, 2009) more fully addresses the cultivation of citizenship practices that allow students

to claim rights and experience belonging (Flores, 2003)—to be equal—in the United States. Especially relevant to life for newcomers in the U.S. in a Trump administration, citizenship must be understood as “an active process of claiming rights rather than the passive acquisition of an arbitrary and limited set of rights” (Flores, 2003, p. 295). Mrs. Sánchez’s critical perspective offers useful guidance in orienting school toward this aim.

Mrs. Sánchez’s influence on the life of the classroom also demonstrates that cultural representation in school matters; paraeducators, more often than teachers, reflect the demographics of newcomer students (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006). Mrs. Sánchez’s presence in the classroom provided students access to the course content, and she leveraged her experiences of being an immigrant, an English learner, and a Latina as she worked with students. Students referred to Mrs. Sánchez as “maestra (*teacher*)” and, as Sayra pointed out, they relied on her to “add more details” to the simplified American history depicted in the textbook. However, Mrs. Sánchez’s role as paraeducator limited what she could teach and how often she could add her thoughts. Clearly, Mrs. Sánchez would have an even more powerful influence were she to be regarded with the status of a teacher by other professionals in the school.

I described a number of missed opportunities to connect newcomer students to the U.S. history curriculum and to integrate them into the school. I wonder, though, if some of the *missed* opportunities may have been *neglected* opportunities—teachers and other school staff actively shirking any responsibility to work with newcomer students. The persistence of the status quo—and a general resistance to change—manifested the maintenance of a culture of Whiteness (including the privileging of English) at WRHS and in Washington River in general. The school changed their daily operations very little (if at all) in response to its newcomer students.

Newcomers were the “problem” of very few staff members at the school; at WRHS, only a small fraction of the staff was involved in meeting the needs of newcomers, including providing

instruction to them. This required Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez to shoulder the responsibility for all newcomers and allowed everyone else to ignore them. It is no wonder that Mrs. Durham and Mrs. Sánchez felt so protective and responsible for meeting students' needs, and so exhausted from doing so. Furthermore, since the school regarded newcomers as a problem, Mrs. Durham's willingness to "contain" them was an easy out for the rest of the staff. Other staff members shirked the responsibility to integrate newcomers, and teachers relied on Mrs. Durham (which also meant Mrs. Sánchez) to communicate test dates and other course information.

Finally, even though the school as a whole was dismissive and neglectful of its responsibility to meet newcomers' needs, newcomers and their families looked to the school to meet the numerous and varying needs they had as they transitioned to a new country and community. Newcomers arrived with a range of needs as they transitioned to their new country and community. They had to manage immigration cases, enroll children (or themselves) in school—with all the accompanying requirements that entails—secure housing and work, and find transportation—including obtaining insurance and registration for vehicles. In cases in which they did not have documentation to secure the necessary requirements (e.g., not having documentation to obtain a driver's license), they risked encounters with authorities and additional fines for infractions. In the New Latino Diaspora context of Washington River, school was the place where the bulk of newcomers' needs were addressed. Acknowledging the important role of school as a public space, I problematize the notion that school—or more accurately, two individuals within the school—ought to take on all the responsibility for serving newcomers' needs in NLD communities. School—that which is aimed at educating students equitably—simply cannot be faced with the choice of meeting students' needs or leaving them to flounder on their own.

Constructing Citizenship in the Margins

Returning to my research questions, it is notable that I went into this research with preexisting notions of citizenship that, even though framed by the construct of “cultural citizenship” (Rosaldo, 1994), were interpreted through my own lens of Whiteness. In exploring the context ethnographically, I attended to the shared understandings for constructing, describing, and navigating the social world (Spradley, 1979). The “epistemological humility” (Spradley, 1979) necessary in ethnographic work afforded me the opportunity to see through the students’ experiences how “being different” (Rosaldo, 1994)—embodying a reality of Brownness—had very real implications for the public space in which to construct citizen identities. The quotidian relational, cultural, and social practices in this classroom and school narrowed newcomers’ access to the public space in which they could see and be seen, and hear and be heard—the students’ t-shirts proclaiming a very sincere message to the country and to the world: “Hear us, see us.”

WRHS was resistant to change due to the durability of Whiteness entrenched in the community. The school was a “mismatch” (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001) for newcomer students, and they largely operated in the underground and in the margins of the school. This location of citizenship construction negates opportunities for newcomers to experience the full realm of public space and to enter into the public consciousness. The challenges facing schools in NLD receiving communities are many, but the diversity that is so essential to democracy (Parker, 2003) is enriched by the arrival of newcomers in these contexts as well. Newcomers and longstanding resident students must have deliberately cultivated opportunities for interaction and dialogue (e.g., offering bilingual social studies classes) in order to regard one another in “political friendship” (Allen, 2004). If this is to happen, schools must transform in response to newcomers rather than justifying segregated arrangements based solely on newcomers’ deficits in English.

Mrs. Sánchez offered a portrait of “culturally relevant critical care” (Watson, Sealey-Ruiz, & Jackson, 2016) in which she modeled a critique of the stratification of society, and therefore, was

oriented toward an aim of schooling for democratic equality (Labaree, 1997); I have suggested that aims of schooling ought to be even more explicitly oriented toward “critical democratic citizenship” (Abu El-Haj, 2009) in order to provide them access to the public space alongside those who have been historically privileged. Likewise, historically privileged students (i.e., White students) will have a more realistic, honest, and inclusive experience of the public space. As Mrs. Sánchez’s presence attested, cultural representation matters in schooling with the aim of fostering belonging for all students.

Evaluating Progress in Washington River

Resistance to change in NLD receiving communities is normal and expected; change is hard. However, it must not be tolerated long term. So, is Washington River High School doing a good job in responding to newcomers? There are a number of signs that the school is neglecting to serve newcomers well, and at the same time, refusing to be transformed by them. There are also promising signs—although many fewer—that demonstrate small changes can make a big difference. I turn first to the ways in which WRHS is not responding to newcomers well so that I may end on a more hopeful note.

The clearest sign that WRHS has refused to be transformed by its newcomer students is the absence of any school wide inclusion of Spanish-language announcements or assemblies. The school is not meeting the newcomer students in the middle and conveys the expectation that newcomers ought to assimilate to the established culture of the school and community. The language differences of newcomers were viewed as a problem instead of an asset, and the most striking result of this disregard was the segregation and isolation of newcomer students to the ELL hallway.

While WRHS hired bilingual paraeducators, the school passed over a bilingual applicant for the guidance counselor position and did not actively recruit or hire bilingual teachers. This

demonstrated that the school was not committed to fostering change in the teaching demographics so that they might more closely mirror those of their students. There was really no change at all in the general operation of the school (including hiring decisions) in response to newcomers.

Newcomers were also asked to blend in—they were encouraged to follow the crowd and to learn to be a part of the school as it existed—which communicated to them that they were the ones who were expected to change.

Finally, the Spanish classes were disappointingly ignorant of who was in them and privileged European Spanish. This was both dismissive of Spanish-proficient students' "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al., 1992) and neglectful of the opportunity to foster bilingualism that could facilitate relationships and interactions among the actual residents of Washington River. As I often reminded my own high school Spanish learners, monolingualism is curable; taking classes in high school to learn Spanish was one way to cure it, but neglecting Central American and Mexican dialects of Spanish was exclusionary and dismissive of the Spanish spoken right in Washington River.

There were also signs that small changes made a difference in newcomers' experiences of school. Clearly, Mrs. Sánchez's presence in the classroom was a promising sign that the school wished to communicate with non-English dominant students and families. The addition of two other bilingual paraeducators gave access to the help and guidance newcomers needed as they learned to navigate their new school. WRHS also scheduled interpreters to be on call at parent-teacher conferences so that teachers could communicate with parents and caretakers who were monolingual Spanish speakers; this was an improvement from just a few years earlier when the school improvised communication by having students translate between the parents and teachers at conferences. Even the routing of attendance phone calls to Mrs. Sánchez demonstrated an

attempt on the school's part to facilitate communication between school and Spanish-speaking students and families—although this separate line distanced them from the main office.

It was also encouraging to see ELL students integrated into classrooms with the rest of the school for the 20-minute homeroom time four days a week. General education students and ELL students had opportunities to interact in these environments, even if they could not communicate through spoken language. I also noted that more ELL and newcomer students—although still a very small number—had begun to participate in extracurricular activities (mostly just athletics) at the school. Again, these activities were informal opportunities for students of all backgrounds to interact.

Implications

The context of Washington River offers insight into the growing pains associated with demographic change in an NLD receiving community and school. It also offers useful lessons for moving forward toward more equitable and productive schooling practices for schools welcoming newcomers.

Implications for Teacher Education

First, there must be a systematic effort to recruit and hire bilingual teachers and other staff who can communicate with non-English dominant students and their families. Newcomers need to be able to communicate with the school's office personnel to report absences and to be notified of students' absences; they also need to be able to communicate with the guidance counselors to discuss class registration and mental health concerns. Bilingual staff members would also be helpful in facilitating communication between the nurse and new students and their families in order to inform them of the required immunizations and documentation needed. As Mrs. Durham admitted, the school "should do a lot more in both languages." All students should have access to

all the information that is disseminated to the students in the school, and they ought to be able to participate meaningfully in the life of the school—outside of the ELL classroom and hallway.

Teacher education models that promote, recruit, and support bilingual teachers will be a crucial support to schools with multilingual student populations; a critical pedagogy component of these programs will develop teachers who can help students learn critical practices of democratic citizenship (Abu El-Haj, 2009). Similarly, schools need to be supportive of alternative teacher education pathways like teacher residencies that cultivate learning to teach within a specific context and “grow-your-own” programs that work to help paraeducators obtain teacher licensure (Bickmore, Smagorinsky, & O’Donnell-Allen, 2005; Gatti, 2016; Grossman, Hammerness, & McDonald, 2009; Grossman & Loeb, 2008; Hammerness & Matsko, 2012).

Teacher preparation programs should require proficiency in at least one other language in order to foster a cultural shift toward multilingualism; these programs should also include courses in which teacher candidates learn language acquisition strategies and strategies for working with English learners (Hamann & Reeves, 2013). If teachers’ efforts to become multilingual are to be validated and encouraged, education funding should support their efforts through scholarships and grants to learn a language relevant to their communities (e.g., through immersive summer experiences in language schools). While preservice teachers largely shoulder the cost of international and multilingual experiences through study abroad programs, financially supporting this work would convey the public’s commitment to integrating multilingual citizens.

Experiences to cultivate cultural proficiency and attention to multicultural education and critical pedagogy in all courses will be especially important in developing teachers who empathize with and support newcomers while denouncing inequities and disrupting the status quo of ideologically undergirded institutions (Bartolomé, 2004; Chou & Tozer, 2008; Conklin, 2008). Finally, bilingual paraeducators must also be compensated more appropriately for the work they

do. Additional training and development opportunities will provide paraeducators with the tools they need to purposefully assist students in their school experiences as well (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006).

Implications for Educational Leadership and Policy

It is important to acknowledge that many newcomers arrive in the United States with limited formal schooling and/or gaps in their schooling experiences. Alternate pathways to graduation for these students would offer a remedy to the “race” students enter when they arrive in U.S. schools; these pathways, however, must include language support and careful attention to the background experiences of newcomers.

Efforts by community organizations like the Kiwanis Club—which provided transportation (bicycles) to fifteen students—or the Children’s Fund—which provided funding for eyeglasses or dental care—were helpful; however, as Mrs. Durham acknowledged, their funds were not infinite. The participation of other community and civic organizations in meeting newcomers’ needs—perhaps in cooperation with the schools—would alleviate some of the work of helping newcomers transition to their new community (Levine, 2007; Putnam, 2000).

The corporations that hire newcomers—even those without authorization to work—also need to shoulder some of the work of helping newcomers transition to their new lives (Lamphere, 1992; Lamphere, Grenier, & Stepick, 1994; Stull, Broadway, & Erickson, 1992). In addition, Mrs. Durham’s and Mrs. Sánchez’s work to ensure that their students were being paid fairly for the hours they worked and to monitor the number of hours the newcomer minors worked was admirable but an unfair burden to them. Corporations that continue to profit from low-paid workers must be forced to reckon with and bear the weight of the work it takes to make a life in a new place, including paying workers a living wage.

Implications for Future Research

This study illuminates a number of implications for future research as well. First, comparative studies in NLD contexts—especially in the field of social studies—would provide insight into how general education students and newcomer students construct citizen identities. Second, a more extensive ethnographic inquiry into the context of the whole community of Washington River and communities like it would illuminate other civic spaces in which citizens construct identities and shared visions of the “public.” Finally, studies that illuminate more successful and hopeful responses—in school and elsewhere—to newcomers would provide productive guidance in moving toward more equitable and inclusive classrooms, schools, and communities.

A Final Note: Constructing Citizenship in a Time of Trump

It was by happenstance that this study coincided with the 2016 general election in the United States. I was keenly aware in the weeks and days leading up to the election on November 9, 2016, that the polarized and vitriolic rhetoric surrounding the election was of historical import. This time provided me with a unique experience to understand how newcomers to the United States made sense of what I, as a lifelong American citizen, could not wrap my mind around. The bigoted and misogynistic assertions surfaced some of the most hateful factions of the underbelly of the U.S. social fabric.

I was heartened, even amidst the disequilibrium I experienced following the election, by the resilience and resolve of the students in Mrs. Durham’s classroom. I looked to Mrs. Sánchez, too—who gained her U.S. residence card on the very same morning Trump rescinded DACA after having been stuck in Houston as a result of Hurricane Harvey’s flooding—as a model of perseverance and quiet tenacity. Mrs. Durham’s efforts to support students emotionally in the wake of Trump’s election made it clear that we did not have to like the results of the election, but we did have to move forward.

Contexts like Washington River High School—in which students of diverse backgrounds and experiences come together—must be leveraged to teach civic skills (e.g., dialogue) and knowledge (e.g., civil and human rights) as students learn alongside and learn to “talk with strangers” (Allen, 2004; Parker, 2003). *All* students must see themselves in the U.S. Constitution’s promise to protect the “inalienable rights” of “We the People.”

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Appendix A

IRB Approval Letter



 Official Approval Letter for IRB project #15770 - New Project Form

September 28, 2016

Tricia Gray , Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education HENZ 114D, UNL, 68588-0355

Lauren Gatti , Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education 61E HENZ, UNL, 68588-0355

IRB Number: 20160915770FB Project ID: 15770

Project Title: How Do High School Students Construct Citizen Identities in a Social Studies Course?

Dear Tricia:

This letter is to officially notify you of the approval of your project by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects. It is the Board's opinion that you have provided adequate safeguards for the rights and welfare of the participants in this study based on the information provided. Your proposal is in compliance with this institution's Federal Wide Assurance 00002258 and the DHHS Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects (45 CFR 46).

You are authorized to implement this study as of the Date of Final Approval: 09/28/2016. This approval is Valid Until: 01/09/2017 when the continuing review and monitoring plan is required to be submitted.

- Date of Full Board review: 12/17/2015, 01/26/2016, 02/05/2016, 02/24/2016
- Date of Review of Revisions and Approval: 09/20/2016 o Risk Classification: Minimal Risk o Expedited upon review: Yes, Expedited upon continuing review AND minor and informational modifications approved under Expedited category 9 at 45 CFR 46.110
- Funding: N/A o Consent waiver: Yes, waiver of consent documentation approvable under 45 CFR 46.117(c)(2)
- Review of specific regulatory criteria (contingent on funding source): 45 CFR 46 o Subparts B, C or D: Subpart D, research involving children not greater than minimal risk at 45 CFR 46.404

The Board has also requested that this project receive approval with a continuing review completed after data collection is completed (January 9, 2017) to provide a description of any issues or concerns regarding consent that may or may not have arisen. At the time of continuing review, the Board would like the following questions answered (and will be included in the final approval letter):

- 1) Were most parents/guardians able to answer the consent interview questions?
- 2) How many parents did not consent?
- 3) What were the reasons why they did not consent?
- 4) Where are transcripts stored at this time?
- 5) Has it been verified that the transcripts do not include identifying information?
- 6) Are recordings still being stored? If so, do they contain any identifying information? 7) Were all artifacts collected and de-identified through de-identification techniques?

We wish to remind you that the principal investigator is responsible for reporting to this Board any of the following events within 48

hours of the event: * Any serious event (including on-site and off-site adverse events, injuries, side effects, deaths, or other problems) which in the opinion of the local investigator was unanticipated, involved risk to subjects or others, and was possibly related to the research procedures; * Any serious accidental or unintentional change to the IRB-approved protocol that involves risk or has the potential to recur;

* Any publication in the literature, safety monitoring report, interim result or other finding that indicates an unexpected change to the risk/benefit ratio of the research; * Any breach in confidentiality or compromise in data privacy related to the subject or others; or * Any complaint of a subject that indicates an unanticipated risk or that cannot be resolved by the research staff.

For projects which continue beyond one year from the starting date, the IRB will request continuing review and update of the research project. Your study will be due for continuing review as indicated above. The investigator must also advise the Board when this study is finished or discontinued by completing the enclosed Protocol Final Report form and returning it to the Institutional Review Board.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB office at 402-472-6965.

Sincerely,



Rachel Wenzl, CIP for the IRB

University of Nebraska-Lincoln Office of Research and Economic Development

nugrant.unl.edu



Appendix B

Consent Interview Questions

Tricia Gray

IRB #15770

Consent interview

1. What will I ask your child to do?
2. Where will your child participate?
3. How long will it take for them to participate?
4. Will your name or your child's name be recorded?
5. Are you required to allow your child to do this as part of a school activity?

Appendix C

Translator/Interpreter Confidentiality Agreement

How Do High School Students Construct Citizen Identities in a Social Studies Course?

I, _____ [name of translator], do hereby agree to maintain full confidentiality when serving as a translator for this research project.

I will be performing the following translation services (check all that apply):

- Transcribing recordings or other raw data into English from Spanish
- Verbally translating information from English into Spanish or vice versa

Specifically, I agree to:

- keep all research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the information in any form or format (e.g., transcripts) with anyone other than the primary investigator;
- hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual revealed during the transcription of recordings, during a live oral interview, or in any other materials related to this research;
- not make copies of any raw data in any form or format (e.g., transcripts);
- keep all raw data that contains identifying information in any form or format (e.g., transcripts, student work samples) secure while it is in my possession. This includes:
 - keeping all digitized raw data in computer password-protected files and other raw data in a locked file;
 - closing any computer programs and documents of the raw data when temporarily away from the computer; and
 - using closed headphones if transcribing recordings
- give all raw data in any form or format (e.g., transcripts) to the primary investigator when I have completed the translation tasks; and
- destroy all research information in any form or format that is not returnable to the primary investigator (e.g., information stored on my computer hard drive or any backup device) upon completion of the translation tasks.

Provide the following contact information for the translator:

Printed name of translator _____

Address: _____

Telephone number: _____

My signature verifies that I possess the qualifications to accurately perform this work.

Signature of translator _____ Date _____

Printed name of primary investigator _____

Signature of primary investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix D

Semistructured Interview Protocol

Thanks for taking time to talk with me today about your history class. Do you still wish to be a part of this study?

#1: I am interested in hearing about your class from your perspective. Will you start by describing a typical day in your history class?

#2: I'm trying to understand what you're learning in history class about how people live together in Washington River and in the United States. Talk about what you think are the important things you have learned about that in history class.

#3: Part of living together is knowing how to treat each other. Talk about what you have learned about how to treat other people.

#4: It sounds like that discussion was important to a lot of the people in the class, and like you said, a lot of people were interested. Talk about how you know that people were interested.

Thanks for taking time to talk with me. Are you still okay being a part of the study?