"I WAS BORN HERE BUT I'M NOT AN AMERICAN":

UNDERSTANDING THE US HISTORY CURRICULUM

THROUGH THE EYES OF LATINO STUDENTS

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum at one high school in the Eastern United States. The ultimate objective was to understand if the US History classes are serving the perceived needs of Latino students. Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, are the youngest population group, and are the fastest growing.

The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for challenging the dominant worldview and teaching about the diversity present in the classroom, the nation, and the world; therefore, learning more about socio-culturally inclusive social studies curriculum and pedagogy is an important consideration. This project is significant because it intersects with topics essential to the future of our nation: schools, the social studies curriculum, culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students, and students' perspectives. Furthermore, the focus of this research overlaps with the reality of today's educational system: state content standards and high stakes testing. All of these aspects will be addressed.

This study was influenced by Latino Critical Theory. LatCrit is an outgrowth of Critical Race Theory (hereafter known as CRT). CRT interrogates how research is traditionally done by forefronting race to demonstrate the depth of inequality that exists across society. LatCrit builds on the five themes of CRT while adding perspectives

unique to Latino experiences in the United States such as language acquisition, cultural background, gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and colonial experience.

Data were collected for six months at Crawford High School (name changed). The data sources included observation notes, interview transcripts from students, teachers, administrators, and a State Board of Education member, the researcher's journal, and document analysis of the State Social Studies Standards and a practice version of the State Graduation Test.

Data were analyzed utilizing the lens of *la frontera*. *La frontera* underscores the displacement and transitionality of identities, pertinent to the lives of the student-participants. In addition, these theories, which manifest themselves as metaphorical tropes, compliment LatCrit, the lens through which I view my research.

The students made public what is already known: that the educational system must become more culturally inclusive of and responsive to CLD students' needs. However, this study revealed data patterns with student participants that have not been captured within one study. A major finding of this study was that the US History curriculum is or is not meeting student participants' needs in different ways, based upon pertinent characteristics of the students. Latino students' responses were informed by the following critical factors: English speaking ability, recency of arrival in the United States, and level of integration into the power structures of the state where the research was completed. The level of integration was further influenced by students' documentation status (their legal status in the US), parents' English speaking ability, and the English speaking ability of members in a student's residence and immediate neighborhood. Students' responses fell distinctly into three groups based upon these characteristics.

The students in Group One stressed the basic need to learn English. Maslow described human motivation with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Perhaps this is what students in Group One were telling me—their most basic needs had to be met before they would be ready to "grow" in American schools. Group Two student-participants wanted their culture to be present so that other students—particularly White students—would learn about them. Group Three students conformed to previous studies conducted with White students—they wanted to learn in more interactive ways, working with groups, and being stimulated with flashy videos.

Students at Crawford did not have an adequate framework around which to make sense of race, racism, and racial tensions. The presence of how race *was* talked about, and the absence of how race was *not* talked about, led to negative stereotypes against Latinos based upon ethnicity, immigration status, and native language. Furthermore, one teacher demonstrated a closed paradigm of ethnicity and skin color that silenced one of his students. The student-participants in all Groups *wanted* to talk about race. They wanted to talk about their "positive invisibility" at Crawford—that is, the absence of affirmative constructions around their ethnicity, country of origin, and language. The findings suggest that there is a need for more studies with Latino students that focus on the aspects of Latino Critical Theory.

This dissertation is dedicated to the students, my wonderful family,

and my friends all over the world.

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PUBLICATIONS

1.   Forthcoming: Co-Author of Nahuatl-Nahuatl Dictionary (2006).

2.   S. Rierson & L. Duty, "Conscientizacao: Latina Women, American Students, and Empowerment in the Social Studies Classroom." Social Education, 67, 33-37 (2003).

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education

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CHAPTER 1

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

"These experiences have shown me that if you are a person of color, it is more difficult for you to achieve" (quote in Bartolomé & Balderrama, 2001).

"It is time to abandon some old sacred cows…if we want our schools to be creators of success" (Harold Howe, 1987).

The world in which we live is simultaneously shrinking and expanding: shrinking from the speed of communication and travel in our technological age, and expanding from the widening range of opportunities to learn about and reach places far and away. Global economic, political, and cultural connections emphasize the necessity of preparing students who can function in a multilingual and multicultural arena (Fradd & Lee, 1998; McLaren & Muñoz, 2000; Ovando & McLaren, 2000). Students in today's schools need not travel far and away to learn about the world's multilingual and multicultural diversity: they only need look across their classroom to appreciate the changing demographics in American society.

Nearly 40% of American K-12 students are from culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) groups (Associated Press, 2005; North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 2004; Skolnik, Dulberg, & Maestre, 2004; US Census Bureau, 2000e).[1]

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[1] I employ the term "culturally and linguistically diverse" (CLD) instead of "minority" as related to students. *Minority* has "implied several negative socio-educational connotations" (Kloosterman, 2003, p. xii), which I choose to avoid.

Twenty-two percent of students have at least one foreign-born parent, including 91% of Asian children and 66% of Latino students (Associated Press, 2005). K-12 schools contain a growing number of students whose first language is not English (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Hayes-Bautista, Hurtado, Burciaga Valdez, & Hernandez, 1992; Hurtado & García, 1994; Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003; López, 2003; Sosa, 1993; US Census Bureau 2000e).[2] Multiple investigations report that school administrators and teachers are unable to meet the "cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs" of CLD students (Espinoza-Herold, 2003, p. xi; see also Associated Press, 2005; Benjamin, 2002; González, 2002; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004). Logically, students are more likely to view as negative schooling experiences that do not meet students' needs (Calabrese, 1987; Cummins, 1996, 2000; Davidson, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Montero-Sieburth, 1993, 1996; Trusty & Dooley-Dickey, 1993). Negative school interactions devalue and disempower students, and may "ultimately push them out of the system" (Espinoza-Herold, p. 1; see also Cummins, 2000; Howard, 2003; Trusty & Dooley-Dickey, 1993). Conversely, positive school experiences empower students and encourage students to "achieve their educational aspirations" (Espinoza-Herold, 2003, p. 1; see also Cummins, 1993, 1996, 2000; Nieto, 2004). In summary, positive educational experiences that meet the cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs of students influence academic success (Abi-Nader, 1993; Deyhle, 1995; Hayes, Bahruth & Kessler; 1991; Huerta-Macías, 2002; Igoa, 1995; McCaleb, 1994; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1987; Zanger, 1994).

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[2] Forty six million people in the United States, or 17.9% speak a language other than English. Over half of these are Spanish speakers (US Census Bureau, 2002). Following Spanish, the top language groups in US schools are Vietnamese, Hmong, Cantonese, and Cambodian (Freeman & Freeman, 2002).

The educational system must become more culturally inclusive of and responsive to CLD students' needs (Associated Press, 2005; Cummins, 1993; Darder, Torres, & Gutierrez, 1997; De León & Holman, 2002; Gay, 2000; Howard, 2003; Huerta-Macías, 2002; Irvine & Armento, 2001; Latino Eligibility Task Force, 1993; McGroarty, 1998; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Mullis & Jenkins, 1988; Oakes, 1990; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Olsen, 1997; Padilla, 1990; Perez & de la Rosa Salazar, 1997; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Sepúlveda, 1996; Trueba, 1989; Valencia, 1991a). Educators can no longer explain the "perpetual school failure of students of color" as a mere coincidence (Howard, 2003, p. 29). "At some point," Howard concludes, "the question must be posed, 'What's race got to do with it?'" (p. 29, citing Parker & Lynn, 2002).

Race may have a great deal to "deal with it." Of particular interest is how schools are addressing the academic needs of Latino students (Davidson, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Fine, 1991; Nieto, 1992, Romo & Falbo, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999), a multiethnic, multinational demographic group with a long history of under-education. This study will examine Latino students' viewpoints of their United States History class, and how the class meets their perceived needs. Several interrelated questions direct this dissertation research. However, the following fundamental problem statement guides this investigation:

> **From the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States history class meet their needs?**

This research assumes that if a student is attending class, the class must be meeting *at least* one need. The need may be as banal as "I need this class to graduate," or as original as "in college I plan to major in history." While the social studies is only one

curriculum area that impacts Latino students' connection to the school experience, I will

discuss the potential of this particular curriculum area to meet needs of students.

Education incorporating students' needs and backgrounds generates greater academic

success than education which ignores students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Abi-

Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a).[3]

Students may become invested in school, persevere academically, and achieve academic

success with culturally relevant social studies curriculum and pedagogy (Nieto, 1992,

2000, 2004; Sepúlveda, 1996; Trueba & McLaren, 2000).

Statement of the Problem

Because cultural and linguistic diversity is rapidly increasing in the United

States,[4] it is imperative that our schools address CLD students' needs (Hayes-Bautista,

Schink, & Chapa, 1988; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003; Latino Eligibility

Task Force, 1993; López, 2003; McGroarty, 1998; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997;

Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Valencia, 1991a). Between 20% (US Census Bureau, 2004)

and 25% (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004) of the entire K-12 population is Latino, and

Latinos are the largest CLD minority in the American public school system (Pedraza,

2002; Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002; US Census Bureau, 2004). More attention to

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[3] In addition, the resiliency of Mexican families has been shown to increase with the maintenance of Mexican cultural traditions such as baptisms, weddings, burials, and quinceañeras. Keeping children grounded in traditions has been shown to increase their strong self-identity and self-concept (Trueba, 1998).

[4] Minorities are projected to be 50% of the total US population by the year 2050. Latinos are estimated to be half of this, or one-quarter of the US population (US Census Bureau, 1999).

educational issues with Latinos is needed because of the population increase and projected growth of Latinos in the United States.

The marginalization (see "definitions of terms" in this chapter) of Latino students is of great concern to our nation (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Nieto 2001; Trueba & McLaren, 2000; US Department of Education, 2000). CLD students are more disadvantaged in American schools than are students from European backgrounds. CLD students are more likely to disproportionately attend resource-poor schools, lack access to highly qualified teachers, be deficient in college-preparatory coursework, come from households with low levels of formal education, be English language learners and English language learners with disabilities, and have higher family mobility rates because of migrant and/or seasonal work (American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, & Jeffrey, 2005).

Schools are not responding to the needs of Latino students (American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Darder, 1991; Sepúlveda, 1996), demonstrated by increased drop out rates, grade failures, disconnect, and functional illiteracy. Among many immigrant groups today, the length of residence in the United States is associated with declining health, school achievement, and ambition (Bailey & Pope, 2005; Cummins, 1985; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Murguia & Telles, 1996; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Rumbaut, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984; Steinberg, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, 2000; Suro, 1998; Valverde, 1987; Vernez, Abrahamse & Quigley, 1996).[5] In addition, voluntary and involuntary immigrant students have unique and

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[5] Cummins (1993) affirms that research completed in Sweden and the US suggests that CLD students who immigrate at or after the age of ten have more academic success than CLD students born in the host country. Cummins queries, "is it because their L1…skills on arrival provide a better foundation for L2

troubling stories to tell (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; Cohen, 1970; Crawford, 1989, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Deyhle, 1995; Epstein, 1977; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Freeman & Freeman, 2002; Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Gibson, 1987, 1997; Guofang, 2003; Kromhout & Vedder, 1996; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Meador, 2005; Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1978, 1987, 1991a, 1992; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Romanucci-Ross, 1995; Serra I Salamé, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1993; Valdés, 1996). Table 1 offers a brief description of some of these studies. Studies have been completed with Navajo students in the United States who are treated as immigrants, Chinese immigrants in Canada, Afro-Caribbeans in the Netherlands, and multiple diverse groups in American schools.

These crises will almost certainly increase (Fashola, Slavin, Calderón, 2001) with restrictive educational environments that fail to appreciate the cultural diversity of the American school system. An aggregate of scholars have already documented the deteriorating education of Latinos since the 1980s (Portes, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b; Valencia 1991a).[6] While great efforts are underway to rethink bilingual education, teacher training, school governance, and curriculum reform, our nation remains in a state of urgency (Fashola, Slavin, Calderón, 2001; Pedraza, 2002; Vasquez, 1993). An indication of this exigency is the educational attainment of Latino K-12 students. Latino students have the highest dropout rates of *any* demographic group

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[learning], …or because they have not experienced devaluation of their identity in the societal institutions, namely schools of the host country…?" (p. 106). Suárez-Orozco (1989) discounts Cummins regarding *Mexican* immigrants in particular: "US born Mexican Americans tend to do better in school than their Mexican born peers" (p. 45). See Suárez-Orozco for more information on Mexican students versus Central American students.

[6]The decade of the 1980s was heralded as the "Decade of the Hispanic." Ironically, the disparity between Latino and non-Latino Whites increased across income, employment, and education (Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1990).

(Antonucci, 2002; Ball, 2002; Duarte, 1997; Ginorio & Huston, 2000; Janzen &

Schoorman, 2001; Nembhard & Pang, 2003; President's Advisory Commission, 2003;

Author, year	Topic of book or article
Crawford, J. (1992)	L2 English learners react to "English only" policies.
Deyhle, D. (1995)	Navajo students' reactions to systemic racism in schools, and how this affects their academic success
Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986)	Research with African American students regarding ethnic identity and academic success.
Gibson, M. (1997).	Ethnographic research with voluntary and involuntary minorities regarding what helps them succeed academically
Guofang, L. (2003)	The Politics of Schooling for a Chinese Canadian Family
Kromhout, M., & Vedder, P. (1996)	The academic success of Afro-Caribbean students in the Netherlands.
Matute-Bianchi, M. E. (1986)	Research with Mexican and Japanese students regarding their ethnic identities and academic success.
Meador, E. (2005)	Mexican girls' conceptions of self and success living in the Southwest United States.
Ogbu, J. U. (1990)	Ogbu addresses research regarding cultural and language differences interfering with students' learning.
Romanucci-Ross, L. (Ed.). (1995)	Research with students from the former Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe and the Baltic States, Sri Lanka, Southeast and East Asia, Africa and Latino communities in the United States.
Serra I Salamé, C. (2004)	Ethnographic research in a secondary school in Catalonia, Spain, analyzing the racist violence against students of African origin.
Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (1995b)	Patterns of success among Hispanic youth in American schools

Table 1: Brief Listing of Topics of Articles and Books Written About Voluntary and

Involuntary Immigrant Students.

Walsh, 1991; see also Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004, Espinoza-Herold, 2003). The exact

percentage of Latinos who do not complete high school is unknown, as many students

leave school before entering ninth grade. Various studies estimate the dropout rate at 19%

(American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Pew Hispanic Center, 2003), 25% (Latino

Educational Summit, 2001), 30% (Sanchez, 2002), 35% (Fashola, Slavin, & Calderón,

2001), and as high as 45% (Trueba 1989; Pérez & De la Rosa Salazar, 1993). Many more

graduate without the "academic rigor to have access to a higher education" (National

Council of La Raza, 2001; see also American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Manhattan

Institute for Policy Research, 2005; Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003).[7] This is a severe

problem within the Latino community (Horowitz, 1983; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Vigil,

1988).[8] Limited educational attainment restricts access to higher education and income

potential (Bailey & Pope, 2005; President's Advisory Commission, 2003): incomes of

men and women with a bachelor's degree are 150% and 100% higher, respectively, than

men and women with high school diplomas (NCES, 2002b).[9] The low level of high

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[7] Sanchez (2002) estimates the high end at 30%. Experts state that indications of future high school non-completion are evident as early as third grade (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986, 1987; Lloyd, 1978; Rumberger, 1987, 1998). By fourth grade, African American and Latino students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are two years behind their peers. By 12th-grade this lag has widened to four years (White-Clark, 2005). See Bailey and Leinbach (2005), and Pope (2002) for information on Latinos in community colleges, and President's Advisory Commission (2003) for statistics on Latinos in higher education and their earning power.

[8] No Latino subgroup is at parity with non-Latino whites regarding high school graduation rates (Ochoa, 2003). Nine of ten Whites (88%) graduate from high school. Of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Central and South Americans, and Cubans, 50%, 64%, and 70% graduate, respectively (ibid.).

[9] The income gap between a bachelor's and a high school degree holder has increased substantially since the 1960s (Myers, 1998; Rodgers, 1999; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Uchitelle, 2000), particularly for Blacks and Latinos (Williams, 2000). Employers now perceive that a college degree sends the message that a job applicant is sufficiently disciplined and has mastered new ways of working (Uchitelle, 2000). Power and success are closely linked to educational attainment (Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003). Eleven percent of Latinos over the age of 25 have a four-year degree, in comparison to 27% of Whites (NCES, 2002b; President's Advisory Commission, 1996). Since Latinos are least likely to earn a

school attainment in the Latino community helps explain why 26% of Latinos are living in poverty (National Council of La Raza, 2000; US Census Bureau, 2000c).[10] Furthermore, unskilled workers are less able to become contributors to our society (Ochoa, 2003), and are more likely to face personal disempowerment, physical, mental, cognitive, behavioral, and social concerns (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Loeber & Dishion, 1983; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Rumberger & Larson, 1994; Secada, Chavez-Chavez, Garcia, Munoz, Oakes, & Santiago-Santiago, 1998).[11]

The intent of this study is not to highlight negative aspects of the Latino school-age population. Nonetheless, the high school dropout rate among Latino students cannot be ignored as an indication of a crisis (Center for Community Change, 2001; Ochoa, 1995, 2003). The intention of this project is to focus on the positive achievements among Latino students. Many Latino students are highly successful in school (Antrop-Gonzalez, Velez, & Garrett, 2005; Garrett Darder & Upshur, 1993; Diaz-Greenberg, 2003; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Gándara, 1982; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Reyes & Jason, 1993; Segura, 1993; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, 2000; Trueba, 1988, 1991a; Trujillo, 1996; Valencia, 1991a, 1991b; Vigil, 1997;

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higher education degree than any other demographic group, the lack of education significantly limits a large proportion of the population (Zambone & Alicea-Sáez).

[10] For purposes of comparison, 8% of non-Latino whites live in poverty. Poverty is severe in the Latino community nationwide. Forty percent of Latino children live in poverty (Federal Interagency Forum, 1998), compared to 10% of non-Latino White children (National Council of La Raza, 2000; US Census Bureau, 2000c). The majority of these children are contained in 100 urban school districts, where over 50% of all students are Latinos. "These 100 urban school districts have a substantial impact on the human capital of the nation" (Pearl & Knight, as cited in Ochoa, 2003, p. 53).

[11] Forty percent of all students in juvenile court schools are Latinos (Latino Educational Summit, 2001).

Wheelock, 1993). *We know* what promotes academic success among Latino students.[12]

Understanding what *works* will drive this investigation. This research will depart from

the positive perspective of success, not failure.

Latinos: Absent from the Curriculum

The Latino culture in the United States has an extensive record of cultural and

historical contributions in this nation (Contreras, 1997). A large part of the "American

Story" can be told by recognizing the technological, educational, political, and social

efforts of Latino men and women, particularly in the Southwest United States (Roybal,

1979). Unfortunately, scholars have failed to reflect accurately the activities and

involvement of Latinos in the "American Story" because of Latinos' ethnic minority

status. The "American Story" in mainstream literature and educational textbooks focuses

overwhelmingly on contributions of the dominant, Anglo culture (Cruz, 2002; Dillabough

& McAlpine, 1996; Garcia, 1980; Hyun, 2000; Noboa, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

When Latinos' political activities are noted, Latino men are typically the focus. Latin*as*

actions are rarely celebrated. Hence, Latin*as*, women of Latin American heritage, have

been twice marginalized from the "American Story" because of gender and ethnicity.

These arguments will be pursued in greater depth in Chapter 2.

A considerable amount of data suggests that incorporating minority students'

language and culture in the school program is a significant predictor of student success

(Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, & Jeffrey, 2005; Cummins, 1993; Ensminger & Slusarcick,

1992; Entwisle, Alexander, & Olson, 2005). Positive reinforcement of one's cultural

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[12] We also know what does not work to promote academic success for Latino populations: the 1990s push for standardized testing (NCES, 2001).

identity is empowering for all students. Empowered students "develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically" (Cummins, 1993, p. 106). Disempowered students do not develop this foundation. Clearly, the absence of Latinos from the curriculum contributes to the disempowerment of Latino students.

The Social Studies

The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for teaching about the diversity present in the classroom, the nation, and the world. In social studies classes, students can develop an "understanding of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups and their significance in US society and throughout the world" (NCSS, 1991), and "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live efficiently in a world…characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence" (NCSS, 1982). Howard (2003) asserts that a central tenet of the social studies is "to improve human relations and develop civic competence in the pursuit of a democratic and just society" (p. 28; see also Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Dewey, 1933; Parker, 1991; Ross, 2001; Saxe, 1997; Shaver, 1977, 1991; Stanley & Nelson, 1994; Walker & White, 2003). Unfortunately, the social studies curriculum is frequently criticized for its lack of cultural diversity (Howard, 2003; Merryfield, 1997; Noboa, 2004), and the perpetuation of racialized status quo (Banks, 1997; Crocco & Davis, 2002; Howard, 2003; Parker, 1997; Tyson, 2003a). These criticisms contribute to the significance of the problem. In particular, the US History curriculum is cited for its overt emphasis on Western men at the expense of the actions and philosophies of women and CLD peoples. Therefore, minorities, 40% of the nation's

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K-12 population (Nieto, 2004), are disregarded in classes that endeavor to "create a society that recognizes and respects the cultures of its diverse people" (NCSS, 1991).

Not all social studies classrooms disregard the diversity of student populations. Effective social studies practices incorporate students' cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs and backgrounds in the curriculum (Espinoza-Herold, 2003), and many teachers realize these procedures daily. Culturally inclusive social studies fosters factual knowledge, appreciation of differences, and necessary skills for functioning in a multicultural world. Comprehensive social studies classes "connect" with students because they address a topic students can relate to— *themselves*—while reaching beyond the individualistic domain.

An education inclusive of students' needs and backgrounds increases positive school experiences, and aids in students' academic success (Abi-Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a). Hence, the social studies, a curriculum area largely focused on the study of people and culture, should be investigated for its potential to affect students' perceptions of school. Therefore, this research focuses on Latino students' needs for their US History class and its potential to increase Latino students' connection to the school experience and thus, their academic achievement.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is to explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History class at one high school. From the viewpoint of Latino students, in what ways does their US History class meets their needs? I will present personal, evocative "portraits" (Lightfoot, 1983; Perrone, 1985) of Latino students' needs. Multiple questions augment this study.

1. What are students' definitions of "need" (in general)?

2. What are students' definitions of "need" regarding academics and school?

3. Utilizing students' perceptions of school-based "needs," what are students' definitions of "need" regarding their US History class? The following sub-questions may stimulate discussion: From each student's perspective,
   a. What do they like about their US History social studies classes?
   b. What do they dislike about their US History social studies classes?
   c. What material, concepts, and activities are most important to include in the US History class? (This question addresses elements that students may not "like," but feel are beneficial)
   d. What material, concepts, and activities should students have more exposure to in their US History classes? (This questions addresses missing elements that students perceive important)

4. From each student's perspective, which needs are being met and which needs are not being met by their US History class?

Although the problem statement cannot be definitively answered by this investigation, this research will be exploratory and suggestive instead of prescriptive (McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997). The study will generate useful data, discussion, and analyses that will contribute to a more accurate understanding of this vital question.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum at one high school. The ultimate objective was to understand if the US History classes are serving the perceived needs of Latino students. Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, are the youngest population group, and are the fastest growing (see Table 2). Between 1972 and 1999, the percentage of Latino students in K-12 schools nearly tripled, increasing from 6% to 16.2%. During the same time, Blacks experienced a comparatively minor up tick, from 14.8% to 16.5%, and the percentage of White students fell from 77.8% to 61.9%. Native American and Pacific and Aleutian Island percentages rose as a conglomerate from 1.4% to 5.5%. Diversity has grown and continues to grow in the United States.[13] To offer a historical comparison, Latino students composed 13% of the nation's K-12 students in 1994, "a proportion higher than the proportion of black students at the height of the civil rights struggle" (Orfield, 1998, p. 278). In the past decade, who has defended the rights of these Latino students with marches and sit-ins? "Because of their numbers, Latino youth, and more specifically youth of Mexican origin, are of enormous public policy interest, and their educational achievement is a matter of growing national concern" (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004, p. 2; see also Portes, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b; Trueba, 1991b, 1998b; Valencia, 1991b).

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[13] By 2020 Latino students are projected to be 25% of the K-12 population (Trueba, 1998; Valencia, 1991b).

Year	White	Black	Latino	Other	%
1972	77.8	14.8	6.0	1.4	100
1977	76.1	15.8	6.2	1.9	100
1982	71.9	16.0	8.9	3.2	100
1987	68.5	16.6	10.8	4.0	100
1992	66.8	16.9	12.1	4.3	100
1995	65.5	16.9	14.1	3.5	100
1999	61.9	16.5	16.2	5.5	100

Note. From The struggle of access: The achievement trends of Latino youth in middle and high school, by A. M. Ochoa, 2003, 49. In V. I. Kloosterman (Ed.), *Latino students in American schools: Historical and contemporary views* (pp. 47-61). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Table 2: Percent Racial Ethnic Distribution, K-12.

This project is significant because it intersects with topics essential to the future of our nation: schools, the social studies curriculum, CLD students, and students' perspectives. Schools are one of the most important institutions of a nation. At such institutions, students are subjected en masse to the dominant social, economic, and cultural ideologies of the state through the educative process (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Cremin, 1990; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Dewey, 1933; Hess & Torney, 1967; Leacock, 1969; McLaren & Giroux, 1997; Olneck, 1989, 1990, 1993; Spindler, 1974; Yamane, 2001). Schools are particularly impactful on immigrant students because they are one the few arenas for "regular, sustained interactions" with established residents

(Olsen, 1997, p. 15; see also Ayala, 2000). [14] But schools are not simply sites of social and cultural reproduction (Giroux, 1992b; McLaren & Giroux, 1997; Olsen, 1997). Students, teachers, and administrators can resist the ideologies and "transcend the imperatives of possibility" by moving from a "posture of criticism to one of substantive vision" (McLaren & Giroux, p. 19; see also Olsen, 1997). There *is* room for radical change and contestation (Kohl, 1997), as this research will suggest.

Given the changing ethnicity of the United States, it is "essential to deepen our understanding of the increasingly prominent and diverse Latino population of the United States" (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004, p. 131) so that *all* students may be better equipped to interpret and act upon the world. The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for challenging the dominant worldview and teaching about the diversity present in the classroom, the nation, and the world; therefore, learning more about socio-culturally inclusive social studies curriculum and pedagogy is an important consideration for schools (Banks, 1995a; Marri, 2003; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Tyson, 2003a). Students learn what is important and valued by the broader culture through school curriculum; hence, it cannot be stated strongly enough that schools can have a significant impact on how the students view the world, themselves, and others (Edelsky, 1996; Faltis & Hudelson, 1994, 1997; Genesee, 1994; Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993; Moll, 1992; Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez, 1994; Trueba, 1993b, Trueba & Wright, 1981; Tyson, 2003a; Vygotsky, 1978; Wiley, 1996; Zou & Trueba, 1998). Additionally, if the educational system is to become more culturally inclusive of and responsive to Latino students' needs across the nation, then more research must be completed outside of

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[14] This is not only an American phenomenon. Research has been completed with low-status immigrants such as Finnish students in Sweden (Troike, 1978), and Burakumin in Japan (Ogbu, 1983).

California and the Southwest (Attinasi, 1985; Elías-Olivares, 1995; Farr & Guerra, 1995; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999), where investigations are most commonly completed.[15] This research was conducted in a major city in the Eastern half of the United States, where the Latino population is booming.

The hegemonic practices of schools affect how all students view themselves and others. Therefore, it is crucial to ask the students, the largest "consumers" of school practices, *how* they are affected (Karns, 2005). McLaren & Gutierrez (1997) stress the importance of critical research in schools to "connect the local and the global…and for pushing the educational and social reform" (p. 197). Hodgkinson (1985) encourages researchers to "begin seeing the educational system from the perspective of the people who move through it" (p. 1). "Rendering students' experiences through their own words…lend[s] authenticity to the understanding of the context of…Latino students," states Diaz-Salcedo (1996, p. 1-2). The context of students' explanations is very important to the research process: researchers must take into account students' backgrounds, and resist making single-cause explanations for students' achievement in school (Cortes, 1986; McCarthy, 1993). Researchers must listen to students' voices (Casey, 1995; Davidson, 1996; Fernández, 2002; Mirion & Lauria, 1998). Therefore, culturally sensitive case studies are powerful instrument for understanding the needs of CLD students (Jacob & Jordan, 1987, 1993; Ogbu 1991b; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 1987b; Trueba, 1991b). Students have authority and clarity to their voice

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[15] More research needs to be completed on multiple topics such as the link between Spanish and academic achievement (Díaz, 1983; Hakuta, 1986; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Hirano-Nakanishi & Díaz, 1982), the link between bilingual education and academic achievement & the growth of self-esteem (Huang, 1992; Valenzuela de la Garza & Medina, 1985), English language proficiency and academic achievement (De Avila & Duncan, 1985), and attitudes that underlie the patterns for Spanish and English use (Attinasi, 1985; Galindo, 1991).

(Wasley, 1990) that can tell us how they experience school and how "social and educational structures affect their learning" (Nieto, 1992, p. xxvi). They can also tell us what they need for high-quality educational experiences (Nieto, 1992). Latino students have historically been left out of educational research (Abi-Nader, 1990); but they want to become involved in school reform because they have high personal and academic aspirations (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). The perspectives of Latino students' is attracting more research interest (Darder & Upshur, 1993; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Gutierrez, 1994; Gutierrez, Larson, & Kreuter, 1995; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Levin, 1998; Lucas, Henze and Donato, 1990; Martínez, 2000; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Nieto, 2004; Ogbu, 1986; Olsen, 1997; Orellana, Ek, & Hernández, 2000; Patthey-Chavez, 1993; Quintero, 2002; Rumbaut, 1995; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2000; Wilson & Corbett, 2001; Zanger, 1994). Latino students are capable of responding concretely when asked what it is like to be an immigrant in American schools (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), or about their educational needs (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 139). Such findings should not be underestimated; furthermore the

> denial that Latino children or families have any unique needs work[s] against the interest of Latino [parents and children]. This form of educational denial and neglect in place of recognizing and working to meet the actual needs of Latino children functions as a detriment to academic achievement. (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 140-141)

Few studies have asked students about their perceived educational needs (Schunk, 1992). Fewer have asked minority students, and even fewer have approached Latino students in particular. Educational studies with "minorities" tend to focus on African American students, as opposed to students from other CLD groups (Campbell & Clewell, 2002; Scantlebury & Kahle, 2002; Webb, 2002). Even research with Chicano/a students does "not include the students' perspectives to any substantial degree" (Pizarro, 1999, p. 55). An extensive search revealed a small number of studies investigating the perceived needs of Latino students within the social studies curriculum (Almarza, 2001; Yeager & Terzian, in press). Qualitative studies evaluating the perceived educational needs of Latino students is an understudied area. Therefore, this research fills gaps in the current literature regarding Latino students,' and is one of a few that addresses Latino students' needs for the US History curriculum. In summary, Latino children represent the future of America. "Their success is our success as a nation. School, then, should be a place where teachers act as mediators …by fill[ing] the needs of the students" (Martínez, 2000, p. 105).

This study will explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History classes at one high school. This research is significant because it addresses how a group of minority students in the Eastern half of the United States perceive the Anglo and male-oriented social studies curriculum. Ascertaining students' opinions outside of the Southwest may help schools develop more effective and culturally relevant materials and practices with Latino students in the Eastern United States. This research will be a useful first step for

effective educational reform. In the following sections, I discuss Latino population

growth in the United States and explain the significance of completing research with

Latino populations.

Statistics of Latino Population Growth in the United States

The Latino population is expanding across the United States at rates that surprise

the most scholarly of statisticians (see Table 3). Approximately 40 million Latinos

compose over 14.5% of the population (US Census Bureau, 2004). Latinos became the

largest minority in the nation during the 1990s, surpassing African Americans for the first

time in census history (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004; US Census Bureau, 2000c). The

growth of the Latino population in the 1990s caught the experts off guard. Statistical

scholars in the 1990s predicted that by *2010* Latinos would become the largest minority

group in the nation (Valdivieso & Nicolau, 1992): the statisticians were shortsighted by

an entire decade while standing on the precipice of the new millennium. During the

decade of the 1990s, the average increase for *all* demographic groups in the United States

was 13%; surprisingly, the Latino population increased over four times the average,

registering nearly *58%* growth (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002; US Census Bureau, 2001).

The growth did not stop in 2000: the Latino population grew 9.8% between 2000 and

2002 in contrast to 2.5% for the overall population (US Census Bureau, 2003). The

Latino population growth continues to astound.[16] This demographic shift in the United

States has been noticeable within one generation: In 1960, Blacks were 96% of the

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[16] For more insights on immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries, see Baker, Bean, Latapi, & Weintraub (1998) and Cornelius (2002).

minority population. Forty years later, they have been replaced by Latinos as the nation's largest minority, and Blacks now account for less than half of all people of color (Ramirez, 1998).

Another notable demographic change is the expansion of Latinos across the nation and into small towns and schools (Young, 1999) of Midwestern and Southern states not previously populated by Latinos (See Table 3) (Bailey & Pope, 2005; Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004; Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, 2002; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Vásquez & Torres, 2002).[17] For example, the state of North Carolina experienced a 394% increase in the Latino population, from 80,000 in the year 1990 to nearly *half a million* residents by 2000. In 2000, the state of Georgia had more people of Latin American descent than did the *entire* state of Colorado only a decade earlier. Latino populations in Delaware and Franklin counties, the two counties constituting the greater metropolitan area of Columbus, Ohio, increased 163%[18] (US Census Bureau, 1990; US Census Bureau 2000b) and 230%[19] (US Census Bureau, 1990; US Census Bureau 2000a), respectively, during the same decade. Almost half of these Midwestern-settling Latinos are first generation Mexican (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Solé, 1990). Nationwide, Latinos are projected to be 20% (Garcia, 2001) to 25% (US Census Bureau, 1999) of the total population by the year 2050. This demographic shift has had and will continue to have enormous implications for changing community needs over the next generation (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004; Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003; Pedraza, 2002).

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[17] Every state in the nation except Hawaii reflected an increase in their Latino population.

[18] Franklin County

[19] Delaware County

	Population		Change 1990-2000	
	2000	1990	number	percent
United States				
Total	281,421,906	248,709,873	32,712,033	13.2%
Latino	35,305,818	22,354,059	12,951,759	57.9%
Latino percent of total	12.5%	9%	-	-
State of Study				
Total	11,353,140	10,847,115	506,025	4.7%
Latino	217,123	139,696	77,427	55.4%
Latino percent of total	1.9%	1.3%	-	-

Note: From "Hispanic/Latin@ Demographic Highlights," by V. J. Mora, 2005,) Qué *Pasa, OSU? 12*(3), p. 14. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Table 3: Change in Population of Latinos 1990-2000.

Disaggregating the Aggregate

Latinos are not a homogeneous group (Bailey & Pope, 2005). While the Spanish language unites Latinos more than any other characteristic,[20] multiple linguistic, historical, economic, cultural, and demographic differences exist among the largest and most quickly growing minority in the United States. Approximately 60% (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999) to 66% (Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003) of Latinos in the United States are of Mexican origin. Puerto Ricans and Cubans compose the second and third largest groups, at approximately 10% and 3.5%, respectively.

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[20] The majority of Latinos are bilingual Spanish/English, and report they speak English very well (US Census Bureau, 1995).

Central, South American and "others" total to the remainder of approximately 20% (Iglesias & Fabiano). Thirty-five percent of the Latino population is foreign born (NCES, 2002a).

Mexican population growth is expected to outpace their Puerto Rican and Cuban counterparts because of the youthful Mexican age distribution. For example, the Mexican subgroup has a median age of 24 years in contrast to Cubans' 41 years (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). Thus, the younger Mexican subgroup has more childbearing years ahead of them. The high expected rates of Mexican and overall Latino growth will have a great impact on the school-age population in the near future. Therefore, "we must all pay more attention to issues, problems, and policies that pertain to Latino youth" (p. 136; see also Olsen, 1997; Pedraza, 2002).

Latinos…Where Did They Come From?

That Latinos are the largest minority in the nation caught many people off guard. "Where did all these people come from?" people ask me, as if Latinos are newcomers to the scene. Even though the native Latin American population thrived long before the arrival of European immigrants in the Southwestern United States, Latinos are considered the "new immigrants" in this nation (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, p. 12). Many Latinos may be fourth or fifth generation citizens in the United States, however, there is a pervasive predisposition in American society to examine such long-term citizens as migrant settlers. Therefore, Latinos are frequently treated as second-class citizens in a country they helped establish.

The Black/White Binary

A partial explanation for the "sudden" realization that Latinos outnumber Blacks is the Black/White racial binary in the United States. The Black/White dichotomy focuses on two groups, "usually Whites and one other" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 71; see also Delgado, 1998; Espinoza & Harris, 2000; Esquivel, 2003; Martinez, 1998; Haney-López, 1997; Perea, 1998; Ramirez, 1998, Rolón-Dow, 2005; Yosso, 2002). This paradigm marginalizes non-black minority groups. Reducing race to a binary pits one marginalized group against another, preventing cross-cultural coalitions necessary for fighting institutionalized racism. Furthermore, minorities that do not fit into the Black/White binary become "invisible, foreign, and un-American" (p. 70). Perea (1998b) demonstrates how the omission of Mexican-American struggles for desegregation during the American civil rights era distorts history and marginalizes non-Black peoples of color. Rarely are Cesar Chavez's *luchas* (struggles) described alongside Martin Luther King's in US History texts, even though both men fought for equality and justice at the same time.

Nativistic Discourse

A second reason for this oversight is the growing conservatism and nativism in the United States. One cannot help be aware of the parallels between discourse regarding the Italian and Irish newcomers 100 years ago and that describing Latinos today. Eighty years ago "virulent anti-immigrant racism, then dressed in the pseudoscientific frock of eugenics, led to the Immigration Act of 1924" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, p. 13). Southern, central, and eastern Europeans were branded the "bad" immigrants,

while "good" immigrants relocated from western and northern Europe. The dominant

paradigm at this time categorized "bad" immigrants as disease-infected criminals (Kraut,

1994) who would never be assimilated into American culture (Morgan, 1987). Suárez-

Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (1995b) posited an interesting perspective when they suggest

replacing "Latino" where "Irish" and "Italian" are written in an 1880 New York Times

editorial:

> There is a limit to our power of assimilation and when it is
> exceeded our country suffers from something very much
> like indigestion. We know how stubbornly conservative of
> his dirt and his ignorance is the average immigrant who
> settles in New York, particularly if he is of a clannish race
> like the Italians. Born in squalor, raised in filth and misery
> and kept at work almost from infancy, these wretched
> beings exchange their abode, but not their habits in coming
> to New York…A bad Irish-American boy is about as
> unwholesome a product as ever reared in any body politic.
> (p. 13)

Nativistic discourse has again arisen with a new target: Latinos. In an ironic twist of

history, "The great achievements of peasants from the European periphery…have been

recorded in the mythical space…describing how the country came to be in its present

form" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, p. 13). Many European "peasants" *now*

credited for building the country have lived in this nation fewer decades than countless

Latinos (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; López, 1982); yet, these long-term Latino citizens

are relegated to lower status as the "immigrants." The immigrant discourse has also

morphed to include new rantings about illegal aliens, the rise of crime, and "abuses" of

welfare. Pat Buchanan, in his race for President in 1991, argued that the US borders were

being overrun by "illegals" from Latin America. California's former Governor Pete

Wilson pledged to deny citizenship and welfare benefits[21] to all children of

undocumented immigrants. Who was Wilson looking to hurt most? Latinos, the largest

immigrant group in California (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b).

"We Are All Immigrants"

A third explanation for the "sudden recognition" Latinos have received is the "we

are all immigrants" model of American population growth.[22] Many descendants of

today's Latinos were living in the territory now known as the United States before the

Puritans arrived. When the US annexed Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona,

California, Colorado, and parts of Wyoming and Oklahoma in 1848 with the Treaty of

Guadelupe Hidalgo, former Mexican citizens found themselves living in a new country as

unwelcome "aliens." They were citizens of a new country "not because they had crossed

over the border, but rather because the border had crossed over them!" (MacGregor-

Mendoza, 1999, p. 13; see also Ford Foundation, 1984; Griswold del Castillo, 1990).

They did not immigrate to the United States: they were here first. Portraying the entire

demographic group of Latinos as newcomers is incorrect for two reasons. First, this myth

is ahistorical. Media and scholars foster the immigration myth, and even depict Latinos as

the youngest of newcomers (Flores, 2002), *sin historia* (without history) in the United

States. Latinos *are* migrating to the United States in previously unforeseen numbers, but

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[21] I refer the reader to Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (1995b) for an enlightening discussion on the topic of immigrants abusing the California welfare system. For example between 1991-1992 immigrants cost Los Angeles County $2.5 billion dollars. These same people contributed $4.3 billion to county, state, and federal governments through taxation. "In short, the new immigrants paid about $1.85 billion more in taxes than they used in services…even undocumented immigrants paid more in taxes than they took out in county services" (p. 31). Undocumented workers used $400 million in services, and generated more than $900 million in taxes.

[22] See Montano & Metcalfe (2003), p. 145, for an expansion on the immigrant topic.

Latinos *as a whole* have been in the United States the longest of any ethnic group. Second, the "immigration myth" is incomplete. The immigration of all Latin Americans cannot be explained with one account. Admittedly, the term "Latino" as used in this paper is problematic because this one word amasses millions of people with wide-ranging characteristics including, but not limited to, culture, language, and immigration status (Kloosterman, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Oboler, 1995, 2003; Saragoza, Juarez, Valenzuela, & Gonzalez, 1998). "Latin America" is not one culture; instead, it is an amalgamation of indigenous, Spanish, British, Portuguese, French, Italian, and German customs, ethnicities, religions, and traditions. Thousands of indigenous languages are still spoken, as are Creole, Spanish, French, Portuguese, German, and English. This one term, as problematic as it may be, combines the multiple experiences of bi-cultural Newyoricans with Cuban asylum seekers, Chilean expatriates with Nicaraguan refugees. "What does an English-speaking third-generation upper-status white Cuban American in Florida have in common with a Maya-speaking recent immigrant from Guatemala?" (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002). Everyone comes to the United States with unique stories and backgrounds, and the term "Latino" unfortunately detracts from the uniqueness of each person. Distinctive backgrounds, immigration experiences, and residency status are crucial for personal identity because they affect how Latin Americans are viewed by others and how they view themselves. "No single representational term has the power to portray a community as internationally diverse and complex as ours," comments Juan Guerra (2004, p. 8). Thus, the one term "Latino" cannot encapsulate the history and the emotional baggage of such a vast range of experiences.

Connection to the Research

In summary, the Latino population is exploding across the United States, and particularly in the Eastern region of the United States where this research was completed. This research may increase awareness of non-dominant cultural views in America, and may be a step towards broadening appreciation for other cultures in this nation. At the most local and limited level, this research will enhance the understanding of cultural diversity and inclusion from Latino students' perspective at the high school. Asking students for their perspectives may reaffirm that US History classes perpetuate the "values and social stratification existent in American society" by ignoring the "perspectives of people of color" (Diaz-Greenberg, 2003, p. 3). It is possible that my student-generated research will reveal the need to re-examine social studies standards that further encode privilege, power, and marginality in the school system, and maintain the hierarchical marginalization of the less privileged. Sufficient investigations with Latino students and the social studies curriculum have not been completed. This study will add to the research regarding Latino students, cultural inclusion, student needs, and the social studies.

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is to explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History classes at one high school. The ultimate objective is to understand if the US History curriculum is serving the perceived needs of Latino students. The research question, methodology, and my world lens are informed by the theories of Latino/a

Critical Theory (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999), descriptive qualitative research (Anzaldúa, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Fanon, 1967; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; hooks, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Matsuda, 1995; Richardson, 2000; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Trueba, 1991b; Trueba & McLaren, 2000), and *la frontera*, an analytical perspective I have developed from critical Latina feminist ethnographies. I will thoroughly examine Latino/a Critical Theory and *la frontera* in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively. In Chapter 4, I address the current literature regarding Latin American and Latino students in American schools and the social studies curriculum area. I describe my research methodology in Chapter 5. Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to the research findings. Of these four, Chapters 6 and 7 detail student counterstorytelling sessions and my personal journal entries. Staff members' perceptions of Latino, CLD, and ESL students are highlighted in Chapter 8. The intersection of students' needs and the required State Graduation Test are explained in Chapter 9. After analyzing data and asking myself, "Now what?" I address potential solutions by recommending the inclusion of a global perspective in Chapter 10. Finally, I offer my conclusions and implications for future research in Chapter 11.

The following sections of Chapter 1 are indicated as follows: first, I will give an overview of Latino Critical Theory (hereafter known as LatCrit) to establish a foundation for my research. Next, I disclose my data collection strategies. Then, I explain my background and how I came to this research. Penultimately, I discuss the limitations of the study. Finally, I supply definitions for terms.

Latino/a Critical Theory (LatCrit)

LatCrit is an outgrowth of critical race theory (hereafter known as CRT). CRT interrogates how research is traditionally done by forefronting race to demonstrate the depth of inequality that exists across society. LatCrit builds on the five themes of CRT while adding perspectives unique to Latino experiences in the United States such as language acquisition, cultural background, gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and colonial experience (Auerbach, 2002; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002). CRT and LatCrit utilize a race-conscious framework to illuminate "oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (Fay, 1987, as cited in Tierney, 1993a, p. 4). In addition to the focus on race and racism that frames "what we do, why we do it, and how we do it" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 474), CRT and LatCrit confront hegemonic practices and challenge dominant principles, are dedicated to changing the conditions of oppression, rely on and validate the experiential knowledge of its participants, and incorporate historical and interdisciplinary studies. In summary, LatCrit gives voice to marginalized communities while including radical methodologies to destabilize established societal conventions without focusing solely on ethnicity or race. An inflexible focus on race and not on characteristics as language and immigration status, "can hinder our knowledge of the ways in which Latino/a communities are racialized" (Rolón-Dow, 2005, p. 88). LatCrit brings into the forefront the relevant issues that affect the Latino population in the United States.

Data Collection Strategies

To understand in what ways the US History class meets the needs of Latino students in one high school, I combined the practices of LatCrit and descriptive qualitative research in the form of case studies. Qualitative case studies are powerful instrument for understanding the needs of CLD students. I pursued various data collection practices including but not limited to one-on-one and focus group interviews, document analysis, and naturalistic observations.

The interviews took the form of counterstorytelling sessions (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Ceja, 2000; Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado, 1989; Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004; Minh-ha, 1990; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Counterstorytelling is a narrative in opposition to the hegemonic discourse. "Counterstories illuminate strategic interactions of submission, subversion, and rebellion to navigate oppressive systems such as patriarchical households and capitalist work systems" (Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004, p. 102). Counterstorytelling derives its validity from the experiential knowledge of oppressed peoples, which is as reliable as statistics and the stories told by White academics. These sessions most closely resembled interviews, but delved deeply into the personal-testimonial, allowing marginalized students to speak about the multiple oppressions that constitute LatCrit. These sessions followed principles of emergent qualitative design (Diaz-Greenberg, 2003; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Gaventa, 1988; Lather, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 2000), and were semi-structured.

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I generated research data (see "Definition of Terms" in this chapter) with eight

10th-grade students of Latin American descent, and six students of mixed ethnicities in

grades 10 through 12. The Latin American students self-selected from one of ten US

History class periods offered at Crawford High School. I met two to three times with each

of these students during the fall of 2005 and the winter of 2006. Each meeting lasted 20

to 45 minutes. Students were encouraged to format their discussions around the social

studies curriculum, particularly the US History curriculum. I shadowed these students in

their US History classes, completed one-on-one interviews, and asked students to

maintain a journal. I shared a significant amount of time with each Latin American

student during the school year. Each student had unique experiences such as language

acquisition, cultural background, gender, and immigration status (Auerbach, 2002;

Delgado Bernal, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998;

Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas &

Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002) that informed their hybrid and constantly reinventing selves.

I produced additional research with the six students of mixed ethnicities and grade

levels during the fall of 2005 and the winter of 2006. These students added depth to the

research regarding race and racism in the school and society, and commented on new

perspectives on the data. This group of students became known as the Study Hall Focus

Group.

I interviewed approximately 10 administrators, aides, custodians, guidance

counselors, and teachers across various subject areas. Their interviews were used to

triangulate research data. I also examined the State US History standards and a State

Practice Graduation Test.

The data generated by all participants was analyzed for trends. I analyzed all data "by hand," by printing transcripts and coding the data with multi-colored pens. Some data was analyzed with the qualitative research database Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching Theorizing (NUD*IST). All data was investigated for emergent patterns and negative case analysis.

Incorporating Latino Students' Voices in the Research Design

My intent is to understand in what ways the United States history curriculum meets Latino students' needs. My analyses concentrated on data generated by Latino students. LatCrit is the lens through which I view my data because it grants voice to students of color through the telling of their stories. Muncey and McQuillan (1991) stated that students must be active participants in the formation of definitions. Fernández (2002) concurs, "What gets left out, then, if we do not hear students' voices? How complete of a picture can we get about Latina/Latino education if we rely only on the dominant (school) discourse?" (p. 45-46). Therefore, a shared definition of "need" should be created by the researcher and the participants. An early phase of the research process was for each student to develop a definition of "need." We then situated "need" in an academic realm and discuss students' definitions of "academic needs." This examination broadened into the difference between students' perceived academic needs and perceived wants.

Generating a shared conception of "need" with the research participants is appropriate with the fundamentals of LatCrit. LatCrit stresses experiential knowledge; hence, students' thoughtful perceptions of "academic needs" are valid and reliable research tools. As we negotiate towards shared understandings, we traversed intra- and

inter-personal borders: we stepped outside our own understanding of a concept and work towards incorporating others' insights. The image of crossing borders and borderlands is common among Latina authors (Medina, 2004) who address the spaces of language acquisition, cultural background, gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and colonial experience (Auerbach, 2002; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002). A further examination of borderlands will be included in Chapter 3.

My Interest in the Project

I am not a member of a Latino ethnic group. *Pero en mi corazón a veces soy Latina, quiero ser Latina, si solamente a entender mejor que piensan, cómo piensan las Latinas. Si, hago generalizaciones, pero es verdad que las Latinas no piensan en la misma manera que las güeras. Viajo entre dos mundos en mi mente: "en este momento, que pensarían las Latinas en esta situación? Cómo sería diferente que una perspectiva güera?"* (But in my heart at times I am Latina, I want to be Latina, if only to understand *mejor* what and how Latinas think. I am generalizing, but many Latinas do not think in the same manner as light-skinned blondes of European descent. I travel in between two worlds in my mind: "at this moment, what would Latinas think with this situation? How would it be different from my blonde perspective?")

I am a cultural outsider relative to my Latin American student-participants. When I am in Mexico, I hear "*güera!*" shouted from car windows passing by. My blonde hair and narrow frame shouts "*estadounidense*!" ("North American!"). Critical examinations

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have problematized the concepts of insider and outsider research by troubling the "hidden assumptions that insider knowledge is unified, stable, and unchanging" (Olesen, 2000, p. 227; see also Collins, 1986; Kondo, 1990; Lewin, 1993; Naples, 1996; Nayaran, 1997; Ong, 1995; Zavella, 1996). I have had different life experiences than the students with whom I generated this inquiry, so I may have worked in different ways to gain students' trust than someone who is a cultural insider. However, there are no guarantees that a cultural insider would do a better job. My identity cannot be completely dropped (Collins, 1990; hooks, 1990), so I will need to find knowledges and solidarity from other standpoints (O'Leary, 1997). I will find common ground with my student-participants by fusing our horizons (Nielsen, 1990) together: the shared horizon of interrogating the US History curriculum.

I bring to this project three unique perspectives: the wish to complete research with and amongst students who are ethnically different than I, the aspiration to empower students and "enhance…the educational experiences and opportunities available to Latino/s students" (Rolón-Dow, 2005, p. 82) in a world dominated by Anglo and male viewpoints, and the need to work outside the boundaries of traditional qualitative research.

Previous Teaching Experiences

My research is guided in part by five years as high school history teacher in a suburb of Milwaukee, where I began to resist "how things are done." My social studies department was dominated by White, middle-aged men who, in my opinion, did not appreciate challenges to their framework of American history. I was hired in 1994 with

another woman of Irish-Mexican descent. I was aware of Noreen's (my new colleague) struggles within the department, but not to my current depth of understanding. We both encountered gender inequities, but Noreen faced a cultural gap, because no other teacher or staff member in the entire school was of Latin American descent. Noreen was understandably proud of her heritages, and she celebrated them daily as a bi-lingual and bi-cultural teacher in the high school.

During the late winter of the 1994-1995 school year, Noreen began writing quotes on the chalkboard from famous historical figures. A male teacher who shared the same classroom objected to a quote from Frida Kahlo—not *what* was said, but that a woman, a *Latina* woman, had said it. He erased the quote from the chalkboard during his class period. Noreen rewrote it for her afternoon classes, thinking that her male colleague had absent-mindedly erased the quote from the shared chalkboard. He objected and complained to the department chair, another middle-aged male. The department chair told Noreen that the quote from Frida was objectionable, was outside the high school's curriculum for US and world history, and that she should not include further quotes that may offend the teacher who shared her classroom. Noreen was angry; at the time, I empathized with only part of her anger. I did not perceive the double bias against gender *and* ethnicity to the depths that I do currently. I did not consider that the men's reaction hurt Noreen on a far deeper level—more than just an additive level of "gender plus ethnicity." The negation of Noreen's heritage to US and world history is now incomprehensible to me. This one day, this one conversation, influenced who I am and how I would like to impact the world.

Previous Tutoring Experiences

My interest in this project also embraces the students at the particular high school of study. I worked with two Latina sophomores during the 2004-2005 school year through the organization Big Brother/Big Sisters. I grew close to and care about these students and their peers. I have cried with them over family stresses, played a light-hearted version of "truth or dare" during a rainy lunch recess, as well as struggled to define "genome" and "slope of the y-intercept" in Spanish. I have developed a rapport with many Latino students at the school and relationships with my "Little Sisters" I will miss during summer break.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited by the following factors. First, I went to the high school two days a week, usually Tuesdays and Thursdays. I was not at the high school daily. Second, the research was completed in one high school with a small number of students who chose to participate. Of the eight sophomore students who chose to participate, I spent more time with three particular students than with the other five. Therefore, the results are non-generalizable, in accordance with the postmodern view of the world (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Third, the majority of Latino students enrolled in Crawford High School are of Mexican descent[23]. Therefore, results were heavily representative of Mexican students' academic perceptions. "Particularly for Latinos…context is key" (McDonald, as cited in

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[23] Sixty percent of Latin Americans living in the United States are of Mexican descent (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

Viadero, 2005, p. 10).[24] Hence, effective reforms for Puerto Rican students may or may not work with students of Mexican descent. Programs with Dominican students may fail with Cuban students. Programs with Mexican students in New York will be different from programs in Arizona. Even the small group of participants in this study will have different patterns of beliefs even thought they are living in the same community (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). However, cultural differences and difficulties of generalizing results for all Latinos should not preclude completing research with Latino students. We will find errors in our research, but with critical, reflective, and on-going research, these errors will be less harmful than not completing any research at all.

Fourth, this research was completed at the high school level. To learn what Latino students need to attain educational success, a researcher must begin asking students at the pre-school and elementary levels. Asking students what they need when they are in high school may be too late: one-half of Latinos who drop out of school do so before *beginning* high school (Diaz Salcedo, 1996). Therefore, this project may ask essential questions too late. Fifth, I asked questions about issues important to me. I pursued topics with greater strength that interested me more. This may be seen by some as "pushing" participants for answers. I explain this in Chapter 5.

Sixth, this study does not delve into the intersections of "Latino" and socioeconomic status. I recommend the reader see Lichter (1997) and Hartman (2006) for reviews on the effects of poverty and race on school-age children.

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[24] Bartolomé (2001) stresses the importance of not "blindly replicating" educational programs, particularly with a "mistreated and miseducated" group such as Latinos (p. 36). See Reyes (1992) and Delpit (1995) for research arguing against "teacher proof" strategies. There is no "surefire teaching strategy that will magically work on Latinos and other CLD students" (Bartolomé, 2001, p. 37).

Finally, I do not want to be the White imperialist researcher who "allows" these oppressed students to speak. A present day qualitative researcher, I aim to "separate [myself] from the history of western conquest" (Vidich & Lyman, 2000, p.41), of "scientism, positivism, and reductionism" (Spiro, 1992, p. ix). I reject the "arrogant, misguided, [and] futile" (Spiro, 1992, p. ix) idea that I can fully understand the students' lives or grasp the "one truth" of their needs. A concept I grapple with regarding research among Latino students is *Can the subaltern speak?*" the title of Spivak's (1988) famous essay.[25] I struggle with my position in the academy because, ultimately, my participants are going to be heard through me. *I* have to write this dissertation. How radical *is* that? Ultimately, I must fit within the confines of traditional academe by creating the final narration. Beverley (2000) wrote:

> This would amount to saying that the subaltern can of course speak, but only through us, through our institutionally sanctioned authority and pretended objectivity as intellectuals, which give us the power to decide what counts in the narrator's raw material. But it is precisely that institutionally sanctioned authority and objectivity that, in a less benevolent form, but still claiming to speak from the place of truth, the subaltern must confront every day… (p. 561)

I do not want my actions as a researcher to appear complicit in Western traditions, although I acknowledge how my actions may be perceived as "gringocentric" (McLaren, 1997a) by others more radical than myself. I agree with Desai (1993) and McLaren (1997a) that I need to "counter-invent" a methodology to transcend how research with

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[25] I understand that the Latino students are not truly "subaltern." They live much more fortunate lives than Rigoberta Menchu (1984), or the women in the empirical investigation by Patricia Zavella (1987). But I argue that the average 14 year-old Mexican girl who does not speak English is *rather far* from the structures of power in her American school and in the United States. In this context I refer to the students among whom I will complete this project as "subaltern."

subaltern individuals is performed. "Dialogizing the other" instead of "representing the other" (Hitchcock, 1993) is a continuous struggle. I must resist reinscribing others in the languages of colonization, racism, and continued conquest (Alcoff, 1991-1992).

Definition of Terms

The following key terms are operationally defined to provide readers with background information as they read the research:

Bilingual Education

An educational program in which two languages are used to provide content matter instruction.

Curriculum

For the purposes of this study "Curriculum" is the plan that drives instruction within a given subject area at the classroom level (for example, the social studies). This includes but is not limited to the content and organization of teacher instruction, assigned reading, tests, audio-visual materials, bulletin boards, and assessment tools.

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD)

This term describes persons who are from a cultural, racial, and/or ethnic background that differs from "mainstream" (White, European) culture. Often English is not a first language.

English Language Learners (ELL)

A child is ELL when they speak another language at home (their L1) *and* they are actively learning English in school. I prefer to use ELL instead of the other standard term, LEP, or "Limited English Proficient."

English as a second language (ESL)

English as a second language (ESL) is an educational approach in which English language learners are instructed in the use of the English language. Their instruction is based on a special curriculum that typically involves little or no use of the native language, focuses on language (as opposed to content) and is usually taught during specific school periods (OELA, 2006b).

Generation of Research Data

It was my intent to deconstruct Western scholarship by generating data *with* students, not *on* students. Such actions question the "normality" of conventional research methodology, or as Tyson (2003b) situates her argument, against the normality of "White" research forms (p. 24). The generation of data with the students allows the boundaries between the "researched" and the "researcher" to blur. I relinquished a great proportion of my control to the students, allowing them to choose when and how they participated, and about what we would talk. They were given more control of the research process than is commonly granted. I did not enter with an agenda of questions each session that had to be answered. Instead, conversations tangented and morphed as students made sense of their world.

Hispanic

The term "Hispanic" will not be used in this paper except in cases where it already exists in the context of a quote or citation. The term "Hispanic" is derived from the word "Hispañola," or "Spain." I reject the use of the term "Hispanic" for Latin American peoples because it linguistically denies such peoples their "roots," or country of origin. According to the definitions used by this researcher, direct descendants from Spain are "Hispanic" (regardless of their country of origin). Direct descendants from Latin American cultures are "Latino." See Hayes-Bautista & Chapa (1987) for further discussion on the term Hispanic.

Latina

The feminine form of the word Latino that may be used to pertain to Latin American women and/or girls. See explanation of "Latino" below.

Latino

For the purposes of this study "Latino" is defined as any of the following: born in Latin America of Latin American descent; born in the United States of Latin American descent; born in Latin America and raised primarily in the United States; or a Latin American immigrant "naturalized" to the United States through long-term residency (Huerta & Flemmer, 2002).

The term Latino is used for this research for two reasons. First, the term Latino streamlines the identification process, aiding readers of this paper. It is what San Miguel Jr. (2003) calls an "umbrella term" that signifies Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and

Central and South Americans (p. 1). Second, sufficient commonalities exist between peoples of Latin American countries in order to use the term (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002). Even though skin color, the country of birth, degree of Spanish fluency, recency of migration, degree of transnationality (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002), reason for migration,[26] and citizenship status will vary from person to person, Latino is a shortcut. It is a way of discussing people who may come from the same region or nation, share a language, live in neighborhoods together, and frequently face similar social, economic, and political oppressions (Hardy-Fanta, 1993, p. 7; see also Ladson-Billings, 2000). As an aggregate, Latin American peoples have faced similar racial discrimination in the United States (Garcia, 1980). They have battled colonialism and neo-colonialism, and are thus united in their pursuit of equity in this nation.

I use the terms Latino/a to indicate the inclusion of the Latin American culture in one's identity. For this paper, I do not use the term Hispanic to represent Latin American peoples unless this term is used as a direct quote. "Hispanic" denies Latin Americans the connection to North, Central, and South America, and parts of the Caribbean because of the word's overt association with Spain. "Latino" indicates a community of "Puerto Rican, Mexican American or Chicano, Cuban, Central and South American, and

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[26] Research has been completed on the complicated issues surrounding voluntary and involuntary immigrants (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; Cohen, 1970; Crawford, 1989, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Deyhle, 1995; Epstein, 1977; Freeman & Freeman, 2002; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Gibson, 1987, 1997; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1978, 1987, 1991a, 1992; Purcell-Gates, 1995; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1993; Valdés, 1996). Voluntary immigrants migrated largely in quest of a better life. Involuntary immigrants were brought against their will (i.e.: through slavery), or were forced to leave their country (i.e.: because of war). In *general*, involuntary migrants achieve less academic success in American schools. Ogbu's theory of in/voluntary immigrant achievement has been criticized because it does not explain the success of many involuntary immigrant students.

Dominican" peoples (Hardy-Fanta, 1993, p. 6). As Hispanic signifies "Spain," Latino signifies a community of multiple cultures, ethnicities, and racial significations, from many shared countries.

Another term I do not use for in this paper, unless the term is used in a direct quote, is Chicano. Chicano/a were terms commonly used in the 1970s to signify Mexican-American. While the term is still used, I prefer to use Latino/a to demonstrate inclusivity and hybridity of cultures having ethnic roots in North, Central, and South America, and parts of the Caribbean.

Marginalization

The social process of becoming or being made societally unimportant or insignificant. Tuhiwai Smith (2002) indicated that people and communities can be marginalized for their cultures, languages, and social practices.

Need

For the purposes of this study, "need" refers to the conditional of desire or perceived wants. For example, "student needs" are the perceived differences between the current state and a desired state. Exactly what *are* student needs will be co-defined by participants, as explained later in this study.

Social Studies

For the purposes of this study, "the Social Studies" refers to the K-12 subject area that comprises anthropology, archaeology, civics, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, sociology, and other related humanities and social sciences.

CHAPTER 2

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

The focus of this investigation is Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum at a high school in the Eastern United States. The design of this project was modeled on the frameworks of Latino Critical Theory (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999) and qualitative case studies (Anzaldúa, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Fanon, 1967; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; hooks, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Matsuda, 1995; Richardson, 2000). The frameworks of these critical social theories will guide how I see the world and help me devise questions and strategies for exploring these questions (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). In this chapter I engage with the literature addressing critical race theory.

Critical Race Theory

In the 1980s academics across the humanities and liberal arts fields developed critical race theory. Critical race theory (CRT) seeks to explain phenomenon through the lens of race. CRT focuses on problems that culturally and linguistically diverse people encounter within White and English-speaking structures of power (Esquivel, 2003; see

also Crenshaw et. al, 1995; Lynn, Yosso, Solórzano, & Parker, 2002; Solórzano, 1998), such as in schools (Delgado Bernal, 1998, 2002; Dillard, 1997, 2000; Gordon, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2000: Scheurich & Young, 1997). White power structure establishes Whiteness and English as the fair and democratic societal norm, where Whiteness becomes the ideal, neutral, and colorblind standard to which all others are judged (Carter, 2003; Parker, 2003). A critical theoretical lens is both warranted and ideal in educational research (Barber, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tate, 1997), particularly with social studies investigations (Baber, 2003; Branch, 2003; Howard, 2003; Loutzenheiser, 2003; Tyson, 2003). Instead of asking, "*Does* racism play a role in educational disparities?" CRT queries, "*How* has racism contributed to the educational disparities, and how can it be dismantled?" (Howard, 2003, p. 29-30). Such questions are imperative in a curriculum area that is the "standard bearer" for citizenship education (Baber, 2003, p. 64).

Racism permeates American society to such an extent that it can appear innocent and invisible. (Duncan, 2002; Morrison, 1993; Schick, 2000, Thompson, 1998). Listening to the evening news exposes the seemingly unbiased situation of Whiteness as the "neutral default setting": individuals who diverge from the White and English-speaking norm are ethnically and linguistically identified, whereas those that conform to "the norm" receive no further classification. Thandeka, a Unitarian Universalist minister at Meadville/Lombard Theological School maintains that each of us has been assigned a race by a pervasive socialization process. In other words, we are not born to be a certain race; rather race identification is something we learn. For Americans of European descent, she calls this process, "learning to be White." When a White colleague asked

her, "What is it like to be black?" Thandeka asked her colleague to play the "race game"

for one week, and then the two of them would meet again to see what insights she might

have gained.

> There is only one rule to the race game. Every time you
> introduce a Euro-American co-hort, you must introduce
> them as White. For example, when introducing you to my
> family I would say, "I would like you to meet A.J., my
> White husband, and these are Arman and Derek, my two
> White sons." Apparently this was asking too much of
> Thandeka's colleague. She never spoke with Thandeka
> again (Dowgiert, 2002).

UU ministers Diane Dowgiert and Mark Belletini have relayed Thandeka's "race game"

scenario to their congregations. I was present on January 15, 2006, when Reverend

Belletini spoke of White privilege to his predominantly White congregation. I was in

attendance that Sunday, proofreading Chapter 7 of this dissertation during his sermon. I

thanked him afterwards for calling people's attention to how raced we are as a society.

The White-English amalgamation is the dominant perspective in the United States by

default, but it is *not* the only perspective. The invisibility of others' perspectives may

arise from a blindness "that fails to legitimate perspectives that are not beneficial to

White society" (Bell, as cited in Tyson, 2003, p. 23). The blindness to others'

perspectives may alienate Latino students from the Anglo-centric institutions that

dominate American landscape.

Five Aspects of CRT

Critical race theorists utilize a race-conscious framework to illuminate "oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (Fay, 1987, as cited in Tierney, 1993, p. 4). Racism is a routine consequence in daily life, with "tens of millions" of its citizens alienated and marginalized by the abstract concept of democracy (Marable, 2002, p. 32). Admitting that racism is enmeshed to the point of being "normal, not aberrant in American society" (Delgado, 1995a, p. xiv) is the first of five themes of CRT. This project begins from the point of interrogating the enmeshed, "normal," and distinctively racialized approaches of academic research. Therefore, my strategy is to "unmask and expose" (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 264) racism and prejudice from the beginning by disposing of racialized modes of knowing.

In addition to the focus on race and racism, which frames "what we do, why we do it and how we do it" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 474), CRT has four additional themes that form and inform its approaches, methodologies, and uses. Second, CRT *confronts hegemonic practices and challenges dominant principles*. In so doing, CRT calls attention to "traditional claims… [that] camouflage…the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in US society" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 472, see also Calmore, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano, 1997; Valdes, 1998a). CRT rejects "color-blindness," race neutrality, and objectivity, instead demonstrating the perpetuation of oppressive conditions specifically *because of* race.

Third, CRT is *dedicated to changing the conditions of oppression*. Critical research contributes to awareness, and thus steps towards elimination, of racial, gender, and class injustices. This includes a critique of liberalism for the "painstakingly slow

process of arguing legal precedents to gain citizen rights" (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 264). CRT addresses the limits of the American legal system that trouble efforts for sweeping changes. Furthermore, CRT's social justice commitment aims to empower groups through the process and the outcomes of carrying out critical research.

Next, CRT *relies on and validates the experiential knowledge of its participants*. Non-dominant research methodologies such as counterstorytelling, dramatic recreations*, testimonios, cuentos, corridos, and consejos*[27] have enhanced awareness of issues in marginalized communities (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Delgado, 1989; Fregoso, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Noriega, 1992; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). The use of authentic voices is an important tool for deconstructing how positivist research is traditionally "done." From the design of a study to the processing of results, CRT deconstructs positivism by situating the research within the "communities through which voice is shaped by class, cultural, racial, and gender identities" (Leistyna & Woodrum, 1996, p. 334). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) concur: "Without the authentic voices of color…it is doubtful that we can say or know anything useful about education in their communities" (p. 52). CRT communicates the experiences of marginalized peoples and restores their voices.

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[27] "Educación" (education) is often dialectical in Latino communities, because it includes "what is thought and learned in all social spaces, including home and community" (Villenas & Moreno, 2001, p. 674). Teaching and learning occur through consejos (nurturing advice), or more subtle cuentos (stories) (Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004). "Counterstories illuminate strategic interactions of submission, subversion, and rebellion to navigate oppressive systems such as patriarchical households and capitalist work systems" (Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004, p. 102).

Fifth and final, CRT *incorporates historical and interdisciplinary studies*. To understand contemporary behaviors, CRT theorists pursue both the breadth and depth of an event. They reject the notion of phenomenon occurring in isolation both historically and theoretically; therefore, critical theorists utilize knowledges from "ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, law, and other fields to better understand racism, sexism, and classism" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 473). The inclusion of multiple historical and theoretical perspectives forces the re-examination of dominant hegemonic frameworks, such as cultural deficit theory.

In summary, CRT interrogates how research is traditionally done by forefronting race to demonstrate the depth of inequality that exists across society. This framework gives voice to marginalized communities while including radical methodologies to destabilize established societal conventions.

CRT and LatCrit

Latino/a Critical Theory, or LatCrit, builds on the five themes of CRT while adding perspectives unique to the Latino experience in the United States such as language acquisition, cultural background, gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and colonial experience (Auerbach, 2002; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002). LatCrit emerged from CRT to dispel the myths of the "monolithic Hispanic Other" (Hidalgo, 1998), and to demonstrate that "the racial dynamic that affects Latinos/as is as distinct from the familiar Black/White dichotomy" (Lazos Vargas, 2003, p. 8; see also Espinoza

& Harris, 1998; Esquivel, 2003; Foley, 1997; Haney-Lopez, 1997; Iglesias & Valdes, 1998; Parker, 2003; Perea, 1998; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Valdes, 1996). Race and racism do not affect the Black and the Latino populations in the same way: Latinos' experiences in the United States are shaped differently from Blacks. For example, Latinos (as a group) experience a language barrier that Blacks typically do not. Latinos also have higher illegal immigration rates than Blacks that affect how they see and are seen by other Americans. Furthermore, by the nature of the word "Latino," which can pertain to both men and women based on the linguistic rules of Spanish, the final "o" can be changed to an "a," giving voice to the female perspective of race and racism. In summary, focusing solely on ethnicity, and not on characteristics as language and immigration status, "can hinder our knowledge of the ways in which Latino/a communities are racialized" (Rolón-Dow, 2005, p. 88). LatCrit brings into the forefront the relevant issues that affect the Latino population in the United States.

LatCrit and Education

CRT and LatCrit theorists united with the field of educational research in the late 1980s. The lens of LatCrit has guided the investigation into Latino/a diversities and their subsequent insubordination in American school systems (Alemán, 2004; R. Barnes, 1990; Bell, 1992, 1995; Calmore, 1992; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Critical Race Theory in Education, 1998; Delgado, 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Espinoza, 1990; Esquivel, 2003; Fernández, 2002; Harris, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lawson, 1995; Lynn, 1999; Matsuda, 1989; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Montoya, 1994; Olivas, 1990; Olivos, 2003; Ortiz, 2004; Masko,

2003; Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Tate, 1994, 1997; Villalpando, 2004; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Williams, 1991). Education is political; thus, interrogating educative practices with LatCrit is exceedingly fitting. Montaño and Metcalfe (2003) would concur, as their description of urban schools is the hardest hitting portrayal I have read in the literature:

> The educational policies currently in place in urban schools
> throughout this country are part of a hegemonic,
> linguistically and culturally insensitive, and racist and
> classist national policy intended to maintain the status quo
> and keep *Latinos in their place.* (p. 141)

The lens of LatCrit "cuts to the chase" by beginning from a place unique to most educational research. Instead of investigating *if* a bias exists against Latino students, LatCrit seeks to know more about the problems Latino students face when they enter the schoolhouse doors.

LatCrit challenges positivist research methodologies by incorporating authentic Latino voices through counterstorytelling, dramatic recreations, *testimonios, cuentos, corridos, and consejos* (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Delgado, 1989; Fregoso, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Noriega, 1992; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). This Latino-centered methodology has enhanced awareness of educational issues in marginalized communities (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Capturing the life stories of marginalized students was previously viewed as lacking in academic rigor; therefore, personal testimonials were perceived as unworthy of scholarly attention. The respect for

alternative theories such as LatCrit has changed how researchers regard knowledge. "Latinos' experiences in their homes and communities is necessary and valued" in educational research (Ortiz, 2004. p. 96), and may lead to a more objective account of societal institutions (Pillow, 2003). Life stories, which highlight experiential knowledge, are legitimate and appropriate ways of analyzing Latino students' educational encounters (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Villalpando, 2004). By giving voice to their lives, students expose "*their* [italics added] personal interpretation of education success and equal opportunity as well as [reveal] the policies and practices that [shape] their realities" (Espinoza-Herold, 2003, p. 21). Auerbach (2002) found the same positive potential of experiential knowledge in her studies with Latino parents. The expression of Latino students' experiential knowledge in educational research grants insight into students' accomplishments and failures, joys and concerns. Ortiz (1994) stated that experiential knowledge is necessary for advancing educational research:

> Students must be a part of creating solutions and programs
> for their success. It would be a mistake…to assume that
> programs…to support the success of Latino students need to
> be created solely by staff and administrators. Involving
> students in the process legitimizes what they know about
> their communities, families, and needs. (p. 96)

Therefore, a researcher must learn from the student's perspective in order to create understanding of educational issues (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001).

In summary, critical race theorists utilize a race-conscious framework to illuminate "oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (Fay, 1987, as cited in Tierney, 1993, p. 4). In addition to the focus on

race and racism, which frames "what we do, why we do it and how we do it" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 474), CRT confronts hegemonic practices and challenges dominant principles, is dedicated to changing the conditions of oppression, relies on and validates the experiential knowledge of its participants, and incorporates historical and interdisciplinary studies.

Discussion of LatCrit as a Research Tool

My research question, methodology, and world lens is informed by theories of Latino Critical Theory. First, my research question is framed to give volume to the voices of culturally and linguistically diverse students. Latino student voices will *inform the academy*, instead of the academy informing *Latino students*, of how they perceive they should learn. This project will intersect with age, ethnicity, and gender (a "triple-subordinatio*n*"), as it listens to the experiences of Latino and Latin*a* (female) students. My research question incorporates ethnicity and gender with aspects of class, language, immigration status, accent, and phenotype (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001). McCarthy (1990) stated, "Both mainstream and radical educational researchers have tended to undertheorize and marginalize phenomena associated with racial inequality" (p. 2); for this reason, I will intentionally tamper with how research is traditionally done. This project will inform academic circles that resistances to and opinions of school curriculum can be examined from multiple viewpoints; and that Latino students' life stories are valid ways of knowing. Second, my methodology incorporates student-participants as co-researchers and co-analyzers, and the "researcher" as a co-participant in the generation

of knowledge (see "Definitions of Terms" in Chapter 1). Such actions question the "normality" of conventional research methodology, or as Tyson (2003b) situates her argument, against the normality of "White" research forms (p. 24).

Third, my world lens encourages me to believe that the world can become more racially just and ethical, that people inside and outside of the academy can bring to an end to institutional racism, and that research can be transformative. I refuse to complete "hit and run" research (Carter, 2003) without concern to the consequences of my participants. The qualitative methodologies of LatCrit allow me the "room" to reflect on, scrutinize, and critique my practices while completing research that is caring and unselfish. Mainstream and radical[28] researchers alike are not exempt from exhibiting researcher bias, poor judgment, and sloppy data evaluation. Furthermore, Freire implores academics to resist replicating patterns of political "neutrality" in our research (see also Bartolomé, 200; Smith-Maddox & Solórzano, 2002; Tyson, 2003a). Multiple studies have investigated the racial bias of conventional research epistemologies that claim neutrality (Banks, 1995b; Buendía, 2003; Gordon, Miller, & Rollock, 1990; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Stanfield, 1994). Such replication injures our participants and is a further act of oppression; instead, we should embrace a liberatory framework that interrogates assumptions and "troubles methodological rules that stipulate a particular interpretation of the dominant narrative" (Carter, 2003, p. 30). Interrogation of dominant frameworks is central to this project, and is a reflection of the incorporation of multiple historical and theoretical perspectives. For example, LatCrit offers explanations for Latino students'

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[28] "Mainstream" and "radical" are terms used by Dillabough and McAlpine (1996) and McCarthy (1990). Mainstream refers to positivist, quantitative studies. Radical refers to critical ethnography, or qualitative studies where the participants co-create or generate knowledge with the researcher.

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detachment from school without relying on cultural deprivation and deficit theories (Calmore, 1992; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001). LatCrit suggests that the low rates of academic success among Latino students may be due to a societal structure of dominance, or institutional racism (Fernández, 2002). Bicultural students, parents, and communities are positioned within "asymmetrical relationships of power," creating resistance to schools (Olivos, 2003). When manifestations of power, knowledge, class, language, and culture are scrutinized under a LatCrit lens that forefronts race and ethnicity, societal inequities become evident.

Closing

The lens of LatCrit has guided the investigation into Latino/a diversities and their subsequent insubordination in American school systems. Education is political; thus, interrogating educative practices with LatCrit is exceedingly fitting.

I assert that it is past time for researchers to break from the Copernican view of the world with Whites at the center of the universe. We must struggle against thoughtless patterns of behavior in order to transform how others and we see the world. By generating knowledge with Latino students, we can use the power of race to address societal practices that claim to be neutral (Lazos Vargas, 2003), and transform how Latino students *see and are seen* by the social studies curriculum.

CHAPTER 3

LA FRONTERA AND POSTCOLONIALITY

> *1,950 mile-long open wound,*
> *dividing a pueblo, a culture,*
> *running down the length of my body,*
> *staking fence rods in my flesh,*
> *splits me   splits me*
> *me raja   me raja*
> *This is my home*
> *this thin edge of*
> *barbwire.*

--Gloria Anzaldúa, Borderlands/La Frontera

Two thousand miles long, the Mexico-United States border is a region of immense scope and texture. This narrow line separating countries unites waters flowing from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. The border, or *la frontera*, is both a physical location and a metaphor: water may stream through its crevasse, and people may physically traverse it; but *la frontera* also serves as a metaphorical medium for ideas and concepts that flow back and forth across this sometimes insurmountable, sometimes unnoticeable divide.

This research project was completed in a large metropolitan area, hundreds of miles from the international border separating Mexico and the United States. But as a Latino graduate student from South America said to me, "the border is here." The world is becoming more like what Gómez-Peña (1996) calls a New World Border, with "great

trans-and inter-continental" borders (p. 7). New borders, *fronteras nuevas*, are indeed becoming established in many cities and rural areas. These new borders are physically visible in neighborhoods and schools, where socio-economic class heavily impacts the geographical placement of people. The fronteras are also ideological and metaphorical, as all involved practice transcultural repositioning (Guerra, 2004) by moving in, out, between, and amongst cultures different from their own.

The geographic and symbolic nature of *la frontera* has contributed to its own genre of literature. *La frontera* underscores the displacement and transitionality of identities, pertinent to the lives of the student-participants. In addition, these theories, which manifest themselves as metaphorical tropes, compliment LatCrit, the lens through which I view my research. Two texts that reveal la frontera tropes are Norma Cantu's *Canícula: Snapshots of a Girlhood in La Frontera*, and Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera.* In this chapter, I discuss how *la frontera* literature as portrayed in Cantú and Anzaldúa's works may be used as theoretical foundations for the analysis of this project. These *la frontera* foundations are employed in Chapter 6 to analyze the *cuentos* and *testimonios* of my student-participants.

Theorizing Displacement in *La Frontera*

The topography of displacement is a focus of *la frontera*. In the mid-1800s, Mexico lost a great amount of land in the Treaty of Guadelupe-Hidalgo. This was not the first incidence of displacement for the current day descendents of the Aztecs. According to Aztec history, in 1000 B.C. the Cochise people were to follow Huitzilopochtli, the God of War, to a place where they would find an eagle atop a cactus with a serpent in its beak.

The sacrifice of the serpent (a metaphor for the earth, or mother) to the eagle

(representative of the sun or father) indicates the first wounds through displacement from

their original homeland.

Three thousand years later, after the Mexican-American War of 1846, Mexico's

border was pushed south by 100 miles. Mexico lost 100,000 citizens to the US, and those

new American "citizens" lost their land because of their second-class status (Anzaldúa,

1987). Like Cantú's grandparents losing everything at the border, Anzaldúa wrote of her

Mexican identity being displaced, *erased*, from her American textbooks. Her Mexican

heritage was mythologized in American history textbooks, characterizing the Mexicans

as passive victims, dominated by the mighty American forces. But the Mexicans fought:

> The Gringo, licked into the fiction of white superiority,
> seized complete political power, stripping Indian and
> Mexicans of their land while their feet were still rooted in
> it. *Con el destierro y el exilio fuimos desuñados,*
> *destroncados, destripados*—we were jerked out by the
> roots, truncated, disemboweled, dispossessed, and
> separated from our identity and our history. (Anzaldúa,
> 1987, pp. 29-30)

Where was the Mexicans' side of the story in the United States history textbooks? As a

result of this deliberate oversight, Anzaldúa recognized that her goal was to assemble the

history of her heritage in her monumental life writing, *Borderlands/La Frontera*.

Rewriting *Her*story: The Collective Voice in *La Frontera*

The collective voice is a second focus of *la frontera*. To offset the negation of her

heritage and gender from the historical accounts, Anzaldúa recast the history of her

heritage in a collective, feminist light, incorporating powerful women in the resistance

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against cultural displacement. Anzaldúa described the actions of Aztec goddesses Coatlalopeuh, Coyolxauhqui, Tonantsi, the indigenous icon *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, the mythic *la Llorona*, Chicanas from all over the United States, and her female ancestors, among many others, in the *lucha* against domination by others. Each woman, from the goddesses to current day Chicanas, has a collective role in preserving the culture, language, and people of Mexico. Each woman must resist displacement of the *Mexica* heritage.

The collective, feminist perspective is dominant in *la frontera*. The Latina life writer is an amalgamation of everyone who has come before her, and of her current family and community. She is not an isolated, autonomous "I:"

>   No self, only race *vecin-*
> *dad familia.*   My soul has always been yours
> one spark   in the roar of your fire.   We Mexicans
> are collective animals.   (Anzaldúa, 1998, p. 29)

Anzaldúa referred to her communal identity in this poem *Cihuatlyotl, Woman Alone.* She wrote of the entire *raza* of *india mexicana norteamericana* (race of North American Indians) as being "grafted" on to her being.

The communal identity and collective voice of *la frontera* often spotlights one person in particular. Common to *la frontera* literature is the focus on the grandmother. Given that "the peripheral households carry out their life cycles very much in relation to a centrally located grandparent" (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996, p. 145), *abuelos* are central to the lives of interconnected Latino families. *Mestiza* narrative is not a "univocal discursive exercise" (Saldívar-Hull, 1999, p. 3); therefore, *abuelos* are an expected presence in collective life writing. For example, a grandmother's presence physically and emotionally

breaks the reader's attention from Anzaldúa's (1987) narration of early 20th century Mexican history: set amidst the dry historical recitation, with ample white space around it, is simply and succinctly:

> My grandmother lost all her cattle,
> they stole her land. (p. 8)

Anzaldúa's reference to a personal story regarding her grandmother reflected the collective voice of *la frontera* literature and the centrality of *abuelos* to *la frontera* authors. What occurred to a grandparent impacted the grandchild to such an extreme degree that "many contemporary Latinas claim to have much stronger cultural and intellectual ties to their grandparents than to their parents" (Milligan, 1998, p. xix). The collective identity and familial connection are unmistakable in *la frontera*.

The collective identity and centrality of the grandparents was prevalent in *Canícula,* indicating the importance of others to Cantú's development as a young woman. Cantú's grandmothers, Mamagrande and Bueli, were honored throughout the novel for their direct and indirect impact on Cantú's childhood. The Mexican-American community was incorporated by Cantú's broad definition of a family: "although it may appear that these stories are my family's, they are not precisely, and yet they are" (Cantú, 1995, p. xi). One's identity adjoined and melded with others' across family lines, across the community, and across the culture. Clearly, *la frontera* incorporates an identity firmly connected to family and community that extends beyond the individual.

Theorizing the Border

The border between Mexico and the United States is an unnatural boundary, "*una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 3). The earth and the sea cannot be fenced, but the earth *is*, creating political, economic, and ideological battles. These battles destabilize the identities of peoples living near the "thin edge of barbwire" (ibid.) While Cantú and Anzaldúa reconciled their hybrid Mexican-American identities, most *frontera* dwellers have not been as fortunate. Many exist "never quite at home," because they are unaware of their ability to dwell in the "in between spaces" (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Anzaldúa theorized the border identity in *Borderlands/La Frontera*; therefore, how one defines one's self is a distinguishing characteristic of *la frontera*. During personal representation, the border shifts from being merely a physical entity to a metaphor *for* identity. The border crafts a tension where identity and signification are "simultaneously fixed and pulled apart" (Chapin, 2003, p. 4-5). In this physical and metaphorical space the "sign and referent are pulled apart for inspection" (p. 5) as one recognizes a bounded and knowable identity; but this "bounded" identity continues to move, and so is fluid and ever changing. The juxtaposition of stasis and action allow meanings and definitions to become constituted by their movement, negotiation, and re-negotiation *between* the borders of Mexico and the United States. Hence, the "fixed" categories that compose identity are recognized as shifting, unstable, and constantly in flux.

In *Borderlands/La Frontera* Anzaldúa (1987) articulated fluid identity categories such as ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality, where the border was physically and metaphorically central. Anzaldúa, a lesbian from an ethnic and linguistic minority in the United States, saw herself as a member of multiple oppressed groups. Thus, she constructed a self in fragmented and disjunctive units. Additionally, she argued that her ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality were not individual units, but were intersecting components, a theme common to the broader category of postcolonial writing. Anzaldúa vigorously defended the polyvocality and syncretic multiethnicity in her writing by not inhabiting one category completely. This is a key component of an ambiguous, hybrid, *mestizaje* identity, typical of *la frontera*.

Anzaldúa's *mestizaje* identity was characterized by a flexibility of "both/and" instead of "either/or." Faced with the choice between Mexican *or* American ethnicity, English *or* Spanish language, and feminine *or* masculine sexuality, Anzaldúa felt as if she were "floundering in uncharted seas" (1987, p. 79). She felt *un choque*, or cultural collision, when two incompatible frames of reference such as "Roman Catholic" and "lesbian" came crashing together. In response, to claim an identity that allowed for the crossbreeding of concepts, she learned to juggle cultures, reject nothing, sustain contradictions, and develop a tolerance for ambiguity: *mestizaje* (ibid.).

In *la frontera, mestizaje* is a refusal of a half and half identity as well as a refusal of Otherness. *Mestizaje* can exist in the discursive third space, or *los intersticios* (Anzaldúa, 1987) between the binaries of rural *and* urban, Mexican *and* American, English *and* Spanish, and feminine *and* masculine (Tagg & Sanchez-Tranquilino, 1992; Anzaldúa, 1987). Anzaldúa felt tension from attempting to reconcile her multiple

identities as a woman in a patriarchical world, an American citizen of Mexican heritage, a Standard English speaker with knowledge of caló slang, and a Roman Catholic lesbian. "I have so internalized the borderland conflict that sometimes I feel like one cancels out the other and we are zero, nothing, no one. *A veces no soy nada, ni nadie. Pero hasta cuando no lo soy, lo soy*" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 63).

Evident by a brief glimpse at literary theory, the concept of *mestizaje* is prevalent outside *la frontera.* Foucault demonstrated with his list of animal categories that classifications and taxonomies are transparent and completely arbitrary (Vila, 2000). Derrida (1998) alluded to the concept of an ambiguous identity with *différance*, indicating "the middle voice" preceding and establishing "the opposition between passivity and activity" (p. 385). In these in-between spaces, or within that gap of *différance,* is the "arena of a new formation of identity" (Tagg et. al, 1992, p. 196). As clarified above, this formation is "fixed" for a fleeting moment, for as Bhahba (1994) states, *mestizaje* is "never an *a priori*, nor a finished product" (p. 118).

Stuart Hall (1996) concurred that the "either/or" dichotomy should be thrown out. He determined that the formation of Black self-identity must incorporate the intersecting articulations of class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity, as there is no *one* essential social experience or cultural identity that composes the category "Black." Gayatri Spivak (1998a, 1998b) maintained that categories cannot be bounded rigidly without understanding how they dynamically work in, on, between, and amongst one another. In other words, "Rigidity means death" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 79).

In summary, *la frontera* reveals that a subject's identity does not *have* to "fit" into standard, hegemonic, and dichotomous categories. *La frontera* deconstructs the dichotomy of "either/or" while granting space for a new *mezcla* of identities. One *can* create their own categories, move between categories, create hybrid categories, *and* exist in the in between spaces that defy dichotomy. Reconciling these categories is not inherent to each person, as has been conveyed. It is through writing that Cantú and Anzaldúa were able to become critically aware of and comfortable with their *la frontera mestizaje* identities.

Theorizing the Pain of Negation

A common source of pain in *Canícula* and *la frontera* was the negation of cultural value. Mexican American children living along the border were "perceived only as other immigrants…[they] not only became foreigners in their own land but were given the distinct message that their considerable poverty stemmed from their backward Mexican culture and language" (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996, p. 66). Mexicans were and continue to be stereotyped as lazy, ignorant, and illegitimate.

The knowledge of and appreciation for Cantú's traditional *curanderas* were erased and negated by her teacher's dominant Anglo-narrative, which touted Western medical practices. *Curanderas* are a significant presence in *la frontera* writing. Characteristic of *la frontera's* feminist and collective focus, *curanderas* "are a powerful presence in the [Latino] community" (Duran, 2001, p. 199) that serve to transmit a powerful web of healing, worship, and mothering (p. 200). Anzaldúa (1987) showed how

Mexicans were treated for their "illegitimate" languages and cultural life-ways. In *La Curandera* Anzaldúa poetically writes of *la curandera's* ability to treat ills with *yerbitas* and *romero* plants.

> …When I woke up I saw
> squirming serpents on the floor
> shiny serpents on the walls
> serpents moving on the windows.
> A small fear appeared and entered me.
> I heard a big black snake say,
> "We are your healing spirit guides."
> The serpents slithered off the walls
> I couldn't see them any more,
> but I felt them all around me.
> "What do I do now," I asked them
> "We will teach you," they said,
> "but first you must gather the herbs." (p. 200)

This following excerpt exemplified *la frontera* in multiple ways. First, it supplied imagery of snakes, an Aztec icon that remains a prevalent image at the border. Second, the narrating "I" spoke with the snakes, confirming the bond between humans and nature. Third, this portion of Anzaldúa's life writing was a poem, a welcome characteristic of *la frontera*.

Theorizing the Written Format of *La Frontera*

La frontera incorporates a blend of writing styles including poetry. Blending writing styles is closely related to identity: if identity is a *mezcla*, then how the story is relayed may also be. For example, to reflect the amalgamation of her history and identity, Anzaldúa (1987) integrated multiple literary approaches. Anzaldúa shifted between historical narration, personal testimonio, poetry, and styles that evade definition. She peppered her writing with poems, injecting them between prose sections:

A mis ancas caen los cueros de culebra,
cuatro veces por año los arrastro,
me tropiezo y me caigo
y cada vez que miro una culebra le pregunto
¿Que traes conmigo? (p. 58)

This break from standard paragraphs attracts and distracts the reader's attention: the eye is drawn to a change in format, while the brain is thrown a "speed bump." The reader anticipates these poems and thus is attracted to the paragraph breaks. However, the reader must slow her performance and focus on how to interpret Anzaldúa's poem on the skinning of snakes in reference to the surrounding prose of superstitions and omens.

Another format common to the blended style of *la frontera* is a non-chronological account of one's history. Anzaldúa and Cantú resisted chronologically and linearly advancing the reader through their lives. Both authors "serpentined" (Saldívar-Hull, 1999) around stories, wound around a topic, slithered away, clutched a time period firmly, and then released it. They might return to a topic many times, indicating a lack of resolution and continued emotional turmoil. Within a few pages, Anzaldúa (1987) wrote of Mexican children kicking their soccer balls across the international divide, the first Indian ancestors who came across the Bering Strait over 35,000 years ago, and her father's experiences as a sharecropper. Jumping forward and backwards hundreds of years allowed Anzaldúa to create anticipation, highlight parallels and contrasts in her current life, and add to the reader's understanding of her place in history.

The non-chronological style of *la frontera* diverges from the concept of the Bildungsroman, a commonly used plot line. The Bildungsroman portrays the moral, psychological, and intellectual *linear* development of a character. While Bildungsroman works within the confines of gender, class, and race, such texts typically include an

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identifiable pattern of maturity including "encounters with powerful mentors" (Smith & Watson, 2001, p. 107), "romantic involvements, and entrepreneurial ventures [leading] the protagonist to reevaluate" his or her life (p. 189). Reevaluation of one's life certainly *occurs* in *la frontera* literature, although not in an ordered fashion as the Bildungsroman.

In conclusion, *la frontera* may be considered "messy," a term used by qualitative researcher Patti Lather, to fondly describe something that stands out as unique from the norm and defies sterile compartmentalization. The representation of identity and history zigzag forward and backward on crooked paths in *la frontera*, allowing for greater flexibility, change, and a *mezcla* of life stories.

Theorizing Codeswitching

Codeswitching is another method utilized by *la frontera* writers. Castillian Spanish, Mexican Spanish, Tex-Mex, Caló/Pachuco, and Nahuatl are among the many languages border communities speak (Candelaria, 1986; Cortez, 2004). Anzaldúa spoke a combination of eight "languages," some a dialect of Spanish, and others, such as Nahuatl, the original indigenous language of Mexico. Anzaldúa (1987) admitted to codeswitching to make the reader uncomfortable; to make the reader feel how she did when she came to the United States as a non-English speaker who battled the subordination of her native language (see also Adams, 1995; Crawford, 2000; Guerra, 2004; Kells, 2004; Lippi-Green, 1997; Lomawaima, 1994; Sánchez, 1994). There is an element of power in codeswitching for the author and the reader who can understand.

Viewing language as a reflection of culture and identity, Cantú switched between Spanish and English to reflect her culture in three different manners. First, she recounted codeswitching events, such as Tío Mase mingling Spanish and English, in contrast to her father's "Spanish only" voice. Cantú referred to her English-speaking ability as a *detriment* to the family structure to the depth that she blamed herself for failing to discourage her brother from joining the military during Vietnam. "I, the oldest, the one who spoke English, why didn't I talk to my brother? He usually listened to me" (1995, p. 117).

Second, Cantú conveyed full conversations in Spanish, necessitating that the reader have knowledge of the language in order to appreciate the dialog. It was the same issue with Anzaldúa: to make the non-Spanish speaking reader feel uncomfortable. Third, Cantú casually intermingled Spanish words with English to remind the reader that she was connected to *la frontera*. "'May he be at peace,' Don Viviano says solemnly and gestures with his head towards the *camposanto*" (p. 71). These words and short phrases, interpreted from the context of the sentence, linguistically connect Cantú to her Mexican culture.

In summary, language and culture were inseparable to Anzaldúa. "If you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity. Until I take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (1987, p. 81). Taking pride in her language was part of attaining a *mestiza* consciousness.

Theorizing Performance and Fear

The expectation of role "performance" thrives in *la frontera* writing. Aligning

performance with fear may have been Cantú's way of demonstrating her need to displace

herself from such cultural and familial "requirements." Researchers suggested this

combined theme was related to the view of women in Latin American society (De Leon,

1996; Ortiz, 1995; Romo, 1998; Tinajero, Gonzales, & Dick, 1991). Women are often

limited in their choices "under the rule of fathers and male-identified mothers" (Saldivar-

Hull, 1999, p. 4). Their bodies are the property of men, individuality is denied, and

independence is unheard of. Anzaldúa (1987) painfully related the formation of her

"shadow-beast" who refused to take orders of any kind. This rebellious side of her would

not perform the expected female tasks such as "ironing my younger brothers' shirts or

cleaning the cupboards" (p. 16). Even though every ounce of her independence and

critical awareness "took a beating daily" (ibid.) Anzaldúa persevered against the cultural

expectations of role performance, as is clear in the following excerpt:

> The culture and the Church insist that women are
> subservient to males. If a woman rebels she is a mujer
> *mala*. If a woman doesn't renounce herself in favor of the
> male, she is selfish. if a woman remains a *virgen* until she
> marries, she is a good woman. For a woman of my culture
> there used to be only three directions she could turn: to the
> Church as a nun, to the streets as a prostitute, or to the
> home as a mother. Today some of us have a fourth choice:
> entering the world by way of education and career and
> becoming self-autonomous persons. (p. 17)

Anzaldúa was critically aware of her fourth choice, and she comments that very few *la*

frontera dwellers are. Cantú, through insight and reflection became aware of her choices

and selected a similar path to Anzaldúa. Cantú likely respected her culture and was able to perform roles as she felt comfortable, but as a Latina woman, she was able to reconcile the fear of expectation.

The Final Step: Theorizing Mestiza Consciousness

Anzaldúa (1987) revealed that valuing individuality and asserting personal difference is known as *mestiza* consciousness. Anzaldúa questioned how self-identity is formed and informed by the dominant culture, and explained how she conceived of a new self-identity by rupturing from these arbitrary confines. Anzaldúa interrogated her identity with questions such as, *what does the Anglo hegemony state I should be? I am oppressed by race, class, gender...but these "systems" of oppression exist because of the cultural hegemony*. Anzaldúa deconstructed this hegemony, "decolonize[ed] the imagination" (Sandoval, p. xiii), and reconstructed the mestiza identity to highlight the hybridity and ambiguity of her identity as Latina living in *la frontera*.

Cantú looked outward for guidance towards her mestiza consciousness. By the end of *Canícula*, Cantú no longer needed to look outside her life for guidance towards an independent identity: she needed only look within. Cantú realized she was not called upon to view life dichotomously; thus, she was no longer captured by "either/or." She was no longer imprisoned by the dualities between Mexican *or* American ethnicity, English *or* Spanish language. She could have both, all, and none at the same time. Cantú learned to "stand and claim my space, making a new culture—*una cultura mestiza*—with

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my own lumber, my own bricks and mortar and my own feminist architecture"

(Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 22). Cantú learned to stand and claim *her* space—*her* space as a

bilingual, bicultural, and transnational, independent being.

The Autobiographical Pact

The understood absence of "*the* truth" is distinctive to *la frontera* literature. The

reader is fully aware of the broken pact between reader and author in *Canícula*, even

though selected aspects of her life are likely "accurately" portrayed. From the

introduction, Cantú (1995) stated, "many of the events are completely fictional, although

they may be true in a historical context" (p. xi). It is as if Cantú were saying, "These

events likely happened to someone of my family, my community, my heritage." Because

of the collective identity and voice found in *la frontera*, it is as if those events occurred in

Cantú's life.

Autobiographical purists would fault Cantú for not only fictionalizing her life, but

also including events that occurred before her birth: How could Cantú have known of her

parents' wedding day when she had not yet been conceived? The photographs included

with vignettes were not even a guarantee that the accompanying text would accurately

describe the captured moment, as described above. For instance, the first name on

Cantú's US immigration papers and Mexican citizenship cards was neither Norma nor

"Nena," as she referred to herself, but "Azucena" (pp. 21-22) Who was this Azucena, and

was it important that the name "Norma" is seen hiding behind this unfamiliar identity on

Cantú's Mexican identity card? There was also a missing person in the picture

accompanying the chapter "Bueli." In the last chapter of her novel Cantú referred to her

crooked tooth, not visible in the snapshot. That a discrepancy exists between

photographic reality and textual representation is not problematic in *la frontera* writings.

This approach may be "messy," Lather's description of something that stands out as

unique from the norm, but I use the term affectionately to dispel any desire of espousing

the Enlightenment's position of a united, universal truth.

The Postcolonial Theoretical Lens

Postcolonialism calls for a new political literacy that recontextualizes texts against

the Empire as it rethinks the dominant Western canon. Postcolonial literature transforms

how the canon is defined and studied as it focuses on the personal and political effects of

imperialism. Autobiographies of this style are concerned with the limitations of

ethnocentrism and of the dissident histories of those who have been marginalized

(Bhahba, 1998). Tiffin (1988) clarified that postcolonial literature is "energized by

different theoretical assumptions and by vastly different political motivations" (p. 172)

than literature from the Western, dominant canon. Western practices are always under

scrutiny.

In postcolonial literature, the "protagonist" struggles with establishing harmony

between the personal, cultural, and political. Such political focus authenticates "the

histories of exploitation and the strategies of resistance" (Bhahba, 1998, p. 937; see also

Fernández, 2002) that are culturally significant to the background of each author or

speaker. Cantú includes numerous references to her brother killed in Vietnam, which

combine the personal, cultural, and political. His death was personally painful for the family, and was culturally and politically significant, as this military incursion employed significant portions of "expendable" minority groups in our nation. Cantú did not clearly state "Tino's death was a result of classist, racist politics"; however, subtlety, Cantú gave attention to language in her personal, cultural, and political descriptions of her brother Tino.

This comment segues into my next point, that postcolonial literature deconstructs the Enlightenment perception of language as capable of capturing the "one reality." Nietzsche declared that there are no facts, only interpretations, and it is upon this idea that these theories ground themselves in interpreting literature, culture, and history. Thus, this flexibility allows for a plurality of centers, truths, and identities, in cultural, personal, and political respects. The once-assumed stable categories of identity are recognized for what they are--as imaginary constructs, a point theorized by Anzaldúa.

Another aspect of postcolonial projects is how they bring the margin *to* the center. The marginalized have been "created" by the oppressor or colonizer and are "overdetermined and made stereotypic" (Davies, 1998, p. 999); but, for example, Cantú gave voice to Latinas living at *la frontera*, as she wrote of personal, cultural, and political characteristics that made her a three-dimensional person.

Finally, postcolonial literature dismisses the formality of chronology. Postcolonial autobiographical accounts do not "run as unbroken, linear, discursive expositions, but are actually produced through a series of interruptions" (Davies, 1998, p. 996).

Closing

In summary, my theoretical lens is informed by the intertwining and complimentary theories of LatCrit, *la frontera*, and postcolonialism. This research project challenges the reader to rethink the dominant canon of research for several reasons. The research is co-directed with students, is likely to lead to non-linear developments of the students' life stories, and is "messy" and unpredictable. It affirms multiple truths and grants power to voices collective across family, community, and heritage.

CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The focus of this investigation is Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum at one high school in a major city in the Eastern United States. The ultimate objective is to understand if the US History classes are serving the perceived needs of Latino students. Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991) stress that

> The school seen from the perspective of students is quite a different reality from that seen from teachers' or administrators' perspectives. To know this perspective requires careful observation, interviews, and continuous reflection. In the case of heterogeneous schools it is even more important to internalize the students' different perspectives of school that different students have. School experience can be highly oppressive and destructive from the students' point of view. In order to explore this reality, we need to ask students how they feel about teachers, peers, school activities, study, homework, the playground, and about themselves. (p. 178)

The percentage of Hispanic[29] children in the nation's K-12 schools is calculated to increase from 16.3% in 2000 (Nieto, 2004) to 25% in 2050 (Viadero, 2005). Unfortunately, educators still know little about how to best serve a diverse and rapidly growing population because few education studies have focused on the needs of Latino students. Far fewer studies have examined the needs of Latinos in the social studies

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[29] "Hispanic" is a demographic identifier used by the United States Census Bureau. For the purposes of this paper this term will be used for such government citations.

curriculum (Ferguson & Fleming, 1984; Garcia, 1978, 1980; Noboa, 2003). Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, are the youngest population group, and are the fastest growing. "Because of their numbers, Latino youth, and more specifically youth of Mexican origin, are of enormous public policy interest, and their educational achievement is a matter of growing national concern" (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004, p. 2; see also Portes, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b; Trueba, 1991b, 1998b; Valencia, 1991b).

Schools are one of the most important institutions of a nation. At such institutions, students are subjected en masse to the dominant social, economic, and cultural ideologies of the state through the educative process (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Cremin, 1990; Cruz-Janzen, 1997; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Dewey, 1933; Hess & Torney, 1967; Leacock, 1969; McLaren & Giroux, 1997; Olneck, 1989, 1990, 1993; Spindler, 1974; Yamane, 2001). Schools are particularly impactful on voluntary and involuntary immigrant students because they are one the few arenas for "regular, sustained interactions" with established residents and the educative process in the United States (Olsen, 1997, p. 15; see also Ayala, 2000). [30] Foley, Levinson, and Hurtig (2000-2001) describe the educative process as "humanity's unique method of *acquiring, transmitting, and producing* cultural knowledge for interpreting and acting upon the world" (emphasis authors') (p. 38). Freire (1970) is not as kind, maintaining the exertion of cultural

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[30] Voluntary immigrants migrated largely in quest of a better life. Involuntary immigrants were brought against their will (i.e.: through slavery), or were forced to leave their country (i.e.: because of war). In *general*, involuntary migrants face greater academic failure in American schools. Treating immigrant students as "lesser beings" is not only an American phenomenon. Research has been completed low-status immigrants such as Finnish students in Sweden (Troike, 1978), and Burakumin in Japan (Ogbu, 1983).

hegemony perpetuates cultural invasion and the *subordination* of people of color (emphasis mine). Spindler and Spindler (1993) concur with Freire, regarding Western education "as a calculated interference with learning" (p. 27).

Are schools extending a "standardized" culture by battling the traditions of people of color? The metaphor of "culture wars" (Cremin, 1990; Gates, 1992; Graff, 1992; Jay 1992) has been extended because of schools' overt role in influencing "who we Americans are and what we Americans should be" (Yamane, 2001, p. 5; see also Cohen & Neufeld, 1981; Olneck, 1989, 1990, 1993). Schubert (1986) stated that schools must educate for equity and excellence because of increasing diversity and the continued subordination of people of color. Gibson (1995b) concurs, clarifying that the status quo reinforces the *super*ordinacy (emphasis mine) of the dominant culture, devalues subordinate groups, and "turns a blind eye to the ways in which school policies, both implicit and explicit, contribute to culture conflicts" (p. 54).

But schools are not simply sites of social and cultural reproduction (McLaren & Giroux, 1997; Olsen, 1997). Students, teachers, and administrators can resist the ideologies and "transcend the imperatives of possibility" by moving from a "posture of criticism to one of substantive vision" (McLaren & Giroux, p. 19; see also Olsen, 1997). There *is* room for radical change and contestation (Kohl, 1997). This research will suggest that educational reform is one area that is due for radical change and heavy contestation. In this chapter, I engage with the literature addressing Latino K-12 students, academic success, and the social studies. This chapter is divided into four major sections

addressing (a) educational research with Latino students, (b) structural inequities in the

American educational system, (c) the social studies, and (d) the history of Latinos in

American schools.

Educational Research with Latino Students

Educational reform in the United States frequently begins at the top.

Superintendents talk to administrators, administrators inform the teachers, and teachers

instruct the students of what and how they will learn. A small number of studies begin

from the bottom, that is, from the students' perspectives. Few educational reforms ask the

students to give input at the early planning stages or react after changes have been

enacted (Cummins, 1996; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Fernández, 2002; Kaplan,

1999; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). However, if schools are social

constructions, "it is vital that they be examined from the point of view of those most

affected by those constructions: Latino students" (Espinoza-Herold, 203, p. 137).

Many of our students have formed opinions of school (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba,

1991; Kaplan, 1999; MacLeod, 1987). They have developed attitudes formed and

informed from positive and negative educational experiences. They have perceptions of

what works and does not work for them as individuals. As Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba

(1991) stated, educational researchers need to know the perspective of students in order

to create effective and truly responsive educational reform (see also Karns, 2005). We

need to know students' realities.

Few studies have asked students about their perceived educational needs (Almarza, 2001; Kaplan, 1999; Thorne, 1993). Fewer have asked minority students, and even fewer have approached Latino students in particular (Almarza, 2001; Kaplan, 1999). The perceived educational needs of Latino students is an understudied area. Therefore, this research will fill gaps in the current literature regarding Latino students,' and may be one of the first that addresses Latino students' needs for the US History curriculum. In this literature review, I will discuss students' needs, and what is known about Latino students' needs in particular.

Immigrant and non-immigrant students' perspectives have been the focus of multiple ethnographic studies (Almarza, 2001; Ayala, 2000; Christian-Smith, 1993; Cohen, 1993; Connell, 1993; Davidson, 1996; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Friend, 1993; Gersten & Faltis, 2000; Gilligan, 1993; Handscombe & Becker, 1994; Heath, 1983; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kaplan, 1999; MacLeod, 1987; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1974, 1990, 1992; Olsen, 1997; Pryor, 2004; Ratleff, 1993; Stevenson & Ellsworth, 1993; Sleeter, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2000; Swedo, 1987; Thorne, Lam, Orellana, & Chabrier, 1998; Tierney, 1993b; Weis, 1993; Willis, 1977, 1981; Yeager & Terzian, in press).[31] Iranian children in Toronto and Mexican-American and Japanese-American students were the foci of Handscombe and Becker's (1994) study and Matute-Bianchi's (1986) studies. Minami (2000) investigated recently immigrated Asian high school students' perspectives of interactions between teachers and students in American classrooms to assess inequalities to learning that affect students' outcomes. Olsen (1997) completed ethnography with students across ethnicities to find

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[31] Swedo (1987) and Ratleff (1993) inquired about handicapped, English-language learning students' personal experiences.

out how they feel about each other; and Fordham and Ogbu (1986) portrayed the perspectives of African American students. The students across all these studies were fully aware of and were able to articulate their feelings, even at ages as young as 10 and 11, demonstrating that students *have something to say*.[32] Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2000) suggest that immigrant and non-immigrant youth are well aware of the "ethos of hostility" against culturally and linguistically diverse students in the United States (p. 27). This is cause for concern.

Culturally and linguistically diverse students often have needs that differ from non-CLD students. Students' needs are intricately connected with the perpetual formation of their personal identity. When these needs are met, CLD students are more likely to form a positive academic identity: that is, the perception "schoolwork will pay off" (Davidson, 1996, p. 3). When students' needs are not met, students are more likely to become alienated from the school experience and achieve at lower levels (Calabrese, 1987; Cummins, 1996; Davidson, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Trusty & Dooley-Dickey, 1993). Identity is constantly being recreated, and schools can have a substantial impact on how all students create their own racial, ethnic, and personal identities, and that of others (Anzaldúa, 1987; Clifford, 1988; Davidson, 1996; Hall, 1987; hooks, 1992; Okamura, 1981; Roosens, 1989; Rosaldo, 1989).

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[32] Quintero (2002) worked with preschool children, with developmentally appropriate questions.

Latino Students and American History

Two recent studies investigated the intersection of Latino students and the US History curriculum, the focus of this project. Almarza (2001) examined the perceptions of the US History[33] among eighth-grade Mexican-American students in a Midwestern middle school. Yeager & Terzian (in press) studied the perceptions formed by high-achieving Cuban-American high school students of the US History curriculum. Almarza's eighth-graders found the US History curriculum "boring" and irrelevant. Further exploration revealed the intimate connection between the systemic school atmosphere and the US History curriculum. Both were Eurocentric and detrimental for Mexican-American students' academic success. School practices and the US History curriculum paid little attention to CLD students' needs. One student commented, "…it seems that the Whites are the only ones who have history…[the teacher] doesn't say that Mexicans were here [the United States] first" (p. 4). The monocultural education climate of the school and History curriculum confounded students' abilities to learn and achieve in their History class. Yeager and Terzian (in press) inspected advanced-placement Cuban-American students' perceptions of the nation's official narrative. The researchers surveyed students' perceptions of events, people, and documents judged significant in the teaching of US History. They discovered the students' perceptions "were congruent with those of the teacher and the standard curriculum" (p. 2); in other words, the Cuban-American students bought into the "grand narrative" of "exceptionalism and progress" (p. 32), where racism was an aberration (p. 31).

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[33] Almarza used the term American History instead of US History. I have substituted "US" for "American" to maintain congruency in this section.

The differences between Almarza and Yeager and Terzian's study are significant. Mexican and Mexican-American students are more likely than Cuban and Cuban-American students to have negative experiences in American schools (de la Garza, DeSipio, Garcia, Garcia, and Falcon, 1992). Mexican and Mexican-American students perceived the least desirable of all culturally and linguistically diverse groups. Conversely, Cuban and Cuban-American students attain greater acceptance by teachers and administrators in American schools because they "act White" more so than Mexican and Mexican-American students. Cubans overwhelmingly characterize themselves as White and politically conservative (ibid.). Students of Cuban descent typically have higher educational achievement than students of Mexican or Anglo descent. How others perceive these two Latin American cultural groups will have an effect on the students' perceptions of their schooling experiences.

Latino Students' Perspectives

A growing body of research has examined Latino students in educational settings (Carger, 1996; Darder & Upshur, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Fernández, 2002; Fine, 1991; Gutierrez, 1994; Gutierrez, Larson, & Kreuter, 1995; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Heriberto, 2004; Kaplan, 1999; Knight et al.,2004; Levin, 1998; Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990; Martínez, 2000; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Moncada-Davidson, 1996; Moran, Tinajero, Stobbe, & Tinajero, 1993; Nieto, 2001, 2004; Ogbu, 1986; Olsen, 1997; Orellana, Ek, & Hernández, 2000; Patthey-Chavez, 1993; Quintero, 2002; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Rumbaut, 1995; Sola & Bennett, 1991; Schifini, 1997; Sheets, 2002; Soto, 1997; Suárez-Orozco, 1987a, 1989;

Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2000; Tapia, 1998; Torres & Magolda, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999; Wilson & Corbett, 2001; Yeager & Terzian, in press; Zanger, 1987, 1989, 1994). Table 4 offers a brief description of some of these studies. Many Latino students want to become involved in school reform because they have high personal and academic aspirations (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Kaplan, 1996). Students are aware of the "majority culture's values and traditions" (Espinoza-Herold, p. 142; see also Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1993) being purported in their schools by and through teachers' pedagogical techniques, the choice of textbooks, and lack of bilingual programs. They understand that to succeed in this majority-culture institution they have to function within these constraints;[34] but they also know how to engage with, resist, and oppose what they learn in school (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). While engaging and resisting they can articulate what they are doing. Students as young as 10 and 11 are capable of responding concretely when asked what it is like to be an immigrant in American schools (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), or about their educational needs (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 139). Such findings should not be underestimated; furthermore the

> denial that Latino children or families have any unique needs work[s] against the interest of Latino [parents and children]. This form of educational denial and neglect in place of recognizing and working to meet the actual needs of Latino children functions as a detriment to academic achievement. (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 140-141)

Teachers and administrators need to be aware that Latino students, as well as all CLD students, may have diverse educational needs.

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[34] See Delpit (1995) for more information regarding children of color functioning within the "codes" of power.

Students in multiple studies were cognizant of their school-related needs and how needs impacted their academic identity. Within the constraints of the majority culture, Latino students offered four key suggestions for educational reform to contribute to positive academic identity formation and thus, academic success.

Author, year	Topic of book or article
Carger (1996)	Mexican-American students' experiences of urban education.
Darder & Upshur (1993)	Research regarding what Latino children in Massachusetts need to succeed in school.
Kaplan (1999)	Inner city Black and Latino adolescents' perceptions about achieving an Education.
Lucas, Henze & Donato (1990)	Promoting the success of Latino language- minority high school students.
Nieto (2001)	A history of the education of Puerto Rican students in US mainland schools.
Patthey-Chavez (1993)	The high school as an arena for cultural conflict and acculturation for Latino Angelinos.
Suárez-Orozco (1987a)	Central American immigrants in US inner-city schools.
Yeager & Terzian (in press)	Successful Cuban students' conceptions of academic success.

Table 4: Brief Listing of Topics of Articles and Books Written About Latino Students' Experiences.

Challenge Students Academically

First, Latino students want all curricula to be more challenging, intellectually engaging, and inclusive, and for teachers to hold them to high standards. Teachers held low expectations of Latinos, a finding also reported by Heriberto (2004) and Moll (1988, 1994). Teachers further degraded students by referring more Latinos than Whites to vocationally tracked classes, which limited Latino students' access to the core curriculum, college (Fernández, 2002; Ochoa, 2003; Moll, 1988), and even the desire to graduate from high school (Espinoza & Ochoa, 1992; Ochoa, 2003; Rumberger, 1998).[35] Espinoza-Herold's students wanted to be prepared for success for personal and financial reasons, and to achieve what Espinoza-Herold describes a "political act." That is, they wanted to *prove* to their teachers and administrators that they were capable of achieving. "I'll show you. I'll make it in spite of what you think of me," is how Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2000, p. 28) theorize the hostilities immigrant and ELL students can feel in American schools.

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[35] Latino students, particularly those of Mexican descent, are more likely to be enrolled in a vocational track than students of other ethnicities (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; O'Malley, 1987; Valdivieso, 1986b; Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003). Tracked curriculum isolates CLD students based on race, ethnicity and social class (Davidson, 1996), prepares them to enter society at the same low-income levels as their parents (Carter 1970), "and can contribute to their sense of cultural estrangement, while negative expectations and differential treatment, bureaucratized relationships and practices, and barriers to information contribute to their sense of powerlessness and meaninglessness" (Davidson, 1996, p. 33-34; see also Calabrese & Schumer, 1986; Mau, 1992; Seeman, 1975).

Valdivieso (1986b) discovered that of Latino student dropouts in a longitudinal study, 92% had been vocationally tracked. Only 8% of Latino dropouts in the study had dropped out from a college-preparatory program. Thus, schools have been urged by some committees to do away with tracked curriculum, and to offer the broadest possible options with a rich and challenging curriculum (Benjamin, 2002; Carnegie Council, 1989; Goodlad, Oakes, & Swartzbaugh, 1988; Moll, 1988; Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003). Furthermore, curriculum that is academically challenging and relevant to students' heritages more effectively engages students than curriculum unrelated to students' experiences and cultures (Calabrese, 1987; Cummins, 1996; Davidson, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Fine, Bloom, Burns, Chajet, Guishard, Perkins-Munn, & Torre, 2004; Moll, 1988; Trusty & Dooley-Dickey, 1993).

Olsen (1997) examined the question "*If it were up to you, what would you learn in high school that would be useful to you? What would you be studying*?" All students' responses strayed from the question regardless of their ethnicity; instead, responses were "couched in accusations about what they are not getting and why" (p. 58). One Latino student concluded, "No one cares at this school. They don't teach us nothing. Particularly us Latins…We have to try to better ourselves. But we don't learn the stuff that helps to better ourselves…The district don't care about us or what we think. All they do is get you down" (p. 58-60). Olsen pressed some Latino students for answers. Juanita responded that she wanted to learn what the White kids were learning, but *with* her peers. By her sophomore year she understood that school would allow her to "make something of [herself]" (p. 85), and that the vocational track would get her nowhere.[36] She tested into college-prep courses, but was separated from her Latino friends. Juanita's loneliness stemmed from teachers' perceptions that Latino students did not value education, did not work hard, and did not aspire to achieve. These perceptions eventually rubbed off on Latino students and became part of students' defeated identities (Olsen & Jaramillo, 1999; Ortiz & Kushner, 1997; Valdés, 2001). The Latino students tracked into "low skills" classes *believed* they belonged there.[37] They internalized that they could not succeed. Juanita could not have it both ways—to achieve academic success with her peers—because her peers had been pushed down by years of defeat. [38]

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[36] The vocational track for Latino students has been referred to as "de facto segregation" because Latinos spend most of their school day together (Ortiz, 2003). Latinos are more likely, however, to attend schools with insufficient resources that are segregated from White students (Orfield, 1993; White House Initiative, 1999; US Department of Education, 2000). For additional readings on the re-segregation of schools, see Frankenburg and Lee (2002), Orfield (2001), and Orfield and Lee (2004).

[37] A social studies teacher in Olsen's (1997) study disparaged the tracking of social studies classes. When asked by the teacher about their experiences in low, medium, and high- or "honors") level social studies

Value Students' Home Cultures

Second, Latino students want their teachers to value students' home cultures (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Moran et al., 2003). Students also want their home *language* respected and used in their educational experiences.[39] Value of and respect for students home culture and language is at the top of the "needs list" according to studies across cultures and ethnicities (Abi-Nader, 1993; Deyhle, 1995; Hayes, Bahruth & Kessler; 1991; Igoa, 1995; McCaleb, 1994; Rumbaut & Ima, 1987; Zanger, 1994), because language signals membership in groups and a positive sense of belonging (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Turner, 1997; Cole, 1996; Gee, 1990). "You can't succeed in a place where no one respects you for what you are," a Latina student in Zanger's (1994) study reported. Jiménez (2001) points out that struggling ELL students thrived when their backgrounds and national origins were recognized in classroom practices and curriculum. Respect for and incorporation of students' home cultures was thus a "double motivator" for ELL students, demonstrating the importance of valuing students' backgrounds.

Another way schools can show students they are significant is through the physical condition of the school. CLD students in Espinoza-Herold's (2003) investigation

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classes, students reported what the teacher and Olsen suspected: none of the parents of low-level social studies class students had gone on to or completed college. Almost all honors students had at least one parent who had. It was clear that, at least in the social studies classes, tracking was perpetuating a class system.

[38] See also Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000, for theorizing about the mindset of failure: "They are probably right. I'll never be able to do it" (p. 28). See Carter and Segura (1979) for theorizing about "a cultural adaptation to powerlessness" (p. 87).

[39] Translating between the L1 and L2 languages strengthens their proficiency and cognitive functioning in each language. Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) report that bilingual programs increase students' metalinguistic awareness which enhance their pride in their L1 language and culture (see also Bartolomé & Balderrama, 2001; de la Luz Reyes & Halcón, 2001; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004). In addition, studies show that bilingualism promotes cognitive growth in areas not limited to language acquisition (Diaz, 1985; Duncan & DeAvila, 1979; Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Kessler & Quinn, 1980; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vasquez, 1992).

complained about poor facilities where vocational and English classes were held. The physical conditions of the school demonstrated to students that minority languages and cultures were valued less than the majority White culture. Darder & Upshur (1991) asked fifth-grade Latino students about their educational needs necessary to promote academic success. Students discussed the importance of compassionate teachers who praised their work and did not "yell" at them, curriculum that reflected and honored their home cultures and language, group and project-based learning activities, more opportunities for personal empowerment through leadership, and a "good" principal and a "good" school (p. 132). Students' conception of a "good" school underscored the physical environment. Broken doors, dirty hallways, and dilapidated playgrounds sent a concrete message that students did "not deserve anything better" (p. 134).

When students perceived their home culture was not valued and respected by the school, many students felt they must choose between the home culture and that of the school. Students should not feel as if they must "make difficult choices about whose teachings she is going to accept and whose she will reject" (McCaleb, 1994, p. 32).[40] While some students were savvy enough to understand the dilemma and accept their bicultural identities, others "want[ed] to deny their home culture completely," or deny the school experience. When students pulled away from family support or from school, they were more likely to "[succumb] to the attractions of gang involvement" (p. 33; see also Vigil, 1983, 1988b, 1989). Students in all studies reported greater academic success when their culture was incorporated *into* the learning experience (see also Suárez-Orozco, C.,

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[40]Numerous additional studies regarding students' adaptation to the school environment have been completed (Bartolomé, 1996; Bartolomé & Macedo, 1997; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994b; Deyhle & Margonis, 1995; Gutierrez, 1994; Gutierrez, Larson, & Kreuter, 1995; Patthey-Chavez, 1993; Wilson, 1991.)

& Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b). In summary Darder and Upshur discovered that teachers' expectations were "at odds" not only with educational research, but also with students' inherent motivation and desire to learn" (p. 137). Without students' input, Darder and Upshur's study would have lacked a substantial degree of insight into educational reform.

Incorporate Students' Background Knowledge

Third, Latino students want to be treated as if they know something (Moll, 1988; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll & Gonzalez, 1994; Moran et al., 2003; Urdanivia-English, 2001). Their personal life experiences are valuable to the students (Freire, 1998; White-Clark, 2005), and they want teachers to know that students are coming to class with prior background knowledge. Students are aware of teachers who do not call on them during class or point out their good work due to the perception that Latino students were "stupid" (Sepúlveda, 1996, Trueba, 1987b). However, Latino students bring "unique backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives that can provide many resources for the entire classroom" (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002, p. 292; see also Guerra, 2004; Moll, 1988). These "situated literacies" include cultural information about other countries different perspectives on the world, and exposure to other languages (Delpit, 1988; Guerra, 2004; Moll, 2001; Zehler, 1994). Because teachers perceive Latino students as blank slates, students are praised less often, are less likely to have their ideas developed, are less likely to be called on in class, and are less likely to receive positive responses from teachers (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1973; Ortiz, 1988; Zanger, 1994).

Elsa, a student in Zanger's (1994) study reflected, "Teachers don't learn from us, they don't learn from anybody. They don't ask" (p. 186). Another girl commented, "They should know about our …backgrounds before they start judging us" (ibid.). Teachers in Heriberto's (2004) study had no idea that Mexican-background students were using sophisticated translation skills while interacting on behalf of their Spanish-speaking parents. Teachers viewed students in terms of their limited–English status, and did not treat the students as if they had any skills or experiences. Knowing and caring about students' backgrounds entails a paradigm shift on the part of teachers, to understand that students can incorporate their linguistic and personal experiences into the curriculum (Nieto, 1992, 1993). Viewing students as valuable members of a community augments their opportunities for educational success (Nieto, 2001).

Continually Work To Improve Conditions

Fourth, students wanted good teachers to continue their good works, even though "excessive bureaucratic obstacles" (Espinoza-Herold, 2003, p. 143) deterred many teachers from radical and necessary educational reform (Moll, 1988; Ochoa, 2003; Olsen & Jaramillo, 1999). Students wanted to form more satisfying and personal relationships with teachers and staff (Moran et al., 2003), and allow teachers to show they cared and were advocates for students, but felt the practices of the schools distanced students from adults (Davidson, 1996). When teachers could not advocate on behalf of students because of difficult obstacles, some students interpreted this as teachers did not believe in them (Moll, 1994). Latino students saw the structural inequities that made good teachers and Latino students feel powerless. They saw how these structural barriers affected *all*

students, not just Latino or CLD students. They knew that no student would be successfully educated unless the teachers, support staff, and administrators were fully committed to a unified program designed to educate culturally diverse populations (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002; Lucas, 1993).[41] Elsa, a student in Zanger's (1994) study indicated, "It's the stress that the teachers have in these schools. That everyone has, no one has time for anybody" (p. 188). These students knew that positive change would only come when teachers continued to strive as advocates on students' behalf.[42]

Diaz Salcedo (1996) worked with ten highly successful Latino students in their homes and at school to discover what helped the students internalize they *could* succeed. Romo and Falbo (1996) completed a similar, albeit *large*-scale study with 100 Latino students over 4 years of high school. They observed the "pathways [students] took to complete high school or drop out" (p. 2). They concluded a chief causes of Latino drop out lies within the school and community. A school and community that devalues, demeans, demoralizes, and disempowers Latino students is a waste of students' time. Given these conditions, "getting pregnant, working dead-end jobs, and even staying home and watching TV offered more satisfying alternatives than school" (p. 253; see also Bachman, Green, & Wirtanen, 1971; Deyhle, 1995; Fernández, 2002; Willis, 1998). Few teenagers re-enter high school after dropping out or having a family; hence the emphasis must be on keeping all students in school (Romo, 1998).

Additional Research Findings for Academic Success

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[41] Teachers working with Latino students have been shown to benefit significantly from well organized professional development (August & Hakuta, 1997; Calderón, 1999; Gonzalez & Darling-Hammond, 1997; Reyes, Scribner, & Paredes-Scribner, 1999; US Department of Education, 2000; White-Clark, 2005). These sessions must cultivate the philosophy that the teacher is a learner, and that Latino students have information to share with their classes (Calderón, 1999; Gonzalez & Darling Hammond, 1997; Reyes, et al. 1999; Rueda, 1998).

[42] See Moll (1988) for teacher's perspectives on "bucking the system" to advocate for students (p. 470).

Freeman and Freeman (2002) state that four keys for school success are engaging students in challenging curriculum, drawing on students' backgrounds, providing scaffolding experiences for English language learners (ELL), and generating confidence in students. In their conversations with students, Lucas et al. (1990) identified the following six important factors that help ELL students succeed:

1. Respect for students' languages and cultures;
2. High expectations that challenge students;
3. Priority placed on the educational needs of ELL students;
4. Teacher and administrator training to address ELL students' needs;
5. A variety of courses for ELL students;
6. Commitment from school leaders to the empowerment of ELL students through education.

August and Hakuta (1997) reviewed 33 studies regarding research with CLD and ELL students and school effectiveness. They compiled the following list of effective schools' traits:

1. A school climate that supports CLD students' language, cultures, and diversities;
2. School leadership that makes CLD students' needs a priority, recruits talented teachers, involves all staff in development and improvement efforts, and maintains physical facilities;
3. A learning environment that provides special programs for recently arrived immigrants;
4. A connection between schools in the district to ensure positive results K-12;
5. Some use of the CLD students' language and culture in instruction;
6. balanced curriculum that integrates higher and basic-order learning skills;
7. The teaching of life-long skills (such as study skills) and strategies;
8. Opportunities for students to lead and collaborate;
9. Opportunities for students from diverse cultures to interact;
10. Well-constructed assessment strategies that can identify students' strengths and weaknesses;
11. Strong connections to students' home culture and parental involvement.

Lucas' data replicates and adds to that of Espinoza-Herold (2003) and Freeman and Freeman (2002). August and Hakuta's (1997) study moves beyond immediate perceptions of students' needs to include specialized programs for newly arrived immigrants, and initiatives to increase parental involvement. One common characteristic between the three studies is the importance of schools respecting students' cultures and languages. As has been made apparent from critical ethnographies and descriptive case studies, CLD students have something to say, and know what their educational needs are.

In summary, case studies completed with Latino students highlights important concerns. School encounters that do not value the students' culture, language, and life experiences can contribute to students' non-completion of high school (Diaz Salcedo, 1996). School reforms that do not take students' perspectives into account potentially waste time and resources. Researchers must continue to ask students to be part of educational reforms.

Ignoring the Students' Perspectives

Examples of missed opportunities with students are common across educational research. In this section, I supply examples of poorly conducted research that ignores the perspectives of Latino students, while asserting that the educational reforms meet the needs of said students. Missed opportunities with students are portrayed throughout Schunk and Meece's *Student Perceptions in the Classroom* (1992), and in an entire volume of Slavin and Calderón's edited text, *Effective Programs for Latino Students* (2001). Clearly, research regarding student's self-perceptions of school behavior is not

necessarily qualitative; and studies "on" Latinos do not always consider students'

perceptions.

In an appraisal of 24 reforms for Latino elementary- and middle-school students,[43]

the authors only considered positivistic variables such as the difference between students'

outcomes on academic performance indicators using a control group and a performance

group, replicability of the study, and sample size (Fashola, Slavin, Calderón, & Durán,

2001). Fashola and Slavin (2001) used the same positivistic indicators to measure the

success of 13 dropout prevention and college attendance programs for Latino students.

Nowhere in their study did the authors indicate a student perspective. Lockwood's (2001)

study is another example of missed opportunities across grade levels with Latino

students. She interviewed teachers and administrators, and discussed the importance of

"meeting [Latino] students' personal needs" (p. 102), but failed to ask elementary,

middle, and high school students directly about these needs. Prado-Olmos and Marquez

(2001) approached their investigation with an ethnographic lens, but only turned that lens

to the viewpoints of teachers and administrators.

Evaluations of Spanish-English bilingual programs also neglected students'

perspectives. Calderón and Carreón (2001) detailed their methodology evaluating

Spanish-English bilingual programs, clearly stating that the only data gathered from

students was quantitative measures on oral proficiency tests. Teachers were asked about

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[43] The 24 studies were subdivided in five school-wide reform programs for elementary- and middle-school students, five cooperative learning methods for elementary- and middle-school students, five reading/writing/language arts programs for elementary- and middle-school students, five mathematics programs for elementary- and middle-school students, two preschool programs, and two tutoring programs for elementary- and middle-school students.

how *students* perceived "the valorization of particular discourses, subjectivities, and practices in Spanish and English…and social relationships of power, which are sanctioned and encouraged among students" (p. 135). *Students were never asked these same questions*! Saunders (2001) asserted principles of L1 to L2 acquisition that demonstrate positive results with students, without soliciting advice from students. His study is an excellent example of replication that rests its tenets on the existing literature, without seeking new insights from subjects of the study. Calderón's (2001) literature review framing her methodology replicates that of Saunders. Slavin and Madden (2001) diversify their bilingual program/ESL study by evaluating outcomes with traditional (non-bilingual) programs. Their study includes plenty of tables with ANCOVA analyses; but predictably, the authors did not include the perspectives of students involved in the three programs.

American Schools and Latino Students

Present-Day Issues in American Schools: Structural Inequities

Copious research attests to Latino students' academic success (Diaz-Greenberg, 2003; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Gándara, 1982; Hurd, 2004; Segura, 1993; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b; Trueba, 1988, 1991a; Trujillo, 1996; Valencia, 1991a, 1991b; Vigil, 1997; Yeager & Terzian, in press). *All* students can be successful; however, structural inequities in the American school system can impede the success of students who do not fit into the norm of White, middle-class culture (Auerbach, 1989; Cummins, 1996; Hidalgo, 1998; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Nuñez, 1994; Olivos, 2003; Powell, 1997;

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San Miguel, 2003; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Villalpando 2003; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Zentella, 1997a). The Latino population is one of the populations that "deviates" from the norm and is therefore poorly served by the inequitable public schools across the nation (De León & Holman, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b; Urciuoli, 1996). Latinos are the largest minority in the American public school system (Pedraza, 2002), therefore, "even more attention to this educational problem is required due to the tremendous population increase and projected growth of the Latino communities in the United States" (p. 46). The subsequent sections inform the reader of cultural deprivation theory and discriminatory practices that obstruct Latino students' success in American schools.

Cultural Deprivation and Deficit Theories

Since the late 1700s, school administrators and teachers have viewed deviation from the "norm" of White, middle-class culture as a deficiency (Auerbach, 1989; Carter, 1970; Cummins, 1996; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Dúran, 1983; Fernández, 2002; Hidalgo, 1998; Kaplan, 1999; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Nuñez, 1994; Olivos, 2003; Plant & Southern, 1970; Powell, 1997; San Miguel, 2003; Sarason, 1990; Sepúlveda, 1996; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984; Villalpando 2003; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Zentella, 1997a).[44] Some academics and politicians have attested that Latino families do not appreciate achievement, independence, individualism, and deferred gratification, assumed prerequisites for

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[44]McLaren (1997) writes of the difficulty to identify Whiteness because of its pervasiveness in American culture (p. 238). It is an invisible and "taken-for-granted state of being American," Olsen (1997) writes.

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educational success (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953; Hinds, 1990).[45]

Therefore, Latino parents have been the targets of blame for not valuing education

(Carter, 1970; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Killian, 1971; Lewis, 1959a, 1959b; Olsen, 1997;

Riessman, 1962; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b; Zintz, 1963).[46] The role of the

Latino extended (Montiel, 1973; Murillo, 1971; Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín,

& Perez-Stable, 1987; Triandis, Marín, Betancourt, Lisansky, & Chang, 1982) and

nuclear family on Latino students' success has been the focus of numerous studies

(Behar, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991, 1992, 1993; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Espinoza-Herold,

2003; Gándara, 1982; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b; Valenzuela &

Dornbusch, 1996; Vigil, 1997). For example, "teacher after teacher" in Romo and Falbo's

(1996) study negatively constructed Latino students and their families (see also

Heriberto, 2004; Hurd, 2004; Valdes, 1996). Teachers blamed the students' language and

culture (Ryan & Carranza, 1977), unfit home life, and apathetic parents who did not

"know how to care" about their child's education (see also Urciuoli, 1996, Zentella,

1997a).

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[45] See Hinds (1990) for disturbing quotes from members of the US Department of Education. Chester Finn and Christopher Cross (both former assistant secretaries for educational research and development during the Reagan administration) both spoke to the need for changing at-risk students' values and motivation. Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos declared Latino parents were to blame for the high rates of drop-outs because education was not valued in the family.

[46] See Bloom, Davis, & Hess (1965), Heller (1966) Holtzman, Diaz-Guerrero, and Swartz (1975), Ingle (1970), Jensen (1973), Killian (1971), Riessman (1962), and Zintz (1963) for "proof" that Latino parents do not value education. Killian argues that Latino students cannot articulate what is represented in pictures; and Riessman in his book *The culturally deprived child* cites the "noisy, TV-ridden homes" (p. 4) of Latinos are to blame. Zintz argues the "que será será" attitude renders Latinos pathologically passive and submissive. The remainder of studies in this set of parenthesis argue against the cultural deprivation theory. For an excellent study of an entire school that explicitly denies the cultural deprivation and deficit model see Reyes, Scribner, and Paredes-Scribner (1999).

Unfortunately, a large proportion of teachers register cultural *differences* as *deficiencies* (Carter, 1970; Cruz-Janzen, 1997; Fernández, 2002; Kretovics & Nussel, 1994; Persell, 1977; Sepúlveda, 1996; Sleeter, 2004; Smith-Maddox & Solórzano, 2002; Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003). "If you're Mexican, they put you lower. If you're White, they put you higher, right?" (Romo and Falbo, 1996, p. 192). Research indicates that as a result of lower expectations emanating from the teacher (Cruz-Janzen, 1997), CLD students are more likely to be undereducated than non-CLD students (Bean, Chapa, Berg, & Sowards, 1991; Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Chapa, 1989; González, 2002; López, 2003; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Rumberger, 1987, 1991; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Trueba, 1998b; White-Clark, 2005); and be blamed for their lack of English language acquisition (Griego-Jones, 1995; Heriberto, 2004; Ryan & Carranza, 1977; White-Clark, 2005), disconnection from academic material (Trueba, 1998b), and excessive rates of high school non-completion (López, 2003). Sarason (1990) stresses:

> You do not look at them in terms of deficits; what they do
> not know but need to know. Far from having deficits, they
> are asset rich. You enter their world in order to aid them
> and you build bridges between two worlds, not walls (p.
> 164)

Among all CLD students, Spanish speakers are the most disproportionately disadvantaged by these factors (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Veltman, 1980), which stem in part from teachers' deficit thinking. Spanish students have the most walls to climb, to rephrase Sarason.

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Entrenched in the deficit perspective is that Latino students should give up their "Latino ways" and assimilate to European-American patterns (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Smith-Maddox & Solórzano, 2002; Trueba, 1993a, 1998b), as if middle-class White ways were the "correct" ways. Prompting this theory may be the coincidence of two factors. First, over 70% of people (20 million [Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002]) of Latin American background living in the US claim Spanish as their primary or secondary language (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Solé, 1990), making Spanish-speakers the largest linguistic minority in the nation.[47] Second, Latinos have the largest high school dropout rate in the nation. These two facets of the Latino population are mistakenly conflated to create the "belief that the retention of Spanish is a root cause for the lack of academic achievement among Hispanic youth" (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999, p. xii; see also Carter, 1970; Trueba, 1989, 1990; Zentella, 1997b), when actually the problem is "much more complicated than many people believe" (Rumberger & Larson, 1998, p. 69; see also Buriel, 1994; Gibson, 1995a; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Ogbu, 1992; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Portes & Zhou, 1993).[48] A misplaced emphasis on non-English languages as an educational deficit instigates teachers, policymakers, and analysts to

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[47] The retention of Spanish has been the focus of multiple studies (Census of Population and Housing, 1993; Fishman, 1973; Galindo, 1991; López, 1978, 1982; O'Hara, 1993; Solé, 1985, 1990; US Department of Education 1992b; Veltman, 1983). Decline in the use of Spanish has been shown to occur more slowly in comparison to other minority languages in the United States. Spanish is retained to a higher degree than other languages through the third generation (López, 1982; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Solé, 1990; Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002; Veltman, 1983).

[48] Hirana-Nakanishi (1986) states that non-English speaking Latinos are less likely to complete high school than their English speaking counterparts. Rumbaut (1996) and Mitchell, Destino, and Karam (1997) have found that the opposite may be true: Mexican youth whose home language is English may perform "as poorly or even more poorly than those for whom English is a second language (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004, p. 2). Even so, there is not empirical evidence to prove that *Spanish* is the root cause of diminished academic achievement (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999). All linguistic minorities have the tendency to be behind their monolingual English peers, but Spanish speakers are disproportionately disadvantaged (Veltman, 1980).

focus on language as the cause of low academic achievement (Macías, 1993; Ryan & Carranza, 1977). This type of language subordination (Lippi-Green, 1997) occurs at the highest level of government in our nation. For example, in a government commissioned summary on Hispanics in the United States, a US House of Representatives document stated, "Due in part to the language barrier, Hispanics face a hurdle to an appropriate education" (1983, p. 18). The underlying sentiment in the government report is that language (and biliteracy) is assumed a barrier to academic success (Crawford, 1999; Miramontes, Nadeau, & Commins, 1997). The growing use of language identifiers in federal data-collection activities "leads many policymakers and analysts to focus on language as the 'cause' of low academic achievement, rather than considering or exploring more complex alternatives including the role of race/ethnicity, class, or discriminatory institutional practices" (Macías, 1993, p. 236).[49]

Deficit theories assume that to achieve academic success students must "turn their backs on their homes and families," speak English only, and "click into mainstream America" (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999, p. 429; see also Espinoza-Herold, 2003; McLaren, 1995; Trueba, 1998b). In other words, Latinos "should" participate avidly in English, with full student-to-teacher eye contact, or risk being labeled socially and developmentally delayed. Students cannot and should not be forced to "snap out of it"

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[49] Another example of the federal government's ignorance of cultural diversity was Ronald Reagan's remark after returning from a Presidential tour of Latin American countries: "You'd be surprised: They are all different countries down there" (cited in Diskin, 1983, p. 15). Suárez-Orozco (1987) describes Reagan's quote as "a collective ignorance in this country regarding even the most basic distinctions" between Latinos living in the US (p. 167). Cruz-Janzen (2002) asserts that the US government is conscious that its actions fuel the fire of centuries-old angers, distrusts, and fears. In a Puerto Rican community in Pennsylvania, merchants were allowed to sell goods 10% to 20% higher if they felt the buyer's English was not "up to par" (Soto, 1997).

and become "normal" or assimilated to cultural patterns of behavior that are not practiced in their homes (Moll & Ruiz, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Trueba, 1998b). They cannot "leave their 'Mexicanness' at the schoolhouse door" (Gibson, Bejínez, Hidalgo, & Rolón, 2004, p. 144). The *choque*, or clash, between "White" and Latino cultures can result in students' disconnect from the school experience (Duarte, 1997; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Osterman, 2000; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Trueba, 1998b; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).[50] In summary, research suggests that more should be done to better understand the wide range of educational needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students (Carter, 1970; Cazden, Carrasco, Maldonado-Guzman & Erickson, 1985; Diaz-Greenberg, 2003). Disposing of one's home culture and language causes excessive stress and a loss in self-esteem, and is linked to student failure in school (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Gándara, 1995; Gibson, 1991).

Discriminatory Practices against "Family"

Researchers now understand that fault may lie with an educational system that does not recognize differences between Latino and Anglo cultures (Ada, 1990; Anyon, 1997; Carter, 1970; Diaz-Soto, 1993; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Macías, 1993; Quintero, 2002; Rodriguez, 1982; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1993; Vega, 1990). First, reaching out to the extended family to achieve student success is not a typical activity in the Anglo culture; however, in Latino culture the extended family has a more prevalent role in a child's upbringing. The extended family can be an essential part of a

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[50] Ninety-six percent of foreign born and 64% of American born Latino students speak a language other than English in their homes. This compares to 64% and 4%, for all other foreign born and American born children, respectively (McArthur, 1993). Given that Latinos are the largest minority in the US, and one-third of Latinos are foreign born (Macías, 1993), this is an important consideration for schools.

program to maintain a youth's presence in school. For example, to address the high Latina drop out rate in San Diego, school activists initiated "bring[ing] in the *tía*, the mother, and the *abuelita*" (the aunt, the mother and the grandmother) (Duarte, 1997, p. 10). Instead of perceiving dependence upon the nuclear and extended family as a detriment to success, family ties are viewed as a "key ingredient of achievement orientation" in the Latino culture (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b, p. 14).

Second, a degree of fault resides with an educational system that is inherently discriminatory against parental involvement. In California, Latino parents must obtain a waiver for bilingual instruction by coming to the school, filling out the form with the proper statement and signatures, and waiting 30 days. Why is it that Anglo parents do not have to do the same "to begin an instructional program they believe to be the best for their children" (Kerper Mora, 2002, p. 41)? The difficult bureaucratic "hoops," known as "gatekeeping" (Suárez-Orozco, 1989) obstruct many Latino parents' involvement. "Schools need to work with and not against their families and communities and the strengths that [Latinos] bring to the classroom. We need to recognize cultural values" (Ginorio & Huston, 2000; see also Diaz Salcedo, 1996).

Voluntary Immigrants, Involuntary Immigrants, and Migrants

The status of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students adds another layer to the topic of student achievement. Voluntary immigrants emigrate from their original country by choice. They generally believe that their life in the "immigrant country" will be better than their life in their native country (Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1992). Involuntary immigrants have little control over their "choice" to leave. Involuntary minorities are

faced with dire conditions such as war or economic depression in their native country and immigrate to a new country to escape often life-threatening conditions. Other involuntary immigrants are brought against their will through slavery. Voluntary and involuntary immigrant students have unique and troubling stories to tell (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; Cohen, 1970; Crawford, 1989, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Deyhle, 1995; Epstein, 1977; Freeman & Freeman, 2002; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Gibson, 1987, 1997; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1978, 1987, 1991a, 1992; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1993; Valdés, 1996). In *general*, involuntary migrants face greater academic failure in American schools (Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1992). The dichotomy of in/voluntary immigrants is complicated by the experiences of many Mexicans. For example, a Mexican family that comes to the US without documentation (illegally) is likely to be treated as a lower-status minority than Mexican immigrants who comes to the US with proper documentation. Valdés (1996) suggested that undocumented Mexicans may be considered involuntary immigrants because of "the permanent limitations they will encounter as members of this group" (p. 26).

Migrant students also face complex challenges in American schools (Gibson & Bejínez, 2002). Over 80% of migrant students are Latino, and half of these are ELLs (Henderson, Daft, & Fong, 1998; Strang & von Glatz, 1999, US Department of Education, 2000). Because migrant students move as their families follow agricultural work, migrants are one of the most educationally and economically disadvantaged groups in the United States (Gonzales, Stief, Fiester, Goldstein, Waiters, & Weiner, 1998).

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Migrant students tend to begin school with fewer academic skills, score below average on

tests of math and reading (US General Accounting Office, 1994, US Department of

Education, 2000), and dropout at higher rates than non-migrant students (Gonzales et al.,

1998).

Discriminatory Practices against Non-English Speaking Students

Educational reforms such as Propositions 187 and 227[51] in California, and

Proposition 203 in Arizona have become a "complex web" that have curtailed

opportunities (Kerper Mora, 2002) and increased discrimination through "Latinophobia"

(McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997).[52] These propositions rendered ineffective the Bilingual

Education Act (BEA) of 1968, which provided a range of programs for non-English

dominant students. The BEA, now moot in California, drastically affected non-English

speaking students. For example, 49% of Latino students in California are limited English

proficient (Attinasi, 1998). Because of Proposition 227, these ELL students are not

allowed to receive Spanish instruction, even though "they do not have the language base

to participate meaningfully in instruction delivered in English" (Kerper Mora, 2002, p.

32; see also Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994).[53] Following Proposition 227,

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[51] For more information on Proposition 227, see Montaño & Metcalfe, 2003; and Orellana, Ek, & Hernández, 2000.

[52] One of the most hated groups in the United States is the Mexican migrant worker. They are stereotyped as *crimmegrants* (McLaren, 1997, p. 9). Ron Prince, one of the writers of Proposition 187 described illegal migrant workers as a "category of criminal, not a category of ethnic group: (cited in Gómez-Peña, 1996, p. 67).

[53] Proposition 209 in California previously banned gender-based, race-based, or ethnic-based programs that would otherwise reach out to minority students (Duarte, 1997).

"copycat" or "backlash pedagogy" resonated in Colorado, Massachusetts, Utah, Oregon, and New York, threatening progress, equity, and cultural recognition around the nation.[54]

Educational reforms for Latino students require thinking out of the standard box. Bilingual reforms assume that "if the linguistic barriers faced by indigenous students can only be eliminated, their schooling will automatically 'take' and the system will begin to 'work' " (Luykx, 1996, p. 242). While I have supplied an example from the field of bilingual education, urgent transformations extend far beyond the language of instruction. Broader systemic reforms such as teacher training, school governance, and curriculum reform, must be addressed in the field of minority education.

The Social Studies

The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for teaching about the diversity present in the classroom, the nation, and the world (Sanchez, 1997). In social studies classes, students can develop an "understanding of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups and their significance in US society and throughout the world" (NCSS, 1991), and "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live efficiently in a world…characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence" (NCSS, 1982).[55]

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[54] Bilingual instruction has been linked to higher grade point averages and other positive linguistic and academic benefits among students (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; see also Cummins, 1979, 1989; Curiel, Rosenthal, & Richek, 1986; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; Valenzuela de la Garza & Medina, 1985).

[55] "The social studies" is an expression coined by the National Education Association (NEA) in 1916. Five years later the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) formed, "giving the field an institutional life" (Crocco & Davis, 1999, p. 1). NCSS is a professional organization with formidable influence on national and local social studies curriculum, instruction, and teacher training. The organization has

This study will focus on one area of the social studies, namely the sophomore-level United States history curriculum.

Howard (2003) asserted that a central tenet of the social studies is "to improve human relations and develop civic competence in the pursuit of a democratic and just society" (p. 28; see also Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Dewey, 1933; Parker, 1991; Ross, 2001; Saxe, 1997; Shaver, 1977, 1991; Stanley & Nelson, 1994; Walker & White, 2003). Unfortunately, the social studies, particularly the US History curriculum, is frequently criticized for its lack of cultural diversity (Baber, 2003; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Howard, 2003; Merryfield, 1997; Nembhard & Pang, 2003; Noboa, 2004; Rains, 2003) and the perpetuation of the racialized status quo (Baber, 2003; Banks, 1997; Crocco & Davis, 2002; Howard, 2003; Parker, 1997; Rains, 2003; Tyson, 2003a; Walker & White, 2003). Citizenship education and "democratic values" are heavily stressed in American classrooms (Hahn, 1991; Saxe, 1997; Walker & White, 2003) at the expense of race, ethnicity, and culture (White, 2003; Walker & White, 2003). These criticisms contribute to the significance of the problem. In particular, the US History curriculum is cited for its overt emphasis on Western men at the expense of the actions and philosophies of women and CLD peoples. Therefore, minorities, 40% of the nation's K-12 population (Nieto, 2004), are basically disregarded in classes that endeavor to "create a society that recognizes and respects the cultures of its diverse people" (NCSS, 1991). For example, the depth and breadth of Latinos in the US History curriculum receives minimal coverage in state standards and textbooks, even though Latinos are the largest minority in the United States.

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generated standards for the social studies curriculum areas of anthropology, civics and citizenship, economics, geography, history, law, political science, psychology, and sociology.

Not all social studies classrooms disregard the diversity of student populations. Effective social studies practices incorporate students' cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs and backgrounds in the curriculum (Espinoza-Herold, 2003), and many teachers realize these procedures daily. Culturally inclusive social studies fosters factual knowledge, appreciation of differences, and necessary skills for functioning in a multicultural world. Comprehensive social studies classes "connect" with students because it addresses a topic students can relate to— *themselves*—while reaching beyond the individualistic domain. An education inclusive of students' needs and backgrounds increases positive school experiences, and aids in students' academic success (Abi-Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a). Hence, the social studies, a curriculum area largely focused on the study of people and culture, should be investigated for its potential to affect students' perceptions of school and self.

In the following section, I address diverging opinions of the US History curriculum. Next, I investigate research regarding US History textbooks. Then, I discuss how reliance on the US History textbook detracts from the teaching of race and racism in American society. Finally, I suggest how teachers can and why they should diversify the teaching of US History.

Diverging Opinions of Social Studies Curriculum

The social studies curriculum, particularly the United States history curriculum, is recognized as an area of divergence, controversy, and contestation (Baber, 2003; Banks, 1997; Bodnar, 1994; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Dinkelman, 2001; Howard, 2003; Lybarger, 1991; Noboa, 2004; Yeager & Terzian, in press). In social studies classes,

students develop "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live efficiently in a world…characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence" (NCSS, 1982), otherwise known as citizenship education (Engle, 1963; Hahn, 1991; Hess, 2002; Kohlberg, 1973; Parker, 1991; Ross, 1997; White, 2003). The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for teaching about the world's diversity, and copious studies have documented the merits and importance of culturally diverse curriculum (Cummins, 1989a; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Macedo, 1997; Nieto, 2000; Noboa, 2004; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1997; Valdés, 1996; Zentella, 1997a). Who should decide what and whom is worthy of recognition? What detracts from the curriculum for one critic enriches for another. Both critics are justified in their beliefs, because there is a limited amount that we can sensibly ask students to learn. In order to insert new material, some of the old must be deducted. But what *should* students learn?

The Politics of Inclusion

Concern that American students are not receiving an education to prepare them for our highly technological world (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004; Nembhard & Pang, 2003) flourishes across the entire spectrum of social studies critiques. On one side, studies indicate the benefits of multicultural social studies education. Multicultural social studies education "works towards the eradication of prejudice" while incorporating students' backgrounds, and a variety of pedagogical styles (Ovando & McLaren, 2000, p. xx). Content that contains multiple cultural groups and perspectives is a positive step towards the egalitarian ethos of democracy purported in our country. Multicultural curriculum has been positively correlated to Latino academic achievement: a positive relationship exists

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between culturally inclusive curriculum and high school graduation rates. Curriculum relevant to students' needs that challenges Latino students to critically reflect on and honor their culture has been shown to increase students' academic achievement and likelihood of graduating from high school (Cummins, 1996; Duarte, 1997; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Howard, 2003; Nieto, 2004; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). "Meaningful, flexible, and important conceptual knowledge," that incorporates each student's background into the lesson or assessment (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. vii) can aid in students' future success (Gay, 2000; McLaren & Giroux, 1997). Therefore, meaningful social studies curriculum can have an effect on CLD students, in particular, Latino students. Sargent and Satterfield (1978) concur that students should be prepared to be "active responsible participants in society, endowed with a healthy respect for others and…the self confidence that grows out of an understanding and appreciation for other groups" (p. 20).Conversely, basic skills and vocationally tracked curriculum considered "boring," "meaningless," and "unhelpful" by Latino students has been deemed *by students* as a "gateway for dropping out" (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999, p. 427; see also Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Darder, 1991; Davidson, 1996; Fernández, 2002; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, & Lintz, 1996; Oakes, 1985; O'Malley, 1987; Persell, 1977; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Trusty & Dooley-Dickey, 1993). This supports the view that social studies curriculum should challenge students to critically think, while including student perspectives and adjusting to suit students' needs (Oakes, 1985). Chapter 10 and Appendix O offer suggestions for diversifying the US History curriculum. The suggestions are based around the tenth-grade US History standards for the state where this research was completed.

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The Politics of Erasure

At a different pole of the opinion spectrum are those that state multiculturalism weakens the rigor of curriculum and turns social studies into a "feel good" class (Bennett, 1984, 1985a; Bloom, 1987; Chávez, 1991, 1995; D'Souza, 1991; Finn, Ravitch, & Fancher, 1984; Hirsch, 1987; Ravitch, 1985a, 1985b, 1990; Schlesinger, 1992). The argument that has carried most weight is that all students should learn the same curriculum for equal educational preparation and to foster unity, patriotism, and social cohesion.[56] Many of today's educators refer to the "civic glue" (Cheney, 1988) descended from "great epochs of Western civilization" (Bennett, 1985b) that holds us together. This mindset was first reflected in the important and influential 1916 report by the Social Studies Committee, which affirmed the idea that citizenship and social efficiency were the ultimate goal of social studies education (Farrar, 1972). California rewrote its state history in the 1980s and summarily denied Native Americans, African Americans, and former Mexican citizens in the Southwest an active part in its state history (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995, p. 12): these minorities simply did not represent Euro-America, so they were erased from school curriculum. The metaphor of a common "societal glue" then became the mantra for the standards movement, averring all students should learn a standardized social studies curriculum.

This exclamation became the nation's reality when the 1983 National Commission on Excellence report, *A Nation at Risk*, decried that students were ill prepared across subject areas, including the understanding of our nation's history. In

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[56] "Social cohesion" is commonly associated with Anglo Saxon values. See Espanshade and Belanger (1998) for research regarding people's fear of the dilution of Anglo-Saxon institutions and values. See Cornbleth & Waugh (1995) for more information on this debate.

1987, Ravitch and Finn asserted that slightly over half of 17 year-olds could identify important concepts in American history. Finally, the 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) *Nation's Report Card* reconfirmed that American social studies students were performing at lower than acceptable levels for future workforce preparation. The myriad reports generated controversy regarding what should be included in the social studies curriculum. The various authors stated that sharing a sense of history, a common characteristic of modern industrial societies, promotes social cohesion (Levine, 1996; Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997; Noboa, 2004; Schlesinger, 1991), which contributes to a sense of societal belonging (B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, 1970). These reports affirmed the need for a standardized national curriculum to prepare all students equally for the workforce.

The New Millennium: The Debate Continues

Immediately following *A Nation at Risk,* Ladson-Billings (1989) continued to push for culturally relevant curriculum that adjusted to the needs of each classroom, while E. D. Hirsch (1987) asserted curriculum needed to be standardized because students were not obtaining a common store of knowledge for social cohesion. These debates in the social studies continue in the new millennium. Social studies buzzwords such as "culture," "values," "diversity," "multiculturalism," and "political correctness," continue to yield vast commentary (Burris & Diamond, 1992; "Culture Wars," 1989; Gates, 1992; Graff, 1992; Jay, 1992; Nieto, 2003; Ravitch, 1990; Ravitch & Viteritti, 2001; Schlesinger, 1991; Scott, 2004; Stille, 1998; Trueba & McLaren, 2000; Weisburg, 1991; Wilentz, 1997; Yamane, 2001). Howard (2003) describes the field as in a "state of

flux" because of scholars' conflicting world lenses (p. 28; see also Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1978; Barth, 1996; Davis, 1991; Dougan, 1985; Hertzberg, 1971; Ross, 1997; Saxe, 1992). The telling of a people's history is a legacy that one generation leaves for the next. But who decides what is worthy of recognition? Groups from all sides of the political spectrum negotiate with state educational departments and textbook manufacturers to have their people's "values, aspirations, struggles, and experiences" represented as valuable, relevant, and official knowledge (Noboa, 2004, p. 4; sees also Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). But well intentioned standards mean little if they are not observed at the classroom level. It is therefore necessary to examine the role of the social studies textbook and teacher. In the following section, I discuss the impact of the textbook and the teacher on the social studies at the classroom level.

The Role of the Textbook

Textbook manufacturers have a powerful influence over the decision of what is considered "worthy history" (Atlas, 1992; Casement, 1996; Graff & Cain, 1989; Sepúlveda, 1996; Yamane, 2001). Unfortunately, social studies textbooks spoon-feed students (and teachers) "irreverent, erroneous details, and omit pivotal facts about marginalized people" (Marker, 2005, p. 294). Yeager and Terzian (in press) suggest that minority students may not accept the authoritative account of the nation's past.

Because textbooks may influence how teachers teach (Apple, 1986; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Ferguson & Fleming, 1984; Garcia, 1978; Marker, 2005; Rigberg, 1991; Sepúlveda, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Thomas, 1992), and are read by millions of students across the nation, they have an enormous nationwide impact on curriculum

design (Apple, 1986; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Atlas, 1992; Casement, 1996; Graff & Cain, 1989; Luke, 1988; White, 2003; Yamane, 2001). The resulting curriculum is a "microcosm of the culture" (Graff & Cain, 1989, p. 310) full of half-truths (Loewen, 1995): its inclusions and exclusions are an index of what the culture deems important. "Despite improvements, [textbooks] only serve to take the humanity and story out of history and social education" (White, 2003, p. 3). A conflict over 'the canon,' over what books to teach and how to teach them, is a conflict over society's vision of itself" (Graff & Cain, p. 310; see also Horowitz, 1991; Thompson & Tyagi, 1993). In summary, these academics assert that how school and society imitate the other generates confusion and conflict.

Qualitative Textbook Inquiries

The first major study of 300 cross-disciplinary textbooks was completed in 1949 (Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, 1949). This post-war study revealed that women and minorities were under-represented in the social studies curriculum. How much has changed in the past fifty years within textbooks and across the broader social studies curriculum? Subsequent textbook studies occurred in response to the Vietnam War and President Nixon's Watergate debacle (Anyon, 1978, 1979, 1981; Apple, 1971; Garcia, 1978). Both Anyon and Apple, and more recently Sleeter & Grant (1991), questioned to what extent the school curriculum was used as a "formal mechanism for controlling the organization and distribution of knowledge, [contributing] to…an unequal social order" (Dillabough & McAlpine, 1996, p. 169). Perceiving that traditional curriculum content reproduced social inequality, they

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concluded that textbooks excluded and distorted information about culturally

marginalized groups in order to preserve the "status quo and the colonial history which

prefigured it" (ibid.). In the 1980s new criticism was lodged against textbooks'

instructional design, graphic presentation, and level of reading difficulty (Beck,

McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Elliot, Nagel, & Woodward, 1985; Gagnon, 1987; Hoge,

1986; Larkins, Hawkins, & Gilmore, 1987; Sewall, 1987; Tyson-Bernstein & Woodward,

1986), as more students with learning difficulties were "placed in general education

classrooms as part of the full inclusion movement" (Bean & Zigmond, 1994; see also

National Association of State Boards of Education, 1992; Will, 1986). Less work during

this decade investigated qualitative and quantitative representations of culturally and

linguistically diverse populations, demonstrating a clear shift in what educational

research was valued during the neo-conservative Reagan era (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995;

see also Giroux, 1992a; Kaye, 1991).

Latino-Oriented Qualitative Textbook Inquiries

Since the 1980s, the majority of scholarly critiques have focused on the

representation of women and Blacks (Garcia, 1993; Garcia & Goebel, 1985; Garcia &

Tanner, 1985; Peters, 1986; Sanchez, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Comparatively few

studies have examined the representation of Latinos in social studies textbooks (Ferguson

& Fleming, 1984; Garcia, 1978, 1980; Garcia & Florez-Tighe, 1986; Gay, 2003; Noboa,

2003). A small number of studies; however, give insight into 100 years of representation

and misrepresentation of Latinos in American history texts (Garcia & Florez-Tighe,

1986). [57] Longitudinal inquiries suggest that textbook writers in the early 1900s made no distinction between American citizens of Latin American descent and Latin Americans *living in* Latin America (Nietz, 1961; Eison, 1964). In other words, US History textbooks denied citizenship status to those not of European ancestry. Simms (1974) cited glaring examples of stereotyping, ethnocentrism, and insensitivity abounded in the fifth and eighth grade-level US History texts throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Latin Americans were depicted as blood thirsty, savage Aztecs and Latinos were portrayed as murderous Mexicans who killed the Texas Rangers. Qualitative textbook inquiries continue to "overwhelmingly conclude that Latinos and Latin Americans are frequently omitted from the story of the United States and are often depicted in pejorative and stereotypical ways" (Cruz, 2002, p. 336, see also Noboa, 2004). Despite efforts to create more multicultural and globally oriented US History curriculum, Latinos were (and are) added "only when they helped students gain an understanding of White Americans" (Garcia, 1980, p. 107).

Latino-Oriented Quantitative Textbook Inquiries

Not until the late 1950s were educators and textbook manufacturers consciously interested in representing Latin Americans and Latinos in the history curriculum (Garcia, 1980). Recent studies (Cruz, 2002; Gay, 2003; Noboa, 2004) continue to reveal problems with the quantity of Latinos' representation in United States history textbooks at the fifth, eighth[-], and 11th-grade levels. In a study of five textbooks that were used or had been considered for past or future use in the state of Texas, Noboa found Latinos were not quantitatively (or qualitatively) well represented in the telling of the "American story." An analysis of three of these textbooks indicated unacceptable quantitative representation

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[57] For analyses of American Indians in the social studies curriculum, see Deloria, 1997; Rains, 2003; Rose, 1992.

of Latinos in US history textbooks, given Latinos' impacts across the nation. With a conservative estimate of 15 complete sentences per page in the average high school US History text, "just under 18 pages are dedicated to Latinos" in a 630-page high school textbook. "A mere 3% of the book has text focusing on the Latino experience" (Noboa, 2004, p. 135). The remaining two texts in Noboa's study ranged between 2% and 5% for Latino coverage.

The quantitative representation of *Latinas* is additionally troubling. Respected NCSS members Margaret Smith Crocco and O. L. Davis (1999) neglected to include Latinas in their co-written book hailing the civic involvement of American women. Ironically, Crocco and Davis point out problems "endemic to the Western canon in history" (p. 8), while they exclude an entire demographic group from the American heritage. The authors include contributions of African American women supporting the Black/White binary of American racism. Crocco and Davis' negation of Latina women is reprehensible, given their status in the field of the social studies.

In summary, Latinos are grossly underrepresented in these US History textbooks given their population and historical significance in this nation" (Noboa, 2004, p. 135). Unequal and inequitable coverage of Latino issues in US History textbooks continues to be a problem in the US History curriculum (Dillabough & McAlpine, 1996). This demonstrates to students that their ancestors are not important, and may further influence students to think that they cannot have an impact on history (Skolnik, Dulberg, & Maestre, 2004).

The Role of the US History Teacher

"Probably nothing within a school has more impact on students in terms of skill development, self-confidence, or classroom behavior than the personal and professional growth of the teacher" (Barth, 1990, p. 49). Without doubt, the philosophies of the teacher inform what and how history is taught in their classroom (VanSledright, 1997). High quality instruction begins with a well-educated, thoughtful, and self-reflective teacher. Good US History teachers incorporate diversity into their teaching and self-evaluation into their own development.[58] Effective teachers integrate students' cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs and backgrounds in classroom practices (Espinoza-Herold, 2003), and many teachers realize these procedures daily. Culturally inclusive social studies fosters factual knowledge, appreciation of differences, and necessary skills for functioning in a multicultural world. Comprehensive social studies classes "connect" with students because it addresses a topic students can relate to—*themselves*—while reaching beyond the individualistic domain. An education inclusive of students' needs and backgrounds increases positive school experiences, and aids in students' academic success (Abi-Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a). Hence, US History teachers can significantly affect how students perceive school, themselves, and others.

Teachers are the final decision makers in the classroom. For example, they can decide to what extent the textbook will frame their pedagogy. Unfortunately, the majority of social studies teachers reflect that textbooks shape what and how they teach (Altbach, Kelly, Petrie, & Weis, 1991; Bean & Zigmond, 1994; Chall & Conard, 1991; Cuban,

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[58] It is hard to teach what one does not know, to rephrase G. Howard (1999). Therefore, non-minority teachers must look within to realign their assumptions of Whiteness.

1993; Davis, Ponder, Burlbaw, Garza-Lubeck, & Moss, 1986; Finkelstein, Nielsen, & Switzer, 1993; Gay, 2003; Goldstein, 1978; Goodlad, 1984; Loewen, 1995; Sewell, 1987; Shaver, 1989; Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1980; Thomas; 1992; Wade, 1993; Woodward, Elliot, & Nagel, 1986). While the majority of these studies were completed in the 1990s, textbooks continue to influence what and how teachers teach because texts are now designed around high school graduation standards and tests in many states. There is a strong link between textbook content and teacher instruction—as much as 90% of instructional time is occupied with material in the textbook (Garcia, Powell, & Sanchez, 1991). Textbooks are "likely to determine what teachers will seek to accomplish in their courses. . . . tell the student what is important [and] what is not important. . . . and [are] taken as the final authority on most matters" (Gagnon, 1987, p. 33). To clarify, a teacher is not using multiple textbooks simultaneously: *one* textbook is the sole source of instructional material (Sewall, 1987). Participants in McCutcheon's (1981) study considered the textbook an infallible source of knowledge provided by experts. This was replicated in Bean and Zigmond's (1994) investigation, as teachers viewed the text as an immutable and closed entity that could not be revised or adapted. Students also perceive the textbook as "godlike," including only correct information and omitting the historically unimportant (Loewen, 1995, p. 5). Teachers frequently rely on the textbook because they have inadequate knowledge of history and fear addressing controversial topics (Crabtree & O'Shea, 1991; Engle, 1986; Loewen, 1995; Nelson & Stanley, 1985).

Teachers are important to this investigation because they have the last say as to how the state and district standards will be shared with the students. Again, we have reason to be concerned with how US History students are being educated. Most social

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studies educators indicate their job is to relay the knowledges, skills, and attitudes shaped and determined by the status quo (Leming, 1989). Sears and Parson (1991) specify that, "teachers view social studies as a vehicle to promote socialization and to prepare students to conform to the existing social structure, both in the school and society" (p. 48). This approach, mentioned earlier in this section, is known as "citizenship transmission" (Barr, Barth, and Shermis, 1977). Since the early twentieth century, the transmission of citizenship skills has been the dominant paradigm of social studies education. To summarize, relying on the textbook as an infallible source of knowledge and perceiving social studies as the maintenance of the status quo are potentially dangerous (Bean & Zigmond, 1994). Teachers who follow these practices are most likely to represent in their classroom an Anglo-centric (Appiah, 1998) and male point of view, and may be completely unaware of their biased behavior. In the following section, I address how reliance on the textbook and conforming to the status quo diminishes attention to a core issue in American society: race and racism

Race in the Social Studies Classroom

Reliance on the textbook and teaching to the status quo detract from the examination of race and racism in American society (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). Cruz-Janzen (2002) defines racism as the "ability, supported by societal and institutional systems, to limit a person's choices and options based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, home language, or tribal affiliation," comprising the interrelated components of structural inequality and personal prejudice (Wardle, 1998). Race and racism are "underrepresented, undertheorized, and relatively untouched" platforms for "exploration in schools and classrooms" (Howard, 2001, p. 31; see also Barton, 1997, 2001a, 2001b;

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Branch, 2003; Darder, 1991; Gates, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Levstik, 2000; Marri, 2003; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Nieto, 2004; Norton, 1994; Sleeter, 1991; Tyson, 2003a; Weis & Fine, 2004; Yamane, 2001; Zanger, 1994), unlike the concepts of culture and ethnicity. Who should be better equipped to address this dialogue than the "leaders on the development of democratic education?" (Howard, 2003, p. 30). Social studies educators can and should play a significant role in examining inequality, discrimination, and racism (Branch, 2003; Gates, 1992; Graff, 1992; Freire, 1971, 1985; Howard, 2003; Marable, 2002; Marri, 2003; McLaren, 1997a; Sanchez, 1997; Tyson, 2003a; White-Clark, 2005). Failure to do so perpetuates the ignorance permeating our nation's society. It also indirectly tells children that "hid[ing] our mistakes, or lying by omission" is acceptable (Rains, 2003, p. 220).

Teachers, NCSS, the Social Studies, and Race

A significant proportion of educators advocate that the school should have a role in the reduction of prejudice (Morland, 1962, 1963; Sanchez, 1996, 1997; White-Clark, 2005). Unfortunately, few teachers are prepared to critically address issues of diversity and commonality in our nation's US History classes (Associated Press, 2005; Bartolomé, 2001; Darder, 1991; Gándara & Gibson, 2004; Ingersoll, 2001; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Montaño & Metcalfe, 2003; Ochoa, 2003; President's Advisory Commission, 2003; Shields, Esch, Humphrey, Young, Gaston, & Hunt, 1999; Suranna, 2003; Trueba, 1987b; US Department of Education, 2000; Weis & Fine, 2004; White-Clark, 2005).[59]

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[59] Latino students attend schools with the largest proportion of inexperienced teachers (Council of Great City Schools, 2002; Mehan et al., 1996; Ochoa, 2003; Slavin, 1996), which does not bode well for CLD students. White-Clark (2005) cited that only 17% of teachers who work with CLD students felt "totally

Other teachers do not push students to learn of events uncomplimentary to the nation (Levstik, 2000). Why does the status quo advance this uncontested narrative? One reason may be the insufficient demand to change how NCSS perceives the role of the social studies (Baber, 2003; Donnor, 2003; Howard, 2003; Marshall, 2003; Pang, Rivera, & Gillette, 1998; Rains, 2003). Howard (2003) and Rains (2003) suggested that NCSS's frameworks remained unchallenged because the predominance of social studies researchers and teachers are White (Sleeter, 2001).[60] Marshall (2003) stated that NCSS board members deliberately obfuscated their language to camouflage their disinterest in addressing the race issue. Linda Powell (1997) clarified that students of color are "stuck" until race is discussed, and that White students are stuck once race *is* discussed (see also Olsen, 1997, p. 69). Could it be that White teachers and NCSS leaders feel the same way? Are teachers afraid to diverge from the monolithic, monocultural, and monologic script? (Gutierrez, 1992; Gutierrez & Larson, 1994; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Olsen, 1997)

Race and racism need to be integrated into the social studies because racism is "one of the most violent forms of human oppression…and…one of the most difficult for most individuals of the dominant culture to comprehend" (Darder, 1991, p. 38; see also

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prepared." See Suranna (2003) for additional information on the role of preservice teacher education in serving Latino students. See Cochran-Smith (1995a, 1995b, 2000), King, (1991), Ladson-Billings (1995), and Solórzano (1997) for research on combating race and racism with teacher education programs. See González (2002), Reyes and Valencia (1993), and Smith and Greene (1990) for research regarding the preparation of principals to work with culturally diverse populations.

[60] Nearly 90% of teachers are White, but only 60% of students are (Bartolomé, 2001). More than 40% of American schools have no minority teachers (White-Clark, 2005). Social class differences are also widening, creating greater differences in teacher-student backgrounds (ibid.). No immediate change is expected to occur with this trend (National Council for Education Statistics, 1998). Several academic have called for increased effort to recruit people from diverse backgrounds to the teaching profession (King, 1993; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter, 1993).

Sanchez, 1997). Weis and Fine (2004) challenge teachers to generate the necessary

dissonance within educational sites to disrupt the status quo. They encourage the

development of "contact zones" (Pratt, 1991), a social space for grappling with cultural

and power differences in order to realize the commonalities we all share.[61] This contact

space is for engagement in "dialogue about difference," not "controversies about

difference" (McLaren, 1997a).

  Teachers must be willing "to fac[e] the horrors of the American past and present

and their implications for the future" (Baldwin, as cited in Balfour, 2001, p. 27; see also

Cohen, 1993; hooks & West, 1991; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; McLaren, 1992;

McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997). But how? How should unprepared teachers begin to discuss

race and racism so that students may cultivate contact zones? Where do we begin

interrogating the abstract notion of democracy? What should we do with the "innocence"

of this normative and under-questioned component of American society? (Balfour, 2001)

These questions are beyond the focus of this paper, but they clearly emerge from research

with Latino students. In an ideal world the entire framework for the social studies would

be reconfigured to examine the role that race plays in education (Baber, 2003; Branch,

2003; Howard, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000; McLaren, 1997a; Tyson, 2003a).

Additionally, pre-service teachers would be taught how to employ varying world lenses

in order to teach from multiple perspectives (Darder, 1991; Gay, 2003; Ginsberg, 1988;

Loutzenheiser, 2003; Martínez, 2000; Bartolomé & Trueba, 2000; Sepúlveda, 1996;

Tyson, 2003a; Zambon, 2003). Would this be enough? Howard (2003) hesitated to

answer, affirming the centrality of racism and discrimination in our nation's social,

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[61] See Torre (1993) for a research investigation structured around Pratt's contact zones.

economic, and political fabric (see also Bell, 1992; Robinson, 2000). It is a start, however, for a discipline that has changed little since the social studies was officially founded in the 1920s (Banks, 1997).

In summary, social studies is "more than the transmission of ideas and knowledge" (Nembhard & Pang, 2003, p. 179). With a critical and open-minded teacher, students can learn to question the dominant paradigms and status quo (White, 2003), and address racial inequities (Marri, 2003). Teachers who do not question the hegemonic practices of mainstream United States schools and the history curriculum are unable to include different perspectives. These perspectives would augment students' cross-cultural experiences and intercultural sensitivity (Apple, 1982; Anyon, 1983; Gaskell, 1992; Weis & Fine, 2004). An education inclusive of students' needs and backgrounds increases positive school experiences, and aids in students' academic success (Abi-Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a). Hence, the social studies, a curriculum area largely focused on the study of people and culture, should be investigated for its potential to affect students' perceptions of school.

Diversifying the Teaching of US History

Regardless of the paucity of material regarding diversity in the textbook, the US History teacher is the ultimate "gatekeeper" of what is taught in the classroom. The teacher is the final decision maker as to what is taught, how it is taught, and how learning is assessed (Marri, 2003; Nieto, 2004; Noboa, 2004). Therefore, with appropriate pedagogical methods, assessment approaches, and interdisciplinary techniques, teachers can help students build community, and "transcend their cultural boundaries and acquire

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the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to engage in public discourse with people who differ from themselves" (James Banks, 2000, as cited in Cushner, McClelland, & Safford, 2000, p. 243; see also Huerta-Macías, 2002; Skolnik, Dulberg, & Maestre, 2004; White, 2003). By transcending their own boundaries and becoming what McLaren & Giroux (1997) call "engaged critics" (p. 20), teachers will increase connections with students alienated from the academic system (Cummins, 1993; Howard, 2003; Huerta-Macías, 2002; Karns, 2005; Marri, 2003; Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Nieto, 2001; Ogbu, 1974; Patthey-Chavez, 1993). Incorporating students' interests and ethnicities into the curriculum may help students become engaged in the class (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002), and thus, remember what they have learned.[62] Freeman and Freeman (2002) make obvious suggestions for the social studies class such as using a wall map labeled with students' countries of origin, and incorporating literature from diverse sources. This practice is a factor of what Marri (2003) calls classroom-based multicultural democratic education.

Important tenets of classroom-based multicultural democratic education are critical pedagogy and cultural democracy (Darder, 1991). These facets of multicultural democratic education are intertwined, as will become clear. For example, social studies teachers should diversify their teaching by increasing their critical pedagogical methodologies (Banks, 1997; Cummins, 1993; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002; Gay, 1997; Marri, 2003; Parker, 1997, Tyson, 2002, 2003a; Tyson & Kenreich, 2001; Zanger, 1994). A goal of a social studies educator is to create an

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[62] See Schug, Todd, and Beery (1984) for students' negative perceptions of "boring and unimportant" social studies curriculum.

atmosphere that will challenge students and *support* students to meet the classroom

challenges. Students must learn how to think, feel, and interact with others. But how can

teachers teach about "broad cultural appreciation" if they themselves do not

accommodate the learning styles, cognitive requirements, social needs, and linguistic

needs of their students? One of the needs is the disposal of meritocracy, for "uncritical

acceptance of meritocratic explanations of the existing racial and socioeconomic

hierarchy, and blind acceptance of the supposed superiority of mainstream middle-class

culture" (Bartolomé, 2003, p. 39) is detrimental to CLD students. Hence, critical

pedagogy must be informed by culture.[63] These methodologies must be sensitive to the

communicational patterns (Au & Mason, 1983; Cazden, 1988), and value systems of the

learners (Ballenger, 1992; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Ovando, 1990; Villegas & Lucas, 2002;

Zanger, 1994). Therefore, a teacher must get to know the cultural and personal learning

styles of their students. Simultaneously, the teacher must balance the students' needs with

the expectations for success in the broader culture. A teacher needs to increase students'

cultural capital in an additive fashion, that is, by respecting students' background

knowledges while incorporating "ways of using language…that can be used to identify

oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network" (Gee, 1996, p.

143; see also Valencia, 1997). Educators must look to the students' futures by helping

them "acquir[e] the codes of the dominant class" (Bartolomé, p. 40). It *is* a balancing act,

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[63] The well-known Kamehameha program in Hawaii is an excellent example of culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy (Au & Jordan, 1981).

to "affirm the right of individuals to…retain an identification with their culture of origin while integrating…the institutional values of the dominant culture" (Darder, 1991, p. xvi).

Next, a teacher must be acutely aware that *their own* behaviors are important in creating an open and democratic classroom (Marri, 2003; Nieto, 2004). A significant amount of research establishes evidence of teachers' biases against minority students (Avery & Walker, 1993; Eccles & Jussim, 1992; Graybill, 1997; Pollard, 1989a, 1989b; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992; Rubowitz & Maehr, 1973; Ryan & Carranza, 1977; Sheets, 1996; Tettegah, 1996). Feelings of marginalization can result from teachers' perceptions of students' abilities (Nieto, 2001). How a teacher perceives a student can affect how students perceive *themselves* regarding academic success (Garcia, 1994; Ogbu, 1987; Olsen & Jaramillo, 1999; Ortiz & Kushner, 1997; Valdés, 2001). A teacher must give students multiple opportunities to shine and perform in the classroom, with equitable, high expectations (Moll, 1988). Advocates of multiculturalism propose that social studies teachers can help students form an empowered identity in a classroom environment that allows, invites, and encourages *all* students to see themselves as active participants in history and society (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Freire, 1971).[64] It is argued that by encouraging all students to more fully and actively participate in the learning process, students are given the important opportunity to empower themselves. "In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals" (Cummins 1989a, p. 64).

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[64] See DeVos (1973, 1984, 1988) for research on the dis-empowerment of students.

To this end, the teacher need not be the focus of every class, with students passively inhabiting straight rows of desks. Cushner et. al (2000) stressed the modification of "mainstream Eurocentric" pedagogy to be culturally responsive to and "in tune" with the needs of the students (see also Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Davidson, 1996; Haberman, 1991; Huerta-Macías, 2002; Nieto, 2004; Walker & White, 2003). For example, social studies students may learn from their peers through discussion with well-constructed, heterogeneous cooperative learning groups (Cohen, 1994; Cummins, 1993; Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002; Fashola, Slavin, Calderón, & Durán, 2002; US Department of Education, 2000; Wheelock, 1993, White, 1999). They can discover how to question and participate without fear in Socratic learning communities (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002); and they may realize civic involvement by authentic learning in the community (Hope, 1996). Cooperative learning environments help create cultural democracy while simultaneously supporting culturally diverse critical pedagogy. As a sign of success, Moll (1988) found that when teachers combined cooperative learning strategies with high expectations, demanding curriculum, and culturally relevant pedagogy, Latino students met teacher expectations despite low SES background and English acquisition. Studies indicate that cooperative learning "provides a manageable structure for cooperative peer interaction, crucial for second language acquisition" (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002, p. 296; see also Chang, 2001; Cohen, 1994; Cohen, Lotan, & Holthuis, 1995; Faltis, 1993; Freeman & Freeman, 2002; US Department of Education, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1989, 1991).

Critical pedagogy encourages students to engage with "social problem solving by enabling them to think about which problems are worth solving, according to whom, to

what ends, and in whose favor" (Marri, 2003, p. 260; see also White, 2003). Students

must be exposed to multiple perspectives, especially to those viewpoints that have been

"shortchanged" in traditional social studies classes (Marri, 2003, p. 260; see also Chapin

& Messick, 1989; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Howard, 2003; Merryfield, 1997, 2000;

Merryfield & Subedi, 2001; Nieto, 2004; Shor & Freire, 1987; White, 2003). Students

can learn "from the viewpoint of those who were here when Columbus arrived and from

the viewpoint of the indigenous people who were decimated by European-induced

diseases" (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995, p. 4). Therefore, the social studies should be

international and interdisciplinary to allow students passage "into the heads of those in

another culture" (Cushner et al., 2000, p. 271) and into another academic realm. Life

need not be viewed solely from the perspective of a White, European male, from a

multiple-choice test, or from a history book full of dates and facts. Interdisciplinary social

studies can include literature, mathematics, and science, all components of a nation's

history (Emslie, Contreras, & Padilla, 2002). Donnor (2003) and Marri (2003) offer

teachers numerous ideas for expanding the critical teaching of technology in their social

studies that challenge Euro-centric positions. Sanchez (1997) suggests role-playing,

vicarious experience, intergroup contact and multiethnic fiction and non-fiction. The

inclusion of multiple perspectives and unique material may "pull" non-engaged students

into the learning of the social studies (Brooks & Brooks, 1993; Skolnik, Dulberg, &

Maestre, 2004; Zanger, 1994). With proper scaffolding from the teacher and instruction

that builds on skills of critical thinking, listening, and interacting, an open and trusting

classroom environment can be created. This type of classroom is conducive to the

formation of positive school experiences (Nieto, 2004).

Critical pedagogy also includes assessment. De León and Holman (2002) stress that tests should not be perceived as a "unidimensional measure of the academic performance" of CLD students (p. 190)[65]. Assessment strategies can be modified to suit a variety of learning styles: pencil and paper multiple-choice tests do not suit all needs. Students may benefit from portfolio assessment,[66] authentic assessment in the community,[67] reflective journaling, or role-playing performance to measure growth and development, not simply "rote" knowledge. Nathan (1995) revealed that when teachers promote alternative assessment methods, there is "more room" for Latino students to present their knowledge through portfolios or exhibitions. Finally, critical teachers must approach assessment from the perspective that an assessment does not demarcate the end of learning. Just as democracy is constantly in the process of becoming, so does learning in the social studies classroom, to rephrase Gay (1997).

In summary, pedagogy, perspectives, and assessment must change "to bring folks into 'our house' of diversity: we must discover 'the Other'" (James Banks' College of Education Speech, 13 October, 2000). The "Other" must become a permanent addition to curriculum. With the textbook as one of *many* resources, teachers can generate "meaningful, flexible, and important conceptual knowledge" (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. vii), support diversity and social justice (Merryfield, 1997), and promote "higher order thinking skills and the ability to locate relevant information" (Irvine & Armento, p. vii).

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[65] For more information on testing with CLD students see Deyhle (1987).

[66] See Gottlieb (1992) for more background information on portfolio assessment, and Vecchio, Gustke, and Wilde (2002) for more information on the use of portfolio assessment with Latino students.

[67] Kohl (2000) states the following about community involvement as a form of assessment: "It is not enough to teach well and create a social justice classroom separate from the larger community. You have to be a community activist, a good parent, a decent citizen and an active community member as well" (p. 14).

Teachers can have a long-term positive impact in the academic and social lives of their students by linking culturally responsive practices to every avenue in their classroom, helping students reduce powerlessness and gain responsibility, a voice, and confidence to use that voice. Teaching and learning in a non-Eurocentrically-bound classroom can shift from monologic to dialogic, from autocratic to democratic, from single to multiple perspectives, and from uniformity to cultural diversity (Suleiman, 2000). Empowering social studies classrooms celebrate the diversity of cultures and ideas, read a text from the point of view of the "Other," and make obvious that history is a construct that is not innocent or unbiased.

Latinos in American Schools

The percentage of Hispanic[68] children in the nation's K-12 schools is calculated to increase from 16.3% in 2000 (Nieto, 2004) to 25% in 2050 (Viadero, 2005). Unfortunately, educators still know little about how to best serve a diverse and rapidly growing population because few education studies have focused on the needs of Latino students. Far fewer studies have examined the needs of Latinos in the social studies curriculum (Ferguson & Fleming, 1984; Garcia, 1978, 1980; Noboa, 2003). Three main reasons are presented for the paucity of research regarding Latino students in American schools. First, minority students have been viewed within the framework of the Black/White binary or dichotomy (Cruz-Janzen, 2002; Delgado, 1998; Delgado &

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[68] "Hispanic" is a demographic identifier used by the United States Census Bureau. For the purposes of this paper this term will be used for such government citations.

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Stefancic, 2001; Martinez, 1998; Perea, 1998; Ramirez, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005). The specific needs of Latino students have been cast aside because Latinos did not fit the existing "Black" minority model.

Second, foundations and government focus groups have neglected to fund research for this growing and influential demographic group. "Questions about who decides what research gets done and for what purpose are answered in foundation and government circles, where Latino voices are absent," commented Pedro Pedraza, Director of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York (Viadero, 2005).

Third, educational research traditionally requires tenure-track or tenured academics. Until recently, the nation lacked researchers who pursued Latino students' educational needs. In great demand are researchers of color who elect to study minority populations (Guerra, 2004). University departments in law, foreign language and literature, and education have reported a shortage of minority faculty since the 1980s (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004).[69] "There's a big gap, and we need to fill it in" (Pedraza, as cited in Viadero, 2005; see also Mejía, 2004).

History of Latinos in American Schools

A common theme in the literature regarding the history of Latino students in American schools is blame and failure (Ballesteros, 1986; Carter, 1970; Cummins, 1996; Darder, 1991; de la Luz Reyes & Halcón, 2001; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991, 1992, 1993; Duran, 1983; Briankson, 1987; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Gándara, 1982; Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Rumberger, 1987; Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984; Valencia, 1991a;

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[69] Nevertheless, see de la Luz Reyes and Halcón (2001) for racist practices faced by Latinos in the academic job market.

Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1996; Vigil, 1997). Latino students, their parents, and their communities have been blamed for students' failure in American schools since the late 1700s (Valencia, 1997). Frontier schools in what is now the Southwestern United States enrolled mestizo and Mexican students with the goal to destroy or suppress their "inferior" indigenous beliefs (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Spell, 1927; Weber, 1992). The formal educational techniques of the Spanish, and their overt efforts to "Euopean-ize" their students clashed with the pedagogical styles of the Mexican people. In response, the Spanish blamed the "savages" for being unable to assimilate to "superior" Western behaviors.

When the US annexed Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, California, Colorado, and parts of Wyoming and Oklahoma in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, former Mexican citizens found themselves living in a new country as unwelcome "aliens." They were citizens of a new country "not because they had crossed over the border, but rather because the border had crossed over them!" (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999, p. 13; see also Ford Foundation, 1984; Griswold del Castillo, 1990). Anglo-controlled schools sought greater conformity and assimilation from the formerly Mexican students. Schools became overt institutions for imparting the doctrine of Anglo cultural domination and political hegemony (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995, San Miguel, 1999). Mexican history, culture, and non-English languages were banned in schools, "because they were incompatible with or inferior to American values and speech

patterns" (San Miguel, 2003; also see Banker, 1993; Carter, 1970; Carter & Segura, 1979; Getz, 1997; Szasz, 1988).[70] As San Miguel (2003) aptly stated, "diversity gave way to conformity" (p. 5).

While the English were stamping out Mexican culture and language in the mid-1800s, Mexican students were resisting in ways that allowed them to maintain their culture. Many students were savvy enough to "play the game" without losing sight of who they were. Effective resistance was subtle enough to go unnoticed by the European-Americans. For example, when religious institutions established free schools in the Southwest, several Mexicans covertly subverted the religious domination by viewing the instruction as a way to learn about another culture, not subtract their culture of birth (Szasz, 1988). Others converted to a particular denomination for the free education, without accepting the religious beliefs (Yohn, 1995). Many Mexican youth across the Southwest rejected the moral and patriotic instruction, maintained their Mexican heritage, fought against racism, and "used their ethnicity to reshape…and [redirect] missionary priorities" (San Miguel, 2003, p. 6).

By the turn of the 20th century, some form of public education was accessible to all regardless of race, class, gender, and age. During the early 1900s the Latino population changed too, as Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants migrated to Florida and New York, respectively. Mexican immigration also increased significantly in the Southwest and Pacific Northwest. Schools were unable to meet the cultural needs of their students; so, in accordance with "Manifest Destiny," schools perceived the spread of

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[70] See Ferdman (1990), Freire (1971), Giroux (1983b), Macedo (1983), Roth (1984), Trueba (1987a), and Zanger (1994) for information on the inability to separate language from sociopolitical contexts, and pedagogy from ideology.

Anglo culture as necessary and inevitable. Therefore, "because of assimilationist ideology and deficit thinking...the differences brought by these children had to be eliminated" (San Miguel, 2003, p. 7; see also Donato, 1997; Sanchez, 1940; San Miguel, 1987; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998). Monolingual English-speaking teachers were deliberately hired "to prevent [teachers] from lapsing into Spanish" (Getz, 1997, p. 23), and Latin American history was subtracted from texts.

In response to their children's' eroding educational rights, Mexican-American parents waged legal battles against segregated schooling. Long before African Americans succeeded with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, Mexican-Americans had fought *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930, 1931), *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (1931), *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946, 1947), and *Delgado et. al. v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1948).

By the late 1930s, children disconnected from the school experience (who had not already dropped out of school) were classified as intellectually deficient (Vaca, 1971). The genetic or biological explanation for Latino students poor academic achievement was "proven" with a battery of standardized tests (Valencia, 1997), justifying low-ability groupings, non-academic educational programs, or segregation into separate schools altogether. By World War II, educational oppressions against Latinos were firmly entrenched in American society (Armour-Thomas, 1992; De Leon & Holman, 2002; Valencia & Aburto, 1991). The oppressive patterns of behaviors against Latinos have been resistant to change.

The High School Drop-out Rate

 The marginalization of Latino students is of great concern to our nation (Moll, 1988; Trueba, 1998b). Schools are not responding to the needs of Latino students, demonstrated by increased drop out rates, grade failures, disconnect, and functional illiteracy. These crises will probably increase with restrictive educational environments that do not recognize the cultural diversity present in the American school system (Diaz Salcedo, 1996). While great efforts are underway to rethink the current situations surrounding bilingual education, teacher training, school governance, and curriculum reform, our nation remains in a state of perpetual crisis (Pedraza, 2002).

 One indication of crisis among the Latino population is the high school dropout rate. Latino and Latina students have the highest dropout rates of *any* demographic group (Antonucci, 2002; Bachman, Green, & Wirtanen, 1971; Bachman, O'Malley, & Johnson, 1971; Duarte, 1997; Ekstrom, Goerts, Pollack, & Rock, 1987; Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Ginorio & Huston, 2000; Janzen & Schoorman, 2001; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Rock, Ekstrom, Goertz, & Pollack, 1986; Secada et al., 1998; United States, 2003; US Census Bureau, 2000d; Walsh, 1991). Various studies estimate the dropout rate at 19% (American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Pew Hispanic Center, 2003), 25% (Latino Educational Summit, 2001), 30% (Sanchez, 2002), 35% (Fashola, Slavin, & Calderón, 2001), and as high as 45% (Trueba 1989; Pérez & De la Rosa Salazar, 1993), depending on how statistics are counted. The reasons for Latino students' non-completion of high school have been investigated (Ekstrom, Goerts, Pollack, & Rock, 1987; Hirano-Nakanishi, 1986; Lewin-Epstein, 1981; Rumberger, 1983; Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984; US Department of Education, 1992a; Valdivieso, 1986b;

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Valverde, 1986; Vélez, 1989). Latinas often cite marriage and pregnancy as "strong factors influencing their decision to leave school" (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999, p. 9; see also Academy for Educational Development, 1992; Ekstrom et al., 1987; Romo, 1998; Rumberger, 1983; Valdivieso, 1986b).[71] Latinas and Latinos were almost twice as likely as non-Hispanic White students to drop out of school to work and support the family economy. When family SES was controlled for, this factor did "not fully account for the high rate of leaving school" (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999, p. 6; see also Nieto, 1993; Rumberger, 1987; Steinberg et al., 1984): Latino students were still 1.5 to 3 times more likely to leave school than non-Hispanic Whites (Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984). Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan (1984) explained that when other social characteristics were controlled for such as number of parents and siblings, Latino student dropped out at higher rates than students from other ethnicities.[72] Other characteristics associated with dropping out such as living in an urban setting, coming from large, single-mother-headed families, experiencing grade-retention, and factoring high school completion rates of parents and siblings also did not explain the profuse rates of dropping out (Ekstrom et al., 1987; Hirano-Nakanishi, 1986; Valdivieso, 1986b; Vélez, 1989). In summary, the Latino high school dropout rate is complex (García, 1999; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1993). It appears that social characteristics are working in conjunction with other factors particular to Latino students to contribute to early school leaving (Cummins, 1993; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999).

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[71] See Romo (1998) for research on the negative impact of Latinas leaving high school.

[72] Rumberger's 1983 analysis did not find an increase in Latino students' non-completion of high school when these factors were controlled for.

The high school dropout rate is viewed as a severe problem within the Latino community (Horowitz, 1983; Suárez-Orozco, 1989, 1993; Vigil, 1988a). Limited educational attainment restricts access to higher education, employment, and income potential (Pallas, 1987), with the incomes of men and women with bachelor's degrees 150% and 100% higher, respectively, than men and women with high school diplomas (NCES, 2002b). Furthermore, unskilled workers are less able to contribute to the economic growth of the nation and are more likely to face personal disempowerment, physical, mental, cognitive, behavioral, and social concerns (Kyle, Lane, Sween, & Triana, 1986; Levin, 1972; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Pallas, 1987). Of greater concern are the long-term negative effects on the *children* of high school dropouts: these children are less likely to complete 12 years of schooling, thus perpetuating the cycle of undereducation (Ekstrom, Goerts, Pollack, & Rock, 1987; González, 2002; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Rumberger, 1983).

Trust in the American School System: *Confianza*

American schools are not responding to the needs of minority students (Carter, 1970; Cummins, 1996; Davidson, 1996; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Orfield, 1988; Sepúlveda, 1996; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Zanger, 1994). Minority students may lack trust in the American school system—trust that schools will educate all students equitably regardless of race, class, or gender (Levin, 1998; Sepúlveda, 1996; Zanger, 1994). Levin (1998) and Zanger (1994) found patterns of mistrust among African American and Latino, and Latino students, respectively, in urban high schools. Both researchers found that mistrust contributed to the students' increased

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dropout rates (see also Bloomberg, Ganey, Alba, Quintero, & Alvarez Alcantara, 2003; Stevenson & Ellsworth, 1993; Wehlage & Rutter, 1986). In Levin's study this lack of confidence extended to the teachers, and, most interestingly, the history texts. One student reflected:

> Teachers don't know shit. The teachers that are going to be in the hood, the inner city, O.K., we won't teach them [the students] the right things. We are going to lie to them. And the teachers in the white communities, we're going to teach them [the students] the right way. It ain't even teachers. It goes higher. Congress sites there and be like O.K., teachers in Roxbury, we're going to teach them this.
>
> You start with history. History is what somebody else is telling you. They're reading a book…So they keep you in the dark. By not letting you know how great of a people that you were, and how strong, and how you survived, if we don't know that, then we definitely don't care what happens today. (Levin, 1998, p. 19)

Levin suggested the students felt betrayed by the educational and governmental systems. They were dissatisfied with the overall school experience, a compounding factor in dropping out (Bachman, Green, & Wirtanen, 1971, Ekstrom et al., 1987). Students were alienated by systemic abuse of their right to learn (Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Ogbu, 1974; Patthey-Chavez, 1993), and questioned "whether school [was] working in their interest" (Patthey-Chavez, 1993, p. 5; see also Carter, 1970). The youth demonstrated the expectation and the need to learn in school, and knew learning was important for future success (Davidson, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995b; Wilson & Corbett, 2001), but perceived that they were being taught the wrong information. To the students, the information was factually and culturally wrong; and minority students were "kept in the dark" of their culture's accomplishments by teachers who did not care about them and

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their culture (Cummins, 2000; Fine, Bloom, Burns, Chajet, Guishard, Perkins-Munn, & Torre, 2004; see also Bowles & Gintis, 1976; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Nieto, 2004; Persell, 1977). One of Espinoza-Herold's (2003) students considered "Why study a bunch of white guys? What have they ever done for us?" (p. 63).

Because of racial stereotyping teachers in multiple studies did not perceive that students could succeed (Moll, 1988); this sentiment became a self-fulfilling prophecy among the students. Negative expectations and differential treatment can cause students to pull back from school (Davidson, 1996). One Puerto Rican student in Sanger's (1994) study reflected that his teacher called him a "spic right in the class" (p. 186). The teacher was suspended for a year, but the student's bitterness lasted longer. "Feelings of marginalization among Latino students have been a chief result of the perceptions teachers and other have concerning them and their abilities" (Nieto, 2001). How a teacher perceives a student can affect the teacher's behaviors towards students (Galguera, 1998; Pollard, 1989a, 1989b; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968/1992). How a teacher perceives students can also affect how *students* perceive themselves regarding academic success (Ogbu, 1987). The broad lack of trust in the teachers may have been linked to students' academic failure (Clark, 1965; Darder, 1991; Glasgow, 1980; Persell, 1977; Rist, 1977; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Ryan, 1981; Sepúlveda, 1996). Students did not feel a traditional education would benefit their future (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carter, 1970; Matute-Bianchi, 1985; McLaren & Gutierrez,

1997; Ogbu, 1981; Persell, 1977; Suárez-Orozco, 1987b)[73], and did not believe in their own abilities to succeed. Therefore, they dis-invested themselves from the academic realm.

Students are aware of the "majority culture's values and traditions" (Espinoza-Herold, p. 142) being purported in their schools including but not limited to teachers' pedagogical techniques, the choice of textbooks, and lack of bilingual programs. They understand that to succeed in this majority-culture institution they have to function within these constraints; but they also know how to engage with, resist, and oppose what they learn in school (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). Sometimes the resistance took the form of "getting pregnant, working dead-end jobs, and even staying home and watching TV" (Romo & Falbo, 1996, p. 253). Other times students performed a "political act" (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). "I'll show you. I'll make it in spite of what you think of me," is how Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2000, p. 28) theorize the hostilities many CLD students feel in American schools. While engaging and resisting they can articulate what they are doing. Students as young as 10 and 11 are capable of responding concretely when asked what it is like to be an immigrant in American schools (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), or about their educational needs (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 139). Such findings should not be underestimated; furthermore the

> denial that Latino children or families have any unique needs
> work[s] against the interest of Latino [parents and children].
> This form of educational denial and neglect in place of

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[73] There is growing concern in the academic community that "schooling does not always have payoffs," particularly for CLD populations (Rosenzweig, 2000, p. 229; see also Ogbu, 1974, 1988; Stevenson & Ellsworth, 1993). Performing well at the K-12 level has been shown to be insufficient for increased economic well being for CLD students because of persistent discrimination against minorities in the workforce (Brown, Rosen, Hill & Olivas, 1980; Nembhard & Pang, 2003). In fact, the earning gap between Whites and Latinos *increases* as both groups move up in educational attainment. This is what Blair (1971, 1972) refers to as the "schooling penalty."

recognizing and working to meet the actual needs of Latino
children functions as a detriment to academic achievement.
(Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 140-141)

When Latino students, nearly 20% of the K-12 population, are kept in their dark

from their culture's accomplishments and marginalized by teacher behaviors, they are

less likely to feel a connection to the school experience and are more likely to drop-out of

high school (Carter, 1970; Duarte, 1997; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Espinoza-Herold,

2003; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Osterman, 2000; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Sepúlveda,

1996; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).[74] "Quite simply, students function better and participate

more in school settings and situations where they feel they belong" (Gibson, Bejínez,

Hidalgo, & Rolón, 2004, p. 129; see also Duque Raley, 2004; Faircloth & Hamm, 2005;

Gándara & Gibson, 2004). The student cited in Levin's (1998) study accounted for his

absence from the history curriculum. Another student in the study commented that the

inaccurate and incomplete curriculum was intentional on the part of the teachers and the

government in order to keep students "stupid and weak…Not educating minorities is the

first part of a preparation plan to destroy black and Hispanic cultures" (p. 20-21). Hence,

the students in Levin's study see the school curriculum as calculatedly purged of minority

history. Because of the alleged discrimination and alienation, many students in Levin's

study and across the United States have left and will continue to leave school altogether

(Carter, 1970; Davidson, 1996; Patthey-Chavez, 1993).

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[74] Davidson (1996) found that students involved in a two-year study did not identify curriculum content as an important concern. She suggests that "students have become so adapted to Eurocentric texts over the course of 11 years in school that curriculum was not immediately salient" (p. 35). However, students were able to discern differential treatment (such as teacher expectations, speech acts, and disciplinary actions) along racial and ethnic lines. Students of color were more "in tune" with discriminatory practices more so than European American students (ibid.).

School Practices and Student Identity

Schools, classroom practices, and curriculum can have a considerable impact on how students view themselves and others (Edelsky, 1996; Faltis & Hudelson, 1994, 1997; Genesee, 1994; Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993; Moll, 1992; Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez, 1994; Trueba, 1993b, Trueba & Wright, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978; Wiley, 1996; Zou & Trueba, 1998), particularly in the political context of CLD students, bilingualism, and language rights (Cummins, 1989a; Fishman, 1967, 1989; Hamel, 1997; Macias, 1979; Paulston, 1997; Phillipson, 1990; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1997). The hegemonic worldview can easily claim to be the *only* worldview (Weis & Fine, 2004); therefore, educational reform that embraces socio-culturally inclusive social studies curriculum and pedagogy is an important consideration for schools (Banks, 1995a; Marri, 2003; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Tyson, 2003a).

The dominant cultural knowledge that affects how students view themselves and others is demonstrated during the educative process in many ways. Two of these are the through the curriculum and the practice of meritocracy (Bartolomé & Balderrama, 2001). The overt and hidden curricula (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985) are overwhelmingly determined by those in the dominant society to reflect what is legitimate and necessary to reflect their values "at the expense of a large number of citizens" (Darder, 1991, p. 19). Curriculum is never value free or non-political because it either overtly or covertly tells students who and what is appreciated (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Bartolomé, 2001). Myopic cultural ethnocentrism that privileges one value system over another is known as

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meritocracy (Giroux, 1992a; see also Villa, 2004),[75] the second facet that affects how

students view and are viewed. Public schools in the United States have historically

functioned with the educational practice of meritocracy, with the talented chosen to move

ahead based on their achievement (Darder, 1991): school failure and success is largely

culturally mediated. This practice actually perpetuates inequality in this nation.

Educational talent is a sociological construct that advances characteristics valued in the

dominant culture (McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997). The blind spot in this system of

advancement is that select groups are advanced based on their race, class, and gender

within an educational system that *claims to be* neutral and value free (Darder, p. 12-13;

see also Olsen, 1997). Schools fail to recognize that White students from fortunate

backgrounds are privileged over CLD students, not because White students work harder,

but because "of the advantage that comes with having money and increased social status"

(McLaren, 1988, p. 163). Meritocracy rewards those who assimilate into the dominant

practices and ways of thinking, and penalizes students who do not (National Council of

La Raza, 1990). On a disturbing note, Gonsalves (1996) has shown that prospective

teachers believe that Whites *deserve to be* in power-holding positions because African

Americans and other CLD groups are lazy. Little additional research has looked at these

broad policy issues at the elementary or secondary levels (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Lucas,

Henze, & Donato, 1990).

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[75] The February 2003 advice column in *Vanity Fair* demonstrated cultural ethnocentrism. Dame Edna, the columnist suggested the following to a reader who queried about which language she should study: "Forget Spanish. There's nothing in that language worth reading except Don Quixote, and a quick listen to the CD Man lf La Mancha will take care of that. There was a poet named García Lorca, but I'd leave him on the intellectual back burner if I were you. As for everyone's speaking it, what twaddle! Who speaker it that you are really desperate to talk to? The help? Your leaf blower?"

In summary, this research focuses on students' needs for the US History curriculum in order to increase students' connection to the school experience and thus, their academic achievement. When students see quantity and quality representations of their heritage in the curriculum, they are more likely to achieve academic success (Davidson, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004). Reforming schools to create a healthy climate for Latino students' academic success is a colossal undertaking, but one that must be pursued. Students learn what is important and valued by the broader culture at school; hence, it cannot be stated strongly enough that schools can have a significant impact on how the students view the world, themselves, and others (Tyson, 2003a). Developing a worldview that differs from the hegemonic "requires active intellectual work on the part of the knower" (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 258; see also Olsen, 1997, p. 83-84). This is difficult, for the youth only know the world in which they have been living for a comparatively short time (Kaplan, 1999), and the mature are set in their patterns of behavior. Hence, given the changing ethnicity of the United States, it is "essential to deepen our understanding of the increasingly prominent and diverse Latino population of the United States" (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004, p. 131) so that *all* students may be better equipped to interpret and act upon the world in ways that question the status quo.

Closing

It is the responsibility of our nation to educate all students equitably. We can no longer relegate Latinos to second-class citizenship in school and the broader society

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(Ochoa, 2003; see also Barrera, 1988; Darder, 1995; Kitchen, 1990; Velasquez, 1994).

This literature review has demonstrated that American schools are "years behind" (Kloosterman, 2003, p. xii) where they need to be, and that the educational challenges that Latino students face is daunting, compounded (Orfield, 1998), and complex (Trueba, 1998b). Instead of talking about the substandard educational *reality* of Latino students, educators must begin to *change* how they perceive, educate, and advocate for Latino students (Bailey & Pope, 2005). As Zambone & Alicea-Sáez (2003) stated, 'it is time to stop *admiring* the problem and begin *solving* it" (p. 75).

Freire (1997) described an early step in the quest for change as the lifting of the "ideological fog" that obscures meritocracy and other hegemonic practices. After this occurs, schools can become places of contest (Olsen, 1997), where teachers may courageously defend Latino students' needs and incorporate students' ethnicities into school curriculum (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b, Trueba, 1998b). Bartolomé (2003) also employed the word *courageous*, as she described the collective mobilization that must include courageous and "ideologically clear educators, parents, specialist, administrators, and policy makers at local, state, and national levels" (p. 43) for positive change. In addition, the community must be committed to policy changes that may require financial resources (Kozol, 1991; Macedo & Bartolomé, 1999; McCaleb, 1994).

Latino students are the future of our nation; therefore, "more than ever before, educators need to become aware and deeply knowledgeable of their Latino students' expressions of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds…and reflect on their own values …Only then will equitable and challenging educational opportunities be provided,

and the quality of education improve" (Kloosterman, p. xii). Schools must welcome diversity in their house, to rephrase Banks (James Banks' College of Education Speech, 13 October 2000), for the more successful an institution is at welcoming Latino students, the more likely the students will find academic success. I offer suggestions to teachers for augmenting Latino students' academic success in Chapter 10 and Appendix O.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTION OF METHODS AND ANALYTIC TECHNIQUES

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum at one high school. The ultimate objective was to understand if the US History classes are serving the needs of Latino students. In the following section, I address how I completed research that was culturally sensitive, valid, and reliable.

Research Setting

The Location of Crawford High School

Crawford High School is located on the outskirts of a major metropolitan city in the Eastern United States. The school district is one of the largest districts in the state, with between 20,000 and 25,000 K-12 students. The district is unique in that it encompasses rural, urban, and suburban development. Per pupil expenditure in 2003-2004 was less than $10,000, placing the district near the bottom in per pupil spending among surrounding districts. English as a Second Language (ESL) is offered to students

who speak 23 different languages including Arabic, Chinese, Fulani, Lao, Russian, Somali, Spanish, Swahili, and Vietnamese.

The Latino student population was growing both district-wide and at Crawford High School. The Latino student population at the high school had increased annually since the 2000-2001 school year. Concurrently, the overall student body population had steadily decreased at this high school because of redistricting. When redistricting occurred in the early 2000s, the student body of Crawford changed. Many Anglo students left because of the location of the new school, further increasing the concentration of Latinos at Crawford. Therefore, Latino students had a large and growing presence at Crawford High School.

Crawford was a "highly transient building," according to the school's Principal, Mr. Daggert. In the first six weeks of the school year, over four hundred students "criss-cross in and out. There's a lot of turn over here. It continues through the year, not at the same level, but we are enrolling students with four weeks of school left," Mr. Daggert commented.

Research participants

I worked with 14 total students and approximately 10 faculty members at Crawford High School. The names and identities of all participants have been changed. Some faculty members appear as composites (Ellis, 2004), or "combinations" of participants. For example, after interviewing three faculty members with similar viewpoints, I may have combined similar data from the three people. The composite character may be one person's gender, another's job description, and the third person's

physical stature. Others have been "assigned" a new gender and/or a different or obscured job description. These maneuvers were enacted to protect the identities of all participants. All participants were required to sign and date a consent form.

Student Participants

Before I began interviewing the student-participants, all students returned parental permission to take part in the research. Students were given a letter in English and/or Spanish outlining the research question, dissemination of results, and confidentiality procedures. I made myself available to talk with parents and extended family members who have questions during all phases of the project.

I generated research data with two student groups. I involved myself as a co-researched subject and the Latino students as co-researchers during the project. For example, the Latino students developed their definition of "need," as it pertained to the research question, and assisted in the analysis of interview data. I did not impose an outside definition of "need" on the students, nor did I isolate the participants from analyzing themes and patterns that emerged from the data.

I worked with eight 10th-grade students of Latin American descent, and six students of mixed ethnicities in grades 10 through 12. The eight Latin American students self-selected from the US History classes, and were the focus of this study. The six students of different ethnicities are known as the "Study Hall Focus Group" in this study. They added interesting depth to interview data, as the Focus Group students shared experiences and reacted to each other's comments. I met two to five times with each of the Latin American students during the fall of 2005 and the winter of 2006. I met a total

of seven times with the Study Hall Focus Group, although not all of the six students in this Focus Group participated in each conversation. Meetings with Latin American students and Focus Group students lasted between 20 and 45 minutes. Students were encouraged to format their discussions around the social studies curriculum, particularly the US History curriculum, although conversations certainly addressed students' lives outside of the social studies curriculum.

I shadowed the eight Latin American students in their US History classes, completed one-on-one interviews (and group interviews with some of these Latin American students), and asked students to maintain a journal. The students were the least receptive to journal writing. They did not want additional work to think about outside of class. Two students wrote poems about their identity as Spanish speakers.

I shared a significant amount of time with each Latin American student during the school year. Each student had unique experiences such as language acquisition, cultural background, gender, and immigration status (Auerbach, 2002; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002) that informed their hybrid and constantly reinventing selves. Students grappled with "local" and "global" experiences: a class incident that day may have instigated immediate discussion, as did reflection on an event that occurred in grade school. Information was recorded and maintained confidential.

I produced additional research with the six students of mixed ethnicities and grade levels during the fall of 2005 and the winter of 2006. These students, who also self-

selected, added depth to the research regarding race and racism in the school and society, and commented on new perspectives on the data. This group of students became known as the Study Hall Focus Group.

My goal was to create "safe spaces" (Duque Raley, 2004) for students to share insight into the social studies curricula. Safe spaces can be developed by "grabbing a bite to eat" (p. 156) together in the school cafeteria, chatting informally about the students' interests, and observing students in their extracurricular activities. During these informal meetings, I gained students' trust and learn about students as individuals, with unique backgrounds and stories. I paid attention to the "indisputable importance of social relations," including the "peer-relations-like-family" among Latino youth (Duque Raley, 2004, p. 156; see also DeVos, 1992; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Vigil, 1988a, 1988b; Waters, 1990).[76]

Gaining Entre to Crawford High School

I gained entre to the high school in August 2005. The process of gaining entre was slow. While not intentional in 2001, I built rapport with teachers, staff, and students over four years before beginning my research. I met two of the teachers in 2001 during a graduate class. During the 2004-2005 school year, I served as a tutor for Latina students through the organization Big Brothers/Big Sisters. My service with BBBS was partly intentional, with the hopes of gaining access to the school the following year. In May 2005, I met with the Assistant Principal to discuss my research. I sent him a formal letter

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[76] Mexican-origin adolescents spend more time with their peers than with anyone else (Carnegie Council, 1995; Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Schneider & Stevenson, 1999). The importance of the peer group of immigrant and ethnic minority children is a growing focus of studies (DeVos, 1992; Trueba & Bartolomé, 2000; Waters, 1990).

in June 2005, formalizing the research (See Appendix A). He conferred with the Principal and the district's Department of Human Resources during summer 2005. In August 2005 I underwent a police background check including fingerprinting. I gained official entre at the start of the 2005-2006 school year.

I was encouraged by the school administration to attend classes, tutor students, and observe the school environment. I was seen as "another pair of adult eyes" by the administration; hence, they were pleased to have me in the school. I visited the school at least twelve hours every week to make my presence known and discuss my research with the US History teachers (see Figure 1 and Appendix C).
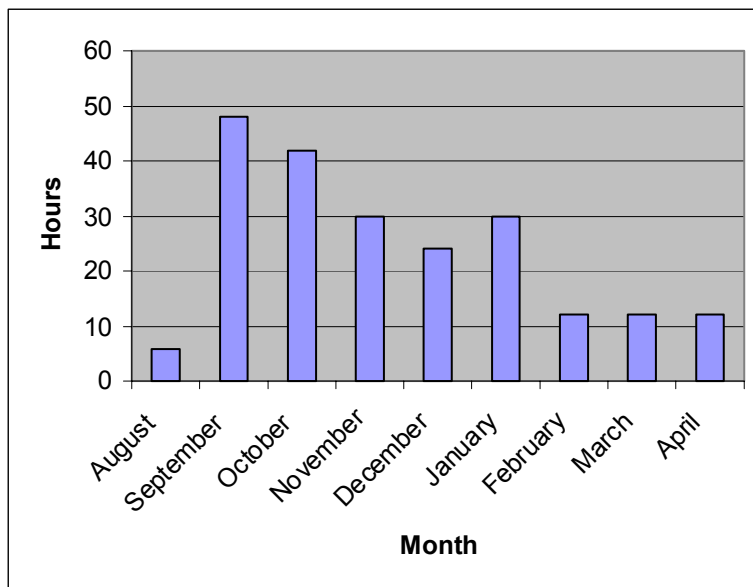
Figure 1: Hours spent at Crawford High School for research purposes during the 2005-2006 school year

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I told teachers I was investigating Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum for the purposes of my dissertation (see Appendix C). Three of the six US History teachers, Danielle, Alex, and Bonnie, welcomed me immediately into their classrooms to observe and talk with students. A fourth teacher was uncomfortable with my presence in class during the first six weeks of school, but did not object to me talking with his students once I had IRB permission. I knew two of his students from my previous year of tutoring at the high school; therefore, I was able to work with these students during my research. Another teacher (who taught only one section of US History) taught during the same period as one of the "welcoming teachers." I chose to work with the "welcoming teacher," who had a solid reputation of caring about students from non-Anglo ethnicities. The sixth US History teacher declined my request to observe his classes during the first six weeks. His students were not part of my research because I was unable to identify who they were.

I was pleased that the three "openly welcoming" teachers represented the four levels of tracked classes at the high school. One teacher taught two sections of ESL US History. The majority of these students came from Latin America, Western Africa, and the Ukraine. Another teacher taught the combined Advanced Placement US History/English literature class; this teacher had two Latino, three African American, and 55 Anglo students. The third teacher taught the regular track of US History. These classes were majority Anglo students. This teacher also taught the "red shirt" US History, the class for "at-risk" juniors and seniors who had previously failed US History, and were on the "fast track" to pass classes and graduate.

The first few times I observed Danielle's, Bonnie's, and Alex's classes I introduced myself in English and Spanish,

> Hi! I am a graduate student at the university. I am writing a paper about Latino students in this school…about what you want and how you want to learn in US History class. Eventually I would like to talk with all of you, but today I am just going to stay to watch and listen.
>
> *Hola! Soy estudiante graduada en la Universidad. Estoy escribiendo un trabajo sobre los estudiantes latinos en esta escuela…de que quieren y como quieren aprender en la clase de historia de los Estados Unidos. Eventualmente me gustaría hablar con ustedes, pero hoy voy a quedarme aqui para mirar y escuchar.*

Students appeared to not be bothered by my presence. I was always a friendly, smiling face that chatted with students before the bell rang. Bilingual and Spanish-speaking students appreciated that I talked to them in Spanish, validating the importance of their language. A few Somali and Anglo students asked why *they* couldn't be part of the paper I was writing. Further conversations clarified their interest in seeing their name in print in my "book." I visited each of Danielle, Bonnie, and Alex's US History classes during this six-week period between one and five times.

A Monthly Description of My Research Schedule

I began the research at Crawford High School on the last school day of August 2005. Figure 1 displays the total number of hours spent at Crawford High School from August 2005, through April 2006. I spent approximately 6 hours at the school during each visit. Visits tended to occur on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

During the month of September, I spent a total of 48 hours at Crawford. Of this, I observed US History classes 6.6 hours (see Figure 2) and interviewed US History teachers 3.4 hours (see Figure 3 and Appendix G). I tracked down US History teachers on my own because a departmental meeting was not scheduled for the upcoming weeks. I utilized the remaining September hours to introduce myself to the students and staff at the school, acquaint myself with the building, and obtain an understanding of how the school ran on a daily basis. I was new to the "behind the scenes" movements at the school, and was a stranger to most students and staff. The first full month at Crawford was one of exploration and questioning. I wanted to build a healthy long-term relationship with the school, so I introduced myself to administrators, teachers, secretaries, custodians, aides, and the "lunch ladies." Along with the important task of gaining entre into individual teacher's US History classes, I needed to obtain a permanent Visitor's Pass, find out where I could park, acquire teacher's schedules from the secretary, befriend the hall monitors at the main doors, ask if I could store my lunch in the teacher's lounge refrigerator, and discover where the private women's bathroom was located. I learned that the atmosphere in the teacher's lounge during 5th hour lunch was not conducive for conducting interviews, for various teachers came in to watch "Sports Center" on Cable TV. The TV volume and the teachers' cheers and jeers overwhelmed my microphone.
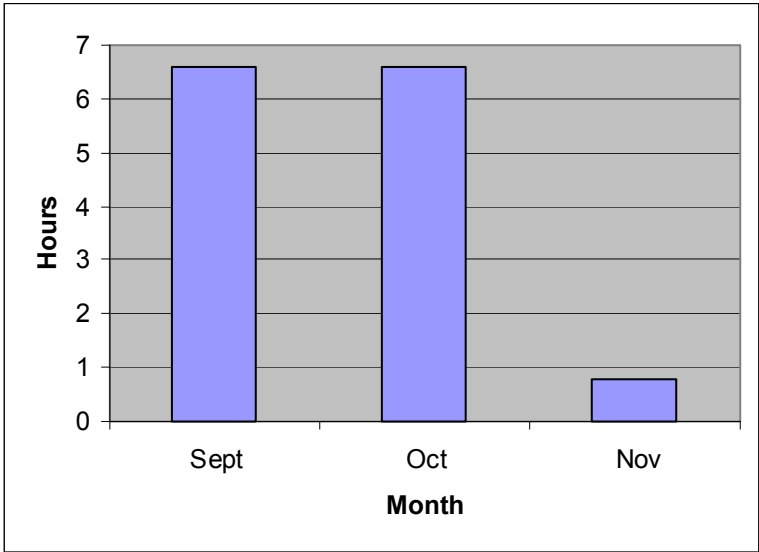
Figure 2: Hours observing teachers at Crawford High School
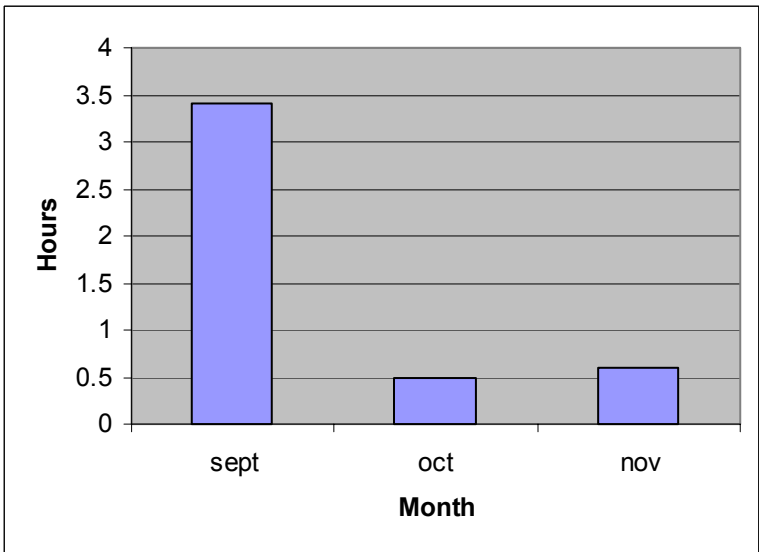
Figure 3. Hours interviewing teachers at Crawford High School

In October, I spent 42 total hours at the high school. I observed US History

classes for 6.6 hours and interviewed one teacher for 30 minutes. I spent more time with

students who indicated they were interested in taking part in the research. I helped some

students with their homework during study hall, and at lunch with others. October was

the month during which I gained students' trust by simply *being there*. When I gained

IRB permission in October 2005, students and I were ready and eager to begin to data

collection process. First, students had to acquire signed parental permission and sign a

consent form.
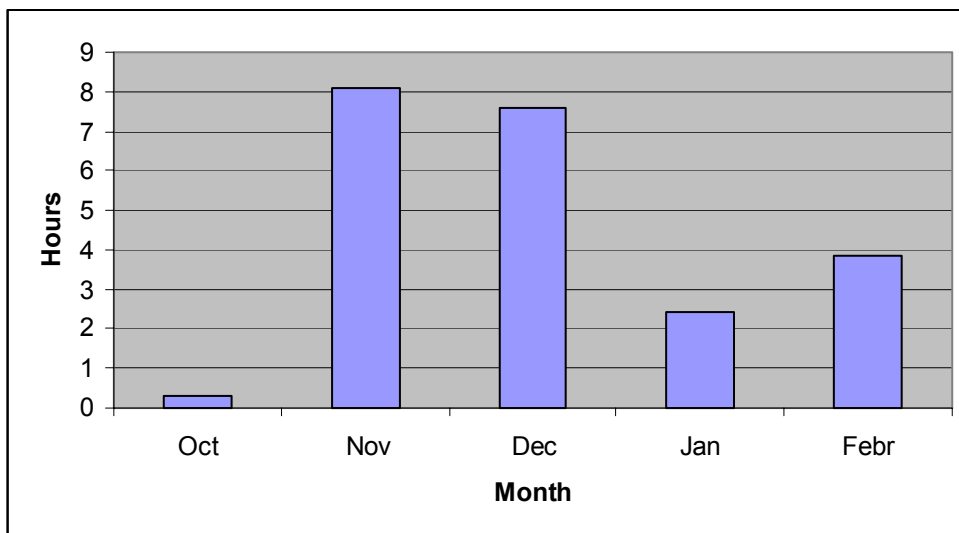
Figure 4: Hours interviewing students at Crawford High School

The months of November and December focused on student interviews (see

Figure 4 and Appendix I). The data collection process with students, the focus of the

study, was intense. I interviewed students over 8 and 7.5 hours, respectively, during these

two months. The interviews lasted between 15 and 45 minutes, with an average interview time of 35 minutes. The interviews were recorded on my laptop computer. I spent 42 hours at the high school in November. I was at a professional conference for four school days, and Thanksgiving break consumed another three. Hence, had I attended every Tuesday and Thursday, I would have logged close to 60 hours for the month. December's monthly total was similarly affected by Christmas break: had school been in session the full month, my total hours would have been greater. It is my intent to stress how concentrated the months of November and December were for data collection.

The Christmas break allowed me time to reflect and reinvigorate. I returned in January excited to see "my kids" and ask them clarifying questions to strengthen the research. I also felt a bittersweet energy: I was thrilled to be months away from completing my degree, although I knew that would close a chapter in my life with these students. I had indicated to Crawford's administrators that I desired to maintain a long-term relationship with the high school to assist them with their growing diversity; however, I did not know how the administrators would react when they read my conclusions. I did not know how welcomed I would be as my research results became public. An examination of the hours spent at Crawford (30) and with students (2.5) expose my goal: to clarify, re-examine, and revisit topics. I spent more hours finding students and having short conversations than sitting with an open microphone for an entire period. I made more observations of public spaces. I sat in the Library and Lunchroom, watching everyone and asking myself "what am I really seeing?" I felt tension between starting anew and being nearly finished.

February was a happier month—happier because I felt less confusion. In a practical sense, I needed to stop. At some point every research must say, "¡no más!" My hours dropped to 12 for the month, with nearly one quarter of the time devoted to student interviews. In addition, I was actively interviewing for tenure-track positions around the United States, and was at a professional conference for a week, so my time at the high school was further restricted.

In March, students were preparing for the high school graduation test. Some students' schedules changed during this time, making it harder to find them. I stopped formally collecting interviews and no longer traveled with my laptop and microphone. During March and April, my schedule changed from being at Crawford for six hours twice weekly to visiting for two to three hours, once a week, during students' lunch times. It was important to me to maintain communication, ask how their grade was on the big math test, and see how baseball practice was coming along.

The Layout of the School

I circulated the through halls, lunchroom, teachers' lounge, and library frequently during the first six weeks (and for the rest of my time at the school year). The lunchroom and library were large open atriums central to the school; they were "accessible areas" instead of being concealed room at the ends of hallways. The lunchroom was a particularly wonderful location for observing and "waiting for things to happen." Students sat at large round tables with moveable chairs. The ceiling was two stories high

in this area, which resembled a mall foodcourt-style of architecture. Only seniors were allowed to sit on the "veranda" which overlooked the "foodcourt." During visits to the lunchroom I usually ended up pulling up a chair to talk with students or going outside to kick around the soccer ball. I often chatted with the lunch monitors about the climate of the school and "how things were going."

The library was another excellent location for observation. Located in another two-story atrium area, the library was "without walls." As students passed from class to class, they walked through the library and congregated around tables until the warning bell gave them a minute to dash to their classrooms. I appreciated the openness of the library because students felt integrated into and welcomed there.

Beginning the Formal Research Process

I received permission to begin research from my university's IRB on October 21, 2005. On October 25, I again related my intents to the classes where I had become a familiar face (See Appendix D). In Bonnie's US History class, all six Latino students expressed immediate interest in taking part in the research and asked for Parental Consent letters (See Appendices E and F). They were eager to be heard. I distributed four additional forms to students in separate classes through the day. I had felt very welcomed by the Spanish-speaking students in Danielle's classes; but students did not express interest in participating. This was in stark contrast to Bonnie's students, and I noted that I would need to spend more one on one time and small-group time with some students in their lunch and study hall periods before gaining their trust. It was noteworthy that the

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students newest to the United States were most hesitant to participate. While logical in hindsight, I was not expecting such non-responsiveness when I asked newly-arrived students if they wanted to take a form home to their parents. My own incorrect expectation that "of *course* **these** students will want to be heard," made me step back and re-evaluate my assumptions about the situation.

When I distributed parental consent forms, I intentionally asked students if they would like the form in Spanish, English, or both. I did not want to assume they spoke and/or read a particular language. I did not consider at this time giving them forms in both languages. Only one student in the "regular" class chose the form in both languages. The remaining five chose the form in Spanish. The students in this class were bilingual Spanish-English, but I did not want to assume that the parent(s) or guardian with whom they were living was a Spanish or English speaker.

The first signed parental consent form was obtained in a "non-traditional" manner. Artella invited me to watch her Mexican league *juego de fútbol* soccer game on a sunny autumn afternoon. I had attended Artella's games before, so I knew it was a great location to network and talk with parents, many of whom had students at the high school. I had met Artella's mother three or four times from my activities in the community, so talking with her at the *juego* was non-threatening for both of us. Artella handed her mom the form stating she wanted to be part of "*su libro*" (The book I was writing). Artella's mom read the *carta de introducción* (letter of introduction) in Spanish, and willingly signed the consent form. Being known in the community helped me gain the confidence of parents and students.

Design of the Research

The design of this project was modeled on the frameworks of Latino Critical Theory (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999) and qualitative research (Anzaldúa, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Fanon, 1967; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; hooks, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Matsuda, 1995; Richardson, 2000; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Trueba, 1991b; Trueba & McLaren, 2000). The frameworks of these critical social theories guide how I see the world, how I devise research strategies, and how I generate questions to explore the research focus (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). For example, this research was constructed around the understandings of oppression and liberation. It was not performed on the backs of the participants, to rephrase Tyson (2003a, 2003b). Instead, it was composed of mutual exchanges between the student-participants and me, the head researcher. A goal of this research was to empower students for life beyond the "localized" research question. When "my" research was completed, I continued to spend time at the high school with the students to help them with their life issues. I ate lunch or visited with every student during lunch at least once a week, tutored them in coursework, and cheered at their spring soccer or baseball games. I made certain that I did not desert the students when I had attained sufficient information for my dissertation.

Critical research "connect[s] the local and the global…and push[es] educational and social reform" (McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997, p. 197). This critically designed project examined educational and social reform possibilities with Latino students. It connected

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the local and the global through discussions of language and culture in the languages of

the student-participants: Spanish, Nahuatl,[77] and English. Most of this research was

performed in Spanish. Preserving the Spanish language "has been a political issue for

Latinos in the United States" (Hardy-Fanta, 1993, p. xv), so I certainly did not wish to

perpetuate political tension by insisting that research be completed in English. All quotes

given in Spanish remained in Spanish with a careful English translation following. I

notated when I altered a literal translation to allow for colloquialisms and slang. In

summary, the theories of LatCrit and qualitative research supplied me with culturally

responsive strategies for conceptualizing and approaching my research question. In the

following section, I continue to define my research participants and methodologies as

guided by these theories.

Counterstorytelling

I pursued various data collection practices including but not limited to one-on-one

and focus group interviews, student journals, and naturalistic observations. The

interviews took the form of counterstorytelling sessions (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996;

Ceja, 2000; Crenshaw, 1993; Delgado, 1989; Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004;

Minh-ha, 1990; Olivas, 1990; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solórzano &Yosso, 2000;

Tate, 1997; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Counterstorytelling is personal narrative in

opposition to the hegemonic discourse. "Counterstories illuminate strategic interactions

of submission, subversion, and rebellion to navigate oppressive systems such as

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[77] Nahuatl is an indigenous language of Mexico that continues to be widely spoken. I learned basic Nahuatl grammar while studying in an indigenous Mexican village.

patriarchical households and capitalist work systems" (Knight, Norton, Bentley, &

Dixon, 2004, p. 102). Sessions resemble interviews, but are focused on the participant's

(not the researcher's) needs to be heard. Lisa Delpit stated (1993) that it is those in the

power-holding majority to take the responsibility for initiating listening:

> To do so takes a very special kind of listening, listening that
> requires not only open eyes and ears, but open hearts and
> minds. We do not really see through our eyes or hear
> through our ears, but through our beliefs. To put our beliefs
> on hold is to cease to exist as ourselves for a moment—and
> that is not easy. It is painful as well, because it means
> turning yourself inside out, giving up your own sense of
> who you are, and being willing to see yourself in the
> unflattering light of another's angry gaze. It is not easy, but
> it is the only way to learn what it might feel like to be
> someone else and the only way to start the dialogue. (p. 139)

I initiated listening with all students. In retrospect, I listened best when the

microphone was *off*. During these times, perhaps, the students felt most comfortable to

express their most painful emotions, and I chose not to interrupt with questions. A self-

criticism I noticed from transcript evaluation was the number of times I interrupted to ask

clarifying questions when conversations were being recorded. Students' longest,

unbroken monologues occurred in informal sessions when I was without my laptop and

microphone. Gabriel once griped "no, no, no *micrófono*!" I recorded these monologues in

my field notes and evaluated them in my personal journal, so they were not lost. The

reader of this dissertation will notice that the transcripts included are dialogues between

one or more students and me. Unbroken student monologues (when I best used my

listening skills) are included as journal entries. Below are excerpts from two journal

entries written after listening to Gabriel.

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First Journal Entry: Listening to Gabriel and Reflecting

> I reflect now on the immensity of our topics *cuando nos discutimos* (when we talked with each other). The first day Gabriel told me about the day he crossed the US/Mexican border. His dad paid a coyote, and they got in a car and drove really fast. He misses his mom the most; he hasn't seen her in four years. During our second meeting, Gabriel told me about the violence he's seen in DF (Distrito Federal, what Mexicans call Mexico City) and here. He told me about being robbed in DF, the guns and drugs he saw trafficked in Mexico, and his negative experiences here with gangs. [Second conversation took place in the Library on November 11, 2005]

> The third time he shared with me his fear of his dreams not becoming his realities. His posture had all the clues of "this is private"—head down, voiced lowered, back turned squarely towards his *amigos* on the computers a few feet away. His dream is to marry at 20 once he has a good job and a house. He wants to have daughters. "*Es un sueño, no sé si sea mi realidad*" (It's a dream, it may not be my reality).

Second Journal Entry: Listening to Gabriel and Reflecting

> Gabriel was extremely conscious of his personal struggles and of the fact that his choices both augmented and detracted from substantial and long term achievement. He wanted to be financially stable "*como adulto*" (when he was an adult), but as a child, he knew he was not doing what was necessary for that stability. He was so fixated on making money *now* to send to his family in Mexico that he had no time or energy to study, complete homework, or pay attention in class. It was as if Gabriel wanted to run without ever crawling or walking. He *knew* he needed to go to college for a "good job." He *knew* he needed to become fluent in English to go to college. And he *knew* that all he had to do to graduate high school was "*échale ganas*." A loose translation approximates the motto of shoe company Nike, "*just do it*." He did not see graduation as probable because earning money *now* was of greater importance.

When I asked why he didn't "*échale ganas*," he shrugged his shoulders and chewed on his toothpick. He looked like he wanted to melt into the brick wall he was leaning against.

During these two sessions with Gabriel, I was quiet. I nodded and gave him visual cues to continue. Immediately after these unrecorded sessions, I went to the teachers lounge or my car to write in my journal.

The criteria for counterstorytelling are "local, aesthetic, emic, existential, political and emotional. They push the personal to the forefront of the political, where the social text becomes the vehicle for the expression of politics" (Denzin, 2000, p. 915). Nancy Fraser (1993) affirms the benefits of creating "counterpublics," where students oppose stereotypes "and assert novel interpretations of their own shifting identities, interests, and work" (Weis & Fine, 2004, p. 123). CLD students are rarely passive recipients of the dominant culture (Fernández, 2002; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997). Students can resist the structures around them and create "sites of instability" (p. 211) while they imagine possibilities for change. Hence, the personal *becomes* the political. Gabriel was my muse for the "personal becoming political." He was the face of many undocumented Mexican young men living in the United States, hoping for a better life, but not knowing if he would attain it. Many times Gabriel pushed his personal life to forefront of the political situation he faced as an undocumented resident. He questioned the system, and tried to oppose the stereotypes of undocumented Mexican men. These narratives became clear during his counterstorytelling.

Gaining Students' Trust

Because of my experiences as a high school student history teacher and with

Latino students at the high school where the research was completed, I felt confident that

I could gain students' trust and offer them a safe space to speak about the multiple

oppressions they may face in their US History classes. When student-participants gain

confidence in the research project, they may delve deeply into the personal-testimonial of

their experiential knowledge. This is where I became the *emic* listener: I was not a

cultural insider of the same ethnicity, but I had become an insider to the students'

emotions.

Assessing Students' Trust

I perceived different levels of trust from the student-participants. Two months into

the study (mid-November, 2005), four of the eight students told me they trusted me

completely. Two students offered the information to me "casually" in the same week,

stating to the effect of, "Oh, I can trust you, I can tell you anything." These two students

clearly enjoyed being heard and wanted to continue the counterstorytelling sessions. I

asked the other two students soon after how they felt the research process was going, and

if they wanted to continue with the study. One student responded, "Oh yea, you're really

cool. I like you." The second student demonstrated her trust in me by talking about how

much she enjoyed seeing her words on paper when we completed member checks

together. For her, that was proof of my trustworthiness. These four were students with

whom I felt most comfortable and spent the most time. Of the eight Latin American

students in this study, I sensed the strongest connection to these four. I felt the same emotional bond towards them as they did toward me. They told me they had and would continue to confide in me about their lives and their families.

I was curious during the study (and am still curious) to what extent the remaining four of the eight students trusted me and believed I had in mind their best interests. When I approached them in the lunchroom or study hall to ask when we could have another conversation, I did not perceive the same level of "excitement" in their demeanor as with the previously mentioned four students. All students chose to be part of the research, but I perceived different levels of interest from this second group of students. It is possible that once the students consented to the project that they did not want to address potentially painful topics. It was not my intent to serve as a "missionary" to "save" them; perhaps I came on too strong.

I am aware that I tend to attract and be attracted to people who communicate in the same style; hence, I may have been wrong in my assessment of their research interest. When I do not pick up particular verbal and visual clues from people, I feel insecure. "They don't like me," I think. I may have over-analyzed interactions with students and what I perceived to be obstructions when none existed.

Listening

The counterstorytelling sessions followed principles of emergent qualitative design (discussed below). I, who had not lived the lives of the participants, offered questions and suggestions to begin the sessions, but I could not know all the questions to ask. I listened first and was guided by the participants.

Listening intently is crucial during counterstorytelling, for what may appear an unambiguous declaration may be masked amid tropes and metaphors.[78] "The point about these stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story *simply*" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2002, p. 144) (emphasis added). The "residue of ambiguity" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645), which surrounds all spoken and written words, makes complex what may first appear straightforward. Analyses of counterstorytelling sessions can be challenging and enriching, suggestive of the narrators' multifaceted life experiences. The final product may resemble what Marcus and Fischer (1986) called a "messy text." A postmodern methodology such as counterstorytelling could generate an experimental written product that "break[s] the binary between science and literature" to show how humans "cope with both the eternal verities of human existence and the daily irritations and tragedies of living that existence" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 184). I did not know what the final product would resemble because I could not foresee the students' daily irritations and tragedies, nor did I know how I would react. The possibilities for variation in the final products "are limited only by the number of those engaged in inquiry" (p. 185).

<div align="center">Technologies</div>

Technologies Used to Record Interview Data

Interviews were recorded on my laptop computer utilizing the "Sound Recorder" program, part of the Microsoft Windows XP Media Player system. I purchased a microphone for $10 at an area office supply store. I did not use a transcribing machine;

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[78] On an interesting note, Eisner (1991) states that "Nothing is more precise than the artistic use of language. Metaphoric precision is the central vehicle for revealing the qualitative aspects of life" (p. 227).

instead, I sat with my fingers on my desktop computer keyboard, and played back interviews with the mouse of my laptop computer to my right. A gentle tap with my right pinky on the laptop mouse acted as the foot pedal of a transcription machine. With the Media Player software that displayed the hours, minutes, and seconds recorded, I could conveniently "rewind" as much time as needed. The transcribing process went remarkably smoothly due to the ability of inexpensive microphones to capture sound, the ease of use of Media Player, and the large storage capacity of my laptop computer.

I recommend three pieces of advice for future researchers regarding recording interviews. First, the default setting for Sound Recorder is 60 seconds. I found the directions for extending Sound Recorder at http://support.microsoft.com/kb/q82215/. Assuming that a single interview would not last over 60 minutes, I extended Sound Recorder's capacity to 60 minutes following the directions on the website (http://support.microsoft.com/kb/q82215/). Second, I saved a blank 60-minute Sound Recorder version on my desktop. To begin an interview I only needed to double click on the file and hit "record." This saved time and energy. Third, and most importantly (I learned the hard way), each recorded session had to be individually saved ("Save as…"). Lost recorded sessions were not recoverable or stored in a temporary file, unlike MS Word documents. Additionally, using "Save as…" preserved the integrity of the blank version of Sound Recorder so it could be re-used indefinitely, *and* created the new sound file of the recently completed interview. I titled these sound files with the participant's first initial and the interview date.

Technologies Used to Code Interview Data

The data generated by all interview participants was analyzed for trends and negative case analysis. I used the qualitative research database Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching Theorizing (NUD*IST) during November, the first full month of recording interviews with students. I made use of data management and analysis strategies as proposed by Ryan and Bernard (2000) such as key-words in context, word counts, theme finding, and codebook making. These qualitative strategies assisted to locate fundamental ideas, highlight how students use words differently, generate patterns such as metaphors, contextual shifts, and social conflict, and develop and refine copious data into manageable lists.

Even though I had taken a required course on NUD*IST, I did not find this electronic database helpful as helpful as transcribing interviews into a word processing program such as MS Word. I found I could complete word searches as easily using MS Word. I preferred printing interview transcripts and reading them repeatedly whenever, wherever. I read transcripts while in "serious researcher mode," before going to bed, and while riding the bus to work. I coded the transcripts for trends such as code switching, casting blame, and talking about family and community. I noted trends in the margins of the transcripts with different colored ink. Orange ink became my identifier for a shift between Spanish and English; blue indicated blame; red flagged the family.

Qualitative Methodologies

The design of this project was modeled on the frameworks of Latino Critical

Theory and qualitative research. This type of qualitative inquiry is descriptive,

responsive, emergent (Diaz-Greenberg, 2003; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Gaventa,

1988; Lather, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 2000), open ended, rigorous, and elastic (Janesick,

2000). It allows for the creation of data-rich "portraits" with participants, and creates

grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Gergen & Gergen, 2000;

Lincoln & Denzin, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the subsequent sections, I define

these methodological terms and describe how they pertain to this project.

My Role as a Portrait Artist

I am the literary portrait artist, "[seeking] to record and interpret the perspectives

and experience of the people [I am] studying, documenting their voices and their visions -

their authority, knowledge and wisdom" (O'Brien, 2001). To follow the metaphor of a

portrait artist through, documenting my student-participants' lives was like making a

rough sketch in graphite pencil. Placing the students' conversations into cultural context

filled the shapes with color, light, dark, and texture. The students' words will resonate

with their audience-readers and raise helpful questions (O'Brien) for future researchers.

Sara Lightfoot Lawrence (1994) describes how she reacts to her participants' words and

questions as a mirror, a therapist, a companion, and an audience member. The role the

portrait artist adopts as she listens to her participants influences the "texture" of the art.

When the portrait artist is a mirror, she "reflects back their pain, their fears, and their

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victories" (Lawrence, 1994, p. 26). The inquirer seeks patterns, asks additional questions, and looks for supporting evidence. A companion-portrait artist joins the participant on the journey, and interprets data through her own previous experiences. When she is the audience member, Lawrence "listens, laughs, weeps, and applauds" (ibid.). Some days she spins tales as a spider woman, other days she tip toes around emotional minefields like a therapist. Her final and favorite role is acting as a human archaeologist who desires to strip "the layers of mask and inhibition in search of a more authentic representation of life experience" (ibid.).

Lawrence (1994) elucidates with her seven roles that interview research is more than taking accurate dictation (O'Brien, 2001). The artist can have powerful effects on the research outcomes. The results of my research are non-generalizable in accordance with all qualitative and quantitative research in this postmodern world (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The "rich, thick portrait" (Nieto, 2004, p. 6) describes students' thoughts and insights. My effects on the research as the portrait artist do not pollute understandings of academic research, to rephrase Eliot Eisner (1997); therefore, this portraiture-project is no less rigorous than other commonly employed research methods.

Descriptive Case Studies

Descriptive case studies are powerful instruments for understanding the needs of CLD students (Jacob & Jordan, 1987, 1993; Ogbu 1991b; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 1987b; Trueba, 1991b). Focusing on students' perceptions demonstrates they are active participants in the research and the educational reform process and that they influence classroom events and are influenced by them (Schunk, 1992). "The school

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seen from the perspective of students is quite a different reality from that seen from the

teachers' or administrators' perspective. In order to explore this reality, we need to ask

students how they feel about teachers, peers, school activities, study, homework, the

playground, and about themselves" (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991, p. 178; see also

Kaplan, 1999; MacLeod, 1987). Disparities between teachers and students' perceptions

of classroom activities suggest researchers should spend more time hearing students'

sides of the story (Brophy & Good, 1986; Schunk & Meece, 1992; Sheets, 1995;

Wigfield & Harold, 1992). Case studies are comprised of long-term observations with

holistic and deep cultural understandings of the situation (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto,

2004). Only through such techniques can manifestations and patterns of students' strong

emotions be revealed. Critically completed case studies give minority students space "get

into" the emancipatory knowledge that motivates their resistance to the dominant culture

in the United States (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 40).

Students are aware of the "majority culture's values and traditions" (Espinoza-

Herold, p. 142) being purported in their schools by and through teachers' pedagogical

techniques, the choice of textbooks, and lack of bilingual programs. They understand that

to succeed in this majority-culture institution they have to function within inequities and

constraints (Foley, Levinson, & Hurtig, 2001; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999); but research

suggests students also know how to engage with, resist, and oppose what they learn in

school (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Olsen, 1997). When engaging and resisting, students

know what they are doing and why. They can articulate about what they are doing. This

is where critical ethnography and descriptive research capture students' perspectives.

Students as young as 10 and 11 are capable of responding concretely when asked what it

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is like to be an immigrant in American schools (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), or about their educational needs (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 139). Such findings should not be underestimated; furthermore the

> denial that Latino children or families have any unique needs work[s] against the interest of Latino [parents and children]. This form of educational denial and neglect in place of recognizing and working to meet the actual needs of Latino children functions as a detriment to academic achievement. (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 140-141)

The hegemonic practices of schools affect how all students view themselves and others. Therefore, it is crucial to ask the largest consumers of school practices, the students, how they are affected. McLaren & Gutierrez (1997) stress the importance of critical research in schools to "connect the local and the global…and for pushing the educational and social reform" (p. 197). Hodgkinson (1985) encourages researchers to "begin seeing the educational system from the perspective of the people who move through it" (p. 1). "Rendering students' experiences through their own words…lend[s] authenticity to the understanding of the context of…Latino students," states Diaz-Salcedo (1996, p. 1-2). Therefore, case studies are powerful instrument for understanding the needs of CLD students (Jacob & Jordan, 1987, 1993; Ogbu 1991b; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 1987b; Trueba, 1991b).

Many Latino students *want* to become involved in school reform because they have high personal and academic aspirations (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). Students have authority and clarity to their voice (Wasley, 1990) that can tell us how they experience school and how "social and educational structures affect their learning" (Nieto, 1992, p. xxvi). They can also tell us what they need for high-quality educational experiences

(Nieto, 1992). Latino students have historically been left out of educational research (Abi-Nader, 1990); but a growing body of research is beginning to examine Latino students' perspectives (Darder & Upshur, 1993; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Gutierrez, 1994; Gutierrez, Larson, & Kreuter, 1995; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Levin, 1998; Lucas, Henze and Donato, 1990; Martínez, 2000; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Nieto, 2004; Ogbu, 1986; Olsen, 1997; Orellana, Ek, & Hernández, 2000; Patthey-Chavez, 1993; Quintero, 2002; Rumbaut, 1995; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2000; Wilson & Corbett, 2001; Zanger, 1994).

This Research as a Descriptive Case Study

A descriptive case study is particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive (Nieto, 2004). First, this project focused on *particular* students in one high school. Furthermore, a small group of eight students were the primary focus of the study (four of these students in particular, as discussed in the previous section on assessing students' trust), and the research questions pertained to the US History curriculum. The results are non-generalizable in accordance with all qualitative and quantitative research in this postmodern world (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Second, the result is a "rich, thick portrait" (Nieto, 2004, p. 6) *describing* students' thoughts and insights. The reader will develop empathy with the students as they read. Human feelings do not pollute understandings of academic research, to rephrase Eliot Eisner (1997); therefore, this project is no less rigorous than other commonly employed research methods.

Third, this project is *heuristic* because it hones the reader's comprehension of these particular Latino students' lives. Readers will not only learn about these students,

they will learn something different; in other words, each reader will interpret unique information. This project's descriptive case studies will stimulate interest and lead to further discussion. Fourth, this project is inductive, "because generalizations and hypotheses emerge from the examination of the data" (Nieto, 2004, p. 6). After extensive interviews and observations, I recognized themes and reoccurring topics. These common themes generated grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which led to additional dialogue with participants to discuss the patterns and their possible significance. Qualitative research of this kind *suggests*, not institutes, theories of Latino students' academic needs. The participants did not speak for all Latino students in the region; instead, this research opened ways of looking at students' needs that do not ignore the role of culture.

Responsive and Emergent Design

This project was influenced by the principles of emergent design and descriptive research. Emergent design allows for necessary flexibility as I delve into an under-researched topic as a cultural outsider. I approached the research without stringent requirements for how the project must be completed, because "such a design has distinct advantages when breaking new ground" (Hardy-Fanta, 1993, p. xi). I was constantly reevaluating and adjusting the project as needed. Emergent design is compatible with LatCrit and qualitative practices that do not seek to authoritatively command how the research is completed.

Understanding students' perspectives necessitated a research design that took into account students' culture. Therefore, my research was "nested" (to borrow a term from

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Espinoza-Herold) in the context of culture, and guided by principles Latino Critical Theory from inception to dissemination of results. Responsive and emergent design allows for the "predictably meandering path" (Duque Raley, 2004, p. 152) of working with an understudied group that may wish to be heard in ways I could not have projected. By conversing with students, I generated extensive dialogue regarding a topic that is of great importance to educational reform.

Emergent Design: Generating Definitions

I generated research with and amongst students who defined themselves as Latino. Therefore, I involved myself as a subject and the Latino students as co-researchers during the project. For example, the Latino students created their definition of "need," as it pertained to the research question, and assisted in the analysis of interview data. I did not impose an outside definition of "need" on the students, nor did I isolate the participants from analyzing themes and patterns that emerged from the data. All students shared the empowering ability to define their academic needs and wants. Crystal remarked she had never been asked to articulate her needs—she interpreted needs as that which others wanted *for* her. "Designing" personal needs and wants affirmed each students' ability to determine what was right and functional for them.

As I conversed with participants in large and small groups, we generated dialogue that helped us work towards a shared understanding of students' needs and perspectives of the US History curriculum. Students were encouraged to pursue discussion topics on their own in journals, generate their own questions, and reflect in any manner that

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instigated deeper thought such as poetry, letter writing, sketches, painting, or music. Two of the students wrote poetry during the research process, but asked that it not be included in the final product.

Emergent Design: Noticing Patterns

The research began with each student differently. Some wanted to talk about their personal lives immediately; others were more guarded. I did not follow a strict format of asking students about their demographic background at the first session. The emergent design of this project allowed me to be flexible regarding how and when I learned background information such as residency status of students and parents, students' living arrangements, and the dominant language spoken at home. I was pleased that I did *not* have this background information before noticing patterns in the data. For example, I noticed that Gabriel and Yessica similarly conceptualized their needs for the US History curriculum. Artella, Desiree, and Mariana responded to the essential question in like manner; and Reina, Crystal, and Ruben answers were comparable. I pursued the demographic information after these patterns emerged from the data. Had I known students' backgrounds before the patterns emerged I would not have been as "wowed" by the results.

Emergent Design: Generating an Analytic Lens

In a moment of late-November brain relaxation (I was taking a shower. I have frequently noted to friends how porcelain enhances my thinking ability), I recognized the distinct similarities between trends in the student-interview data with the metaphoric

tropes of Latina testimonios. I had written about Latina testimonios for a class two years prior, but had not realized the monumentality of that assignment until the moment in the shower.

"Aha!" I gasped, "By George, I think I've got it!" What emerged was the idea to overlay the student interview data with the metaphoric tropes from Latina testimonios. I did not begin the project with this intent, and I was entirely pleased with how the concept emerged during the process.

Rigor: Validity and Reliability

Qualitative validity addresses the credibility of the qualitative research process (Arminio & Hultgren, 2002; Denzin, 2000; Janesick, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Torres & Magolda, 2004). To establish validity and trustworthiness of data I employed a range of qualitative practices to triangulate, or "crystallize" (Janesick, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Richardson, 1994, 1997, 2000) the data. I held individual and focus group interviews, observed classes and meetings, analyzed documents, maintained a research journal (Torres & Magolda, 2004), looked for negative case analysis, and performed member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) with participants. By triangulating my data through formal and informal conversations and observations, for example, I was able to cross-check the emerging grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) against multiple sources.

Validity, Reliability, and My Role as a Portrait Artist

My role as a "portrait artist" has an affect on my personal description of validity and reliability. How do I know if students' interview data is valid, bona-fide, or legitimate? How can I assess if what students said is reliable, dependable, and trustworthy? These questions are important, because as Lawrence (1994) described, the portrait artist may influence her findings with different mindsets and worldviews. I may never be able to know with unswerving certainty that I have accurately captured a particular moment in time. In addition, students were "allowed" to change their minds about the essential question. Interview data never need be a linear development to "the truth." No student happened to have changed their responses over the course of the school year, but they could have. It is not as if my research is the epitome of anarchy….but in order to truly understand students' needs the researcher has to be flexible and understand that students' answers may and can change over time.

Member Checks

The ongoing member checks and sharing of information at every stage of the research process revealed my incorrect assumptions, clarified what I did not grasp, and highlighted what I did not initially perceive as important (Bernstein, 1983; Schwandt, 2000; Torres & Magolda, 2004). I claim responsibility for the reliability and validity of the data. I implemented the strategy of member checks as a continuous process during the data collection and analysis of data. In the following sections, I cite specific examples regarding how member checks reinforced the quality of the research process.

Incorrect Assumptions

Working with the student-participants compelled me to question how I defined terms central to the research such as "academic need" and "American." I did not include all transcripts regarding academic need in this paper, but I extensively member checked this topic in particular in order to correct my assumptions about how students would define this concept.

Clarification and Highlighting

Francisco clarified and highlighted aspects that shifted my understanding of how he perceived himself. During a discussion of his ethnic identity, he became angered with the association of "Spanish speaker" with "Mexican."

Francisco: When I was talking Spanish, they thought I was Mexican. Seriously.

Mimi: (To Francisco) Don't you get mad? I mean…

Francisco: No, how do I explain…

Jonuel: That's why I say sometimes, once I hear Spanish I think "Mexican"

Francisco: (Getting agitated) *I'm not Mexican, ok?*

I thought the focal reason for his rejection of "Mexican" was to honor his Dominican and Puerto Rican heritages. During a member check, Francisco indicated his prime intent was to distance himself from the negative Mexican identity. Francisco did not perceive that conditions for Mexicans would improve in the near future, and he desired to separate

himself from the damaging stereotypes imposed by others upon Mexicans. The member check of the transcript and my subsequent questions clarified what I did not initially grasp.

Negative Case Analysis

I investigated data for emergent patterns and negative case analysis. Discord and commonalities existed (Rolón-Dow, 2005) between students' personal characteristics and the information revealed during their interviews and journal entries. Inductive analysis of the discord and commonalities generated patterns, categories, and themes. Negative case analysis, or an examination of discord, of what does not "fit," was crucial for maintaining validity. I did not throw out data that did not "fit" (Janesick, 2000). From this analysis emerged grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) that began to answer (and potentially trouble) the research question.

As will become clear in Chapter 6, students' responses to the essential question were not uniform. Three different categories of responses became apparent when discord emerged. For example, three of the eight students did not stress that Latin American material and people should be included in their US History class over any other non-European culture: they accepted that Eurocentric history was valued and was what they needed to learn to succeed academically. A different group of three students disagreed severely, stating that Latinos and Latin Americans *must* be included in the curriculum because of their growing presence in the United States. Not all US citizens had the same opinions. Not all voluntary immigrants had the same needs. Not all undocumented residents had experienced the same events.

Rigor: Ethics

An ethical researcher maintains confidentiality, considers ethical dilemmas, and does not attempt to influence participants' responses. In the following subsections, I address how I responded to these facets of the research process.

Maintaining Confidentiality

Safeguarding people's identities and those of the research location are crucial for maintaining a code of ethics (Christians, 2000). My Dissertation Committee Members, family, and close friends know where I have completed this research project; hence, no pseudonyms for the participants or the research location are impregnable. I deliberated about obscuring the participants' identities even more, for "what appears neutral on paper is often conflictual in practice" (ibid, p. 139). How much should I expose about my student-participants and the faculty at the high school? I wanted to give the reader insight into each person. My Committee Members will be able to identify the school and the faculty members, but probably not the students in a school of 1,500. I have obscured the location of the school, its name, and its demographics. I supplied pseudonyms for all participants and created composite characters (Ellis, 2004) for others. In one particularly heated section of Chapter 7, I changed participants' names to "Doe 1, 2, and 3."

I modeled the method of Olsen (1997) of maintaining two journals during the research process to uphold confidentiality. These journals allowed me to maintain confidentiality while processing and analyzing the research. First, the field journal was used to record observations and interview notes, and maintain progress-oriented information. The field journal is the standard, anthropological-style documentation that

accompanied me to the school site. I used initials instead of first and last names for people I interviewed. Eventually initials were replaced by pseudonyms, selected by the participants, to protect their identities.

Second, a personal journal was used to record "reactions, expectations, hunches, disappointments, and experiences in doing the work" (Olsen, 1997, p. 22). The personal journal gave me space to vent, dream, conceptualize, and process the information uncovered during school visits. This journal was not brought to the research site. The journal was used as data to include my personal reflections.

Ethical Dilemmas

Documentation Status

Before I began the research at Crawford High School, I knew some of the Latino students with whom I would work would not be documented citizens of the United States. Schools in this state are not permitted to ask the citizenship status of students; however, some schools in the state have reported students to the INS when administrators became aware of undocumented students in their district. Before the research began, I had to consider how I would react if and when students shared their undocumented status with me. The Institutional Review Board of my university required me to abide by high ethical standards *and* "do no harm." Would it be ethical or unethical to report to the authorities a student who was living in this country without proper documentation? Would it be harmless or harmful to report undocumented students to the authorities? I "measured" or "weighed" the amount of harm each scenario would create.

From utilitarian and personal perspectives, I decided that reporting undocumented students to school authorities would cause the most harm. This scenario would directly harm students and their families. I would lose the trust of students who might see me as a traitor. Not informing authorities of students' citizenship status would not directly harm anyone. Maintaining students' confidentiality was, for me, the correct decision.

SSNs, Licenses, and Passports

Various students spoke openly of unethical and illegal activities in which they and their families participated. For instance, some students and or/ their family members possessed illegally obtained Social Security Numbers, driver's licenses, and passports. The documents were obtained through identity theft or by purchasing a deceased person's former records through a nationwide network. Students offered this information as indications of the restrictions they faced as non-documented citizens with little hope of obtaining permanent citizenship, and therefore, the ability to hold well-paying employment, drive legally, and travel freely. Because they had been carried across the border as an infant, some students could not attain legal status in the US. I did not pursue this information with students. I acknowledged that my positionality as a citizen of the US influenced my perspectives: I was in a fortunate position and had not lived a day in their lives. Nor had I been a victim of identity theft. I listened to their perspectives and how they explained as necessary behaviors I found unethical.

"Pushing" for Answers

During one-on-one and focus group interviews with students and teachers I was aware that I might be influencing participants to answer in particular ways. I entered the research process with strong biases against Eurocentric social studies curriculum, and I deliberately asked questions that pursued profound topics. I knew that I had the ability to push students to answer in ways that suited my needs by asking "loaded" questions to incite anger in students. I could "force" answers from participants to reflect my own biases and research interests. This would have made my research unethical.

"Pushing" Students

What may appear as "pushing" the student-participants to answer in a particular way is what I can best describe as "N + 1." Vygotsky encouraged educators "push" or "motivate" students at a level just beyond their current capability. In the excerpt below I adopt this "N + 1" method by re-asking the same question while incorporating information from previous student utterances. I was pleased that, as a beginning researcher, I pursued the question instead of accepting the first utterance as complete. In the following example, I desired to understand how students defined "American."

> Stace: *¿Como se defina 'americano?'*
> How is American defined?
>
> Miguel: Racist (laughs). I'm kidding (Yessica laughs too).
>
> Stace: I know you're kidding, *pero hay Puerto Ricans y Mexicanos que se nacieron en los EEUU. Son americanos, ¿no?*
> But there are Puerto Ricans and Mexicans who were born in the United States. They are Americans, right?
>
> Miguel: No.

Yessica: Kind of. But they're not because they have *sangre Mexicana*…
(Mexican blood)

Stace: *¿Quién es Americano?*
Who is an American?

Miguel: Someone who's White.

Stace: *¿Soy Americana?*
Am I American?

Yessica: Yes.

Stace: *Pero*, do you know if I were born here? What if I were born in Canada, would I still be American?

Yessica: Yes.

Miguel: Yes because your race (sic). You are White.

Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *How* do you define American? White?

Yessica: No…because there are Whites who were born here and there are Blacks and Mexicans…*que se nacieron aquí* (Who were born here). But the *American-*Americans are *White.*

Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *Son americanos…Cuando hablan de 'los americanos,' ¿quiénes son los americanos? Ella es americano?* (pointing to Mimi).
They are Americans…When you talk of 'those Americans,' who are they? Is she American?)

This excerpt demonstrates the development of students' definitions of "American." I

assumed the role of "moderator" to repeat and synthesize students' additions to the

concept.

In the excerpt below, I wanted to know if classes in Yessica's ideal school would

be held outside of the "traditional" classroom. That is, I wanted to gauge her interest in

situated learning in the community. This can be a difficult concept for students to grasp

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since few have experienced situated learning. I became conscious that by supplying

examples I was pushing her to answer in ways that were conducive to *my* needs. I asked

Yessica "am I putting words in your mouth?"

> Stace: (To Yessica) Would you be in a classroom learning? Would you go to the hospital to learn Science? Walgreen's to learn the cash register and math?
>
> Yessica: Yes you can go, like, on a field trip, it would be helpful to see how things work.
>
> Stace: Do you really want that? Am I putting words in your mouth?
>
> Francisco: (Interjecting) Yes.
>
> Stace: (To Yessica) Am I? I don't know.

I immediately read Yessica's body language and response "Yes you can go, like, on a

field trip…" as "unnatural." I stopped the conversation and began again with the

mentality, *"you tell me, don't let me tell you what you want."*

"Pushing" Faculty

The following conversation with Carla offers a respectable example of my

interview style. I am asking the same question while adding information from Carla's

previous utterances. I intentionally pursued the topic of "urban" versus "suburban" to

clarify how Carla perceived the student population at the high school.

> Carla: This school was primarily a suburban school with pretty much…it was diverse, but not culturally. We were a west side suburban school.
>
> Stace: What is the school considered now?
>
> Carla: Almost urban.

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Stace: What makes a school suburban?

Carla: Probably the makeup of the school and the location.

Stace: (Confused) The location hasn't changed…

Carla: But when this school opened, there wasn't all this development.

Stace: Did the developments make it more urban or *sub*-urban?

Carla: A lot of the developments are apartments, so it changes the nature…the big development on Sparks Road was Hanover Park… I lived over there when I first married, it was definitely suburban. Now it's pretty much changed to Somali, Latino, African American, just pretty much that what's it is…

Stace: What is the dividing line between suburban and urban?

Carla: I would say definitely socioeconomic too, we have a lot of single parents, who are struggling.

Stace: So it's socioeconomic…

Carla: And culturally…

To repeat, I intentionally pursued these conversation topics. I could not believe I was hearing Carla dichotomize *suburban* from *diversity*. "*They should not be opposites,*" I thought. I did not stop questioning her because of my optimism. Deep down I wanted Carla to tell me what I *wanted* to hear: that suburban and diversity *are not mutually exclusive.* Ultimately, my goal was to better understand her opinions of the students, not influence the research data to suit my needs.

In summary, I was constantly sensitive of my ability as a researcher to influence participants' answers. This would have been unethical, and would have rendered my research invalid. Qualitative research is prone to bias (Daly & McDonald, 1992; Miller & Crabtree, 2000). I have acknowledged my biases, discussed my close relationships with

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many of the student-participants, and noted my decision to maintain data integrity. Moreover, I triangulated data, performed member checks, and sought disconfirming evidence to maintain the principles of validity and ethics (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Kuzel & Like, 1991; Miller & Crabtree, 2000).

Praxis

I must acknowledge my commitment to praxis. My praxis is dedicated to "equity, a commitment for life to pursue equity, and to struggle for the liberation of all humankind" through culturally sensitive research (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 38-39; see also Freire 1971, 1995). Case studies and culturally sensitive research become inherently critical when the goal of the researcher is to advocate for equity and justice, not simply collect data for the purposes of a final product. Critical case studies, of which this research is a reflection, "draws attention to the importance of the intimate relationship between the intellectual activity of research and the praxis of the daily lives of researchers" (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 38). Trueba and McLaren outline five stages of critical research. First, the researcher documents the oppression by completing observations and interviews with participants. Second, the researcher begins to understand the process of empowerment through the eyes of the participants. Next, she discusses the process of empowerment with the oppressed and the oppressor so the oppressed may begin to move away from or respond to sources of oppression. Simultaneously the oppressors will accelerate their conscientization (Rierson & Duty, 2003) of equity and justice. Fourth, the researcher shares her study with the broader community, to link "intellectual work to real life conditions" (p. 38). Finally, all involved

reach a higher level of understanding of the factors involved in human oppression *and* the mechanisms one can use to overcome oppression. The new awareness of misused human power added to the real-life context of the research help everyone become more aware of the importance of human rights.

Good praxis entails sharing the results with all members of the school and the top policy makers so that all may partake in the findings. Freire's interpretation of praxis necessitates "Accelerating the conscientization of the oppressed and the oppressors" (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 38), and this can only be done when all involved are aware of the implications of the research. Tuhiwai Smith (2002) advocates the unique practice of writing two versions: one for the people studied, and another for the policy makers. It is my intention to generate two versions: one for my dissertation committee and the school, and one for the participants' permanent possession.

Objectivity and Bias

I desire to establish scholarship that contributes to the solutions of social problems. To do this I must disrupt the common sense (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 41) and "raise havoc with our settled ways of thinking and conceptualization" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 138). Such an approach is well suited for stripping away the Eurocentric authority that governs research with Latino populations (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 42). Therefore, it was impossible for me to remain objective and impartial when completing my research. It would be deceptive for me to state otherwise, for my research is a reflection of my values. I bring to this project three unique perspectives: the wish to complete research with and amongst students who are ethnically different than myself,

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the aspiration to empower students and "enhance…the educational experiences and opportunities available to Latino/s students" (Rolón-Dow, 2005, p. 82) in a world dominated by Anglo and male viewpoints, and the need to work outside the boundaries of traditional qualitative research. My research is guided in part by five years as a high school history teacher in a suburb of Milwaukee, where I began to resist "how things are done." My social studies department was dominated by White, middle-aged men who, in my opinion, did not appreciate challenges to their framework of American history. I felt my colleagues' resistance in the department where democracy was "taught but not practiced" (see "My Interest in the Project" in Chapter 1 for more detail about my subjectivity).

Barrera (1974) concurs with my stance against objectivity by stating, "…the posture of objectivity serves only to prevent fundamental questioning of the US system" (p. 14; see also Carspecken, 1996, p. 40; Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 40; Yamane, 2001, p. 147-148). His proclamation is no less true in 2005, as I embark on research that will fundamentally question systems in the United States.

Stating this, I must simultaneously be "strongly reflexive" about my own biased role in the research (Olesen, 2000, p. 229; see also Fine, 1992; Gergen & Gergen, 2000; Holland & Ramazanoglu, 1994; Phoenix, 1994; Warren, 1998). La Barre (1967) stated, "The un-selfexamined anthropologist henceforth has no right or business anthropologizing" (p. ix). I agree. I admit I have a particular background and predisposition to the social studies curriculum that situates me as a biased researcher. I am also situated in my Whiteness, in capitalism, and in a society that expounds myths of European superiority (Behar, 1993; Fine & Weis, 1996; Frankenberg, 1993; Hurston,

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1990; Ignatiev, 199; Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996; Lopez, 1996; Roedinger, 1994; Trueba & McLaren, 2000; Yúdice, 1995). Instead of negating or eradicating who I am as a researcher, I viewed myself as a "set of resources" (Olesen, 2000, p. 229) that is "historically, culturally, and personally situated" (Gergen & Gergen, 2000, p. 1028) in my research. I thought about my thinking, or practiced meta-cognition, as I analyzed my use of rhetorical tropes and examined an inherent bias towards what *I perceived* to be social justice. I avoided the tendency to become ocular-centric (Carspecken, 1996). That is, aware that what I see is strongly influenced by what *I value*, I must resist simply indulging myself in the comfort zone of "political correctness." I grappled with social justice *beyond* my own definition. My researcher reflexivity wrestled with overt and covert biases and hidden structures that influence who I am and how I perceive the world. This critical reflexivity made the final product more insightful and compelling, as each reader experienced my personal struggles.

Effect of Research on Participants

A researcher must be aware that her presence may influence the participants (Minami, 2000). When students know they are being watched, and are asked to react to a research question, they will act differently than before their awareness of the research began. However, completing research without the subjects' and/or their guardian's permission is unethical. Therefore, it is fully acknowledged that the research may have an effect on students' academic behaviors. I project that the students' participation in the research may encourage students to become more aware of, and thus more involved in, their learning. This is a positive effect of an uncontrollable outcome.

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Closing

At the focus of this study is the participation of the Latino students. The generation of data with the students and its collaborative analysis is central to establishing ethical and valid research (Lather, 2001). I stress "*with* the students," because "the relationship between participants and researcher is valued, rather than avoided" (Torres & Magolda, 2004, p. 335; see also Charmaz, 2000; Torres and Magolda, 2002). The presence of the marginalized voice "is an affirmation of the authority of personal experience" (Beverley, 2000, p. 556). Descriptive research that generates data from the narrator's experiential knowledge is a "culturally appropriate way of representing the diversities of truth" (Bishop, 1996, p. 24).

Regarding truth (or *truths*, as I believe exist), "it is an illusion to believe that research methods and techniques provide secure paths to truth and certainty" (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000, p. 580). No quantitative or qualitative methodology can secure any absolute truth;[79] but at the other end of the spectrum, just because we cannot know truth and certainty, we should not cease from attempting to represent the world. What I am attempting to do with this project is break away from the European-American "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1973) and work with an epistemology that is liberating, not hegemonic (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). The truths of counterstorytelling are provisional, fallible, are "always shaped by particular views and material-social-historical circumstances," and are "authentic in the light of our lived experiences" (Denzin, 2000, p. 915). I am

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[79] See Farber & Sherry (1995) for a critique of storytelling and testimonios.

committed to "advancing the political, economic, cultural and educational practices of critical race theory" (ibid.) and Latino Critical Theory, and I have confidence in the power, authority, and validity of counterstorytelling.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS THROUGH A *LA FRONTERA* LENS

The overarching question of this research study was, *from the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States history class meet their needs?* The ultimate objective was to understand if US History classes are serving the perceived needs of Latino students in one high school. Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, are the youngest population group, and are the fastest growing. This project is significant because it intersects with topics essential to the future of our nation: schools, the social studies curriculum, culturally and linguistically diverse students, and students' perspectives.

I used a Latino Critical Theoretical lens for the conceptualization, design, and implementation of this study. In this chapter, I present the analysis of this study through a second Latino theoretical lens called *la frontera* (detailed in Chapter 3). *La frontera* is an outgrowth of postcolonialism, which rethinks the Western canon and brings the margin to the center. Postcolonialism compliments *la frontera*, but is incomplete when addressing the complexity of Latino students' lives in the United States. *La frontera* differentiates itself from postcolonialism by the predominance of its collective voice and focus on displacement. Leading characteristics of *la frontera* are indicated by the solid bullets,

postcolonialism by the outlined sub-bullets in the list below. To review, *la frontera* and

postcolonialism include the following characteristics:

- displacement,
- collective voice,
    - deconstructing the Enlightenment perception of language as capable of capturing the "one reality"
- the border and negation of culture
    - rethinking the dominant Western canon
- "messy" format and codeswitching,
    - dismissing the formality of chronology
- fear of expectations,
- mestiza consciousness/hybrid identity,
    - struggling with establishing harmony between the personal, cultural, and political.
- the autobiographical pact, and
- finally, bringing the margin *to* the center.

Through the theoretical foundations of LatCrit and *la frontera*, I will present personal,

evocative "portraits" (Lightfoot, 1983; Perrone, 1985) of Latino students' lives and their

perceived needs for the US History curriculum.

The data analysis for this project is divided into four chapters. The analysis in

Chapter 6 was primarily based on interviews with student-participants. Analysis is further

augmented in this chapter with excerpts from my reflective journal. In Chapter 8, I

analyze interviews with students, teachers, administrators, and a representative from the

State Board of Education, and from classroom observations and teachers' materials.

Journal entries enrich the discussion. In Chapter 9, I examine content standards, high

stakes testing, and participants' reactions to the State Social Studies Standards and the

State Graduation Test. Data were collected over a six-month period.

In this chapter, I introduce the student-participants and share their stories. First, I give an overview of the setting and outline how students' responses were formed and informed by particular characteristics. Second, I describe every student-participant in the study (all names have been changed). Finally, I analyze students' responses and reactions with a *frontera* lens. The essential question of this project was, *from the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States History class meet their needs?* The majority of the interview data does not directly answer this question. I learned a significant amount regarding students' perceptions of needs (as related to their US History classes) based on how students talked about their lives and "around" the essential question. Therefore, at the end of each sub-section I make a firm connection of the data to the essential question. I develop an understanding of the ways tenth-grade US History classes meet the Latino students' perceived needs.

Research Setting and the Pattern of Student Responses

I began the research with student-participants in October 2005. When I received IRB approval in October, my interviews with teachers began the following day: I was already a trusted insider. Interviews with students began the following week following parental consent. Students knew me and were interested in becoming part of the research process.

The focus of this investigation was to discover Latino students' perceptions of the US History curriculum. Specifically, from the viewpoints of Latino students, in what

ways does their tenth-grade United States history class meet their needs? I did not ask

students this question directly—they would have looked at me and said "*¿Estás loca*?"

("Are you crazy?") Attaining an understanding of their needs came after

befriending students. An understanding came after asking many questions, inviting the

students to work through their interpretation of my question, and listening intently.

Patterns of Students' Responses

Latino students' responses were informed by the following critical factors:

English speaking ability, recency of arrival in the United States, and level of integration

into the power structures of the state where the research was completed. The level of

integration was further influenced by students' documentation status (their legal status in

the US), parents' English speaking ability, and the English speaking ability of members

in a student's residence and immediate neighborhood.[80] Students' responses fell distinctly

into three groups based upon these characteristics (See Table 5).

Group	English level speaking ability	Arrival in US	Integration
One	English language learners	0-4 years	minimal
Two	Bilingual Spanish/English	5+ years/Born in US	minimal
Three	Bilingual Spanish/English	Born in US	well-integrated

Table 5: Characteristics of Student-Participants.

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[80] In this school district there are multiple apartment complexes and neighborhoods inhabited by solely Spanish speakers.

Group One

The two students in Group One were ELL, had immigrated to the US within the past four years, and were not integrated into the power structures of the state (see above paragraph for explanation). One student and his family were undocumented; therefore, they did as little as possible to interact with structures of power in the state for fear of deportation. The parents of both students were less English proficient than their children. The students lived in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods or Spanish-speaking apartment complexes. These students did not listen to "Top 40" radio stations or watch American television networks. Instead, they listened to Spanish radio stations and watched satellite TV beamed predominantly from Mexico. Brittany Spears and Brett Farve did not enter their conversations. Instead, they spoke of Daddy Yankee, cumbia, los Pumas, y Chivas.

Group Two

The three students in Group Two were Spanish-English bilingual. They were either born in the US or had immigrated more than five years previously and were not significantly integrated into the power structures of the state. This group was interesting to me because it was comprised of citizens and non-citizens of the US. One student without documentation had lived in the US for approximately 14 years. Only one parent of these three students spoke limited English. What held this diverse group together was their adversity towards integration into the English-speaking structures of power. They lived in more linguistically diverse neighborhoods than students in the first group, but

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they all listened to Spanish radio and watched Mexican satellite stations. Two of the girls played on Mexican league *equipos de fútbol*. They rarely watched Hollywood movies or visited the large malls in "White" neighborhoods to go shopping on the weekends.

Group Three

Group Three was composed of three Spanish-English bilingual students who were born in and had lived in the United States their entire lives. The students and their parents were citizens of the US (some parents had been naturalized). Most parents were Spanish-English bilingual. Conversations at home were Spanish dominant for two students and split between Spanish and English for the third student. The students in this group were fully integrated into the power structures of the state. They and/or their parents had a Social Security Number, a driver's license, and voting rights.

The Student Participants

Crawford High School had approximately 150 students of Latin American ethnicity, representing ten Latin American countries. While the majority of students were from Mexico, students also represent Honduras, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Venezuela. The following students participated in the research process.

Group One

Gabriel

Gabriel was so many things. After meeting Gabriel, my father remarked "All that potential energy in one place!" My father may have been talking about the school and the entire student body, but his remark also described Gabriel. Gabriel had incredible leadership abilities, which had most frequently been manifested in gang-related activities. After running the streets during the 2004-2005 school year, Gabriel returned to Crawford. He was well liked, well connected, and flirtatious with the girls. After initial coaxing, Gabriel became an avid participant in the research.

Yessica

Yessica was born in Puerto Rico to Puerto Rican and Dominican parents. She was in the ESL US History class as one of the higher-functioning students. Yessica was "petite and scrappy," was quick to smile and give hugs, and enjoyed socializing more than studying.

Group Two

Artella

Artella was a 15 year old who migrated to the US with her parents when she was one-year old…or when she was five. She did not remember which story is "hers," because the border crossing stories in her family have melted together. She was probably carried across the border in her mother's arms, and no one gave her a *choice* regarding coming to the United States or staying in Mexico. She had luxurious dark hair that she

wants to highlight red—but her mother will not let her. One morning she pierced her nose in the school bathroom, but she only kept the piercing for a day for fear of her mother's reaction. She was a fierce soccer player and dreamt about playing at the pro level. She would like to go to medical school, but did not yet understand how hard she would need to work to get there.

Mariana

Mariana was very quiet among her group of girlfriends, although her laugh was explosive. Mariana had lightened her hair to a honey-brown, and spoke slowly so as to not "trip" over her tongue piercing. She was Spanish-English bilingual, and was born in Mexico. Mariana was behind a grade level; thus, she was a student in "red shirt" US History for students at risk of not graduating.

Desiree

Desiree was born in San Diego, and strongly associated as Mexican. She was fully bilingual, but preferred to talk in Spanish with her friends. Mariana gestured grandly when she talked, and was a leader among her friends. She enjoyed being dared to do silly things to amuse her friends. Desiree's full cheeks appeared cherubic when she smiled.

Group Three

Crystal

Crystal was born in southern California. Her parents were Mexican, of Italian ethnicity. Crystal has light skin and hair (hidden under black hair dye and light makeup

for the "goth" look), and is not recognized as Mexican at Crawford. She was a border crosser because of her ability to move in, out, and between cultures at her convenience. Crystal was enrolled in a "red shirt" US History class for students at risk of not graduating.

Ruben

Ruben was a student in a mainstreamed or "regular" US History class. His father was Puerto Rican and his mother, Dominican. He moved to Ohio from New York five years ago. He feels life is easier for Spanish speakers in New York because many people speak Spanish. Ruben loved history class, and could remember the first time he was excited by the social studies: he was nine and moving to Ohio. He looked at a map and realized the spatial-ness of the United States. Later he became excited by the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptian–these cultures more so than others because "they were in the book the most." He spoke Spanish at home and listened to music from many cultures.

Reina

Reina was born in southern California to Mexican parents. Her mother was a naturalized US citizen. Reina was enrolled in an Advanced Placement US History/American Literature class. Reina planned on being a pediatrician. "My parents say, 'do whatever you want to do, as long as you're happy, we support you.' " Reina also loved to run track and cross-country; her goal was to break the 6 minute mile during the 2006 track season.

The Study Hall Focus Group

Each student in the Study Hall Focus Group was of non-White or mixed heritage. Yessica, also a member of Group One, was my initial connection to the focus group. After an October interview, the students at her table were intrigued by our discussions of race and racism. They eventually became part of the research process. Out of all the cafeteria tables at which these students could have sat during Study Hall, these students chose to sit together. They had become friends because of shared interests in each other's cultures and backgrounds. Their socioeconomic levels, documentation status, and expectations for post-secondary education were diverse. How many White students between 10th-and 12th grade with these dissimilarities would *choose* to sit together? I thought of my own experiences in 12th-grade: I would not have *chosen* to sit with a 10th grade girl of low SES who did not expect to attend college. I would have seen her as too different. The Focus Group compelled me to reflect upon my White, suburban upbringing. Table 6 indicates the students' names, ethnicities, country of birth, and grade. The first ethnicity listed is that with which each student most strongly associates. The varied ethnicities, countries of birth, ages, and life experiences of the Focus Group enriched the research process. Most importantly, the Focus Group compelled me to address my experiences as a former high school student and examine my personal biases.

Name	Ethnicity(ies)	Country of Birth	Grade Level
Brandon	African American and White	US	12
Francisco	Dominican and Puerto Rican	US (New York)	11
Jonuel	African American	US	11
Miguel	Mexican (of Indigenous and Spanish heritages)	Mexico	12
Mimi	Japanese, Cape Verdian, and Portuguese	US	12
Yessica	Puerto Rican and Dominican	Puerto Rico	10

Table 6: Focus Group Identifiers

Evaluating the Research: *La Frontera*

This research project was completed in a large metropolitan area, hundreds of miles from the international border separating Mexico and the United States. New borders, *fronteras nuevas*, are becoming established in many cities and rural areas. These new borders are physically visible in neighborhoods and schools, where socio-economic class heavily impacts the geographical placement of people. *Fronteras* are also ideological and metaphorical, as all involved practice transcultural repositioning (Guerra, 2004) by moving in, out, between, and amongst cultures different from their own. The *frontera* theoretical lens underscores the displacement and transitionality of identities,

pertinent to the lives of the student-participants. These theories, which manifest themselves as metaphorical tropes, compliment LatCrit, the lens through which I view my research.

Displacement

The topography of displacement is a focus of *la frontera,* and was a recurring topic in my discussions with students and staff. Displacement addresses loss and erasure. Some of the student-participants lived in the United States "without papers," that is, as undocumented residents.[81] Some students, regardless of their citizenship status, were uprooted from strong Latino communities in New York, Texas, and California for jobs and affordable housing costs. None of the student-participants were born in the region, state, or city where the research was completed.

The student-participants shared stories and experiences common to Anzaldúa and Cantú. Anzaldúa (1987) wrote of her Mexican identity being displaced, *erased,* from her American textbooks. "We were jerked out by the roots, truncated, disemboweled, dispossessed, and separated from our identity and our history" (p. 30). Her Mexican heritage continues to be mythologized in American history textbooks, characterizing the Mexicans as passive victims dominated by the mighty American forces. Where is the Mexicans' side of the story in the United States history textbooks? Regarding my student-participants, where were their Latin American heritages?

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[81] Undocumented residents are also know as "illegal aliens." I have chosen not to use the latter term for this paper.

In the subsequent sections, students in Group One described their necessary displacement from the US History curriculum in order to accommodate English. Students in Group Two illustrate their conscious displacement from the curriculum because of their resentment. Finally, the students in Group Three talk of displacement from the state where the research was completed and unconscious displacement from the curriculum.

Group One

Students in Group One were displaced from their culture in their US History classes because of the necessity to learn English. Increasing knowledge and awareness of their countries of origin was not as important as increasing their fluency in English. In the excerpt below, I asked Gabriel what he wanted to learn in his US History class. Gabriel answered my question directly in the excerpt below, "English. I want to learn English." His friend at the lunch table answered the same.

Gabriel

One afternoon while talking with Karen (a teacher's aide) and Gabriel, I worked his US History class into the conversation. I asked him, *"en un mundo perfecto, ¿qué querías aprender in tú clase de história?"* (In a perfect world, what would you like to learn in your history class?) Gabriel answered directly in English.

Gabriel: English. I want to learn English.

Stace: You want a class to learn how to speak American English?

Gabriel: Yea, to learn to write, and other stuff.

Stace: Why?

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Gabriel: If I go to find a job to know what the people are talking to, or if I go to the Army I need to learn English to make friends.

Stace: That's really interesting.

Gabriel: That's it! *No más*!

Stace: What about other classes? Would you want to learn about Mexican history in a class just about that?

Gabriel: I don't think that's necessary.

Stace: Why?

Gabriel: 'Cuz this is where we live now. Maybe just a little bit we need to know for when we go back to Mexico…but I know all the Mexican history.

[Conversation occurred November 3, 2005, in the library]

Gabriel asked if he could interview his friend Ana one day during lunch. I was sitting with five other Latino students, most of whom were ELL. Gabriel grabbed the microphone and fired off many good questions to his amiga. Ana had already stated that in her history class she wanted to learn "English" when Gabriel asked Ana about her culture:

Gabriel: *¿Qué quieres aprender de tú cultura?*
What do you want to learn about your culture?

Ana: *Quiero aprender* **inglés**.
I want to learn **English**.

Gabriel: *Pero en tus libros quieres leer de los Mexicanos? ¿Es importante leer de tú cultura en los libros?*
But in your books do you want to read about Mexicans? Is it important to learn about your culture in books?

Stace: *¿Quieres aprender solamente de los gringos en tus libros?*
Do you only want to learn about White people in your books?

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[Conversation occurred December 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

Ana stared at us. The table fell silent. All eyes were void of answers. It was as if I had asked the students, "What would you like to learn during your electroneurodiagnostic imaging class?" The students could not vocalize an answer for what appeared to me a pertinent question. Their eyes said everything, though. They perceived that reading about Latin American culture or specific Mexicans at this school was not a possibility. Even when a Spanish-speaking peer asked Ana a question regarding her culture, Ana strongly stated, "*I want to learn English.*"

Group Two

Crawford students in Group Two demonstrated difficulty articulating answers to the essential question. I began pursuing this question in October 2005, with individuals, only to reach a metaphorical 20-foot wall. I wondered if their school experiences were "so horrible," that like prisoners of war, they ceased to access that part of their life from their consciousness. Or were they just being "kids" and was I expecting too much? Since I knew these kids well I could joke with them, prod them, and try anything to get them to find *something*. Five weeks later Group Two students began to articulate their perceived needs. What I discovered was the Group Two students harbored a great deal of anger that held them from verbalizing their perceived needs for their US History class.

Artella

Artella, with whom I was most close, with whom I had cried when her father abandoned the family for another woman, completely shut the topic down the first time I

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mentioned her US History class. Nothing about her US History class met her perceived needs, impacted her in a positive manner, or made her want to learn more. She knew I was a former history teacher writing a book about the topic, but her first reaction was, "History is dumb, it's stupid. Why do I have to learn about what people did in the past?" I was direct with Artella—that I was trying to ascertain her needs as a Mexican student. I knew she enjoyed talking about the injustices she faced as a Mexican and an undocumented resident, but I could not compel Artella to dig in to this curriculum area, around which swirled much injustice and controversy.

We went for a walk in the park one autumn Saturday with my dogs. After hearing about her latest boyfriend interests and other assorted gossip, I asked her how "things were going" in US History. She had come to me earlier in the year complaining about her teacher, wanting to change classes. She was bored and didn't like him—and she knew if she did not like her teacher she would be less interested in the topic. She was mature enough to separate her disdain for her teacher from the subject matter of the class.

"Don't you want to learn more about how Mexicans contributed to the nation?"

"No! I don't care about any of that. It means nothing to me."

"Ok…would you want to learn about Che Guevara? I know you like Che."

"Yea, he'd be the only person I'd want to learn about."

"What about Pancho Villa? He was a revolutionary."

"Nah, just Che," Artella mumbled.

"Oh come on," I prodded energetically. "There *has* to be more you'd want to learn about."

"No! (Laughing) History is dumb. I don't see why we have to learn it."

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I persisted. "Come on, in an ideal world would you want a class just on the history of Mexico?" I thought I could work from the angle of "completely overhauling the curriculum" to encourage her to think about what she would like to learn. My thought was I would then ask her what things she would want to insert into her current US History class. It did not work. She did not take my bait, but I was confident more was inside *su corazón y su mente*. This girl had so much pride, interest, and confidence in her Mexican heritage. She frequently complained at length about the educational, judicial, and legal systems in the United States. Why could she not articulate her feelings for this aspect of the educational system?

She *was*. I was the one being stubborn.

Mariana

Mariana was silent for the first month of the study. On the day she returned her parental consent form she opened up immediately. The month of watching and listening to me talking with Artella and Desiree had stimulated her thoughts internally. Below is an excerpt of our first conversation, which taught me *why* she wanted people to read about her culture.

Stace: What can history classes do to make things better?

Mariana: They could write more in the book about *our* backgrounds.

Stace: Why? Why would that be good?

Mariana: So they know…they think that all of us have diseases, or that we're a threat over here…so they can show how we live. …

Stace: And that it's a good life…

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Mariana: Yea, a good life.

Stace: Why do you want to read more about Mexicans in your book?

Mariana: Americans need to know more about us. Some Americans …I think it would be good to write stuff about us in the book.

Stace: (Restating) You already feel good about how you are, but this would help you feel better about yourself.

Mariana: Sometimes I read about Pancho Villa and I'm like "oooo." They're talking about somebody from Mexico!

Stace: And the second reason is that you want to want the Americans…meaning the *White* kids … (I pause and Mariana affirms that "American equals White" in this context by nodding) to know more about you. What about the Black kids? Do you want them to learn about you too?

Mariana: Some of the Black kids get picked on too.

Stace: Who will benefit most from reading about your culture in the book?

Mariana: The White kids.

[Conversation occurred December 6, 2005, in the library after school]

Mariana wanted her culture included in the US History curriculum primarily to educate *others* about her culture. She perceived the "White" students would be most positively impacted by learning about Mexicans. In her opinion, when the White students learned of Mexican strengths and successes the White students would stop "picking on" minority students.

Group Three

Students in Group Three recurrently spoke of displacement from their state of birth. Two student-participants in Group Three were born in California, one in New York. They had moved to the state within the past six to ten years.

Ruben

In the subsequent excerpt, Ruben related how the state where the students were now living is not quite "there" in comparison with New York.

Ruben: I've been here six years. A lot of stores were regular stores, now it's like every few miles you see a Hispanic type store…

Stace: In comparison to New York?

Ruben: It's still not there…it's still separated…like language wise. It's sorta' getting there. With the younger generation it should get there pretty soon.

Stace: What is "there?"

Ruben: To the point where a lot of things are mixed.

Stace: In a good way?

Ruben: Yea.

Stace: Can you describe more for me what "there" is?

Ruben: 'There' is basically where Spanish and English are like, fluent. Lots of people speaking both languages.

Ruben discerned "there" as inclusive of his home language, Spanish. In his next utterance, Ruben described the atmosphere that he later qualified as pervasive across the school district.

Stace: What about other examples? What about people appreciating Spanish if they don't speak it?

Ruben: Some do, some don't…in school when they are teaching you English they basically say "don't talk Spanish." They are trying to teach you English but take away your Spanish.

(Conversation occurred November 22, 2005, in the Library. We sat at a private table during Ruben's study hall).

Ruben did not appreciate being displaced from speaking Spanish at Crawford. Even though Ruben was fully English-Spanish bilingual, and few teachers knew he spoke Spanish, he noticed the systemic attitude against Spanish speakers in the school, which displaced them from the language of their birth.

Reina

Reina did not indicate stress over her displacement from her ethnicity and gender in her US History class. After "warming up" with a discussion of academic needs and wants, and how these needs and wants related to her US History class, I asked about learning of her Mexican culture. We had previously spoken of her Lati*na* identity as potentially different from Lati*no*, the masculine identifier; hence, the use of Latina below is an intentional, gender-specific designation.

Stace: What do you, as a Latina, want to learn that would be good for you in history class? Do you need or want to learn about your culture in history?

Reina: Not really…we will get to a point where we will go over it.

[Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

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I was quite stunned that an astute young woman would pass off her Mexican ethnicity and her gender as unimportant. "We'll get there," she intimated, as if "there" is a separate entity from what she *could be* studying in her Advanced Placement US History/US Literature class. She appeared confident that her teachers would "get there," and did not seem bothered that "there" sounded like a cursory "go over it." Had she been "jerked out by the roots, truncated, disemboweled, dispossessed, and separated from our identity and our history," or had she never grown such roots because of her years in American schools?

Reina may have been a living performance of the dominant narrative. From my vantage point, to Reina, the US History narrative began in 1776 with the Revolutionary War. The Founding Fathers were always well meaning and just. The pioneers were saviors who spread the gospel of Manifest Destiny. And so on. The often-submerged voices of blacks, women, American Indians, war resisters, and poor laborers of all nationalities were not as important as the Generals and Presidents. I perceived that Reina did not question the US History curriculum.

Implications for the US History Class

ELL students in Group One have the basic need to learn English before placing themselves and their cultures in the US History curriculum. Group Two reflected the greatest level of displacement from their Latin American heritages *while in* US History class or discussing US History topics. While in class or talking about US History, their identity as Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Hondurans, or Dominicans faded into the background. They "lost connection" with their heritages when they entered the history

wing of the school or were pushed towards discussing their experiences with the US History curriculum because they perceived their heritages were not respected. Once out of class, or away from the topic of US History, their identity as Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Hondurans or Dominicans returned. During discussions students reflected they felt displaced from their Latin American-ness by the curriculum, so they rejected the curriculum to maintain their Latino identities.

Group Three students were the least culturally displaced from the US History curriculum. They were most displaced by life in the state where the research was completed. They preferred living in New York, California, or Texas, where they perceived greater inclusiveness in the broader culture.

Strategies of Resistance

Students in Group Two consciously employed a strategy of resistance (Fernández, 2002; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001) when they entered History class. Resistance theories exhibit how students negotiate and struggle to create personalized understandings from interactions in school and society. The personalized meaning acknowledges students' abilities to act and think on their own behalf instead of being "pawns," acted upon by structures (Solórzano & Bernal, p. 315). Solórzano & Bernal indicated that students "engage in resistance that is motivated by a desire to create more just and equitable learning environments" (p. 309). That is, Group Two students rejected the US History curriculum (unlike Group Three students) because they viewed it as Anglo-centric, unjust, and inequitable. Unfortunately, Group Two students were not engaging in forms of resistance that could lead to social transformation. They were not speaking to their

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teachers about their needs as individuals, or uniting to address the injustices at the school or district level. Their resistance was stifled during my (relatively) short research tenure at Crawford High School.

When I began this project, I became emotionally, personally, and professionally committed to and invested in the students at Crawford. My long-term plans include continuing my research at the school, and seeing through my commitment to increasing students' levels of empowerment.

Collective Voice

The collective voice is the second focus of *la frontera*. The Mexican-American community is incorporated by Cantú's broad definition of a family: "although it may appear that these stories are my family's, they are not precisely, and yet they are" (Cantú, 1995, p. xi). One's identity adjoins and melds with others' across family lines, across the community, and across the culture. Clearly, *la frontera* incorporates an identity firmly connected to family and community that extends beyond the individual.

The student-participants were deeply integrated into Spanish-speaking communities. *Cuando charlamos, me hablaban de sus primos, tíos, abuelos, hermanos y papas* (When we chatted they talked of their cousins, aunts and uncles, grandparents, brothers, sisters, and parents). What became fascinatingly apparent was the difference between collective-*about* and collective-*with*. Students unreservedly talked *about* their extended families and collective identities, but frequently did not want to talk *with* their peers to form responses as a group (Group Two students were the exception). I

envisioned meeting with students in a focus group at the beginning of the study and

branching off with individuals as they gained more confidence in me. Actual events

occurred *al reves*. Students did not want their peers to be part of the initial conversations.

They wanted my sole attention. They wanted to open up *immediately* about their lives

and personal experiences.

Group One

In this excerpt, Gabriel explained he did not need to learn solely Mexican history

in his US History class. He justified his decision by stating "he is here now," and has

already learned everything about Mexico from his previous schooling experiences and his

parents.

Stace: What about other classes? Would you want to learn about Mexican history in a class just about that?

Gabriel: I don't think that's necessary.

Stace: Why?

Gabriel: Cuz this is where we live now. Maybe just a little bit we need to know for when we go back to Mexico…but I know all the Mexican history.

Stace: How?

Gabriel: I just learned it. *Lo aprendí*
I learned it.

Stace: *De tus papas?*
From your parents?

Gabriel: *De mis papas, de la escuela, de todo.*
From my parents, from school, from everything.

[Conversation occurred November 3, 2005, in the Library

Gabriel frequently spoke of his parents. His identity was integrated into a broad Latino community.

Journal Entry

Gabriel found me packing up my things and asked if we could *nos discutimos* (discuss things). He had study hall and wanted to spend time with me. I was really flattered. I knew I'd have a struggle turning on the computer and microphone as I always did (*no no me gusta, ¡no micrófono!*), but that I'd subtly get things turned on.

I reflect now on the immensity of our topics *cuando nos discutimos* (when we talked with each other). The first day Gabriel told me about the day he crossed the US/Mexican border. His dad paid a coyote, and they got in a car and drove really fast. He misses his mom the most; he hasn't seen her in four years. During our second meeting, Gabriel told me about the violence he's seen in DF (Distrito Federal, what Mexicans call Mexico City) and here. He told me about being robbed in DF, the guns and drugs he saw trafficked in Mexico, and his negative experiences here with gangs.

The third time he shared with me his fear of his dreams not becoming his realities. His posture had all the clues of "this is private"—head down, voiced lowered, back turned squarely towards his amigos on the computers a few feet away. His dream is to marry at 20 once he has a good job and a house. He wants to have daughters. "*Es un sueño, no sé si sea mi realidad*" (It's a dream, it may not be my reality).

I quietly whispered, "*Tienes miedo?*" (Are you afraid?)

Gabriel kept his head lowered. "*A la vez, si.*" (Sometimes, yea).

There was a long pause. Then he started talking about his life is better here, how he has more opportunities to succeed in the US than in Mexico. He was trying to cheer himself up.

He changed the subject completely, "*Quieres ver mi tatuaje?*" (Wanna' see my tattoo?). He pulled up his shirt sleeve to his shoulders and showed me his deep-red heart-shaped tattoo scripted with "Cheri y Fili."

"*Quienes son Cheri y Fili?"* (Who are Cheri and Fili?)

"*Mi papas. Los llevo por todas partes.*" (My parents. I take them everywhere I go.)

[Conversation occurred November 10, 2005, in the Library]

Group Two

Group Two students spoke the most freely while with the peer group. Their peers in Groups One and Three preferred privacy. After five weeks of pursuing their perceptions of the US History curriculum and the systemic issues at the Crawford, Group Three representatives finally opened up when I sat with a group of students at their lunch table. The support of the peer group was evident. They talked of the prejudice they have

experienced. Desiree began talking about the Crawford's diversity. She said she

frequently wants to ask students about their backgrounds but knows she cannot.

Desiree: Sometimes I want to ask people where they're from, but I think I'll offend them.

Stace: Are you offended by the question?

Desiree: (Shakes head no).

Stace: No. But you say some people are.

Desiree: (Firmly) Yes.

Stace: Why?

Artella: Because they look Mexican and think you're judging them.

Stace: But do people think it's bad to be Mexican or Hispanic?

Artella: You try not to say it (that you are of Mexican descent if asked).

Mariana: My mom told me on Channel 10 there was a guy who was telling people not to go to Wendy's (restaurant) because there's a lot of Mexicans who work there…

Stace: Wait, so people are equating that people of Mexican origin like you, Desiree, who were born in San Diego, are bad. Why do people have that feeling? Why is being Mexican though of as being bad?

Desiree: I don't know.

Mariana: Yea.

Artella: Yea I hate that.

Stace: Why is being Mexican thought of as bad?

All: (Lots of grunts) I don't know.

Desiree: Maybe because they say we're immigrants.

Stace: Everybody is! You guys were the first people here.

Mariana: They say that we're ignorant or something.

Stace: Where did this come from? I know it exists, but why? Why don't people feel that way about people from France or…England? If they're living here, they're immigrants.

Artella: They have like more…(waves hands, furrows brow, can't articulate).

[Conversation occurred December 13, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

Desiree's statement regarding asking her peers about their backgrounds was the "smoking gun" that released a great deal of tension. After this, Group Two students talked more easily about difficult topics. The initial insulation of the peer group eased any uneasiness the students felt.

Artella commented "You try not to say" that you're Mexican. She understood why students resented their peers asking about their ethnicities. Mexicans were the bottom of the barrel at Crawford. They were the lepers of the school. Even though people from France and England were immigrants, they automatically garnered more respect from Americans. The integrity of a Frenchman was not questioned to the degree as a Mexican's.

Group Three
Ruben

Ruben was aware that his experiences as a fully fluent Spanish-English student were different than his ELL peers. He understood their collectivity as a group, held

together by the Spanish language as well as Latin American cultural similarities. In the

following discussion, Ruben shared his perceptions of the collectivity of Spanish

speaking cultures.

> Stace: It sounds you have not had bad experiences with teachers saying 'don't speak Spanish." Do you think other people have different experiences?
>
> Ruben: I think they do (nodding).
>
> Stace: What would make a teacher react differently to you?
>
> Ruben: Maybe they (teachers) are trying to get them to pick up on (English).
>
> Stace: What about the kids who came a few months ago? What are their experiences like?
>
> Ruben: Probably difficult. You're not gong to be able to speak English. If you're all alone and you're the only one speaking Spanish in your class it's going to be really *really* tough…
>
> Stace: Last time you mentioned throwing a fish in the air [See Chapter 7]…today you mentioned how the immersion experience helped a girl you know. What was it about that girl that helped her succeed?
>
> Ruben: Having someone bilingual really helps who can help you when you're stuck.

With the above utterance, Ruben emphasized linguistic collectivity: Spanish speakers

learn when they are helped by other Spanish speakers. We continued talking of the

collectivity of Spanish speakers.

> Stace: Do you think American kids who speak English helping each other as much?
>
> Ruben: Some do some don't (thinking visibly).
>
> Stace: Do you think there's more or less of a collectivity with the Spanish speaking kids?

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Ruben: There is more a collective, yea (nodding strongly).

Stace: Why?

Ruben: They all have a common bond. They all speak Spanish.

This utterance certainly "nailed down" the issue of a collective bond between Spanish speakers. I was proud of my quick thinking with the next question:

Stace: But all the American kids speak English, Why don't they bond together?

Ruben: They separate themselves out. You have the Goths, the preps, but the Spanish speaking kids don't really see that. 'Oh you speak Spanish? Wanna sit down?' (indicates welcoming an imaginary person to the table)

Stace: Is it warmer? Is it more welcoming?

Ruben: Yea.

Stace: Do you think it has anything to do with the culture you live in?

Ruben: Yea! If you go to [the Dominican Republic], like during Christmas it was the best time, everyone was having fun.

Stace: In contrast to what?

Ruben: Everyone is still on the clock, they're all worried about this and that…

Stace: Are gringos more uptight?

Ruben: Yea. Down there, it's like, chill. …I've been to both sides and I really love LA.

[Conversation occurred December 20, 2005, in the Library]

Ruben's declaration that he "really loves LA," or Los Angeles suggested he aligned the comfort he feels in the Dominican Republic with that of Los Angeles. Both were places where he perceived his culture was honored, unlike where he currently lived.

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Focus Group

Francisco

Francisco's mother was Puerto Rican, his father, Dominican. During a

conversation with the focus group, Francisco deconstructed the Enlightenment perception

of capturing the "one reality." I judged Francisco as African American when I met him.

"I'm Hispanic, not Black. When I am at home I speak Spanish all the time." I learned

Francisco ate Puerto Rican *habichuelas* (the Puerto Rican word for beans, a.k.a. *"frijoles"*

to Mexicans) and dances to Dominican music. In this conversation, Francisco was the

focus of other people's realties of him. Francisco highlighted his collective identity in

multiple ways. He spoke "Dominican Spanish" with Yessica as she spoke "Puerto Rican

Spanish." He clarified he is *Hispanic*, not simply Dominican, to honor his mother's

ethnicity.

> Mimi: (Pointing to Francisco) he is Dominican.
>
> Francisco: I was born in New York. My mom is Puerto Rican, my father's Dominican.
>
> Yessica: He talks Spanish really cool.

Francisco and Yessica broke into heavily accented Dominican Spanish, *comien'*

la' silab' ultima' (*comiendo las sílabas últimas*, or eating the last syllables), and Puerto

Rican Spanish, "playing up" the interchanging r's and l's: *Puelto Lico*.

> Yessica: See how he talks?
>
> Stace: You were born in *Nueva York, pero eres dominicano*. Do people in this lunchroom know that about you?

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Francisco: Not unless I tell them…She thought I was Black when she first met me.

Stace: Do you consider yourself Black?

Francisco: No.

His baseball coach, the study hall monitor, was at the next table. The coach commented about Francisco's self-identification as non-Black. In the next utterance, Francisco reacted to his coach.

Francisco: I consider myself Black, Coach? How are you gonna' say that?

Stace: (Turning to talk to the coach) He does not consider himself Black.

Francisco: (To the coach) I'm Dominican. No, I'm *Hispanic*, not Dominican.

Coach: That's where you're *from*. We're talking about the color of your skin.

Stace: No, were not. We're talking about everything….not just the color of your skin. (To Francisco) What do you mark on the census form?

Francisco: Hispanic.

Stace: That's cool. Most people would not pick you out as Hispanic.

Francisco: Most people think I'm Black so I don't tell them…(shrugs) I don't tell 'em.

Yessica: (About Francisco) *Mira, sabia que cuando le oí habla español me cae bien.*
Hey, I knew when I heard him speak Spanish we would get along fine.

[Conversation occurred November 22, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

In his first utterance, Francisco identified as American, Puerto Rican, and Dominican. He re-affirmed his preference for his collective "Hispanic" identity while speaking with the baseball coach, "I'm Dominican. No, I'm *Hispanic*, not Dominican." By this, Francisco did not *deny* that he is Dominican; he wanted to stress that he is not *only* Dominican. Our interaction below occurred during my confusion regarding Francisco's self-identification.

> Francisco: So I should consider myself American then? Not Hispanic?
>
> Stace: No…I'm not telling you what you should be. But you don't consider yourself Dominican?
>
> Francisco: (Proudly) Hispanic. I'm half Puerto Rican. I love both.

Who Francisco *is*, is extraordinarily public once one gains Francisco's confidence. If people do not take the time to learn who he *is*, then they never actually learn *who he is*. The previous sentence is redundant and loaded with truth. The interaction with the eavesdropping baseball coach verified Francisco's acknowledgement that "Most people think I'm Black so I don't tell them…(shrugs) I don't tell 'em." The coach had been interacting with Francisco for three years, but did not know Francisco spoke Spanish or did not see *himself* as Black.

The interchange between Francisco and Yessica was fun to hear for everyone at the focus-group table. It established Francisco and Yessica's collective linguistic identities as Spanish speakers, yet differentiated them as individuals with subtle variants. Yessica stated she felt immediate collective compatibility with Francisco when she heard him speak Spanish.

Francisco appreciated the collectivity of his identities, but was less appreciative of being delineated by others as Mexican and Black.

Francisco: When a lot of people say "Hispanic" they think Mexican right away.

Yessica: (speaking very rapidly, impersonating a White woman): Mexican are you Mexican? No no no…

Francisco: (Irritated) When I was talking Spanish they thought I was Mexican. *Seriously*.

Mimi: (To Francisco) Don't you get mad? I mean…

Francisco: No, how do I explain… *I'm not Mexican, ok?*

[Conversation occurred November 29, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

Francisco was irritated at people's judgments that "Spanish equals Mexican." Part of his irritation resulted from people's judgments, which denied Francisco a connection to his American, Puerto Rican, and Dominican collectivity. The negative portrayal of Mexicans in relation to Francisco's comment will be addressed in the section "Fear of Expectations."

Francisco *fue muy teátrico* (was very theatrical). We conversed one day for several minutes as if acting in a *telenovela* (soap opera). He incorporated his collectivity into the melodramatic exchange through body language and vocal inflections that Yessica identified as "*so* Dominican," or "*so* Puerto Rican." The Focus Group enjoyed our "over the top" conversation, but most did not understand the Latin American cultural connection to the *telenovela* style of acting.

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Implications for the US History Class

The collective Latino identity versus the individualistic American identity may affect students' connection to the US History curriculum. The American student may view US History as a story of individuals, such as individual Presidents, war Generals, or individual human rights activists. The Latino student may perceive history as a community effort: as the President and his cabinet; the General, soldiers *and* the families affected during a war; and the activists and the organizations that fought for rights. The Latino student may not feel a communal connection to the curriculum; hence, may feel less of a connection to the US History experience. As illustrated by the discussion with Francisco, *teachers* may misjudge a students' collective Latino identity or miss it entirely. The teacher's assertion that Francisco was Black because of the color of his skin segues into the following section on the negation of culture.

The Border and Negation of Culture

The Latino students with whom I generated research were *frontera* dwellers with flexible and constantly shifting personal and geographic identifiers. Their fluid and collectivized identities were firmly connected to family and community, multiple languages, ethnicity, class, and immigration status (Anzaldúa, 1987; McLaren, 1995). Each student's hybrid, or *mestizaje*, identity adjusted as they situated themselves in English and Spanish, at home and school, and with peers and adults. As they crossed borders, the youth "cope[d] with incongruities in expectations, values and beliefs, and

actions across worlds" (Lewis-Charp, Cao Yu, & Friedlaender, 2004, p. 108). At times, the students were unable to cope with these ruptures and *choques* (collisions).

Another common source of pain was the negation of cultural value. Mexican American children living along the border were "perceived only as other immigrants…[they] not only became foreigners in their own land but were given the distinct message that their considerable poverty stemmed from their backward Mexican culture and language" (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996, p. 66). Mexicans were and continue to be stereotyped as lazy, ignorant, and illegitimate in the state where this project was completed.

The border between Mexico and the United States is an unnatural boundary, "*una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 3). The earth and the sea cannot be fenced, but the earth *is*, creating political, economic, and ideological battles. These battles destabilize the identities of peoples living near the "thin edge of barbwire" (ibid.) While Cantú and Anzaldúa have reconciled their hybrid Mexican-American identities, most *frontera* dwellers have not been as fortunate. Many exist "never quite at home," because they are unaware of their ability to dwell in the "in between spaces" (Anzaldúa, 1987).

In the following Border and Negation of Culture subsections, students in Groups One and Two and the Focus Group shared how Spanish speakers are viewed at Crawford. A student in Group Three described her perceptions of the ESL program and ESL students.

Group One

Gabriel and Yessica saw themselves and the broader Latino community as border

crossers, traveling between Mexico or Puerto Rico, respectively, and the United States.

Gabriel shared that he needed only to learn "a little bit" of Mexican history for when he

travels to his home country.

> Stace: What about other classes? Would you want to learn about Mexican history
> in a class just about that?
>
> Gabriel: I don't think that's necessary.
>
> Stace: Why?
>
> Gabriel: 'Cuz this is where we live now. Maybe just a little bit we need to know
> for when we go back to Mexico…but I know all the Mexican history.

Yessica perceived that everyone in the United States should be bilingual to facilitate

international travel.

> Stace: Would you love it if teachers were bilingual?
>
> Yessica: Yes, it's better to know two languages than one. If you need to go racing
> to another country like Puerto Rico, you can know Spanish. That's why.

Gabriel and Yessica talked of their respective *patria*, their homeland when discussing

their preparation for border crossing. They perceived they would return to Mexico and

Puerto Rico in the future.

Students in all groups reflected anger towards teachers and students who denied

them the liberty to cross freely the linguistic and cultural border of speaking Spanish. In

the following excerpt Gabriel and a friend at his lunch table relayed how Spanish-

speaking students are treated at Crawford.

> Stace: *¿Cómo se tratan la*s *personas a los hispanohablantes?*
> How do people here treat the Spanish speakers?
>
> Gabriel: *Hay algunos que son muy racistas.*
> There are some who are very racist.
>
> Stace: *¿Qué occurre cuando hablan en español cerca de los maestros?*
> What happens when you speak in Spanish around teachers?
>
> Girl 1 & Gabriel: *Se enojan.*
> They get mad.
>
> Stace: *¿Porqué?*
> Why?
>
> Gabriel: *Dicen que hablemos en inglés, no español.*
> They say we have to talk in English, not Spanish.
>
> Girl 1: *Dicen que tenemos que aprender inglés. ...*
> They say we have to learn English.
>
> Stace: *¿Piensan que están hablando de ellos?*
> Do they think that you're talking about them?
>
> Gabriel: Aha. *Si piensan que decimos malas palabras. ...son inseguros*
> Yes, they think that we're saying bad things…they are insecure.
>
> [Conversation occurred December 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

Teachers became angry when students spoke Spanish. The teachers' insecurities denied

students the ability to move across linguistic borders without negative repercussions.

Group Two

Mariana felt the same persecution when speaking her native Spanish as the students in Group One. She related an event that occurred during her eighth-grade year at a middle school in the same school district.

Stace: When you speak Spanish in front of one of your teachers what happens? Do they ask you to speak in English?

Mariana: Yea.

Stace: In this school?

Mariana: (She nods) Yea. One time in middle school I was talking in Spanish and they were going to send me to the office. They told me "If you're going to be in my class you need to talk in English."

Stace: But it's not illegal to talk in Spanish…

Mariana: Yea, I know.

Mariana explained what happened. She was working with a peer on an in-class assignment where students were allowed to talk. The problem was not that girls were talking during class; the problem was the language they were using.

Mariana: Now you have two Mexican kids talking in Spanish…

Stace: And she wanted you to talk in English while doing your work? And she took you to the office…

Mariana: She said she was going to write me up if I didn't talk in English.

Stace: How did that make you feel?

Mariana: I don't know, it was messed up.

Stace: How did that make you feel about your language?

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Mariana: I don't know, I was still going to speak Spanish anyway.

Stace: Did that make you feel like your language was…bad?

Mariana: Yea…(gets withdrawn).

Stace: Don't ever stop speaking Spanish. Its part of who you are, right?

Mariana: Yea (smiles slightly and sighs).

[Conversation occurred January 19, 2006, in the Lunch Room]

Mariana knew that the language of Spanish was part of who she was. She disliked school experiences when teachers denied students access to their culture. In addition, she did not appreciate the threats of being "written up" for partaking in cultural expression.

Group Three

In selective situations, Reina understood her border identity and was able to make adjustments to a specific situation. She adjusted to situate herself in English or Spanish, at home and school, and with peers and adults. As she crossed borders, she was aware of the incongruities in expectations that some adults in the school may hold of Mexican students, but she did not let these incongruities hold her back from achieving. Reina clarified that she is treated well at the high school by the teachers, administrators, and guidance counselors. She knew this was not how all students were treated.

Stace: Do you feel the guidance counselors tell you everything you need to know about College?

Reina: Right now I have everything I need to know and want to know, but I know in the future I'm going to have more questions. Ultimately, yea, they tell me what classes I should take to make it better, so yea.

Stace: Do you feel they help you as much as any other kids here?

Reina: Definitely.

Stace: There's no "she's of Mexican heritage"…so we're not going to help her?

Reina: No never, if you have questions you can go to them. But if you don't really care that's your problem. They would never turn anyone away, say, "oh she's Mexican" or whatever. There are places that are like that, but not this place.

[Conversation occurred February 9, 2006, in the Lunch Room]

Reina was aware that Latino students are mistreated in some schools, but she did not feel this occurred at Crawford. I wondered how her peers in Group Two would react to Reina's statement, "But if you don't really care that's your problem."

Students in Group Three spoke somewhat favorably of the ESL *program* at Crawford High School, but less favorably of ESL *students*. Every student in Group Three offered lukewarm to positive comments about the ESL program. When speaking of ESL students they used negative descriptors. During lunch Reina pointed out one of her ESL peers whom she considered lazy.

"Apparently he doesn't pay attention in class. It shows he really doesn't care about school or becoming somebody important in life."

"Is there anything teachers can do to help reach him?"

"They already have a class here I think its ESL. I think they help a lot, enough. In my gym class we have two ESL students…We get to take the test, and they get to go to another class to take the test with help. So I think they do get help sometimes. If they don't understand they'll (teachers) ask 'Do you understand?' 'No I don't' and they'll get help. But sometimes they really don't care."

Reina lacked confidence in her knowledge about the ESL program evident by the three times she said "I think…" in her brief response. However, she opined that the program helps "a lot, enough," and students "do get help." When the topic was her ESL peer, she employed the phrases "doesn't pay attention," and "doesn't care."

I was intrigued by Reina's simultaneous awareness of mistreatment of and her willingness to criticize her Mexican peers. She was able to cross borders to see the incongruities of White adults, but did she see her own? In the excerpt below, she admitted to not knowing what her peers felt. However, she continued to criticize them for being lazy and having low expectations:

> Reina: I really don't understand why (people drop out of high school so much). Like down in Mexico they don't really have the chance to go to school because I know they have to work and stuff… If you have the chance to go to school and make something good out of your life, then why don't you do it? That's what my parents encourage me to do…and be someone important in life.
>
> Stace: Do you think it's different because you speak such strong English? And other kids don't? Do you think there's a difference in their goals in life?
>
> Reina: Maybe there is a difference because…I think we've all had a time in our life where you feel like you don't know what to do…they may not feel like they fit in…where people don't' understand what you're saying., but I've been to school in California, I've been in the US my entire life, so I really don't feel what other people actually feel.
>
> Stace: You don't think you do…?
>
> Reina: (firmly) I don't think I do.
>
> Stace: Do you think you have it easier?
>
> Reina: For me it is easier because my parents taught me both languages. So it's much easier for me than for other people who don't understand the language. Try going to another country and it's going to be like…you're going to feel left out
>
> Stace: Do you think the kids who don't speak English here are more likely to drop out of high school?

Reina: I think it all depends on them, if they think that they can DO something, and make something out of their life, something good, you know, be someone important in life, they can do it. But what they want to do is just forget about it. You know they're never going to accomplish anything…

[Conversation occurred January 19, 2006, in the Hallway]

Reina was quick to criticize her ESL peers for "not wanting to make something good out of their lives"; yet she firmly stated she did not know what her peers felt. Reina's interpretation of her peer's apathy represented the dominant narrative of, "Pull yourself up by your bootstraps." Reina was uncomfortable with her peers' behaviors, thus was unsettled, and was not "quite at home" with her Mexican-ness. She knew her peer's behaviors impacted other people's perceptions of Mexicans.

I understood Reina's attitudes. However, Reina did not perceive how subtle racism in school practices may have negatively affected her Mexican peers' connection to school and thus their academic success.

An Interaction between Groups 2 and 3

An ethical dilemma to which I chose to be a silent observer was an interaction between girls of Mexican descent. I entered the Lunchroom late one day with Crystal, a student-participant of Mexican descent. Three other girls of Mexican descent asked me in ear shot of Crystal why I had been with her. "I'm Mexican," Crystal responded. "I'm part of the study."

"You're Mexican?"

"You're not Mexican!"

"How can you be Mexican?"

The questions and disbelief from the girls came quickly. How could Crystal be Mexican, as light-skinned as she was?

I think I witnessed the verb "seething." The darker skinned girls seethed with every negative emotion towards their lighter-skinned classmate. Is it possible to see molecules of negative and positive energy in the air? I think I witnessed that too. I could see jealousy molecules that masqueraded as hatred because of the girl's inabilities to channel the emotion they were really feeling. I really think I could see this energy. The energy was sharp. Crystal's maternal and paternal grandparents had moved to Mexico from northern Italy fifty years previous. Her parents had been born and raised in Mexico, spoke Spanish as a first language, and considered themselves culturally Mexican. Crystal was very light skinned (which she enhanced with her Gothic-style makeup), hazel-eyed, tall, and slender. The other three girls were of indigenous Mexican and European descent. They had darker skin, thick brown hair, brown eyes, and were of shorter stature.

"No, I'm Mexican," Crystal assured them, as she sat down three feet away and opened her lunch bag.

The three girls and the rest of their peers had stunned looks on their face. They looked at Crystal. Then they began to send sharp glances around the lunch table at each other as if to say, "That bitch."

I could have stepped in to mediate during these tense moments. I could have grasped this teachable moment to highlight the diversity of what it means to "*be* Mexican." I could have discussed how interesting it was that a table of eight Mexican

girls had been sitting next to "one of their own" for three months without realizing. I chose to do nothing at that moment but sit with the eight girls in silence, watching their faces.

The following week, I brought up the Lunchroom events with Crystal. She was accustomed to people reacting as the girls did because of her light skin. She shrugged off the entire conversation. Artella, one of the girls at the adjoining table remarked during a subsequent interview, "yea that was weird." Artella indicated she was jealous that Crystal could travel in and out of "being Mexican" because of her appearance. "It's not fair," Artella remarked. Artella could not change her appearance as easily; hence, she faced greater discrimination and prejudice from others. Crystal could "pull it [being Mexican] out" whenever she chose, as she did in the Lunchroom. I did not witness any further interaction between Crystal and the other girls through the remainder of the school year.

Focus Group

I asked the focus group about students speaking Spanish in school. Two of the focus group members were Spanish speakers, three were not. I directed my question first to Yessica, a Spanish speaker.

Stace: Do teacher or students think you're talking badly about them?

Yessica: Yes

Stace: Let's say if you were speaking French or Japanese around them, how would they react? Would they react differently?

(Kids roll eyes in affirmative)

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Yessica: *Si habla cerca un moreno es como quiera, porque* because they are two Black people...*pero si son americanos, some bueno a veces*...
If you speak near a Black person, it's "whatever" (signifying it is okay to speak Spanish around Blacks) because they are two Black people, but if they are Americans, some are ok at times...

Stace: If you're speaking in Spanish next to a lunch table of White kids...

Yessica: They're gonna' be mad.

Stace: Now say you're speaking in Japanese. Would the White kids be mad still?

Francisco: Yea.

Stace: Doesn't matter the language? It's just that it's a different language? (I am investigating D's answer) They're not judging you differently *because* it's Spanish?

All students: Yea they do!

Mimi: I think they do. I think they judge Spanish different.

...
Stace: (I return to previous question with Mimi regarding why people judge Spanish speakers differently) Why do you think people judge them as different?

Mimi: They're the most of the minorities...I don't know ...people judge them different, it's not *Spanish* really, it's that they're Mexican.

[Conversation occurred December 1, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

Mimi perceived being Mexican was the problem when students spoke Spanish. This was

a clear example of the "negation of the positive," or the "negation of Mexican culture."

At Crawford, being Mexican was associated with all things negative.

Artella burnt her arm cooking with her grandmother. Oil splattered on her when her *abuelita* was flipping *la tortilla.* Artella talked lovingly about how her *abuelita* rubbed salve onto her burn.
"Did you put ice on it?"
"Mmm yea a little bit, but it felt better when she rubbed oil on it."
It wasn't a bad burn. I wasn't concerned that it would become infected and Artella would die...but I had learned that rubbing butter on burns wasn't good. It didn't let the heat out.
"Grandmothers always know the right thing to do, right?" I said as we both nodded vigorously.

Implications for the US History Class

Research demonstrates that students who can move "seamlessly" across groups from different social classes, cultural backgrounds, and academic skills achieve greater academic success (Gándara, 1995; Gibson, 1998; Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1998; Schofield, 2001). The success may be linked to "having a clear sense of one's own identity…that allows a person to move in and out of multiple social circles" (Gándara & Gibson, 2004, p. 180). The school atmosphere can help or hinder border crossing skills (Giroux, 1983; Solomon, 1992; Willis, 1981). A democratic environment and culturally responsive curriculum (as discussed earlier in this paper) can help students learn to value their own identity and the identities of others. This can be done in a US History class. While US History cannot educate students about every culture, it can increase students' awareness to how systemic racism may affect their perceptions. I am not suggesting that we condone laziness and apathy: there will always be students who do not care. Instead, I stress that students learn to question dominant paradigms and ask, "What larger forces are at play in this situation?" Later in this paper, I stress the need for all students, teachers, and administrators to become aware of their own "dysconscious" or "unconscious" racist acts against others (Fernandez, 2002; King, 1991, Lawrence, 1995). In this section, students displayed how they were distanced from the schooling process by unwritten policies against speaking Spanish. Latino students were also negated from the textbook, which denied other students the ability to learn about their Latino peers.

> AMAZING DAY WITH BELINDA
> Belinda is from Cambodia, as I came to learn. So quiet, no interaction with peers. I sit with her and gauge how much English she knows. I was wrong—my judgment was off. I even wondered if she was mildly MR.

Kids are doing these map questions that are dull and stupid. She's working slowly, very quiet. I ask her where she is from when trying to explain the word "settler." Map work is on western expansion. I've so far explained "Native American," and probably other terms, so I'm aware of her ELL status. (Or so I think).

I ask her where she is from so I can explain settler. "Cambodia." I draw on my desk Cambodia and us, and explain people moving from one place to another. Those people like her parents, are settlers, ok?

Ah, screw the US History map questions! I ask her if she speaks a language other than English. "Cambodian." "Keep speaking it, never lose it! It's so important to be bilingual!" I try to stroke her ego. I ask when her parents came here, what part of Cambodia they are from. She doesn't know.

Then I pull out my laptop and fire up Google Earth. (thank you, B!)

I zoom in on B's house, expand out to SE Asia. Put in borders of countries. Show her Cambodia. "Isn't it beautiful?" I say about a satellite picture….I see a lake in Cambodia and wonder to myself how *really* beautiful it must be…

Then I zoom to my house. I expand out to see [our city], where the High School is. We zoom in and out. She's coming more alive.

She sits up, smiles, there are full sentences in English coming out! She's alive! We zoom back and forth and back and forth….Cambodia-[our city]-Cambodia-[our city]….it was great. Wow unreal.

Bonnie talks with me as class ends. I wave goodbye to Sophia as she leaves. Bonnie saw Belinda light up and smile. We talk about Belinda's background and how she came to Crawford two weeks ago from [another urban district] school. She remarks about "finding that one thing" to make a connection with a student. Bonnie was psyched as I was!! Belinda came out of her shell! This is what justifies my existence. It's what makes my existence worthwhile.

We didn't finish the 21-question assignment. Who cares. Bonnie agreed with me.

[Conversation occurred in October, 2005]

"Messy" Text and Code Switching

La frontera may be considered "messy," a term used by qualitative researcher Patti Lather, to fondly describe something that stands out as unique from the norm and defies sterile compartmentalization. The research with my student-participants conforms to the *frontera* style of non-conformity. I received my first parental consent signature at a Mexican-league soccer game. I've deliberately included journal entries to challenge the

academic-ness of dissertations. I learned more about students' perceived academic needs when I did not ask the question directly. The research segued in ways I had not predicted to necessitate a chapter on high stakes testing. I challenged my friends' and family's definition of "dissertation," too, as they actually anticipated the next installment of each week's writing. They enjoyed reading a dissertation!

Codeswitching is another method utilized by *la frontera* writers. This term is used to describe any switch among languages in the course of a conversation, whether at the level of words, sentences or blocks of speech" (OELA, 2006a). Codeswitching is most likely to occur between bilinguals who speak the same languages (Baker & Jones, 1998). Anzaldúa (1987) admitted to codeswitching to make the reader uncomfortable, to make the reader feel how she did when she came to the United States as a non-English speaker. There is an element of power in codeswitching for the author and the reader who can understand. Language and culture were inseparable to Anzaldúa. "If you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity. Until I take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (1987, p. 81). Taking pride in her language was part of attaining a *mestiza* consciousness.

In the following subsections, the students in the focus group discuss important concepts as they break in and out of English and Spanish.

Group One

Yessica

An aspect of students' responses that fascinated me was their codeswitching into English when speaking of "Americans," known to them as anyone who was "White." If a

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student knew the words he wanted to say in English about the "White experience," he would break from Spanish into English, as if speaking in Spanish about "Whiteness" soiled his language. Below, when I asked the Mexican male student in Spanish, "Who is American?" he answered in English. When Yessica spoke of Whites and Blacks born in the US, she used English; for Mexicans born in the US she employed Spanish. The students reflected a strong linguistic-cultural connection with how they flowed into Spanish when speaking of their own cultures, and into English when speaking of "American" cultures.

> Stace: *¿Quién es Americano?*
> Who is an American?
>
> Miguel: Someone who's White.
>
> Stace: *¿Soy Americano?*
> Am I American?
>
> Yessica: Yes
>
> Stace: *Pero*, do you know if I were born here? What if I were born in Canada, would I still be American?
>
> Yessica: Yes
>
> Miguel: Yes because your race (sic). You are White.
>
> Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *How* do you define American? White?
>
> Yessica: No…because there are Whites who were born here and there are Blacks and Mexicans…*que se nacieron aqui* (that were born here). But the *American-*Americans are *White.*
>
> Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *Son americanos…Cuando hablan de 'los americanos,' quiénes son los americanos? Ella es americano?* (pointing to Mimi).
> They are Americans…When you talk of 'those Americans,' who are they? Is she American?

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Yessica: Well *de sangre* no, her blood is Japanese.

[Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

In this last articulation, Yessica separated Mimi, who was a tri-cultural American, from the "*American*-Americans" by switching into Spanish. This was a sign of respect towards Mimi, to show that Yessica did not place Mimi into the negative "*American*-Americans" category.

Gabriel

Karen, a teacher's aide, asked Gabriel, "What does the school do well for Latino students?"

"Nothing," Gabriel replied.

"No *really* come on…"

"Okay," Gabriel reconsidered, "let me think…*enseñar, darles lunche por* free…" (Teaching, giving us free lunch).

I tried to redirect Gabriel towards things he liked in his US History class. I asked him in Spanish "*en un mundo perfecto, ¿qué querías aprender in tú clase de história*?" (In a perfect world, what would you like to learn in your history class?) Gabriel answered directly in English.

"English. I want to learn English."

The codeswitching Gabriel employed in these text lines demonstrated a positive association when speaking in Spanish and negativity when using English. Gabriel answered Karen's question in English. Her question *was* in English, as she is English-

monolingual, but during this conversation, Gabriel answered her other questions in Spanish, and I translated. Representative questions Karen asked were about Gabriel's life in Mexico and his family. Here, Karen changed the focus of her question to the American school; thus in this utterance Gabriel broke from his Spanish-response pattern into English. He distanced himself from his culture and language when spitting out the word "Nothing." Then, he bridged the American-Mexican cultural gap by answering Karen with two positive items he enjoys about school employing Spanish. Gabriel liked that the school has teachers and free lunch. *Free lunch*. Again, a student-participant demonstrated to me how little I knew about their lives, and how "far away" my essential question was to some of them.

Stace: What about other classes? Would you want to learn about Mexican history in a class just about that?

Gabriel: I don't think that's necessary.

Stace: Why?

Gabriel: Cuz this is where we live now. Maybe just a little bit we need to know for when we go back to Mexico…but I know all the Mexican history.

Stace: How?

Gabriel: I just learned it. *Lo aprendí.*
I learned it.

Stace: *De tus papas?*
From your parents?

Gabriel: *De mis papas, de la escuela, de todo.*
From my parents, the school, from everything.

[Conversation occurred November 3, 2005, in the Library]

Gabriel code switched into Spanish when speaking of his parents and Mexican schooling experiences. These collective experiences were dear to his heart, demonstrated by his move into Spanish.

Journal Entry, November 1, 2005
Most days I had no idea what would end up doing, who I would talk to. Today I walked into Danielle's 3rd hour ESL US History to find her very frustrated that the students had not finished their study guide for tomorrow's test. The students had not held up their end of the bargain, so Danielle told them to work silently. She agreed to help individuals with specific questions, but she made it clear that she was not going to work through the answers of the study guide answer for answer. I circulated. Juan knew I was mad.
     "Te enojada?"
     "Si, porque no terminaste tu tarea."

I had not intended to stay in Danielle's class—I wanted to breeze in and "make my presence known" to the kids in case they wanted to take a parental consent form home. I had nowhere else to go, no appointments to keep, so why was I anxious to bolt? I realized my commitment to praxis. I was here to help these kids. Help can be both short and long term, and in the short term, these students wanted to understand the information on tomorrow's test. If I wanted to help these kids through my research in the long term, I should stay and help them now in the short term. I took seven kids to the *biblioteca* where I worked through the entire unit in Spanish. Westward expansion. Annihilation of the Indians. Dawes Act. Homestead Act. Growth of railroads. Cowboys. I had seven eager learners who started to make sense of this *época* because it was finally explained to them in Spanish. Concepts were placed into context. "No the *indios* were not the same as the African slaves, *pero los dos se trataron mal por los blancos*."

Three of the girls met with me the following hour during their study hall to continue learning. They wanted to know why the *blancos* treated *los indios* so badly. Why? Why would people do that? Wouldn't the free land given to *blancos* during the Homestead Act hurt the *indios*? The following hour I stayed at the same *mesa en la biblioteca* to meet with Gabriel. All of these kids chose to work with me, and wanted to learn the material. I think they would have completed or at least started their study guide if earlier connections had been made—connections that can most easily be made in one's language.

Group Three

Crystal's "Messiness"

Crystal exemplified "messy" to me. We jumped frenetically from subject to subject. One day she wanted to tell me about maintaining her virginity, even though her boyfriend lived with her in her parents' home. Crystal was a non-conformist. She had a pierced tongue and jet-black dyed hair. I lent Crystal my copy of Borderlands/*La*

Frontera, which she thought was "amazing, totally amazing, she jumps into poetry a lot." Crystal reacted to Anzaldúa's use of eight languages.

"I didn't know some of the stuff she was writing," Crystal remarked.

"Why?"

"Because she jumps into eight different dialects. And I was like, wow!"

"Why do you think she does that? She does that for a reason."

Crystal realized immediately how uncomfortable she felt by Anzaldúa's conscious acts of codeswitching. "I had to stop and pay attention. I was like, whoa!"

We talked about how "left out" non-Spanish people would feel when reading Anzaldúa. Crystal immediately recognized the global significance of Anzaldúa's defiance.

" 'Until I accept as legitimate all these languages I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself,'" I paraphrased from Chapter Five of Borderlands/*La Frontera*. "She is talking about the importance of the language to who she is. How do you deal with the language issue and California? They have outlawed bilingual education."

"What? I didn't know that."

Our conversation continued into California's Proposition 187 and 227. I could tell I had piqued Crystal interest. I opened the document on my laptop computer to show Crystal my chapter that discussed the limits on non-English languages. We talked of Schwarzenegger. She doesn't like him. "I heard he's racist."

We segued back to bilingual education. Suddenly she realized why the abundant bilingual programs of her elementary school days had disappeared by her high school years. Still, she criticized the state where she now lives for being "behind." Crystal

always had to get that jab in. But I said, "Be careful how you judge, because your own state has now made it illegal."

Immediately Crystal changed the subject. That was how quickly her mind works. "She [Anzaldúa] talks about her grandmother a lot"

"Why do you think she does that?"

"I don't know, I haven't gotten that far."

I challenged Crystal to think. Not all answers are "in there" I said. Think. What were some differences between Hispanic and non-Hispanic (the word she used instead of Latino) families, I asked? Crystal was the "messy" part of my research. She did not conform to this state's stereotypes for Latino, so she could "pull" examples from both sides of the Latino and non-Latino border more readily than other students. People did not know she was Latina; Crystal crossed borders in and out of the Latino community as it suited her. I even passed her over when seeking students to work with. Shame on me.

Journal Entry November 3, 2005

I started my day with an interview with Crystal. Overall, it didn't go as well as I think other interviews with her will; I was prepared to let her vent about how much she hates this state in comparison to California. She moved here this school year. She rambled on and on….

I asked her what things she could do to help other Latino kids who aren't as comfortable in their own skin as she. She'll consider helping in Danielle's 3rd period ESL class when she has a study hall. I also gave her Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* to read. She's a voracious reader, reads through classes. I showed her the format of the book, how it's interspersed with poetry. She said she's written many poems regarding her identity issues. Few people recognize that she's Mexican because she doesn't have the "typical" dark skin and hair texture, and it bugs her.

Crystal spoke of a girl who asked her "Are you Mexican?" Crystal was thrilled.
"Yes! How did you know?" Crystal asked.
"You look Mexican, obviously," the girl responded.

Crystal said to me, "the girl is probably in lunch now, do you want to meet her?"

Crystal took me to the Lunch Room and introduced me to Silvia, a freshman from Honduras. I would not have picked Silvia out as Honduran—I would have 'labeled' her African American. I thought it was really

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unique how the Honduran girl (who I would have incorrectly identified as "plain-ole-African American") knew Crystal was Mexican. It shows us how wrong we can be in our layers of judgment.

[Conversation took place in the Lunch Room at adjoining tables, November 3, 2005]

Focus Group: Francisco Offered Constructive Criticism

An aspect of this project, which may be considered messy by some researchers, was the role of the student-participants. During a conversation with Yessica regarding what her ideal school would look like, I *forgot* to speak in Spanish. Yessica spoke functional English but she was more comfortable speaking Spanish. In the excerpt below, I wanted to know if classes in Yessica's ideal school would be held outside of the "traditional" classroom. That is, I wanted to gauge her interest in situated learning in the community. This can be a difficult concept for students to grasp since few have experienced situated learning. Francisco interjected when he felt Yessica's struggle.

Stace: (To Yessica) Would you be in a classroom learning? Would you go to the hospital to learn Science? Walgreen's to learn the cash register and math?

Yessica: Yes you can go, like, on a field trip, it would be helpful to see how things work.

Stace: Do you really want that? Am I putting words in your mouth?

Francisco: (Interjecting) Yes.

Stace: (To Yessica) Am I? I don't know.

Francisco: Can I make a suggestion? It would be better if you did this in Spanish

Stace: You are right.

Francisco: No, I'm serious.

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Stace: You're right!...you're right…

Stace: (To Yessica) *Es más fácil explicar en español o ingles?*
Is it easier to explain in Spanish or English?

Yessica: Both. I don't know. I say in *inglés*.

Francisco pushed Yessica to explain in Spanish. It was wonderful to witness his encouragement.

Stace: (To Francisco) That's good constructive criticism

Francisco: …So she can express herself in a better way.

Stace: (To Yessica) Is that true for you?

Yessica: I don't know. Yes, yes.

Stace: *Explícame que parece una escuela perfecta!*
Describe for me what a perfect school would look like!

[Conversation occurred December 1, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

Yessica and I started over in Spanish. Even though Yessica said "both" Spanish and English would be acceptable for her explanation, she said *inglés*, the Spanish word for English. Her abrupt codeswitching indicated her preference over the word she spoke.

Implications for the US History Class

In summary, my research was "messy." Interviews did not follow a predetermined question-order, neither did when or where I met with students. The non-conformity of the research process and the student-participants added richness and texture to this project. One of the most enjoyable outgrowths of this messy project was learning about my

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student-participants' perceptions of "what is an American" (See the following section on *Mestiza* Consciousness and Hybrid Identity). When interrogating the US History curriculum, also known as *American* History, all co-researchers should share a common understanding of "American." My co-researchers showed me we did and would not. With their personal insight into *what an American is* the students demonstrated to me their distance from the curriculum and the class. I recognized my assumption that American History *could be* inclusive of Latinos. The student-participants taught me that until they are integrated equitably into the "American system," *they will choose to exclude themselves* from what "American" and "US History" stands for.

Fear of Expectations: Ain' Change Gonna' Come?

All three Groups shared the same level of fear that prejudice against Latinos would not change in their lifetime. All students *wanted* positive change; one reflected she did not want her future children to experience the same discrimination her friends and family have. Aligning performance with fear may be a way of demonstrating the need to displace oneself from perceived "requirements," according to Cantú. Students may have associated their fear that nothing would change in society with their dis-empowerment. In other words, they did not know how or who would improve their prejudicial living conditions because they could not imagine changing the status quo *themselves*. Being able to envisage that conditions will change may require a feeling of self-efficacy. In this section I share student-participants' discussions of prejudice, their disempowerment, and their fears.

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Group One

Gabriel

When asked about prejudice and "*el éxito*" (success), Gabriel reflected mild distress. Gabriel shared his personal definition of success, but was saddened by the thought that he would not live up to his own expectations because of prejudicial conditions against Mexicans. Gabriel spoke of success with "fear of" and "fear that" statements. For example, Gabriel strongly associated academic success with *finishing*, but not necessarily graduating from, high school. He was successful *every day* because he finished a day at school. Every day, every week, and every school year Gabriel was killing time until he could go to work and earn money. Since the hours spent in school were "in the way" of making money, simply *showing up* for eight hours defined academic success. Gabriel's academic success was elevated to an even higher status because, given all the hours he spent in school, he still consciously chose to make his money "*en una manera honesta.*" He made less money as a restaurant dishwasher than did his friends who earned their money illegally, but he was proud of the fact that he did not rob people or sell drugs.

Gabriel was extremely conscious of his personal struggles and of the fact that his choices both augmented and detracted from substantial and long term achievement. He wanted to be financially stable "*como adulto*" (when he was an adult), but as a child, he knew he was not doing what was necessary for that stability. He was so fixated on making money *now* to send to his family in Mexico that he had no time or energy to study, complete homework, or pay attention in class. It was as if Gabriel wanted to run without ever crawling or walking. He *knew* he needed to go to college for a "good job."

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He *knew* he needed to become fluent in English to go to college. And he *knew* that all he had to do to graduate high school was "*échale ganas*." A loose translation approximates the motto of shoe company Nike, "*just do it*." He did not see graduation as probable because earning money *now* was of greater importance. When I asked why he didn't "*échale ganas*," he shrugged his shoulders and chewed on his toothpick. He looked like he wanted to melt into the brick wall he was leaning against.

"All I have to do is study, try hard, be good, but…what is the future?" He continued saying the "*americanos*" had it so much easier. The expectation existed that the *americanos* (the White students) would go to college.

"*Quién tiene está esperanza*?" (who has this expectation?) I asked.

"Es…no sé…" (It's…I don't know), Gabriel said, gesturing in the open air around his head to signify that the expectation was "out there," like the air we breathe. It just *is*. He did not see *from* where the expectation generated; he only saw the end result being *for* the White students. "*Es más fácil para los americanos*" (It's easier for the Americans).

Group Two

When students in Group Two spoke about prejudice, they spoke in short, choppy bursts. They became agitated, gestured with their hands, and played off each others' comments. A recurring topic was the high level of prejudice in this state versus the lower level of prejudice in California, where some students had previously lived.

Stace: Do you think things will change in your lifetime?

Mariana: (nods weakly yes)

Desiree: (Shakes her head)

Stace: Desiree, do you think people will become educated and change their opinion about Hispanics?

Desiree: (Weakly) Maybe. The only place I feel comfortable is California. Everyone is Hispanic. Not here!

Stace: When you go into a store in California, is it different? Do people treat you differently than they do here?
Desiree: (Large nod) Yes.

Stace: How?

Desiree: Like different looks.

Mariana: Or they say, "go back to your country, go back to Mexico"

Stace: People really say that here?

Desiree & Mariana: Yes…yea…

Stace: Do they say that in school?

Desiree & Mariana: No.

Artella: They think we all get in trouble. We're the troublemakers. And all the Americans are good and Mexicans are bad immigrants.

[Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

This conversation depicted higher levels of discrimination in the state where the research was completed. The comparatively higher discrimination against Latinos in this state was universal among all student-participants who had lived in states outside of the region.

Group Three

As integrated as Reina was in the power structures of society, I thought she might

have a different perspective on the potential for change. My expectation revealed to me

that I perceived Reina as an agent for change because of her integration into the power

structures of the dominant society.

> Reina: There was a couple months ago, we were at a birthday party for my two-year old cousin. This lady came over who was American, White, and she was like, "It's 8 PM, we don't do these kind of parties here, you guys need to go back to Mexico," I thought it was very rude and I had to step in. I said "I'm sorry but we are allowed to have fun here…"…The manager went to go speak to her, the woman was mad, she went inside and slammed the door.
>
> Stace: What was her problem *really*?
>
> Reina: I think she was just racist against Mexicans, really, honestly.
>
> Stace: Do you think things will change in your lifetime, or like when you have kids?
>
> Reina: I really wouldn't want my kids to be treated like that. But hopefully we can all improve…Try to be equal to everyone, it's not fair, we're all human beings.
>
> Stace: Do you think things will change in the next ten years, 30 years?
>
> Reina: I really… don't think so, we're not really making an effort to improve. I don't see it near the future. We can't change the way some people think. We are always are going to have the racist people…we are always going to have the good people who are going to treat everyone equally… So I think there's a possibility, but I don't see it anywhere near the future.
>
> [Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

Part of me was surprised that Reina did not see change "anywhere near the future." She

did not feel discriminated against at school or in broader society, so I perceived she might

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have a more hopeful outlook on the future. The fact that she answered how she did sent a strong message regarding her perceptions of the conditions of society.

Focus Group

Conversations with the Focus Group depicted higher levels of discrimination in the state where the research was completed. The comparatively higher discrimination against Latinos in this state was universal among all student-participants who had lived in states outside of the region. Francisco, a member of the focus group, articulated the same:

Francisco: The majority of people in New York are Hispanic. Lots of Nuevo Ricans and Dominicans, Mexicans, from all over.

Stace: It is *mejor* in *Nueva York, ¿la discriminación? ¿Es peor aqui en [this state]?*
Is the discrimination better in New York? Is it worse in [this state]?

Francisco: *Si no hablan inglés es peor aquí. Hay mucha gente allí con quien hablan.*
If they do not speak English it's worse here. There are many people in New York with whom they can talk.

Stace: *Pero la violencia contra los hispanos, ¿es peor aqui que California y Nueva York?*
But the violence against the Hispanic, is it worse here than in California or New York?

Francisco: I think discrimination is everywhere.

Brandon: I think so (It is worse here). Lately more Hispanics have been coming over to [this state]. People get mad, think they're taking over.

His focus group peers were equally pessimistic about positive change in prejudicial and discriminatory conditions. They did not perceive the school could do anything to help.

Stace: Why do you think people discriminate?

Miguel: They don't like the other race.

Yessica: Like the Whiter races (indicating these are the people who discriminate). Not all them (discriminate), *no todos, pero algunos.*
　　　　Not all, but some.

Stace: Why? *¿Porqué?*

Yessica: Because they're White, and they think they're 'all that.'

Stace: They think they're 'all that.' I know what you mean. *¿Es un problema en la escuela? ¿La discriminación?*
Is it a problem in the school? The discrimination?

All students: Yes!

Stace: *¿Con quién?*
With whom?

Yessica: *Con los Hispanos. Y los* Black people.
With the Hispanics. And the Black people.

Stace: *¿Quién se discrimina contra los hispanos?*
Who discriminates against the Hispanics?

Miguel & Yessica: Whites.

[Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

I asked the Focus Group about the likelihood of change, and if schools could become

involved in societal improvement.

Stace: Can the school do anything to change things, *para cambiar todo*, improve things?

Group: No.

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Jonuel: I don't think so. It's something that we need to do on our own.

Yessica: We need to have a separate school for Mexicans and Whites and Blacks

Francisco: (Firmly) No no no no…..

Stace: Do you think we need to get more together?

Yessica: Yes, work more together (Changes answer after group rejects her idea of separation).

Brandon: let's put everybody together and see who the teachers talk to more.

Stace: Do you already see that now?

Miguel: We should have just Mexican teachers here.

Yessica: We don't have many Black teachers, they're all White

Stace: Is there *anything* the school can do?

Francisco: No. Probably over time, there will be more Hispanics who come here…

Mimi: And then there will be another race of people who come over here and then they'll (Hispanics) be like Black people and everybody will get used to them.

Stace: (Checking for clarity) And then they'll move up…?

Mimi: Yea.

Stace: That's sad. Will anything change in your lifetime?

Mimi: No.

[Conversation occurred November 15, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

Yessica was the first student who suggested a solution, stating "we need to have separate schools." Francisco rejected her idea politely and firmly. She changed her idea after the group rejected it. Miguel suggested more Mexican teachers, and Yessica, of mixed race-descent from Puerto Rico, observed the need for more Black teachers. The students did

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not see schools as an instrument for change, which was discouraging. Francisco and Mimi offered that eventually a new ethnic group would become the least desirable, displacing Latinos.

In this conversation, Francisco demonstrated fear of being considered Mexican. He perceived prejudicial conditions were not likely to improve for Mexicans in the near future.

Jonuel: I think Mexicans are hard working. (Says this out of the blue)

Stace: We're all hard workers.

Yessica: (to Jonuel) Do you say that you don't like to work?

Jonuel: Mexicans like to work a lot.

Miguel: They don't *like* to work, they need the money, man!

Francisco: When a lot of people say "Hispanic" they think Mexican right away.

Yessica: (Speaking very rapidly, impersonating a "busy-body" White voice) Mexican are you Mexican? No no no…

Francisco: When I was talking Spanish, they thought I was Mexican. Seriously.

Mimi: (To Francisco) Don't you get mad? I mean…

Francisco: No, how do I explain…

Jonuel: That's why I say sometimes, once I hear Spanish I think "Mexican"

Francisco: (Getting agitated) *I'm not Mexican, ok?*

Stace: Is there a stronger bias, stereotype against Mexicans?

Mimi: Yes. I don't want to sound racist. I think pervert.

[Conversation occurred November 22, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

Francisco was firm in his assertion that he was not Mexican. As discussed earlier in regards to this discussion, Francisco rejected the Mexican label to honor his Dominican and Puerto Rican heritages. A second reason (that Francisco verified as correct during a member check), was his need to distance himself from the negative Mexican identity. He did not perceive that conditions for Mexicans would improve in the near future, and he desired to separate himself from the damaging stereotypes imposed upon Mexicans. One of these stereotypes was that Mexicans were "perverts," a description I heard for the first time (but more than once) at Crawford High School.

Implications for the US History Curriculum

The Latino student-participants in this project reflected a high level of awareness of prejudicial and discriminatory conditions in the state. They did not believe change would occur in the near future or in their lifetimes. US History curriculum that interrogates race and racism can be a component of effective change in the nation. Reliance on the traditional textbook and teaching to the status quo detract from the examination of race and racism in American society (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). Students must learn to question. Students need to experience and interact with diversity in their textbooks, classroom activities, and across the curriculum. Positive interactions with people unlike themselves will help students break down racial, cultural, and linguistic barriers.

In *Canícula*, Cantú questioned her hybrid, or *mestiza,* identity and theorized from multiple locations of religion, language, social class, family relations, and gender expectations, all aspects prevalent in *la frontera*. *Canícula* illustrated Cantú's process of acquiring a *mestiza* consciousness where she needed only look within to find a strong self-identity. She was no longer imprisoned by the dualities between Mexican *or* American ethnicity, English *or* Spanish language. She could have both, all, and none at the same time without blaming any*one* for any*thing*.

How Do You Define American?

A theme I enjoyed investigating was students-participants' perceptions of "American." I was not "ready" for the Latino student-participants definition of this baggage-laden word. *American*. I have infrequently questioned the term or the concept "American" when used regarding one's identity. When my niece Margaux was born in France to a mother of Belgian nationality and Chinese heritage, Margaux was given American citizenship. My brother, Margaux's father, is an American citizen; apparently, children born in France can be given the citizenship of the father. This was choice that Margaux's parents made. They did not want her to be born in China and have Chinese citizenship (Where my brother and his family live) because of the Communist government. They did not want to give Margaux French citizenship because of her mother's Belgian roots. Nor did they opt to grant Margaux Belgian citizenship because of Belgium's bureaucratic structures that make acquiring and updating passports a

"horrendous" experience (according to my brother). Even though Margaux was not born in America, not born of an American mother, and will likely never live in the United States during her formative years, she has an American passport. *How will this affect her identity?* I have wondered. *Will she associate as an American?*

Group Two

These questions regarding "American" resurfaced during the research process. I never intended to ask students "What is an American?" The question was formed after hearing Latino student talking negatively about "Americans."

"But you are an American. You were born here. Who are you talking about? Who are Americans?"

"American" signified "light skin and light hair" for every Latino student except Crystal. I found this direction of the research fascinating.

In one conversation with the girls of Group Two, we talked about the prejudice that students face because of their brown skin and dark hair. Desiree clarified that while she was born in San Diego, she did not define herself as American.

Artella: They think we all get in trouble. We're the troublemakers. And all the Americans are good and Mexicans are bad immigrants.

Stace: Yea but Desiree was born here. Where do you put her?

Artella: (Firmly) On our side.

Stace: You do…?

Artella: (To Desiree) Do you feel more on our side?

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Desiree: Yes.

Stace: (Restating) You feel more like a Mexican than an American. Who are the Americans?

(Can't hear answer on recording)

Stace: So they are people like me? Who look like me, lighter skin, lighter hair…?

Artella: The only fact that she (Desiree) was born in California don't make her American. (Turning to Desiree): Do you consider yourself an American?

Desiree: (Shakes head no)

Stace: (Restating to the girls) She doesn't consider herself American even though she was born here. (To Desiree): You first associate with Mexican. That is very interesting.

[Conversation occurred December 20, 2005, in the Lunch Room]

Artella placed Desiree *On our side*. These three words—*wow*—these three words said a great deal. *On our side*. From Artella's, Mariana's, and Desiree's perspectives there was a stark distinction between who they were and who I was. I was pleased to find a strong attachment to their Mexican *raíces* (roots); I would not want them to deny their heritage. However, the dualities between Mexican *or* American ethnicity that Desiree and her friends had constructed for her and with her caused me concern. Would this duality hold Desiree back from achieving her potential as an American citizen? Would she deny herself the (comparably easier) access to the structures of power because of her anger towards "Americans?" Would Artella and Mariana harm themselves with the dichotomy by building walls and harboring jealousy against those who were not exactly like them?

Focus Group

The same topic with the study hall Focus Group revealed many forces at work. A Mexican-born young man associated "American" with "racist." I asked him later if he

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could tell me more about his response, but he was uncomfortable. Yessica clearly

connected being "American" to having "White blood." Mimi, an American citizen of

Portuguese, Cape Verdian, and Japanese heritages considered American citizenry an

issue of skin color—only Whites and Blacks are Americans.

> Stace: *¿Como se defina 'americano?'*
> How is American defined?

> Miguel: Racist (laughs). I'm kidding (Yessica laughs too).

I tried hard to maintain my composure. Miguel was *visually* kidding around—he jabbed

me in the elbow and acted like he had cracked himself up. There was a serious element of

truth to his statement, however.

> Stace: I know you're kidding, *pero hay Puerto Ricans y Mexicanos que se nacieron en los EEUU. Son americanos, ¿no?*
> But there are Puerto Ricans and Mexicans who were born in the United States. They are Americans, right?

> Miguel: No.

> Yessica: Kind of. But they're not because they have *sangre Mexicana…*
> (Mexican blood)

> Stace: *¿Quién es Americano?*
> Who is an American?

> Miguel: Someone who's White.

> Stace: *¿Soy Americana?*
> Am I American?

> Yessica: Yes.

> Stace: *Pero*, do you know if I were born here? What if I were born in Canada, would I still be American?

> Yessica: Yes.

Miguel: Yes because your race (sic). You are White.

Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *How* do you define American? White?

Yessica: No…because there are Whites who were born here and there are Blacks and Mexicans…*que se nacieron aquí* (Who were born here). But the *American-*Americans are *White.*

Stace: (Checking again for clarity) *Son americanos…Cuando hablan de 'los americanos,' ¿quiénes son los americanos? Ella es americano?* (pointing to Mimi).
They are Americans…When you talk of 'those Americans,' who are they? Is she American?)

Yessica: Well *de sangre* no, her blood is Japanese.

Stace: (To Mimi) Where were you born?

Mimi: Here.

Stace: This is interesting. They do not consider you American. When they speak of "those Americans are against us," you're not in that.

Mimi: Are they talking about White people? (confused)

Stace: They're talking about people who look like me.

Yessica: But we like you (Yessica wanted me to know her perception that I am one of the "okay" Americans).

Stace: (To Mimi) How do you define American?

Mimi: I don't want to sound like racist or like that…but I think of like Black and White as American.

Yessica to Mimi: But for you it's all right because you have more White friends here.

Mimi apologized for having views that excluded other students in the conversation from being American solely because of their skin color. The other students in the conversation were not American citizens, and did not want to be associated with the 'White'

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signification of the term. Hence, they were not offended. Yessica appeased Mimi's guilt by telling her peer of Portuguese, Cape Verdian, and Japanese heritages that it was "all right" to think of citizenship in terms of skin color. Since Mimi associated as White with her clothes and mannerisms and has White peers, she is perceived *by others* as White.

Stace: What? What do you mean you wear "White clothes?"

Mimi: I dress like the culture, like Hollister.

Stace: I don't know what Hollister means…

Brandon: Preppy.

Stace: Preppy? So, White?

Mimi: Yea.

[Conversation occurred December 1, 2006, in the Lunch Room study hall]

To me Yessica's acceptance of Mimi's definition was a way of saying, "You act White, Whites are racist, so it's acceptable for you to define American based upon racial lines." I wanted to pursue this conversation, but it swerved to a new and equally interesting topic when another student joined the conversation.

Blame: Struggling with Establishing Harmony

Acquiring a *mestiza* consciousness signifies relinquishing blame and accepting responsibility for constructing one's own life. The theme of blame emerged from many student-participants. Students and teachers blamed "the system" for students' disconnect from the Anglo-centric US History curriculum and/or many Latino students' subsequent

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lack of success; however, they defined "the system" differently. In keeping with the focus on students' responses in this chapter, teachers' responses will be addressed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Groups One and Two

For students in Groups One and Two "the system" equaled the "White way" of doing things. No one person or identifiable group was culpable for excluding Latino students from the US History curriculum. The curriculum was "that way, because that's how things are done." To be blunt, these students perceived they were not included in the curriculum because they were not White. When asked about how one could change "the system" to help Latino students succeed, Gabriel responded with a blank stare that registered how fully unempowered he felt. "*¿Cambia el sistema? ¿Qué me das, dinero?*" (Change the system? What are you gonna' give me, money?) Gabriel associated the ability to pay as a symbol of success. Only with money would he have the power to change anything. His attention to money came up many times during our interviews.

I repeated this scenario multiple times when asking students from Groups One and Two what they could do to improve their experiences at Crawford High School. After pursuing Mariana's comment that "people think Mexicans are bad," I asked the lunch table of girls with whom she was sitting, "What can you do to change this?" I heard a cacophony of "Nothings." Then Mariana's "I can do nothing." I pursued this question later when Mariana and I met alone. Mariana perceived she had not been ethnically criticized this school year. I wondered if her ability to answer the question was stifled because she had not recently experienced "fight or flight" responses. Perhaps she did not

know how to converse about the topic because she was trying to distance herself from the pain of constant systemic, cultural negation. During this excerpt, Mariana was noticeably troubled. She fidgeted and chewed on her tongue piercing. I asked again what she could do to enact change before changing how I asked the question.

> Stace: What can I do to help you help *yourself*?
>
> Mariana: [Blank stare] I don't know… I haven't thought about that.
>
> Stace: Why, is the problem so big that you don't know where to start?
>
> Mariana: No, it's not that big because I haven't been criticized this year. (Brightens up) I would like White people to come see our backgrounds.
>
> Stace: Would you ever want them to come into your families so you can say, Hey! We're normal! Don't make fun of me!"
>
> Mariana: Yea, I would like that. That'd be cool.

Mariana's development of a hypothetical situation where people who "make fun" of her come into her home allowed her to take control of upsetting circumstances. Within a few sentences her demeanor changed from distressed to joking. We broke into playful banter as if we were acting out scenes of "school bullies" coming for a visit to her Spanish speaking home.

The Praxis of Empowerment

Generating *mestiza* consciousness in the students was a personal goal connected to my praxis as a researcher. I did not want to take from the students their life accounts without giving something back: empowerment. Every student began from a unique level of empowerment. For Mariana, encouraging her to find solutions to situations and think

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critically about her life was advancement. Artella, already a critical thinker, gained enough confidence to accompany me to an interview with a State Board of Education member. Crystal politely challenged a teacher who openly discriminated against students in her study hall. I lent Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* to three of the students, read passages to others, and discussed Anzaldúa's strong personal awareness of who she was ethnically and linguistically.

Even though students experienced different degrees and types of empowerment, all students shared the empowering ability to define their academic needs and wants. Crystal remarked she had never been asked to articulate her needs—she interpreted needs as that which others wanted *for* her. "Designing" personal needs and wants affirmed each students' ability to determine what was right and functional for them.

The Transformational Resistance of Group Two Students

One aspect of empowerment is transformational resistance (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Fernández, 2002). Resistance theories exhibit how students negotiate and struggle to create personalized understandings from interactions in school and society. The personalized meaning acknowledges students' abilities to act and think on their own behalf instead of being "pawns" being acted upon by structures (Solórzano & Bernal, p. 315). Resistance comes in many forms and is deeply personal. Some students may resist by skipping school to engage in activities with friends; others may work to change the system of oppression by writing letters to school administrators. Still others may "produce graf" (graffiti), wear oversized hip-hop clothing, write songs, or dance (Gee, 1996; Kivel, 1996; Yasin, 2004)

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Students in Group Two consciously employed a strategy of resistance (Fernández, 2002; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001) when they entered History class. Solórzano & Bernal indicated that students "engage in resistance that is motivated by a desire to create more just and equitable learning environments" (p. 309). That is, Group Two students rejected the US History curriculum (unlike Group Three students) because they viewed it as Anglo-centric, unjust, and inequitable. Unfortunately, Group Two students were not engaging in forms of resistance that could lead to social transformation. They were not speaking to their teachers about their needs as individuals, or uniting to address the injustices at the school or district level. Their resistance was stifled during my (relatively) short research tenure at Crawford High School.

When I began this project, I became emotionally, personally, and professionally committed to and invested in the students at Crawford. My long-term plans include continuing my research at the school, and seeing through my commitment to increasing students' levels of empowerment.

Journal Entry
I sat with Artella, Mariana, and a bunch of other girls at lunch today. It was great. I asked people where they are from, and how they self-identify, like, what they "call" themselves. One girl identified as "from Honduras and New York." She lived in New York for 11 years, so it's a big part of her now-14-year old identity. Other girls identified as Mexican, even if they were born in the US. One girl says she's from San Diego because her dad is from Honduras and her mom is Mexican. "It's too complicated, so I just say I'm from San Diego," she shrugged. Only when people ask (as I did) does she share her ethnicities.

Implications for the US History Class

How do *you* define "American?" Perhaps this paradigm could be interrogated in US History. When I taught history, *I* did not sufficiently question the concept. Students' responses in the previous sub-sections demonstrated the dis-empowerment of the Latino student-participants. A US History curriculum inclusive of CLD students and their perspectives and that questions dominant paradigms may have a positive effect on the formation of an empowered self-identity. These students are the future leaders of our nation. Given the national growth rates of the Latino population, Latinos will compose a growing proportion of local, state, and national leadership positions. Schools need to acknowledge their role in preparing effective and empowered citizen leaders. The academic area most likely to contribute to effective leaders is the social studies.

Autobiographical Pact

The understood absence of "*the* truth" is distinctive to *la frontera.* This is not to say that the student-participants lied, but that "many of the events are completely fictional, although they may be true in a historical context" (Cantu, 1995, p. ix). Because of the collective identity and voice found in *la frontera*, events may have occurred to "a student" as a single individual, or to the "a student" as a collective entity. It was not my position to question, "did all those things really happen to you? Are you telling me *the* truth?" This approach to research may be "messy," Lather's description of something that

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stands out as unique from the norm, but I use the term affectionately to dispel any desire of espousing the Enlightenment's position of a united, universal truth.

Group One

After talking with Gabriel, I frequently processed the immensity of his life and his stories with a friend or my parents. I would reflect on the immensity of our topics *cuando nos discutimos* (when we talked with each other). The first day Gabriel told me about the day he crossed the US/Mexican border. His dad paid a coyote, and they got in a car and drove really fast. During our second meeting, Gabriel told me about the violence he has seen in DF (Distrito Federal, what Mexicans call Mexico City) and here. He told me about being robbed in DF, the guns and drugs he saw trafficked in Mexico, and his negative experiences here with gangs. My "therapists" usually asked me, "Is everything he is saying true?" I believed his stories were "true" *at least* in a historical context. If they were not *precisely correct* accounts of Gabriel's life, then they were correct for someone else. What was "true" for Gabriel was his perception of his experiences. He perceived he had lived the life of which he so passionately spoke.

Group Three

Crystal shared two personal assessments of "truth" that contradicted and complimented each other, depending on the perspective of the viewer. In the first account I asked Crystal what she wanted to learn in US History. She stated she wanted to learn *the truth*, what actually happened. Further questioning revealed her perception of "what actually happened" included opinions and accounts from both sides of the story; in other

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words, a collectivity of stories. Finally, she indicated that the "truth" she wanted to learn

in her US History class was difficult to find and might even be "twisted."

Stace: What do you want to learn in US History?

Crystal: More about what really happened. I wonder if it's the truth, or if the story is twisted. It's similar to my need of wanting to learn the pros and cons.

Stace: Similar, but not the same?

Crystal: Similar, not exactly the same. I want to learn THE TRUTH. What actually happened, not twisted, making it sounds like "we were great." I want to know how they felt about us.

Stace: Is there time for that in high school?

Crystal: Yea (Nodding, seems assured).

Stace: Is there one truth in history?

Crystal: I want to learn what happened in general, but there's no *truth actual* because people have opinions. The third person who witnessed it without being involved, that's probably the truth.

Stace: So there *could be* a truth?

Crystal: Yea…

Stace: A one single…

Crystal: *Could* be, but they could still twist it. That's a hard…hard question. …Well, everyone has their own opinion. If the third person has no feeling whatsoever, that's probably the truth. (Suddenly secure and reassuring herself) Yea. It's just hard to find.

[Conversation occurred November 8, 2005, in the Library]

Crystal's "truth deliberations" were visible. She looked up at the ceiling, breathed in and exhaled deeply, and contorted her tongue piercing in her mouth (a "true" sign of teen unease).

In the second excerpt Crystal, the student who immensely enjoyed Anzaldúa's Borderlands/*La Frontera*, admitted to "inaccurately" portraying certain aspects of a friend's life. A Latina friend told Crystal of abuse she had suffered in the family. Crystal reported the abuse to an administrator, who, in Crystal's interpretation, "blew her off." Crystal then deliberately embellished the story in order to be heard *as* a Latina *for* a Latina. Her embellished story gained an administrator's attention. Crystal did not feel as if she had lied; instead, she felt she had fulfilled her goal to secure help for her friend.

The two accounts contradicted each other on one level: in the first account, Crystal concluded she wanted to learn "the truth" in US History. Without reading further into our dialogue, a reader may conclude Crystal believed in *one* historical account. However, her development of "the truth" indicated a multiplicity of truths, or a collectivity. In the second scenario, where Crystal embellished her story to secure help for an abused friend, Crystal justified her actions through the collectivity of Latina experiences. To rephrase myself from Chapter 3, it was as if Crystal said, "these events likely happened to someone of my family, my community, my heritage." The exact events have likely occurred to another Latina; but because of the collective identity and voice found in *la frontera*, the events "occurred" in the life of Crystal's friend. In summary, depending on the perspective of the viewer, Crystal's development of "truth" may be contradictory or complimentary.

Focus Group

The Focus Group students determined characteristics for "acting Black" and "acting White." In the discussion below, six students shared racial and ethnic stereotypes. To remind the reader, each student was of non-White or mixed heritage. Jonuel was African American; Brandon, African American and White; Francisco, Dominican and Puerto Rican; Miguel, Indigenous Mexican; Mimi, Cape Verdian, Portuguese and Japanese; and Yessica, mixed Puerto Rican and Dominican heritages.

> Jonuel: I think my friend acts Black. He's Italian but I don't think of him as White.
>
> Brandon: (to Jonuel) How could he be Black?
>
> Miguel: Blaxican! (A combination Black-Mexican, all laugh) White-zican! (all laugh again)
>
> Stace: (asking Jonuel)…Which means if you're White or Black you have to act like that?
>
> All: Yes.
>
> Stace: He *acts* Black? What does *acting Black* look like? (All point to Jonuel, an African American boy with cornrows, a ports jersey, and low-slung pants, sitting slumped in his chair).
>
> Stace: What does acting White look like? (All point to Mimi, who was wearing Hollister clothing and a ponytail)
>
> Brandon: Like…White means speaking properly…
>
> Francisco: Using words that…
>
> Yessica: (impersonating a "valley girl" voice, tossing her hair) "Like oh my gosh, I don't like you because I'm White…
>
> Francisco: The way they dress, the type of music they listen to…

Stace: What does acting Dominican look like?

(Yessica dances around and is happy to show what Dominicans look like)

Jonuel: To be honest I thought Dominicans was like ruthless drug dealing…

Brandon: Where did you learn that?

Stace: (To Miguel) What does acting Mexican look like?

Jonuel: Mexicans work hard.

Miguel: Like a type of person…like Mexican!

Yessica: From far away you can tell if someone is Mexican.

Stace: How do you know he's Mexican?

Yessica: Cuz his face, his hair…

Mimi: I can tell.

Yessica: They have like their hair, their face, like they're all the same.

Stace: Do you mean Mexico-Mexican, or do you mean Hispanic?
Yessica: *Mexican*. You could tell I'm Puerto Rican.

[Conversation occurred November 29, 2005, in the Lunch Room study hall]

The students appeared to accept and employ these socially constructed definitions without concern. They knew they were judging other students, but felt their judgments were accurate portrayals of themselves and others. All groups were labeled by their word choice, tone of voice, hairstyle, clothes, and deportment. Jonuel accepted the portrayal of himself as African American. I wondered if the portrayal was negative. I wanted to know what the other students saw in Jonuel as the "acting black" representative. Did they see him without books during study hall, performing poorly in school, and attempting to dress in the then-popular style of convicts? Or, did they see him as a student proud of his

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ethnicity, who had already completed his homework and therefore did not need this period to study? The only student who did not portray himself in a stereotypical manner was Miguel, who stated "A Mexican looks like a type of person, like Mexican!" If I had pursued Miguel's comment immediately, he may have revealed more information, but as with many focus group conversations, I had to "stay in the flow," since topics changed rapidly. Returning to students' comments the following session rarely worked to my advantage. The moment would be gone and students were not interested in re-hashing old topics.

Implications for the US History Class

The students in the journal entry above highlight the need to question dominant paradigms in the US History curriculum. The Focus Group students had strong ideas of what "Acting Black" and "Acting White" looked like. These ideas had become their truths. Crystal articulated she wanted to know "the truth" in US History. Her "truth" is the "third side of the story" which may be "hard to find." For Gabriel, "the truth" was thrown into question by my parents, the Crawford teachers and me. Gabriel was my Rigoberta Menchu, someone who may have migrated beyond the boundaries of the Enlightenment's position of a united, universal truth.

"The truth" in the US History curriculum deleted Latino students' sides of the stories. All students need to learn history from non-White and/or non-dominant perspectives. Including these activities would grant students a broader base of cultural appreciation, also known as perspective consciousness. For example, students can read excerpts from Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart (1959) to recognize an African's point

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of view regarding imperialism (Wilson, 1997). I recommend *The Meeting on the Congo* activity (Merryfield, 1997) and T. J. Watson's (2000) *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce*. These activities, which contribute to students' knowledge of non-dominant perspectives and perspective consciousness, will be addressed in Chapter 10.

<div align="center">Closing</div>

The question of this research study was, *from the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States history class meet their needs?* The ultimate objective was to understand if US History classes are serving the perceived needs of Latino students in one high school. I used a Latino Critical Theoretical lens for the conceptualization, design, and implementation of this study. In this chapter, I presented the analysis of this study through a second Latino theoretical lens called *la frontera* (detailed in Chapter 3). *La frontera* is an outgrowth of postcolonialism, which rethinks the Western canon and brings the margin to the center. With this *frontera* lens I analyzed data gathered from one-on-one and group interviews with students, and from students' and my personal journals.

A major finding of this study was that the US History curriculum is or is not meeting student participants' needs in different ways, based upon pertinent characteristics of the students. Latino students' responses were informed by the following critical factors: English speaking ability, recency of arrival in the United States, and level of integration into the power structures of the state where the research was completed. The level of integration was further influenced by students' documentation status (their legal

status in the US), parents' English speaking ability, and the English speaking ability of members in a student's residence and immediate neighborhood.[82] Students' responses fell distinctly into three groups based upon these characteristics (See Table 5). Chapter 7 clarifies major findings of the study and draws conclusions from the data.

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[82] In this school district there are multiple apartment complexes and neighborhoods inhabited by solely Spanish speakers.

CHAPTER 7

MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY:

BRINGING THE MARGIN TO THE CENTER

In this chapter, I perform the ultimate postcolonial and LatCrit move: I bring the

margin to the center, clarify major findings of the study, and draw conclusions from the

data. I *enfocar en* (focus on) students' responses regarding the essential question, *from*

the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States

history class meet their needs? This chapter is divided into four sections regarding

students' perceptions of needs, wants, symbols of success, and racism.

Defining Needs

An important aspect of this project was to develop definitions for "needs" and

"wants." I entered the project with approximately 20 more years of life experiences than

the student-participants. I had my own perception of basic needs regarding academics.

"Basic needs" were what students needed to learn to attain *at the least* a minimum level

of societal functioning as an adult. These basic needs included but were not limited to

basic math to maintain one's finances, writing skills to fill out a job application and write

a letter, and knowledge of the voting process. Basic needs are slippery—one *can* survive

without knowing the degrees in a right angle, the names of every country, and why gravity exists. It was crucial to this project to develop a concept of "basic needs" regarding academics with the students. My concept of basic needs was more passive than that of some students. I perceived basic needs as information that needed *to be learned*. Some students perceived "basic needs" actively, something they needed to *do.* Another theme that emerged was the definitions students developed based on their English proficiency, their interests, and their goals for higher education. Hence, various definitions of basic needs developed. There was no one uniform set of basic needs.

Group One

During the writing of my introduction over 250 pages ago, I asserted, "*This research assumes that if a student is attending class, the class must be meeting at least one need. The need may be as banal as "I need this class to graduate," or as original as "in college I plan to major in history*." " I considered changing this sentence to accurately account for the responses of students in Group One by changing "I need this class to graduate," to, "I go to class to be with my friends." Instead of changing the sentence, I decided to reflect on my positionality. *I* considered "I need this class to graduate" the most banal answer to the essential question. Previous to completing the research, I perceived that needing credits was the "lowest" reason for attending US History class. I misjudged the entire situation by using a framework of "banal" and "elite" categories of answers. The two students in Group One understood that as non-native English speakers, they would probably not pass the State Graduation Test. Gabriel and Yessica were not in an environment where they were simultaneously learning

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adequate English *and* curricular content to pass a standardized test. These students attended class to be with their friends in a safe environment. The class was not meeting their needs, yet they continued to attend. It was incorrect for me to establish such a judgmental framework.

Students in Group One stated their basic need for their US History class was linguistic: *aprender inglés* (to learn English). Their basic need to learn English "trumped" the curriculum, teacher, and classroom activities. Gabriel and Yessica were neutral regarding the curricular content of their ESL US History class. They cared little if their culture was represented in the curriculum. The type of information covered during class was not significantly important to them as learners, due to their ELL status. Gabriel and Yessica were in separate classes, but with the same ESL US History teacher. They barely placed emphasis on emotional needs regarding teachers who were kind and warm. They both had mildly favorable impressions of their teacher: She did not heavily impact their perceptions of the class. Neither student expressed desire to do different activities in class, such as working in groups, watching more videos, or having less homework. They did not care *how* they learned—as long as they learned English.

The academic needs of the student-participants were primarily linguistic, although in the following sub-section I describe how this linguistic skill could contribute to students' emotional needs. Since the students were not significantly increasing their English skills through their ESL class, the class was barely meeting their perceived needs.

Abraham Maslow described human motivation with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Perhaps this is what students in Group One were telling me—their most basic

needs had to be met before they would be ready to "grow" in American schools. They were not proficient in the most fundamental need: language. In Maslow's words, how could they achieve competence in US History class without the ability to understand the curriculum?

In summary, the students in Group One stressed the basic need to learn English. Crawford High School does not offer English classes for ELL students; hence, the students in Group One will not have their needs met for their US History class in the near future.

Why? The Broader Implication of Learning English

Gabriel explained the need to learn English would help him begin to learn about others. He related a story of the tensions a few years ago with "*los rusos*," the Russian and Eastern European students.

"We was walking along the street, *los rusos* pulled up and started talking 'Mo-Fu'…and we started talking back…"

"How could you do it? Did everyone speak English?"

"No, that's what made it kinda' funny. *No nos entendemos*!" (We could not understand each other!")

The Russian students and Mexican students could not find a common language with which to express their emotions; therefore, their emotions continued to broil and grow. Three years ago tensions between Somali, Eastern European, and Mexican students exploded at the school. There were fights during lunch hours and outside of school. Bonnie, one of the US History teachers, confirmed Gabriel's accounts. The school began

to small steps towards helping students from diverse backgrounds understand each other. Establishing an ESL program was one of school's initiatives. Bonnie and Gabriel described an improvement between racial and ethnic groups at the school in comparison to three years ago. In summary, Gabriel perceived that learning English would aid in his understanding of students from diverse language backgrounds, and vice-versa.

Group Two

Group Two expressed great distance from, and resentment towards, the US History curriculum. History was "stupid." It took as long as two weeks for these students to begin to generate responses regarding their perceived needs. The collective voice helped stimulate responses—lone individuals generated few answers. These students had to move through a great deal of pain before articulating an answer. Their pain was an indication of the prejudice they experience on a daily basis. Galguera (1998) described the animosity felt by students in Group Two:

> The effect on students' attitudes…may also have an experiential bases. For one, the significance of US residency suggests a "rationalization" process in immigrant students as part of their schooling experience. It is particularly troubling that length of US residency among immigrant students results in not only greater attention to ethnicity and race but also less positive attitudes toward teachers. (p. 422)

To Group Two students the US History curriculum was a perpetuation of racism and prejudice because it did not include their perspectives. They felt excluded.

Group Two participants emphasized cultural and emotional basic needs in their US History classes. For instance, it was important that their culture be present,

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understood, and valued in curricular materials for reasons discussed in the following sub-section. Students' emotional needs indicated the desire to be understood and valued as individuals with similarities and differences. The perceived needs of students in Group Two were not being met. They were not learning about people from their cultures, nor did they feel they were understood as individuals.

Why Group Two Students Wanted to Learn About Their Culture

Group Two student-participants wanted their culture to be present so that other students—particularly *White* students—would learn about them. The student-participants, all girls of Mexican ethnicity, were not directly concerned with raising their own self-esteem by reading about Mexicans. They wanted the White students to learn that Mexicans (and other Latin Americans and Latinos) were as intelligent, powerful, and articulate as the White people in the US History textbooks.

Mariana thought that learning about Latinos in US History would help the White students learn how to be respectful towards students of Latino descent. Artella was more confrontational articulating why White students would benefit from learning about Latinos:

"I want to ask them 'why don't they like us?' " Turning to Mariana she inquired, "what do they (White students) say?"

Impersonating a White female student, Mariana tossed her head and replied, "I dunno. I dunnnnnnooo…."

These girls suggested White students disliked Mexicans most of all Latino groups. They stated White students did not know *why* they disliked Mexicans. The girls were

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acutely aware that White students did not have informed reasons for placing Mexicans so low on the social-acceptance hierarchy. Group Two participants perceived that learning about Mexicans and other Latinos in their US History class would reduce the bigotry White students felt towards students of Latino descent.

Group Three

Group Three described basic linguistic, cultural, and cognitive needs. However, within this list of three categories, some needs were more important to their peers, and some were important to them as individuals. Group Three participants had perspective consciousness, the ability to perceive other's needs. For instance, Group Three students perceived that learning in a Spanish-English bilingual setting was a basic linguistic need for their Spanish-only peers. It was not a basic need for them, as they spoke both English and Spanish. Group Three students indicated a strong preference for cognitive needs. They wanted to learn academic information in more inclusive, stimulating, and participatory modes. Reina stressed students need to learn more about others' perspectives. Ruben stated a need for more dramatic videotape footage to draw more students into the curriculum.

Learning about their culture was not a need; however, it was addressed as a want (this will be discussed in a following section). Their needs were not specific to learning about Latino cultures, unlike the Group Two responses. Learning about *all* cultures was important to students in Group Three. Crystal maintained students in US History needed the "Pros and cons, the whole story. With the war with Iraq right now…they have

families also. You need to look at both sides. They have families and feel the same things about us. History makes some people look evil…We may have to kill them, but *they are human*."

Crystal further asserted the importance of learning major concepts (such as perspective consciousness) and significant events (such as a specific war).

"You need to learn who did what so you won't make the same mistakes. But you need to learn both sides of the story…how both sides were human. Not just talk about it like "this happened, this happened, this happened.""

Working Through Crystal's Definition of Need

Crystal had never been asked her perceptions of academic needs and wants. She was excited by the challenge to develop her own definitions for these terms, and then outline what concepts would be included as a need and a want in US History. "You're in school most of your life and no one really asks that. No one asks what you want to learn."

Crystal began defining "need" with a confident, authoritative voice; within four words, her definition became an interrogative and her confident faded. "A need is what the school (pause)…wants you to learn…?" She finally determined, "A need is what you can't live without. A want is what you desire."

In US History class, a need is "the necessities, the background. You live in America so they want you to learn about the country." For Crystal a necessity in US History is learning the "good and the bad stuff…the pros and cons…the whole story." Students also need to learn of characteristics that unite people across countries and cultures. "We are all human…With the war [in] Iraq right now…they have families also.

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You need to look at both sides. They have families and feel the same things about us."

Major concepts like cross cultural appreciation were as important to Crystal as actual

historical events and people.

> I think they are both very important. You need to learn who
> did what so you won't make the same mistakes. But you
> need to learn both sides of the story…how both sides were
> human. Not just talk about [events] like "this happened,
> this happened, this happened." [Teachers] only want you to
> learn certain things, they don't talk about how the other
> side is human and has a side of the story. Our story is only
> half of the story, but they make it seem like it's RIGHT.

I pursued Crystal's comment about "Teachers only want you to learn certain things."

> If you talk to a Hispanic, they'll have a different
> perspective. Because if you want to learn more about
> something and the teachers don't want you to…like in
> history if you want to learn more about it, like Hispanics,
> and it's only a little bit, and if you wanna learn more they
> don't let you, cuz' it's Mexico and … its *Mexico's* history
> not American history. Once [her teacher] brought up
> Pancho Villa and I was like "oh!" I wanted to learn more,
> but we stopped there. They (teachers) think we don't need
> to learn more than that.

Crystal was firm in her belief that teachers knowingly withhold information that does not

conform to the "White" paradigm of US History.

Why Do Group Three Students Need An Inclusive US History Curriculum?

Group Three students did not need to see more of their Latino heritage in the US

History curriculum at the expense of other understudied cultures. Reina proposed, "Yes I

think it's…important to learn about others …where they came from, who they are related

to, why they migrated over here." Her response indicated the mixed heritages and movement of people, characteristics common to her Mexican background.

"Why is that important?" I inquired.

"I think we need to start getting along with people from different cultures. This school is very diverse, but people tend to hang out with people like them, like Mexican kids with Mexican kids. I think we need to start having more friends from different cultures, who aren't only of your race."

"*Why*?" I pressed.

"Because when you have friends from other countries, it is really fun, learning what they do and what they like. People would usually be like, 'Oh no she's Mexican, she doesn't like to do what we like to do,' but you never know."

Reina was right. We *do not know* until we reach out to others, and learn who they are, what they like, and how many things we have in common. Educators need to increase the inclusiveness of the US History curriculum to give students greater opportunities to take those chances.

Focus Group

An interesting dynamic developed when I asked the focus group students to define "need." Their answers split along the lines of need to *learn*, and need to *do*.

> Stace: What is a need in general? For instance, what basic needs do you have in life?
>
> Mimi: You can't live without things that you need.
>
> Stace: What do you need?

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Francisco: water.

We agreed that water, food, and shelter were basic needs. After agreeing on a definition for basic needs, I integrated school-based needs into the conversation.

Stace: In school, what are your basic needs?

Mimi: To do what? To go to college afterwards? Or to just graduate?

Francisco: Do well do your work…get a good career…be a good person. Don't fool around all the time.

Stace: (To Mimi) That's a really good question. When I ask what kinds of things do you need in life to survive (Food shelter)… that's easy. But in school when I ask about your needs, it's harder to answer.

I reflected on the Francisco's perception of a need as acts that must be *done* to be academically successful and successful in life. Mimi's answer highlighted perfectly the diversity of students' needs based upon their goals and aspirations.

Mimi: So many people don't go to school…You can survive without going to college

Francisco: But it (life) is harder.

Mimi: *I* need to go to school.

With this utterance, Mimi shared her parents' expectation that she will go to college. She perceived the need to be academically successful because of her parents' desire for her post-secondary education.

Stace: (To Mimi) Keep working through that…

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Mimi: My parents want me so I can get money and get things that I want to get. I want to get expensive clothes…people can still make it without going to college.

Stace: In real life you need food and water to survive. Does everyone need that?

Mimi and Francisco: Yes.

Stace: In school does everyone have the same needs?

There was a pregnant pause. Mimi and Francisco looked at each other. Then Mimi began to clarify.

Mimi: We have weightlifting at our school. Everyone doesn't need it…Some people take it, some don't. People who play football *need* it, people who do drama, no. It's different…

Stace: Do people have different needs in school?

Mimi: Yea.

Stace: Why do people have different needs in school?

Mimi: Everyone is different, they learn different.

Stace: (Restating) People do have the same basic needs to survive in life. But they don't have the same basic needs to survive in school. What kinds of things do you need to learn in school in general?

Francisco: It's important to know reading and writing.

Stace: What kind of things do you want to learn?

Francisco: Science, math is important too. History…but that's not going to help you down the road.

I blinked. History is not going to help you down the road? I had a different perception. I turned my attention to Miguel and Yessica, who came up to the table.

> Stace: What are the basics needs you have in school? *Que cosas necesitan para sobrevivir en la escuela?*
>
> Miguel: *saber inglés.*
> To know English.
>
> Stace: *saber inglés…*(to Mimi) Would you have thought of that?

Mimi and I briefly discussed different students' perceptions of need. She admitted to not including English as a basic need in school because she already knew English. English was "normal" for her. She was not conscious that English could be someone else's basic need before this moment.

<div align="center">Defining Wants</div>

Separating academic "needs" from "wants" was a good exercise for the student-participants. Framing the question as "in an ideal world, what would you want your US History class to look like?" was helpful. I aimed for the students to fantasize and break from the dominant paradigms of school. It was difficult. Students only knew their immediate realities, unlike the student of focus in Fernández's (2002) study. Upon reflection, I realized no one took the fantasy to an extreme, desiring "no rules, no homework, no tests." The students indicated topics that would help them learn—they wanted to learn! They wanted to be at school, but in an environment more inclusive of their cultures.

Group One

When asked what they needed to learn in US History, students in Group One stressed they wanted to learn English. The curriculum content did not matter to them— they wanted to take courses on how to speak English. The needs and wants of Group One students were the same.

Yessica declared the want (and need) to learn English. However, Yessica "fantasy wanted" to learn in three languages: English, Spanish, and French. Here, she fantasized about expanding her horizons beyond her immediate *needs*.

> Stace: I want you to tell me really straight what you need to be successful. What would school look like? Would school be in Spanish?
>
> Yessica: They would have three languages, English, Spanish, & French.
>
> Stace: What language would you want your math class in?
>
> Yessica: I'm ok with English. (Reconsidering) It would be Spanish & English both. The teacher would speak both.
>
> Stace: (Acting like teacher) "*Vamos a añadir* this…"
> We are going to add this.
>
> Yessica: It would be cool, so they could explain in Spanish, but talk English almost all the time.
> …
>
> Stace: Would you love it if teachers were bilingual?
>
> Yessica: Yes, it's better to know two languages than one. If you need to go racing to another country like Puerto Rico, you can know Spanish. That's why.

The addition of French surprised me. Her justification for a *third* language was to increase students' abilities to communicate across multiple cultures. I wondered how

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many monolingual students would have considered "learning in three languages" a *want*. Yessica aspired to learn more English; hence, most of school would be conducted in English. Spanish would be used by the bilingual teachers to scaffold students needing translation. French could be included to further challenge all students once they had mastered the major concepts of the lesson. *Wow*.

Group Two

Group Two expressed great distance from and resentment towards the US History curriculum. History was "stupid." It took as long as two weeks for these students to begin to generate responses regarding their perceived needs. These students had to move past a significant amount of anger before articulating an answer. The collective voice helped stimulate responses—lone individuals generated few answers.

The perceived wants of Group Two were the same as their perceived needs. They wanted and needed other students (particularly White students) to learn about Latin American and Latino cultures in the US History curriculum. According to Artella, Mariana, and Desiree, learning about Latin American and Latino cultures would decrease negative stereotypes and increase students' sensitivities to others.

Group Three

Students in Group Three were not overly critical of the US History curriculum. They accepted what the teacher taught as necessary and important information. They felt the class met their predominant wants and needs, although they offered minor suggestions.

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"What do you *want* to learn?" I asked Crystal.

Crystal responded that her wants included learning "the truth." "What actually happened, not twisted, making it sound like 'we were great.' I want to know how they felt about us."

Reina did not perceive learning about her culture in US History as a want. She "casually" passed over the option of learning about Mexicans with the statement, "Not really…we will get to a point where we will go over it."

Ruben suggested "Videotapes. Good ones. Real footage."

"What things would kids want to see who are struggling?" I asked. I was trying to push him towards thinking of his culture without putting words in his mouth.

"I don't know."

"Would they want to see their culture?" *Oh well, I said it.*

"Yea, it would draw them in. 'That's my culture, that's neat.' "

"Does it matter to learn about your culture?"

"Yes it does, but you need to find one good thing. Maybe the history channel in Spanish. They have Discovery in Spanish, I don't know about the History channel."

Ruben's answer was not "natural" because I pushed him to talk about his culture. His answers reflected a "video-focused" young man who spotlighted *how* students learned, not necessarily *what* students learned.

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Focus Group

Focus Group students wanted their ethnicities, cultures, and languages appreciated in the school. They recognized most teachers were White and desired a greater diversity in the faculty population.

Francisco and Yessica spoke first about their "fantasy want" of bilingual teachers. The first section was addressed previously, but is included to present the flow of the conversation.

Stace: (To Yessica) I want you to tell me really straight what you need to be successful. What would school look like? Would school be in Spanish?

Yessica: They would have three languages, English, Spanish, & French.

Stace: What language would you want your math class in?

Yessica: I'm ok with English. It would be Spanish & English both. The teacher would speak both.

Stace: (acting like teacher) "*Vamos a añadir* this…"

Yessica: It would be cool, so they could explain in Spanish, but talk English almost all the time.

…

Stace: Would you love it if teachers were bilingual?

Yessica: Yes, it's better to know two languages than one. If you need to go racing to another country like Puerto Rico, you can know Spanish. That's why.

Francisco: For me it doesn't bother me that much that the teachers spoke English because I understand and speak English.

Stace: Would it make you feel better about your language, to hear teachers speak Spanish?

Francisco: In a way yea, cuz…yea! (Smiling)

Stace: If teachers did speak Spanish…

Francisco: I'd be happy.

Stace: I wonder if it's for different reasons than Yessica.

Yessica: (To Francisco) You want to know two…you want to know Spanish…

Stace: (Turning to Yessica) You would think it'd be cool for everyone to know a second language. It's not that teachers speaking Spanish will make you feel better about your language..? (Checking for clarification)

Yessica: (Yessica answers my question by nodding in the affirmative) But then if everyone knew Spanish they would know what I'm saying…

Stace: And that would be bad?

Yessica: Yea! (We all laugh, bell rings).

Bilingual teachers would increase Francisco's self-esteem about his native language. Francisco was firm that his *want* for bilingual teachers was a fantasy he did not see occurring in his lifetime. Yessica fantasized about bilingual teachers so that teachers could better explain material to her. In the following conversation Jonuel, Miguel, Yessica fantasized about teachers from other ethnicities. I initially asked what the school could do to improve racial relations between students. Jonuel, in a frustrated tone, suggested observing teachers' behaviors.

Jonuel: Let's put everybody together and see who the teachers talk to more.

Stace: Do you already see that now?

Miguel: We should have just Mexican teachers here.

Yessica: We don't have many Black teachers, they're all White

Jonuel knew his utterance was loaded—he knew teachers paid greater *positive* attention to White students in the classrooms and in the halls. Teachers turned their attention to non-White students when problems erupted. Miguel fantasized about learning from Mexican teachers only, to increase his cultural connection to the learning process. Finally, Yessica, of mixed Afro-Puerto Rican heritages perceived that more Black teachers would be beneficial for the school.

Symbols of success

After discussing needs and wants, I would ask the students, "Why?" "Why are those needs and wants important to you?" Their perceptions of needs and wants were connected to what they perceived would bring them success. Students spoke about and defined "success" in interesting and diverse ways. In this section, I discuss students' responses to "what does success look like?" Asking students about success was a natural outgrowth of the research process: my focus on Latino students' perceptions of their US History class was intricately connected to helping Latino students find success in school.

Yessica

Yessica initially grappled with the concept of success and what constituted a successful person. However, upon reflection, her perception of success may have been the most enlightening. During this focus-group interchange, the other students were loosely paying attention. Yessica had not been listening to my previous conversations

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with Mimi and Brandon regarding their perceptions of success, so although she had been

sitting inches from her peers, she had not heard our discussion. I thought she had

overheard us; hence, when I asked Yessica to enter the conversation I incorrectly

presumed she had begun to formulate her responses.

Stace: All right Yessica tell me *los símbolos de éxito…*

Yessica: *Del éxito?*
Of success?

Stace: *Sí*, symbols of success.

Yessica: *Ya yo no sé. Como que… éxito. Que son?*
I don't know. About what…success. What are they?

Stace: (Trying to explain) *Una persona muy…una persona llena de éxito?* (I am
asking for clarification on how I translated "a successful person")
Like a successful person.

Yessica: *Sí, llena de éxito* (She nods, indicating I translated correctly).

Stace: *Que parecen los símbolos de éxito*. What do they look like?
What does success look like?

Yessica: *No sé*. I don't know….I don't know.

Stace: 'He's successful, she's successful'…To be successful, what does that look
like?

Yessica: Like happy, *triste, así*?
Like happy, sad, like that?

Stace: I don't know…How do *you* define success?

Yessica: *Bien, feliz*, happy, I don't know.
Good, happy

Stace: *En tú vida*?
In your life?

Yessica: *Feliz*. I am always happy.

What a beautiful response to the question, "What is success?" "*Feliz*. I am always

happy." Her peers Mimi and Brandon jumped in the conversation to relate their

perceptions of success: cars, clothes, and a house. This changed the second half of our

interaction.

> Stace: *Después* de high school, *que parece?*
> After high school, what does it look like?
>
> Yessica: I will be happy because *ya termino la escuela*. I can have my car, my house, my money…
> I will be happy because I will have finished high school.
>
> Stace: *Después* de high school…(I am checking for clarification)
>
> Yessica: *Eso*.
> Yes, exactly.
>
> Stace: You have your house, your car. *Cómo llegas al fin? A la casa, el carro,* how do you get there?
>
> Yessica: In a car (Laughs).
>
> Stace: How do you get that car?
>
> Yessica: I don't know. …
>
> Stace: Is that car connected to what you do today?
>
> Yessica: No…I don't know.

Again, her peer interjected how he perceived Yessica should answer.
> Brandon: (Injecting to Yessica) You have to be successful in school to get that car.
>
> Stace: Is your success in the future connected to what you do today?
>
> Yessica: (Other kids prompt her) Yes, I have to finish school so I can be good in the future.

Yessica's answers changed after her peers gave input, which may have demonstrated how easily influenced Yessica was, or perhaps demonstrated they understood what she was articulating when I did not. I was concerned that Yessica did not understand how to "get to" success. Again, to comment on my own metacognition, perhaps I am too linear in my development of success. It is possible that my linear conception of "do *this* to achieve *that*" conflicts with Yessica's formation of the concept.

Group Three and Focus Group

For students in Group Three and the Focus Group, success was primarily financial. Ruben was the only student who described political empowerment as an aspect of success.

Ruben

I asked Ruben what "success" would look like five years from now, when the current sophomores would be 20 years old. Ruben stressed that students would "have to know English" to be successful. He added that "you have your high school diploma, [and are] maybe starting your first college years." In five more years, success was further defined by "hav[ing] a good steady job…where you need [a] degree." Later in the conversation, Ruben returned to the topic of success.

"To finish the process (regarding success) you have to become a citizen."

"Is becoming a citizen important to success?"

"Sometimes, like maybe you want to vote. Maybe you want a voice in the government. Go through all that and then maybe you can pick your president. And maybe you'll pick one with a good foreign policy…"

Ruben reflected interesting perspective consciousness of many students' situations as non-documented residents in the United States. With this utterance, Ruben realized that success in the US could include the perquisites of citizenship such as the right to vote.

Mimi and Brandon

Success, as perceived by most students in the Focus Group, signified having *things*. I asked Mimi what success looks like to her, as in "Oh! She's successful!"

Mimi: Are you talking after high school? You got your job, your house, you have everything you need.

Stace: What do you need?

Mimi: You need a car, house, job, money, a place to live

Stace: What do you have to do to get the job and the house…?

Mimi: Graduate?

Stace: There's no right answer, so you tell me.

Mimi: *I* think you have to graduate.

Stace: (To Brandon, who wants to join the conversation) What does success look like?

Brandon: Have a career.

Stace: Is flipping burgers at Wendy's a career?

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Brandon: Well I said a *career*, what you went to college for.

Stace: Now success involves college…? (Checking)

Brandon: Yea.

Stace: Can you be successful without going to college?

Brandon: Yea, what's it called, like a technical degree.

Stace: Does success mean you need more than a high school degree? There is no right answer.

Mimi: As long as you have money. If you have a job and make a lot of money, that's successful.

Stace: Drug dealing…?

Brandon: Well…if you just see the person, you can say (By his appearance) that he successful in what he's doing.

Stace: Is success something you can see? Is it visible?

Brandon: For most people.

Stace: What would be a tangible, visible thing?

Brandon: Having a car, where they live.

Mimi: How they dress and stuff.

Stace: How do you get that good car, clothes and house? What do you have to get to the symbols of success?

Mimi: Basically, you have to go to school. Right?

Stace: There are no right answers.

Brandon: (Conclusively) Finish high school.

For students in the Focus Group, success was primarily financial. Mimi and Brandon understood what they needed to attain their personal symbols of success. The first steps were to go to high school, do well, and graduate. Next, one would go to college to earn a degree that would generate income.

Covert Racism

Many student-participants did not how systemic and covert racism affected their daily lives. Students' lack of awareness of covert racism was also a finding in Fernández' (2002) study with Latino high school students. The students in her study knew the school was not serving them adequately or equitably; however, they did not understand the systemic "microaggressions" (Ortiz, 2004) of the school. The student-participants working with me were unaware of covert racism within and beyond the school walls. During a Focus Group conversation about race and racism, Jonuel, and African American student interjected,

> If someone would discriminate against me in my face, it
> would be 'hands up' (hitting fist, shaking head). It would
> be like '*dang*!' There'd be no discussion. Now they wait
> until they know you can't do nothing. They'll wait till
> you're all the way off until they say something. If they said
> it straight to my face I probably wouldn't delay at all. It
> would be straight to their face.

Likewise, Mariana did not feel she had been directly discriminated against this year, unlike her experiences speaking Spanish in middle school. Reina felt she was treated

equally as a White student, with the same expectations from her guidance counselors and teachers. Jonuel's, Mariana's, Reina's comments reflect students' difficulties seeing the covert racism that infects their lives. It is interesting to note that students had negative perceptions of society and race relations, but did not see how institutionalized and pervasive racism had become.

Since the late 1700s, school administrators and teachers have viewed deviation from the "norm" of White, middle-class culture as a deficiency (Auerbach, 1989; Carter, 1970; Cummins, 1996; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Dúran, 1983; Hidalgo, 1998; Kaplan, 1999; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1999; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Nuñez, 1994; Olivos, 2003; Powell, 1997; San Miguel, 2003; Sarason, 1990; Sepúlveda, 1996; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984; Villalpando 2003; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Zentella, 1997a). Unfortunately, a large proportion of teachers register cultural *differences* as *deficiencies* (Carter, 1970; Cruz-Janzen, 1997; Sepúlveda, 1996; Sleeter, 2004; Zambone & Alicea-Sáez, 2003). "If you're Mexican, they put you lower. If you're White, they put you higher, right?" (Romo and Falbo, 1996, p. 192). Research indicates that as a result of lower expectations emanating from the teacher (Cruz-Janzen, 1997), CLD students are more likely to be undereducated than non-CLD students (Bean, Chapa, Berg, & Sowards, 1991; Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Chapa, 1989; González, 2002; López, 2003; Romo & Falbo, 1996; Rumberger, 1987, 1991; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Trueba, 1998b; White-Clark, 2005). They are more likely to be blamed for their lack of English language acquisition (Griego-Jones, 1995; Heriberto, 2004; Ryan & Carranza, 1977; White-Clark, 2005), disconnection from academic material (Trueba, 1998b), and excessive rates of high school non-completion (López, 2003).

Cruz-Janzen (2002) defines racism as the "ability, supported by societal and institutional systems, to limit a person's choices and options based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, home language, or tribal affiliation," comprising the interrelated components of structural inequality and personal prejudice (Wardle, 1998). Race and racism are "underrepresented, undertheorized, and relatively untouched" platforms for "exploration in schools and classrooms" (Howard, 2001, p. 31; see also Branch, 2003; Darder, 1991; Gates, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Marri, 2003; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter, 1991; Tyson, 2003a; Weis & Fine, 2004; Yamane, 2001; Zanger, 1994), unlike the concepts of culture and ethnicity. Who should be better equipped to address this dialogue than the "leaders on the development of democratic education?" (Howard, 2003, p. 30) Social studies educators can and should play a significant role in examining inequality, discrimination, and racism (Branch, 2003; Gates, 1992; Graff, 1992; Freire, 1971, 1985; Howard, 2003; Marable, 2002; Marri, 2003; McLaren, 1997a; Sanchez, 1997; Tyson, 2003a; White-Clark, 2005). Failure to do so perpetuates the ignorance permeating our nation's society. It also indirectly tells children that "hid[ing] our mistakes, or lying by omission" is acceptable (Rains, 2003, p. 220). In Chapter 10, I suggest how to respond to student-participants' developments of needs, wants, success, and racism. I advocate for the inclusion of global perspectives in the US History curriculum.

Closing

In this chapter, I brought the margin to the center. I focused on students' responses regarding the essential question, *from the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth-grade United States history class meet their needs?* I described students' personalized definitions of need, discussed students' needs versus their wants, and revealed how students conceptualized success. Finally, I investigated students' understandings of racism.

A major finding of this study was that the US History curriculum is or is not meeting student participants' needs in different ways, based upon pertinent characteristics of the students. Latino students' responses were informed by the following critical factors: English speaking ability, recency of arrival in the United States, and level of integration into the power structures of the state where the research was completed. The level of integration was further influenced by students' documentation status (their legal status in the US), parents' English speaking ability, and the English speaking ability of members in a student's residence and immediate neighborhood.[83] Students' responses fell distinctly into three groups based upon these characteristics (See Table 5).

The students in Group One stressed the basic need to learn English. Maslow described human motivation with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Perhaps this is what students in Group One were telling me—their most basic needs had to be met before they would be ready to "grow" in American schools. Group Two student-participants wanted their culture to be present so that other students—particularly White students—would

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[83] In this school district there are multiple apartment complexes and neighborhoods inhabited by solely Spanish speakers.

learn about them. Group Three students conformed to previous studies conducted with

White students—they wanted to learn in more interactive ways, working with groups, and

being stimulated with flashy videos.

CHAPTER VIII

TALKING ABOUT THE MARGIN WITH FACULTY MEMBERS

The objective of this study was to discover students' perceptions of the US History curriculum in one high school. Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, are the youngest population group, and are the fastest growing. This project is significant because it intersects with topics essential to the future of our nation: schools, the social studies curriculum, culturally and linguistically diverse students, and students' perspectives.

In this Chapter, I present further analysis of interview data with students, teachers, and school and State administrators. The first section addresses teachers' perceptions of why Latino students achieve lower levels of academic success than non-Latino students. Second, I discuss how Latino students are viewed at Crawford High School. Next, I investigate the Spanish/English linguistic and cultural tension at the high school.

The names and identities of all faculty members at Crawford High School have been changed. Some faculty members appear as composites (Ellis, 2004) (see Methodology, Chapter 5). Others have been "assigned" a new gender and/or a different or obscured job description. These maneuvers were enacted to protect the identities of participants.

Faculty Participants

Alex

Alex was a "no-nonsense" and amiable teacher in his early 40s. Alex demonstrated his talent at multitasking during our lunchroom duty conversations: he could speak passionately against the State Graduation Test while scanning the cafeteria for potential food-related crises.

Bonnie

Bonnie was an easygoing US History teacher in her upper 30s. Her eyes were slightly down-turned at the outside edges, giving her face a relaxed appearance. Bonnie had taught at Crawford for 13 years. Bonnie cared deeply about her students.

Carla

Carla was staff member at Crawford who had spent most of her career with the school district. Carla was a woman of small stature with a wrinkled face who looked as if she had enjoyed many summer vacations in the sun.

Danielle

Danielle was a member of the History Department. She smiled easily, was petite, well-groomed, dark haired, and about 30 years old. She liked to wear her high-heeled cowboy boots, which make my legs tired just looking at them. She spoke in a high, chirpy voice and ended most of her sentences with an upward lilting "ok?" She frequently fiddled with the Crawford ID badge hanging around her neck on the school lanyard.

David

David was a member of the History Department at Crawford High School. David always had something interesting to talk about or add to a conversation. The first time David and I had a lengthy conversation I was conscious that we were trying to "feel each other out" politically. He tiptoed respectfully around issues in the school and stresses with the system. I eventually told him, "you're in safe company, I feel the same way." Education is so political, we agreed. David was frustrated by the "typical White male social studies teacher." He wanted racial and gender diversity in his department.

Hilary

Hilary was a new faculty member. The stacks of papers on her desk were testament to the steep learning curve of a first year faculty member who wanted to understand the diversities present at Crawford High School.

John

John was an experienced member of that Crawford faculty. He "adored" the Latino, Somali, and Eastern European students he worked with. John was an energetic and highly qualified member of Crawford.

Mr. Daggert

   Mr. Daggert was the Head Principal at Crawford High School. He became

Principal in 2002 after serving as Assistant Principal in another district school. He was

approximately 40 years old with dark hair and a large build.

Mr. Reilly

   Mr. Reilly was the Assistant Principal at Crawford High School who granted me

entree. He was frequently in the halls interacting with students. Mr. Reilly was easy to

talk with, and was open to students' feedback during the research process.

Tom

   Tom was a teacher at Crawford High School. He became part of conversations

during his breaks in the teachers lounge. He was in his 50s, raspy-voiced, and gregarious.

Perceptions of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students

at Crawford High School

   Faculty members' perceptions of Latino students at Crawford High School will be

discussed in this section. Some members' perceptions conformed to previous research

findings as discussed in the literature review of Chapter 4. These include negative

constructions of Latino students, their families, and their language and culture (Heriberto,

2004; Hurd, 2004; Ryan & Carranza, 1977; Urciuoli, 1996; Valdes, 1996; Zentella,

1997a). Others challenged dominant paradigms by acknowledging Latino students'

successes and the merits of linguistic and cultural diversity at Crawford. Regardless,

every speaker's declarations were couched in the realties of Crawford High School: the

growth of cultural and linguistic diversity had outpaced the response of the school,

district, and state administrators. The school was facing challenges to which they were ill

equipped to respond.

Carla

Carla was one of my first faculty interviewees. Carla commented on the changes

she had experienced in her multiple years at Crawford High School. Her comments,

while not directed specifically against Latinos, helped me understand how she perceived

the changes and how he may have felt about "Others" outside the norm of White,

English-speaking culture.

Carla described that the district changed immensely in the 1970s when the

General Motors and Westinghouse factories closed. Farmland was sold in the 1980s to

developers who had since stamped the land with cookie-cutter homes. Strip malls grew,

car dealerships burgeoned, and stoplights were installed on the increasingly busy

highway in front of the school. A large urban area of approximately a million people in

its greater metropolitan area was ten miles away. This large city had expanded its

borders, but not out to the school district where the research was completed. Just beyond

the high school to the south and west were prime biking roads, so *urban* sprawl had not

overtaken the school. "This school was primarily a suburban school with pretty much…it

was diverse, but not culturally. We were a west side suburban school," Carla said in a

manner of fact fashion of the school's reality through the 1980s. I intentionally pursued

the suburban topic:

     Stace: What is the school considered now?

     Carla: Almost urban.

     Stace: What makes a school suburban?

     Carla: Probably the makeup of the school and the location.

     Stace: (Confused) The location hasn't changed…

"The makeup of the school" makes it suburban? New borders, *fronteras nuevas*, have

become established in many cities and rural areas. These new borders are physically

visible in neighborhoods and schools, where socio-economic class heavily impacts the

geographical placement of people. I knew this, but I did not agree that the movement of

people alone would cause a suburban school to become urban. According to Carla, a

school could not be considered suburban if it contained too much cultural and linguistic

diversity. I continued to question her.

     Stace: (Confused) The location hasn't changed…

     Carla: But when this school opened, there wasn't all this development.

     Stace: Did the developments make it more urban or *sub*-urban?

     Carla: A lot of the developments are apartments, so it changes the nature…the big
     development on Sparks Road was Hanover Park… I lived over there when I first
     married, it was definitely suburban. Now it's pretty much changed to Somali,
     Latino, African American, just pretty much that what's it is…

I could not believe I was hearing Carla dichotomize *suburban* from *diversity*.

"*They should not be opposites,*" I thought. I did not stop questioning her because, from

the core of my being, I wanted her to tell me what I *wanted* to hear: that suburban and

diversity *are not mutually exclusive.* Ultimately, my goal was to better understand the

her opinions of the students, not influence the research data to suit my needs.

Stace: What is the dividing line between suburban and urban?

Carla: I would say definitely socioeconomic too, we have a lot of single parents, who are struggling.

Stace: So it's socioeconomic…

Carla: And culturally…

My disappointment surged. Carla was indirectly saying that the school had

changed from nice-suburban to bad-diverse.

Mr. Daggert

Mr. Daggert, the school Principal, spoke of ESL students and the increase in free

and reduced lunch participants at Crawford. His reflections may suggest that, like Carla,

Mr. Daggert aligned cultural and linguistic diversity with the negative of poverty.

> Our demographics have changed quite a bit since I've been
> here. Our ESL population boomed. I don't now how much
> more… our free and reduced numbers are up right now. I
> don't know if that's a change in demographic or if we are
> getting the word out better now. That this is something
> people have a right to. Maybe a little bit of both…Getting
> people signed up to take advantage of the services…I know

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we've pushed harder to get the word out….some of the
financial things, breakfast and lunch…When I came here
we did not have an ESL department.
[Conversation took place in Mr. Daggert's office on
December 6, 2005]

On one hand, I commend Mr. Daggert for making these services available at the high

school; on the other, I was disturbed that the ESL program "bookended" his description

of these social services.

Hilary

Hilary described the diversity as a positive aspect of Crawford. "I love this

school; you can see so many different people." The Arabic, Somali, Spanish, and

Mexican indigenous languages excited her. Where else could you hear Mixtec and see

girls wearing Muslim head scarves?

"Is the school harnessing all the beauty of the cultures? Is the school doing all it

can?" I inquired of Hilary.

"I think we need to do more to teach appreciation of the cultures. Some kids think

they have to dismiss everything they are to be 'American.' We need to help them feel

they can be *them*…[for instance] how do we help others learn of their culture? Every kid

should learn how to communicate across cultures." I could not have agreed more.

Interview Excerpt
"Last year a Mexican mother arrived with their two boys…They came and took their tests…One
of the boys came back in and said, "Miss, do you have a driver's license? I need someone to drive our van
off the school parking lot or the police is going to take it to the impound lot." …The sheriff stopped them
out in the parking lot, asked them for their license, they didn't have one, and detained their keys and their
vehicle until a licensed driver came and drove their car off the lot."

"That's funny, I've never been asked that," I commented.

"…They finally called their cousin who came and did it. I don't consult the staff here about those things because there wouldn't be sympathy about those sorts of things. That was last year, and they never came back. They never showed again. So that means there's two teenage boys, probably floating around Hanover Park, contributing to the crime problem."

How ESL Students and the ESL Program Were Viewed at Crawford High School

In response to the growing Latino, Somali, and Eastern European demographic groups Crawford established a district-wide English as a Second Language (ESL) program at the beginning of the 2002-2003 school year. The program at Crawford received mixed results. Teachers who work directly with ESL students on a daily basis were the least complimentary of the school's ESL program, and the administration's treatment of ESL students and staff.

Three staff members who worked with ESL students criticized the program severely. They asked not to be identified because of their negative comments regarding how ESL students and the ESL program are viewed at Crawford High School. They will be known as Doe 1, Doe 2 and Doe 3 in this section. The idea of ESL classes at Crawford was "just thought up" and "thrown together" its first year at Crawford, Doe 1 described. There was no plan; there were no books. Staff members were not trained within the subject areas, and no one oversaw the coordination of the program for the first year.

The three ESL staff members complained at length about how the district views ESL students. Doe 1 felt the district "pats itself on the back" for going "over and above" the legal requirements for accommodating the needs of ESL students. However, agitated and speaking rapidly Doe 2 blurted, "These kids are treated like trash." The students and

their families were intentionally neglected by most of the administration[84] to discourage

enrollment. Doe 3 shared:

> While I was sitting with the family all four of the
> administrators walked past…the head one [the Principal of
> Crawford] who probably hates my guts the most probably
> walked past five times. None of them stopped by and said,
> "Hi I'm the principal, welcome to Crawford." None!
> Nothing!
>
> …You'll never see principal come here and say hi to the
> kids, or say "where are you from?"

The three staff members indicated that the district sees the kids as a "bother …a

nuisance…and in the way" because they "drag the standardized test scores down, making

the district look bad." Doe 3 spoke emotionally of ESL students, the State Graduation

Test, and the perception that the district discourages ESL enrollment:

> And I understand they are under a lot of pressure to
> produce a certain percentage of results in the school…the
> Hispanic drop out rate is through the roof. That's hurts our
> statistics when they don't pass the [State Graduation Test].
> Thankfully, there are modifications in place; they can take
> all day to take it…
>
> But I can't help but think that there are underhanded things
> to discourage enrolment by populations who may bring
> those stats down. That's my theory anyway. Maybe I have
> a conspiracy theory, but that would be a motive for that.

The ESL staff members further investigated the "conspiracy theory" with accounts of law

enforcement officers being called to the school to deter Mexican and Somali enrollment.

When a Mexican mother arrived to enroll her two sons,

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[84] Two of the three staff members indicated that "Mr. S" would at least say hello to ESL students and staff. Mr. S. was compared to a "good cop" who did not ignore the ESL program.

> The sheriff stopped them out in the parking lot, asked them
> for their license, they didn't have one, and detained their
> keys and their vehicle until a licensed driver came and
> drove their car off the lot.

"I've never been asked for my license," I reflected.

"That was last year, and they never came back. They never showed again."

When another Mexican student came to the school to enroll his car was searched. The sheriff found a bottle of alcohol in his car, handcuffed the student and put him in the back of the cruiser.

> Anyways, they took him…they drove him out in the
> country somewhere, dropped him off, and told him never to
> come back to the school again. And he never has. So
> there's yet another person who is not….(long pause) *here*.

Doe 1, 2, and 3 spoke at length of the pervasive institutional attitudes against ELL students and ESL classes. First, every school in the district has ELL students and ESL programs, but Doe 2 and Doe 3 explained Crawford supports their ESL programs the least of all the district schools. The program is seen as "disposable" by the administration the three Does suggested. For example, in the spring of 2005 Doe 1 was asked to teach more preps. Doe 1 reminded the administrator that regular and ESL levels of the same material accounts for two preps because of the different lessons prepared. "We'll just get rid of ESL," responded an administrator according to Doe 1, in order to free up time for Doe 1 to teach more mainstreamed classes (However, ESL classes were not interrupted). "It bothers me to see these kids looked at that way" Doe 1 said. I experienced harsh top-down institutional bias against ELL students during an interview with a State Board of Education member who stated,

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> Now the one thing that is going to be a major problem in
> [the state] is the language issue. I get kinda' testy with
> some parents….when they dump their kid in a public
> school system and they can't speak a word of English, and
> they wonder why they can't do this that or something else.

His righteous tone and aggressive word choice ("Major problem," "dump their kid")

surprised me, particularly after he informed me of his wife's position as the ESL

coordinator in a local district.

Doe 3 purported that the ESL students are made aware of their secondary status

by the physical conditions of the ESL classrooms.

> One thing is the fact that the ESL classes are all crowded.
> Not all of them, but most of them. There's supposed to be
> 12 in an ESL class. Most of them are above 12. There is an
> ESL history class[room] designed for 15 and under, and
> there are over 20 kids in there. Some kids sit on the floor,
> some at the teachers' desk. I think that wouldn't happen
> with a normal American class, they force them into a small
> space like that for supposed overcrowding issues.

Noticing that ESL classes were held in a corrugated metal building removed from the

main school, I asked Doe 3 if she thought AP (Advanced Placement) classes would ever

be held there. "Would AP and ESL ever switch off from year to year?" Doe 3 laughed at

the idea.

The lack of respect for ESL staff also emerged during the discussions. Doe 1

began teaching ESL classes without any formal training. The plan was "made up" the

first year as teachers went along; hence teachers in the core subject areas were

unprepared. New ESL teachers did not receive training until late autumn 2003—

approximately 14 months after the ESL program began. During the 2003-2004 school

year, a district ESL coordinator was "finally" designated, demonstrating to Doe 1 that the

ESL program was not perceived as a "real" academic department. Doe 2 indicated that

ESL students or staff do not receive sufficient emotional or financial support—"not

barely a pat on the back." Doe 3 further explained that when an ESL staff member left

her job during the spring of 2005 the administration hired an unqualified permanent

substitute to fill the vacancy:

> …and they brought in a permanent sub for the rest of the
> year. A person who knew nothing about ESL for the whole
> rest of the year. For the *entire rest of the year*, starting from
> March all the way on. And I'm sure they wouldn't do that
> for a geometry class, put a person not qualified in that area
> for the whole rest of the year.

The unqualified permanent substitute delivered the message to students and staff that

"anyone" could teach the ESL students.

On the day of our conversation, Doe 3 fought off tears while speaking.

> I am *just done*. I'm so done.
>
> I am very qualified to deal with these people and to be
> treated like this…I'll walk in the hallways and the
> principals, other than Mr. Reilly, won't look at me, won't
> say hi to me…treat me like I'm just nothing. It's been a
> constant thing to try to make me feel like I'm not wanted or
> I'm not appreciated. Never "great job" or anything like
> that.

In summary, teachers involved with ESL students at Crawford felt unappreciated.

They perceived that the administration did not value ESL programs, students, or staff.

This created an unhealthy level of tension at the school.

Journal Entry, Part I
I frequently confronted negative attitudes against Latinos in the school from staff and faculty members. One morning a teacher was in a car accident with an uninsured and unlicensed Latino driver. As the secretary told me about why the teacher was reporting late to work she gave me one of those "you know, *those Spanish-speaking people*" eye rolls. I met the teacher later in the day. He told me about the "uninsured Spanish-speaking guy" who hit him, and he said in a derogatory tone, "you could do research on THAT…" I wanted to tell him I *had* done research on "that."

Undocumented residents are not allowed to get a driver's license; therefore, they cannot obtain an insurance policy that covers them while driving. "*But everyone knows that undocumented workers drive illegally,*" I wanted to tell him, "*so why don't we allow them to get a license? They'll be more likely to be insured that way.*"
[Conversation took place in Brenda's office and the hallway, en route to the Teacher's Lounge on September 13, 2005]

Additional Perceptions of the ESL Program

Hilary and Carla shared their opinions of the ESL program and ESL students. Both stated that the ESL program is a good thing for ELL (English language learning) students, but that more classes are needed. "We don't have enough ESL teachers," maintained Hilary, "so we have some ESL students who are in regular classes. They are just sitting there saying 'I don't know what's going on.' We don't have enough help. That's across the district and the nation. We don't have enough people to help, and I get kids saying 'I can't understand,' and I'm saying 'Sorry do the best you can.' We can give them tutoring but it's not as much as we'd like to do." Carla concurred, "It (the ESL program) is not as extensive as it probably could be. Our ESL classes are bulging, so we do have that. I think they could probably do more."

I questioned Carla about the preparation of ESL teachers at Crawford. Were they well trained and prepared for the diversity of the school? Carla was careful in her response.

"I think they are good people number one. They are good teachers, but they would say themselves that they wish they were better prepared. In whatever way they can makes things better, taking classes, to understand the cultural diversity of their students…Can they be better? Sure. But I think that I have confidence in our teachers who teach ESL." Carla spoke of the ESL teachers as good *people* and *teachers in general*, but her "between the lines" answer indicated ESL teachers' poor preparation.

"Does the school offer ongoing training?"

"I know they have ongoing meetings after school, they do have opportunities to do things, but the district could do more. There are limitations because of time and money."

Time and money, a nationwide problem in public education.

Hilary and Carla felt Crawford High School needed to do more to welcome non-English speaking families to the district and the school, and gain knowledge of services for the child and family. Hilary has seen non-English speaking families be afraid "to come into the school because they feel they are lower on the hierarchy…that they don't have enough power to stick up for their kid." When parents or guardians come into the school, "It's hard…because we have to get a translator. It's frustrating for me and for them. I think it's hard for the students to understand that it's hard for me too, because I want to be able to talk to them, like they want to talk to me."

New ELL students are not always aware of the ESL-option. Unless Hilary tells them about it, she commented the students and parents may never know if this option. Unfortunately, with ESL classes bulging with students, "I can't make them promises I can't keep" regarding telling students about classes they cannot attend. Given the reality

of the ELL population growth in the district, Hilary and Carla are in favor of a "Welcome Center" for new immigrants.

"What would they learn (at the Welcome Center)?" I inquired.

"How to exist, how to deal with what they are going to be faced with, Carla replied.

"It would be nice to have all English learning students together, to get them used to our world first. Students should go there for a year…or longer…I think that's a good idea," Hilary added.

Carla agreed, "Basic English…Lots of these kids are struggling without the language. It would be to have English classes, but it's a cost factor. In the school district there is an eight million dollar deficit, so it's not going to happen."

Challenging the conservative views of the district, I asked Carla, "If you asked the voters to approve a referendum based on 'we have growing linguistic and cultural diversity in the school and we need to respond to it.' How would they respond?"

"I don't think they would respond favorably," Carla chuckled.

I did not know how to react to the Welcome Center idea. Was the idea motivated to keep "those kids" out of the mainstreamed high schools? Or was it truly altruistic? When I listened to Hilary and Carla speak about the ESL students, it appeared they perceived the Welcome Center differently.

Journal Entry, October 13, 2005
Today Danielle asked, "Who were the Native Americans?" There was lots of student confusion…

"Whites?"
"Blacks?"
"Jews?"

One kid said "Mexicans." How RIGHT that kid could be without even knowing it…or maybe she did know it…

As students copied notes on overhead, Danielle talked simultaneously about the American dream to own land. One Somali girl asked, "What is land?" I was stunned. I realize how "above their heads" this class is.

How can kids write and listen to her ramble at the same time?

"What are settlers?" A kid asked.

"What is the railroad?" "What are trains?"

OH THE THINGS WE TAKE FOR GRANTED

How do these kids understand metaphors such as "sugar coat it" and words such as cultivate, enable, and enacted? Tough!!

Additional Perceptions of ESL Students

Hilary

Hilary sympathized with the ESL students' adjustments to Crawford High School. In addition, she felt she perceived when an ESL student was "abusing" the system. I appreciated her ability to see problems in today's schools as symptoms of larger systemic issues, not a problem isolated to one ethnic or linguistic group. "Teachers do the best they can here. And then it's uncomfortable (for students) to go in a situation where you don't know what's going on…they may have had a different method of schooling…they don't know our building…"

"What do you do?"

"The best we can," Hilary replied positively, "…Teachers modify assignments…we can't expect them (new ESL students) to do what others have done…who've been in school their whole life."

Hilary appeared very affirming. She did not speak negatively of "those kids…" She knew the students needed to learn the culture, language, and many times, a new alphabet. This was the reality of Crawford High School, and Hilary did not sugar-coat matters. Hilary said she paid such great attention to ESL students that she could perceive when "they play games and speak more English than they put on." Students who do not know English will give you a "blank stare." Kids who know enough English to be in mainstreamed classes respond in different ways. "I think it's easier to say 'I don't understand'…To get off the easy route." Hearing Hilary gave *me* a "reality check" of how things may have changed since I attended high school.

"Won't that be detrimental to them?" I blurted.

"They're adolescents. They don't see the far away stuff." Mimicking a student she growled, " 'This 'F', it means nothing to me.' They can't see the future. It's *all* kids…it's a societal thing too, we have a need for immediate gratification. With TV, food, conversation, 'I want it now and I'm not willing to work for it.' Or they've been passed on from grade to grade, now they're in ninth-grade… they're not moving on if they don't have five credits. It happens across the nation, even colleges. Instant gratification… people don't want to disappoint other people. That's part of the problem. They're saying "If you try…!" (the expectation will be that you'll pass)…every kid *can be* a straight 'A' kid. Working for 'Ds' is passing and that's okay with them…that means it's okay with the teachers, parents, society…"

To what extent did our Whiteness affect Hilary's opinion and my nodding head? *Can* every kid be a straight 'A' student? It was easy for us to say these things; we speak English; we are successful White women. What were we missing from the big picture?

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Carla

During an interview I made a suggestion that the Advanced Placement students switch facilities with the ESL students. I dearly wanted a light to go off in Carla's head of the inequalities ESL students face on a daily basis. Some of the ESL classes were held in a stucco and corrugated tin facility called the "Greenhouse" approximately 50 feet from the main building. It's not a far walk, but this school is in the Eastern United States, not the tropics. It gets *cold*. The facility is poorly insulated, and the rooms are echo-ey and spartan. Classes for MRDD (Mentally retarded and developmentally disabled) and LD (Learning disabled) students are also held in the "Greenhouse." What message does that send to all students at Crawford?

> Stace: What about the crazy idea that someone suggested that ESL classes move out of the Greenhouse and AP classes move in?
>
> Carla: Have AP classes move into the Greenhouse?
>
> Stace: Right.
>
> Carla: They wouldn't be too happy with that (pursing her lips).

I wanted to grab Carla and shake her. Did she *hear* herself? Could she sympathize?

> Stace: Why?
>
> Carla: They would probably feel slighted in some way. We are so cramped here for space. Last year we had the AP test in the locker room of the Rec center. It wasn't the best place, but it was quiet. I've always been the believer that we can have education right here in this room. It's nice to have a nice brand new school and I think all that adds up to helping improving, but you and I can go out to a little room and have great education. That's the essence of education.
>
> Stace: But the idea of putting the AP students out there…
>
> Carla: It wouldn't fly…

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Stace: Why does it fly to put the kids who are just learning English out there? They ask me that, 'why are we out there?' That's makes me say, "Hmm how are they being treated?"

Carla: Out there in the Greenhouse…we have those classes in the annex to the Greenhouse, but in that Greenhouse itself we have the ceramics class. A few years ago we had an art teacher who wanted an area for his ceramics, he chose to put it out there. So I suppose the art department could say, "why don't we have a facility in here?" I don't know…that's a better question to ask the administration.

Carla, *do you hear what you are saying*? The ceramics teacher *chose* to put his kiln in the Greenhouse facility. And if we can have education "anywhere," *why can't* the AP classes move to the Greenhouse? I fumed inside.

Mr. Daggert

I asked Mr. Daggert, the school principal, about the why the ESL students were educated in the Greenhouse. His utilitarian response accented how many at Crawford became ESL teachers: "take this job or leave." In other words, teaching ESL classes was a position given to those with the least power and seniority in the school.

Stace: One ESL student asked me "why are we out there in the Greenhouse. Why don't they move the AP classes out to the Greenhouse?"

Mr. Daggert: Pure utilization. If you look at room size matters and if you look at…We try to minimize the amount of places teachers have to go [teach in]. Every room is used almost every period. Which forces us to have traveling teachers and shared rooms. If you look at, whether it's right wrong or whatever, typically the teachers who teach AP classes have more seniority…and there is part of our contract that says seniority is considered when scheduling a room. Unless there's a concern we let the department heads work it out…The ESL teacher typically have been newer, so they don't have a choice of one of the prime rooms.

The ESL teachers were the least experienced in the school. The Advanced Placement

teachers had significantly greater seniority. I conjured images in my head of cronyism,

corruption, and "the establishment" as teachers jockeyed for seniority in order to avoid

ESL students and *the Greenhouse.*

Journal Entry, Part II
  I had a brief chat with John today in the library. I was booting up my computer to meet with a student when he came in. He exhaled, hands at his side, and began to tell me a "library story." At the beginning of the year all the ESL kids were called over the loud speaker to the library.

  "That singling out thing I …that already makes me uncomfortable…they explained to them there's a new parking policy: You have to have a valid driver's license and proof of insurance. Sounds reasonable enough. However, why was that called to [the ESL] kids' attention? Because that's basically telling them "you can't park here." …They can't get a license. It's not like they're choosing not to. They can't. So that's something that, you know…

  Did they call the White kids down to tell them about this policy?" I asked

  "No, it was probably sent home in a letter, something like that…"

  I thought out loud, "Singling these kids out, 'you're ESL students so you can't park here…' that's…"

  "Their reasoning was 'we wanted to make sure we had interpreters down there. We're just making sure everyone understands.' That's the guise."

Perceptions of Latino Students' Achievement at Crawford High School

  US History teachers were aware that many Latino students were struggling in the

US History classes. Students and teachers blamed "the system" for students' disconnect

from the Anglo-centric US History curriculum and/or many Latino students' subsequent

lack of success; however, students and teachers defined "the system" differently.

Students' perceptions were covered in Chapter 6. Below I discuss teachers' views.

  Most teachers defined "the system" as local, state, and national power-holders. To

teachers the district school board, the state legislators and Board of Education, and the

State Graduation Test (as required by President Bush's *No Child Left Behind* policy)
were to blame for Latino students' lack of academic success and disconnect from the US
History curriculum. At the local level, two Crawford teachers pointed to the district's
middle school grading policy that promoted students who were poorly prepared for high
school.

> Tom: The problem is partly with the Middle School's grading style…[students] just need to get four points [to pass for the entire year]. If a kid gets an A in the first grading period, that's 4 points. You can fail the other thee grading period and still pass. You've got enough points to pass for the year, even if you have a 15% average. They (the students) coast and then come over here…
>
> Bonnie: It's a school board policy.
>
> Stace: why do they still do it?
>
> Tom: I'll tell you why they do it. It's a way to get those kids outta' there…they don't want a 15 or 16 year old in middle school…if they can get them through, get 'em passed…
>
> (Conversation took place in the teacher's lounge, October 27, 2005.)

The District's Middle School grading policy allowed students who were not grade and
subject-level proficient to pass through the system. Some of these students were not
accustomed to putting forth effort for an entire school year in a subject area, a
responsibility required at the high school level to graduate. The teachers with whom I
spoke blamed the school board for this policy. When students did not attain academic
success in high school the high school teachers felt blamed.

The state and national push for standards and testing, aspects of the "the system,"
came under attack from teachers. According to David, the standards were not written
sensitive to students' cognitive abilities at different grade levels. For example, students

studied ancient cultures in 7th grade. David stated that in a Piagetian sense, children were not able to conceptualize "ancient" at the age of 13. Another significant problem with the State Social Studies Standards is the under-representation of cultural minorities.

"Does anyone care?" I asked.

"No one in power cares, it's clear."

In summary, US History teachers blamed the district's grading policy, the State Standards, and the State Graduation Test for Latino students' academic struggles. Latino students did not see their culture represented in the state-mandated US History materials. Because of these facets, Latino students were less likely to feel positively connected to the school experience, David, Alex, and Bonnie maintained. The impact of the Standards and the State Graduation Test on the US History curriculum will be investigated in greater depth in Chapter 9.

"Tamales and Apple Pie": Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

The tension between Spanish and English was a recurrent theme in interviews. Students, school staff, and state officials offered a range of opinions regarding linguistic diversity in the school, state, and nation. In this section I examine the spectrum of responses regarding the use of languages at Crawford High School.

English: the Official Language

At one end of the linguistic spectrum was the view that English should be the official language of the state where the research was conducted. A member of the State

Board of Education responded to my comment of bilingual education with more than I

expected:

> …well, but we're never going to be able to fill 4th grade
> classrooms with English-Spanish teachers… or high
> school…that's one reason why again, not from a
> republican-democrat point of view or a liberal-
> conservative, but from a practical standpoint the official
> language ought to be made English, b/c that's a added push
> for people to say "I have to learn English. I *have* to learn
> English." …A country with multiple backgrounds cannot
> survive without a common language. I mean I don't think. I
> am thinkin' my history real quickly and I don't know where
> one has. We need to figure out real quickly what that's
> going be…I assume that will be English….and then get
> everyone speaking that.

Mr. Cummings was not in favor of bilingual education because he did not find it

"practical" in regards to helping students learn English. He felt English should become

the official language to compel people to learn the language.

English: the Dominant Language of Power

Students' Perspectives

Students were aware that speaking English granted them greater access to power

and opportunities. One afternoon Gabriel asked if he could interview his friend Ana. Ana

thought it would be fun conversation based on her initial response (see below) and

consented. I watched and listened as Gabriel gained power as the interviewer. He gave

advice to a classmate who knew very little English. This was wonderful to see from

Gabriel, given his troubled past and his perception of a troubled future.

> Gabriel: (Turns to Ana) *Mira, ¿cuál es tú futuro para esta escuela? ¿Que te gusta
> y que no te gusta?*

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Hey, what is your future like in this school? What do you like and not like?

Ana: *Me gusta comer…*
I like to eat.

Gabriel: *Te gustan las clases?*
Do you like your classes?

Ana: *Un poquito.*
A little.

Gabriel: *¿Porque un poquito?*
Why just a little?

Ana: *Porque no entiendo.*
Because I don't understand.

Gabriel: *¿Porqué no entiendes?*
Why don't you understand?

Ana: *'Que no sé inglés.*
Because I don't know English.

Gabriel: *¿Cómo piensas que vas a aprender el inglés?*
How do you think you're going to learn English?

Ana: *Poner la atención*
I need to pay attention.

Gabriel: *Hablas bien, no tengas miedo. Que pongas atención. ¿Que piensas del futuro?*
You speak well, don't be afraid. Just pay attention. What do you think of your future?

Ana: *Nada.*
Nothing.

Gabriel: *¿Porque nada? Piensas que todo está bien?*
Why nothing? Do you think everything is ok?

Ana: *Todo está bien.*
Everything is ok.

Gabriel: *¿Que quieres aprender de tu cultura?*
What do you want to learn of your culture?

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Ana*: Quiero aprender inglés.*
I want to learn English.

[Conversation took place in the Lunch Room on December 12, 2005]

Even when asked by a member of her own culture, Ana rejected the option of studying about Mexicans or other Latin Americans. I followed Gabriel's question with my own regarding her interest in seeing her culture in the textbook. She stared blankly at me and jutted her chin out in defiance as if to say "*I already answered your questions, why don't you hear me?*"

On a separate occasion, Ruben compared being a Spanish-monolingual student at Crawford to "throwing a fish in the air"—a "suffocating" and "tough" experience. Even though Ruben was a Spanish-English bilingual student, he could imagine the difficulty Spanish monolingual students faced daily. He understood that English was the "number one language you have to know in order to succeed" in the United States.

Interview Excerpt
 "…Last year one of the hall monitors said, "John there's a young man looking for you who is in the sheriff's car right now." I went out and found one of my students I'd had in middle school who had dropped out to work. I'd seen him in the neighborhood recently and I'd pulled my car over and said, "Hey how are you doing? Are you in school?" and he said "No I'm not in school. I dropped out to work." And I said, "I'm working at Crawford and I want you to come to school there." So he came in, asked for me, and then… they found a bottle of alcohol in his car when they searched his car. A partially drank bottle of alcohol.

 "Why'd they search his car?" I queried.

 "I don't know…I don't…I don't know"

 I asked in amazement, "The school allows this to go on?"

 John and dropped his chin in a "What do you think?" kind of way.

 I responded to aloud to myself, "They don't stop it." I took a deep breath.

While I found much of what Mr. Cummings, the State Board of Education member, said disagreeable, we shared a common perspective regarding the "power structure" of the United States: English *is* the dominant language of power. English is necessary to move in and between the power structures in this nation. I agreed with Mr. Cummings that parents must take responsibility in the home for the education of the child. It is unfair to expect an ELL child to learn a new language when he does not speak it or hear it outside of school. "That's a little bit unreasonable," Mr. Cummings commented. "There needs to be something going on in the home to get the kid proficient."

Teachers' Perspectives

Not hearing English outside of school is the reality for many Crawford ESL students. John reflected,

> Because they are living in an apartment community where everyone around them is Mexican, and all their TV is in Spanish, all they're speaking in the house is Spanish. So the "apple pie" thing is not creeping in. It's just not penetrating. They're like total 100% still in the culture while living here… I think they're still totally immersed [in their home culture] while living here. I don't know at what point they come out…

Hilary concurred, "We can do so much, but it needs to be carried on at home. That's not helping the kids here when they go home and just speak their native language at home. It's a tough balance…to add on, not subtract a culture." She continued, again articulating John's logic,

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> At home they speak their native language. A lot of Spanish
> speaking families have all Spanish TV—satellite. They
> don't *have* to learn English. It would help them be
> successful. It would help *us help them* be successful.

I am not in favor of espousing that students eschew Spanish for English.

However, if the Spanish-monolingual students are expected to graduate from high school,

more needs to be done to help them learn the language of power in this Eastern state.

Fear That "Kids are Talking about You"

Another theme that emerged was the insecurity teachers felt when students talked

to each other in Spanish. Both students and teachers stated this made teachers visibly

uncomfortable because teachers thought students were saying negative things about them.

Students' Perspectives

"They always think that we're saying something bad about them when we're

talkin' Spanish," observed Mariana. According to multiple students, one teacher told

Spanish-speaking students in her class to "go back to Mexico."

Crystal commented on teachers' insecurity. She cited her study hall teacher

"sshushed" students speaking Spanish, but not kids speaking English. Crystal tested the

teacher's bias by commencing talking (after having been quieted) with her girlfriends in

English about something that would interest the teacher. The teacher joined in the

"prohibited" conversation and laughed along with the girls.

Because Crystal moved between borders with her light colored skin, I challenged

Crystal to speak in Spanish with the two Mexican students in her study hall and gauge the

teacher's reaction. Crystal asked one of the Mexican students where she bought her purse: *¿Dónde compraste tú bolsita? ¡Me encanta*!" The two girls *se charlaron* (chatted with each other) about the sequined purchase. Crystal broke from the conversation to look at the study hall teacher.

"You speak Spanish? Where did you learn to speak Spanish?" the teacher inquired.

"I grew up speaking it. I'm *Mexican*."

I admitted to making the same mistake when I met Crystal and learned she was a Spanish speaker. I had not originally cast Crystal as a Mexican in my research script. What happened next in Crystal's study hall motivated Crystal to write a poem that addressed her multiple levels of anger. The teacher cheerily asked where Crystal was from in Mexico and ignored the other two Mexican girls with whom Crystal was sitting. Crystal was angry at the slight ("What makes us different?"), angry at the systemic abuses and biases against Spanish speakers, and angry at the fact that the teacher may from this point forward treat Crystal differently knowing she is Mexican.

Teachers' Perspectives

Karen, a teaching assistant at Crawford, agreed that teachers are insecure about what students are saying. "They [teachers] just can't handle the fact that the kids know another language and they don't."

John concurred with Karen. "They [teachers] are very uncomfortable when it's going on. They think they're being talked about, and I'm like, "no." Most of the time it's

not permitted—it's not *acceptable*," John corrected himself. Then he lowered his voice and mimicked an insecure teacher, "'Hey! speak English!'"

"What if the kids were speaking in Japanese or French?" I asked Karen, attempting to gauge the impact of Spanish on teachers' reactions.

"Mmmm, no. It wouldn't be the same. It's the Spanish," Karen responded, nodding strongly.

I *knew* this bias existed in the United States, but to hear it affirmed in the small microcosm of Crawford High School was harsh. *Hearing* it from a secretary in the main office crushed me. I was chatting with two Spanish-monolingual students and Estelle one morning. I left the conversation, and as I walked away the secretary hissed to the remaining three, "English! Speak English!" I turned on a dime.

"Why?" I asked directly.

"Because this is an English speaking school and they need to learn how to speak English."

I said nothing more at that moment, but I wish I had said, "*then teach them* how to speak English." Plus, why does the school offer foreign language classes if this is an English speaking school?

Even People Who Know Better Make Mistakes, Too

Occasionally professionals make honest mistakes by assuming what they should not. I made mistakes during the research process, as did one of my professors. All professionals make errors in judgment without intent to cause harm.

John related a story about a field trip to the local university for a Hispanic Fiesta event with four Spanish-speaking ESL students. A female professor from the university's college of education greeted them warmly and then started talking about a book of poetry.

"One of my students asked the professor, '*¿nos explica en Español*?' And she said to them, 'no, I'm not so good at the Spanish.' She apologized and was really nice, but my student said to me, 'I thought this thing was for Latinos. Why has everyone been talking in English? Why are the people on stage speaking in English to the crowd? I thought this was for Latinos.'"

John continued speaking about the interaction with the professor, "And she was telling us about this book called something like "*Tamales and Apple Pie*," and she said 'I'm sure they can identify with this.' And I thought about it later and thought, 'No, they can't. At least my kids can't.'"

John's students, like many of the students at Crawford, are immersed in their culture and language outside of school. "So the apple pie thing is not creeping in. It's just not penetrating… [The Professor] was wonderful, but [the students] didn't understand what the heck she was talking about."

I re-learned from this vicarious experience to assume nothing.

Journal Entry: Melting Pot or Salad Bowl?

"I have a huge interest in their cultures," one teacher explained. "I go to weddings and cultural events…They beg to come in here. I think it's because it's an environment where their language and their culture and how they are and how they act is accepted and permitted and is not constantly corrected... I don't attempt to change their basic identity. With the whole Americanization process… I don't feel anyone should have to do that. I think American means no one should have to do that. They kind of *are* melted together. The Somali girls know quite a bit of Spanish because they're surrounded by Mexicans. They like Hindi music…"

"They melt around the edges…" I commented.

The teacher jumped back in, angry at "the system." "I've been to his house…and hers…It's not a teacher-student thing. I *know* them…Right now I am feeling a lot of anger, because you would think there might be a kernel of appreciation for (what I do), and there's not. …Anytime there's a [person] who is perceived as having a left slant or a liberal personality or even a strong personality there are things that are done that aren't necessarily officially against the rules but there are things that are done to sort of put that person in their place."

Closing

I paid close attention to how faculty described the school's demographics. Some faculty members aligned cultural and linguistic diversity with poverty and urban decay; others described diversity as a positive aspect from which they and students could learn. Three faculty members criticized severely how ESL students and staff were treated at Crawford: "like trash." Spanish speaking was discouraged by many faculty members. Mexican students were perceived as the least desirable group.

In summary, many faculty members perceived that conditions were not favorable for Latino students at Crawford High School. Faculty members either spoke negatively of the school's growing diversity, or cited examples of blatant discrimination they had witnessed against Latino students. Some members' perceptions conformed to previous research findings as discussed in the literature review of Chapter 4. These include negative constructions of Latino students, their families, and their language and culture (Heriberto, 2004; Hurd, 2004; Ryan & Carranza, 1977; Urciuoli, 1996; Valdes, 1996; Zentella, 1997a). Others challenged dominant paradigms by acknowledging Latino students' successes and the merits of linguistic and cultural diversity at Crawford. Regardless, every speaker's declarations were couched in the realties of Crawford High

School: the growth of cultural and linguistic diversity had outpaced the response of the school, district, and state administrators. The school was facing challenges to which they were ill equipped to respond.

CHAPTER 9

STATE STANDARDS AND HIGH STAKES TESTING

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History class at one high school in the Eastern United States. From the viewpoint of Latino students, in what ways does their US History class meet their perceived needs?

The focus of this chapter addresses the intersection of students' responses to the essential question and the reality of state content standards and high stakes testing. First, I discuss the historical background to state curriculum content standards and statewide testing. Next, I write of the K-12 State Social Studies Standards where Crawford High School is located. Finally, I relate teachers, administrators, and a student's reactions to the State Social Studies Standards and the State High School Graduation Test.

Background to Standards and Testing at the National Level

In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education published the report *A Nation at Risk.* This report declared that United States high school graduates' scores in reading, science, and mathematics were lagging behind other nations such as

Germany and Japan. After the publication of this report, many educational reformers stressed the establishment of new policies of high academic standards with a system of state and national assessments to measure attainment of the standards. In conjunction with the call for higher standards, state politicians and education leaders began developing high school graduation examinations as a method to "define" higher expectations for students.

In 1989, American governors met to discuss the nation's results on international and national standardized tests, higher educational standards, and high stakes testing. They primarily focused on developing national assessments to measure American students' performance in math and science. With these test results educators could determine strengths and weaknesses in the curricula and identify areas for improvement.

By 1994, the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* departed from the idea of national testing by favoring the development of statewide testing systems. The National Council on Education Standards and Testing (NCEST) administration was maintained as the certifying body. The *Goals 2000 Act* effectively made funding available for states to develop content standards and assessments. Additionally, schools could hold students accountable for their achievement by tying results of the tests to social promotion and graduation.

When NCEST disbanded in 1996, states only had to send assurances to the US Department of Education that their curriculum and assessments met state-developed standards. Participating states continued to receive government funding. "Consequently, between 1994 and 1998, the federal government had allocated $1.7 billion to states for the purpose of developing academic standards" (Wraga, 1999, p. 15).

In 1997, President Clinton resumed the push for national standards and assessments. His cabinet advocated Voluntary National Tests (VNTs) in math and reading at the fourth- and eighth-grade levels. The VNTs would provide a "common measure of individual student performance nationally" (Wraga, 1999, p. 15). Although Clinton's VNT program was discontinued by early 1999, the idea of aligning curriculum with standardized tests has not wavered at the state level.

<center>The K-12 State Social Studies Content Standards</center>

I inspected the K-12 Social Studies Content Standards in the state where this research was completed. The State Content Standards indicated proper alignment with statewide diagnostic and achievement tests, and guarantee all students will be prepared to meet the demanding conditions of the 21st century. These demanding conditions were not clearly defined in the document.

The State Content Standards broadly define what students need to learn. The Standards do not specify people by name, such as, "Students will learn about George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson; instead, the standards designate "the founding members of our nation." I completed searches for countries, regions, and concepts throughout the entire K-12 Social Studies Standards. I noted the frequency and the grade level in which these items occurred. This search was simple to perform, as I obtained the Standards online, and used the Internet search function.

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Latin America in the K-12 Social Studies Content Standards

Latin America/American appeared six times in the entire document (see Table 7). While the region was *listed* six times, it was scheduled for grades four and nine, with one rationale for each grade. For example, in grade four, students were to learn about recent immigrants to the US from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In grade nine, Latin America was related to ideas spread during the age of European Enlightenment and wars for independence. These two grade level indications were each repeated twice in the document, summing to six indications of Latin America/American in the entire document.

A Closer Look at Latin America

A random search for Latin American countries revealed zero "hits" for Mexico, Brazil, Honduras, Argentina, Haiti, and Cuba throughout the entire K-12 social studies curriculum. Latin America did not exist as a stand-alone region with its own countries, cultures, ideas, people, and histories. How will students be able to meet the "demanding conditions of the 21st century" if they do not know about Mexico? Even the economic agreement, NAFTA, a concept studied in grades 11 and 12, did not indicate Mexico (or Canada). The exclusion of Mexico and Canada from the written portion of the Standards does not explicitly imply that teachers should not discuss these countries when teaching about NAFTA. A good teacher would know to elaborate on the Standards and include Mexico and Canada in their teaching.

Country, Region, or Concept	Number of Indications in Document	Original Uses	Grade Level Taught
Latin America(n)	6	2	4, 9
Central America(n)	3	1	10
South America(n)	0	-	-
Mexico	0	-	-
Brazil	0	-	-
Cuba	0	-	-
Cuban Missile Crises	6	2	10
Latino	3	1	10
Africa	19		4, 7, 9
Asia	19		4, 6, 7, 9
Canada	0	-	-
China	6	2	7, 9
Egypt	6	2	6, 7
England	6	2	8, 9
Japan	3	1	9
South Africa	3	2	9

Table 7: Countries, Regions, and Concepts in K-12 Social Studies Content Standards.

Asia and Africa in the K-12 Social Studies Content Standards

The K-12 Social Studies Standards focused more heavily on the regions of Asia and Africa than Latin America (see Table DEF). Asia was scheduled for grades 4, 6, 7 and 9; Africa for grades 4, 7, and 9. China and Japan, two randomly selected Asian countries, were designated in the standards a total of nine times (three original uses). Egypt was indicated six times in the context of ancient history. South Africa appeared three times with regard to the end of apartheid. The nation was scheduled to be taught as a "multi-perspective unit" including Israel, India, and Pakistan, regions previously controlled by Britain. The Western-centric perspective was pervasive throughout the K-12 Content Standards.

The Tenth-Grade US History Standards and Latin America

In tenth-grade US History, Central America and the Cuban Missile Crises were indicated respective to their place in US imperialism and world conflict. Latinos and the United Farm Workers were included concerning racial and cultural struggles in the 1960s. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was designated as a monumental court case; however, long before African Americans, Mexican-Americans fought *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930, 1931), *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (1931), *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946, 1947), and *Delgado et. al. v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1948). These Latino-focused court cases were overlooked in the State Social Studies Standards: the examination of the US Constitution as a living document disregarded the successful struggles of Latinos.

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Conclusions on the State Social Studies Standards

I understood why my participants felt their history was being disregarded in US History. Their countries, cultures, ideas, people, and histories were scarcely found in the content standards for their entire K-12 career. The Latino culture in the United States has an extensive record of cultural and historical contributions in this nation (Contreras, 1997). A large part of the "American Story" can be told by recognizing the technological, educational, political, and social efforts of Latino men and women, particularly in the Southwest United States (Roybal, 1979). Unfortunately, scholars have failed to reflect accurately the activities and involvement of Latinos in the "American Story" because of Latinos' ethnic minority status. The "American Story" in mainstream literature and educational textbooks focuses overwhelmingly on contributions of the dominant, Anglo culture (Cruz, 2002; Dillabough & McAlpine, 1996; Garcia, 1980; Hyun, 2000; Noboa, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). When Latinos' political activities are noted, Latino men are typically the focus. Latin*as* actions are rarely celebrated. Hence, Latin*as*, women of Latin American heritage, have been twice marginalized from the "American Story" because of gender and ethnicity.

In sum, my student-participants in Groups Two and Three stated that their needs were not being met in US History. Groups Two and Three participants wanted to learn about their culture and those of others, respectively. Unfortunately, the content standards were overtly focused on Western history. The three World History sequences in the State Standards delivered content through a Western lens, as if all other culture existed *because of* Europe and the United States. Central American and Cuba existed *because of* their

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effect on the US. NAFTA existed *because of* the agreement between Canada, the US, and Mexico. The Western-centric perspective of the content standards was troubling.

The State Standards at Crawford High School

Nearly twenty years after *A Nation at Risk*, President George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind Act* became law. In preparation, the state where this research was completed passed a state law requiring academic content standards in social studies, mathematics, reading/language arts, and science.

The K-12 Social Studies Content Standards and the State Graduation Test heavily impacted my interviews with administrators, teachers, and students. Everyone was aware of the impact of standards and assessment on the teaching and learning process. In the subsections below, I relate the viewpoints of administrators, teachers, and students.

Teachers' Perspectives

David adamantly averred that problems exist with the State Social Studies Standards. According to David, the Standards are not where students are cognitively at particular grade levels. For example, students study ancient cultures in 7th grade; but in a Piagetian sense children are not able to conceptualize "ancient" at the age of 13. Second, the standards are top-heavy in history, particularly US and Western history. A psychology and sociology instructor, he was sensitive that his subject area was not valued. Third, and most relevant to this research, the State Social Studies Standards under-represent cultural minorities.

"Does anyone care?"

"No one in power cares, it's clear."

David has testified against the poorly written State Social Studies Standards to the 17-member State Board of Education (See Appendix J). Board members appeared uninfluenced by teacher testimony. The board vote in favor of the standards was 17-0. David was disheartened.

"It's when 10% of Langdale Heights or Denton (nearby suburban schools in well-funded districts) doesn't graduate when things will change with State Standards. Until then, no one cares what poorer, more diverse districts think!"

The US History Textbook: "Is Puerto Rican, Mexican?"

The US History textbook at Crawford High School was intimately connected to the State Social Studies Standards. The textbooks were purchased by the district because "they have the correlation of [State] Standards in them," Bonnie informed me, "which align with the State Graduation Test." This teaching and learning medium changed how teachers taught while it negated students' Latin American identities.

> The Gringo, licked into the fiction of white superiority, seized complete political power, stripping Indian and Mexicans of their land while their feet were still rooted in it. *Con el destierro y el exilio fuimos desuñados, destroncados, destripados*—we were jerked out by the roots, truncated, disemboweled, dispossessed, and separated from our identity and our history. (Anzaldúa, 1987, pp. 29-30)

Where were the Latino students' sides of the story in Crawford's US History textbooks? They had been jerked from the pages.

US History teachers at Crawford relied heavily on the textbook for instruction. Teachers were expected to use this textbook to streamline teaching to the required (or "testable") material. US History teachers felt there was little "wiggle room" for creativity because of the State Standards and the textbook. Teachers felt oppressed by the necessity to prepare students for the State Standards (and ultimately, the State Graduation Test) with a textbook that did little to excite students' learning. During one October week, students in AP US History and ESL US History read the same passage aloud about the Chisholm trail and the cowboy. "…Twelve percent of the cowboys were Mexican and 25% were African American…" Latino students were equally unimpressed in both classes, regardless of their English proficiency or curriculum access. The source of the information, the textbook, glazed students' eyes. It was as if Latino students in both classes did not see their culture fleetingly mentioned as they fought off boredom.

The State Social Studies Standards and the textbook did not help students understand the complexity of Latin American cultures or that of other cultures. After one read-aloud session regarding Latin American laborers at the turn of the century, a girl asked "Is Puerto Rican, Mexican?" She did not know that "Mexican" was a separate entity from "Puerto Rican," She had never learned about the multitude of cultures that constitute Latin America. The lack of information was not limited to Latin America: another student was surprised to learn that the *Native* Americans and *African* Americans were not the same.

I know the phrase, "No question is a bad question." However, I wondered, to what extent did the textbook contribute to students' lack of understanding? Had years of textbook-oriented history classes negatively impacted students? Did kids not pay attention because of the textbook-oriented curriculum? Or, did I happen to witness two "silly" questions within a short amount of time?[85]

The State Graduation Test at Crawford High School

No Child Left Behind and statewide agendas necessitate that states have curriculum content standards *and* tests to determine if students are meeting the standards. In response, the state where Crawford High School is located mandated a State High School Graduation Test aligned with the content standards in writing, reading, mathematics, science, and social studies.

Table 8 shows the percentage of students in the Crawford High School that passed each of the five portions of the Graduation Test within the past two years. A "proficient" ranking or above is considered passing.[86] Students struggled most with the science portion of the test, and fared slightly better on the social studies segment. Their performance on the reading portion was markedly better, with nearly 87% passing.

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[85] I reflected back to a student I taught in US History who, at the close of the unit on the Civil War, asked, "Ms. Rierson, when were you born?"
"1968."
"You were born three years after the Civil War ended?!"
Without doubt, the shock was clear on my face. Where had this student been? What had he learned during the preceding three weeks? Did he glaze over daily because I (yes, even I) relied on the textbook to shape my instruction?

[86] There are five performance levels on the Graduation Test: Limited, Basic, Proficient, Accelerated, and Advanced. Students must score at or above the "proficient" level to pass the subject area test.

Subject Area of State Graduation Test	%
Social Studies Graduation Test	70.8
Math Graduation Test	71.1
Reading Graduation Test	86.9
Writing Graduation Test	75.0
Science Graduation Test	63.2

Note. The information in Table 8 was obtained from the State Department of Education website. The URL will not be given to protect the confidentiality of the school and participants.

Table 8: Percentage of Students Scoring "Proficient" or Higher on State High School Graduation Test.

Teachers' Opinions of the State Graduation Test

The majority of teachers with whom I spoke were opposed to the State Graduation Test. David opposed the State Graduation Test because of its negative impact on CLD students. According to David, the standards and accountability system established by *No Child Left Behind* has been "the…biggest assault" on CLD, poor, and urban students. He clarified that it [NCLB] looks great on paper, but is not properly funded. "Sure we want 100%" of all African American kids to pass test—So give us resources to do it!" David further opined that NCLB "sets schools up for failure" through legislated testing. For example, students classified as limited English proficient (LEP) must take and pass the test. They are allowed a dictionary and/or a thesaurus during the

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five portions of the test. They may also be given extended time to finish the tests, although the amount of time was not clarified by the State Department of Education. Students who have been enrolled in US schools for less than three years and are at the "beginning" or "intermediate" level in both reading and writing are eligible to receive an English read aloud accommodation (such as an audible recording on CD) of allowable parts of the test, and/or an oral translation accommodation of allowable parts of the test. Unfortunately, Crawford does not have the funding to help all of their LEP students. They do not have the funds to orally translate every ELL students' test into the students' L1. Without the funding to succeed, schools are "doomed." David related, "It's a scary world for public education."

In addition, the National Center for Fair and Open Testing (2006) established

> No test is good enough to serve as the sole or primary basis
> for important educational decisions…Assessment based on
> student performance on real learning tasks is more useful
> and accurate for measuring achievement - and provides
> more information - than multiple-choice achievement tests.

CLD students are more disadvantaged in American schools than are students from European backgrounds. CLD students are more likely to disproportionately attend resource-poor schools, lack access to highly qualified teachers, be deficient in college-preparatory coursework, come from households with low levels of formal education, be English language learners and English language learners with disabilities, and have higher family mobility rates because of migrant and/or seasonal work (American Federation of Teachers, 2004; Capps et. al, 2005). Therefore, CLD students are less likely to perform at adequate levels on standardized tests such as statewide graduation tests.

Michael Cummings, one of the elected members of the State Board of Education understands that tension exists between the need to accommodate the cultural diversity in the class with the requirements of the State Graduation Test. Mr. Cummings suggested that teachers used this tension "either as a excuse for not getting the job done, or they are over-blowing it way too much. Now I haven't been in the classroom for many many years but…" Mr. Cummings trailed off, raised his eyebrows, and tilted his head to the right as if to say, "You agree with me, right?" I stared blankly and did not give him the acquiescence he sought.

<div align="center">Teachers' Arguments Against the State Graduation Test

at Crawford High School</div>

Barton (1999) suggests that most teachers desire to teach to state and district standards in ways that will best suit their students' needs, not in ways that will best prepare their students for a standardized graduation test. In this section, I merge literature about high-stakes tests with interview data from Crawford High School.

Teachers Should Determine Students' Progress

Neill (1997) concurs that teachers should be able to determine student progress with a multiple of assessment strategies. "Public evidence of student achievement [should] consist primarily of samples from students' actual schoolwork rather than just reports of results from one shot examinations" (p. 34). Bonnie agreed that teachers should be the ones to decide if a student should graduate. "You have to have some confidence in

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your teachers…that they are capable of making the decision that the kid is ready to be promoted, not necessarily leave it up to a state test…I don't know what the answer is. A rubber stamp of 'Oh, you're 19 and it's time to go?'"

A Threat to Current Practices

Some teachers may view graduation tests as a threat to current practices. Cuban (1991) points to studies dating to the 1950s suggesting social studies teachers are especially traditional and resistant to change. "Within public schools, teachers implicitly embraced norms, beliefs, attitudes, and rituals that reached back many decades into their own lives, first as students, then as novices in classrooms, and eventually as licensed teachers" (p. 207). Bonnie criticized the graduation test for pushing students through the curriculum too quickly. The graduation is given in March of the sophomore year. Therefore, the entire US History curriculum must be finished by mid-March, not June. "What we can do is after we finish the test in March, we can go back and review things," Bonnie shrugged. Additionally, to help "at risk" students earn required credits, courses are offered in a "time condensed" block schedule. "You can't teach history in a full year to begin with," Bonnie began, "Now were asking the lower level students to do twice as much…to do more in less time." The March test date has changed the scope and pace of US History.

Fear of Teacher Evaluation

Another factor that may deter teachers from supporting the high school graduation test is the fear that the device will eventually be used to evaluate teacher performance.

Bonnie and Tom, an eavesdropping teacher in the teachers' lounge, confirmed this fear.

Tom stated,

> You give a kid a test in the second grade, he fails it, they
> give him an IEP, pass him on, test him in fourth grade, give
> him an IEP, pass him on…6th, 8th…They don't pass the
> test…It goes on our report card that 'we suck as a high
> school.' And the kid doesn't graduate. The buck stops here
> and we get blamed for it.

"But the enlightened people know it's not your fault…?" I investigated.

"What enlightened people? Legislators blame us. The people who put the test on

us blame us!"

Bonnie added her opinion of tying student performance to teachers' evaluations:

> It would be nice if all of our kids attended first, second,
> third grade…a lot of our kids have never been to school
> *ever*. They are starting school for the first time as 15 year-
> old freshman immigrant kids.

Tom and Bonnie resented how "the system" judged teachers based on *all* students'—

including immigrant students'—performance. Many migrant students from farming

communities in Western African and Latin American countries have never been to

school. Tom and Bonnie shared a story of two brothers who had to be taught how to hold

a pencil on their first day at the high school. "They've got a year and a half to pass that

test," Tom relayed.

An additional reaction teachers shared regarding the State Graduation Test was

the language proficiency of their students.

> Bonnie: …some of our kids have the decked so stacked against them…There are
> no language exemptions for this test.

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Tom: One kid on my math test missed an answer because the answers were dime, penny, quarter…instead of ten cents, 1 cent…and the kid didn't know 'dime.' 'Ascending' was also a word that threw kids on the test.

Bonnie: The language on test can throw even kids who lived here their whole life…a lot have limited vocabularies. The kids who are pretty English proficient are still learning. Language is half the battle on that test.

Bonnie and other teachers feared that, in their desire to teach in a diverse district, they would be viewed by others as a less capable teacher because of their students' ELL status and their subsequent performance on the State Graduation Test.

Changing Teachers' Behaviors

Bonnie described how she spends class time nearly every day to train the students for the test. This behavior altered what and how she teaches (Cheng, 1999; Phelps, 1999; Wraga, 1999). When asked if the State Graduation Test changed her classroom practices Bonnie responded:

Honestly the last couple years…with the proficiency [the previous system of testing] we disguised the fact that we were teaching to the test. Now, they're very blatant and they say 'teach to the test.' It's much more stapled down now.

The day is very soon in coming that we'll be teaching a state mandated curriculum…you'll be doing *this* on *that* day…that's where we're headed. This is what you are teaching today because that is what the [State Graduation Test] says is being taught.

Even with the growing Latino population Bonnie and Alex did not feel they had "space" to modify their curriculum based on students' interests. Bonnie continued:

We used to do a Pancho Villa project one year, now we don't even try that. Now it's just benchmarks and

standards. This is what you're teaching today because
that's what the (State Graduation Test) says is being taught.
They don't even disguise that. They say teach to the test.

Bonnie began to interact with Alex. "Alex, have you experienced the same thing? It's all standards content, driven by the state?"

"It's all standards. We can't teach anything before Westward expansion."

When I observed Alex's AP US History class, I noted he mentioned the State Graduation Test three times within 45 minutes. First, he opened class as he does daily with a vocabulary word from the Test. That day's word was "affirmative action." He explained how this policy impacted women and African Americans, not Latinos; hence, I was disappointed that he had missed a teachable moment. Second, during a discussion of westward expansion he stated, "This information will be on the Test." Finally, when assigning the following day's homework he said, "This type of short answer will be on the Test."

Bonnie inquired of Alex, "Do you maybe modify your content to address Latino population… it used to be you could…"

"There's no option."

I interjected, "So if the kids say, 'hey I want to see more of myself in the curriculum…' "

"It needs to be on the State Test before… (gesturing helpless), Bonnie replied.

Additional Opinions of the State Graduation Test

An Administrator's Perspective

The Principal of Crawford High School, Mr. Daggert, focused on the positive during our discussion of the High School Graduation Test. He suggested this version of the Test was an improvement over Proficiency Examinations, which the district previously used. "The concept [of an exit exam] is not new, but we are implementing new strategies to make sure our kids are ready. With the ninth grade proficiency model…a lot of our focus was on remediation after the fact." Students would take the test in the ninth grade and continue to "take it take it take it. We tried to tutor them up to pass the test." The current Graduation Test is offered less frequently and is more rigorous, requiring students to write more of their answers longhand. Mr. Daggert states the school is "doing everything we can in the regular classes and measure our progress as we go along the way…to know what students' competencies are… And trying to intervene at that level instead of 'let's take the State Graduation Test…' and then figuring out what we need to do to help them." Mr. Daggert appeared confident that the test was an improvement over the previous exit examination.

Ruben and Hilary

Ruben, a student in Group Three, observed that the State Graduation Test negatively impacted his experiences in history class.

"The only thing I do hate is the [State Graduation Test]. We have to go so fast. We never got to really study about the Civil War."

"You learned in it eighth-grade…" I offered as a consolation.

"That doesn't matter now, man. I want to learn about it *now*, when I *care*."

When students noticed monumental news events and actually *wanted* to know more, teachers wanted to be able to break from standards-based instruction. A faculty member, Hilary, was aware of the tension in the US History classes when Rosa Parks died.

> …In the history classes they have to focus on the State Graduation Test…and they have to do certain things at certain times… and as you know Rosa Parks just died and I said, "OH my gosh what a perfect time to talk about civil rights." It's so relevant right now. You could use the on-goings right now because kids are paying attention. ...and teach about civil rights. But they can't because it's not the right time in the curriculum. It makes teachers and principals stressed out. I think that's the problem…rigidity.

Hilary understood that the State Graduation Test restricted time available for "teachable moments." She felt this was an insult to the student learners and to education.

The State Graduation Test: Deconstructed

I examined a practice version of the State Graduation test published by a major company in Iowa. The practice graduation exam is an indication of the material and the types of questions that are asked on the official State Graduation Test. The 50-question exam made my jaw drop. *Where was Latin America?* I read multiple-choice questions, examined maps, and studied the short reading excerpts. *Where was Latin America? ¿Dónde estuvo la cultura tan cerca a mi corazón?* (Where was the culture so dear to my heart?)

Latin American countries, concepts, events, and people were not substantially

included on the practice graduation test (see Appendices K, L, M, and N for a detailed

examination). I counted *each time* a country, concept, event, or person was noted on the

test in text descriptions, and answers, and on maps and graphs. Therefore, there are more

total references to countries, concepts, events, and people than there are questions. A

question description may include a person, event, *and* a country. One or more of these

people, events, or countries may be repeated in a multiple-choice selection to that

question; hence, they would be counted again. The 5 countries most represented on the

practice graduation test are the United States, Britain, China, Japan, and India (see Figure

5).
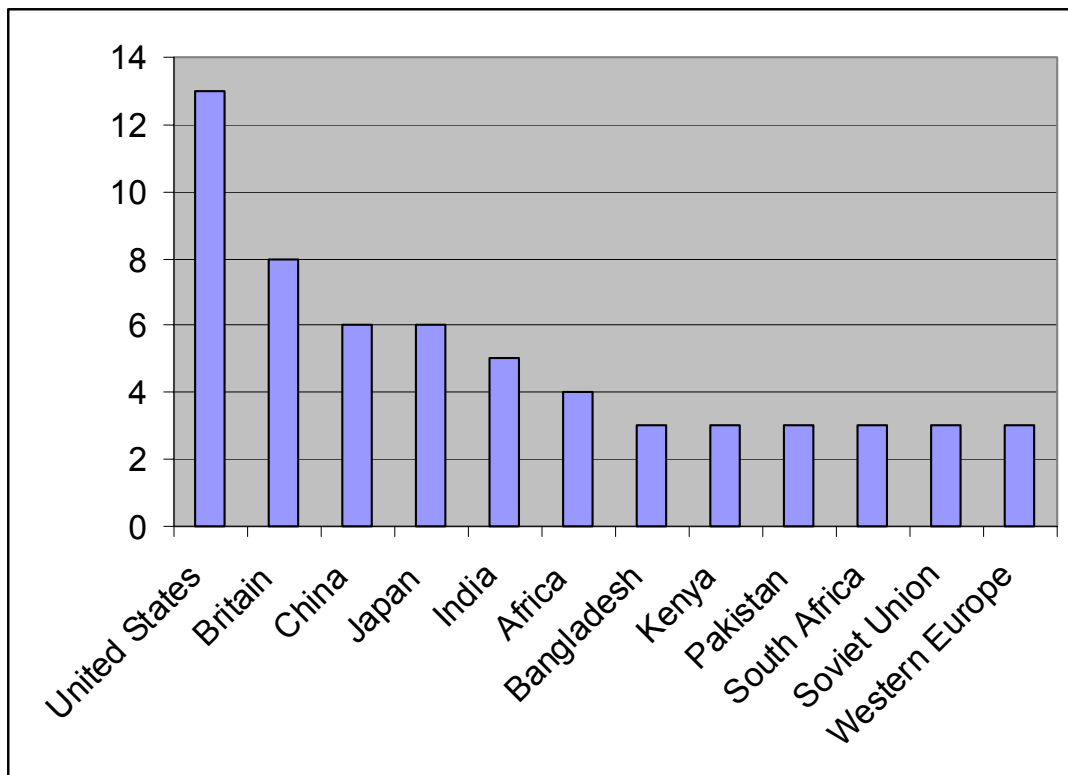
Figure 5: Twelve most represented countries or regions on the practice graduation test

The Practice Examination: Latin American Countries

Mexico, one of the United States' largest trading partners, was not referred to on the practice version of the State Graduation Test. There were no questions on the Cuban Missile Crises or NAFTA. NAFTA was not "testable" material because it is taught in the 11th and 12th- grades. Brazil and Honduras, the only Latin American countries mentioned, were noted a combined total of three times, the same number of times as Bangladesh. The United States and Britain were indicated 21 combined times. I admit I resented that Fiji, Tibet, the Belgian Congo, Gabon, and Madagascar "made the cut" over Mexico.

The Practice Examination: Latin American Concepts, Events, and People

The practice examination for the State Graduation Test contained 50 questions. The topics of the 50 questions are outlined in detail in Appendices K, L, M, and N. I was equally disappointed with the quality and quantity of Latin American concepts, events, and people represented on the practice exam. The exam contained topics not fundamentally related to United States History. The theme of British fox hunting was present in three questions (see Figure 6). People who work in stables, animal cruelty, and the eradication of pests were also mentioned in three total questions.
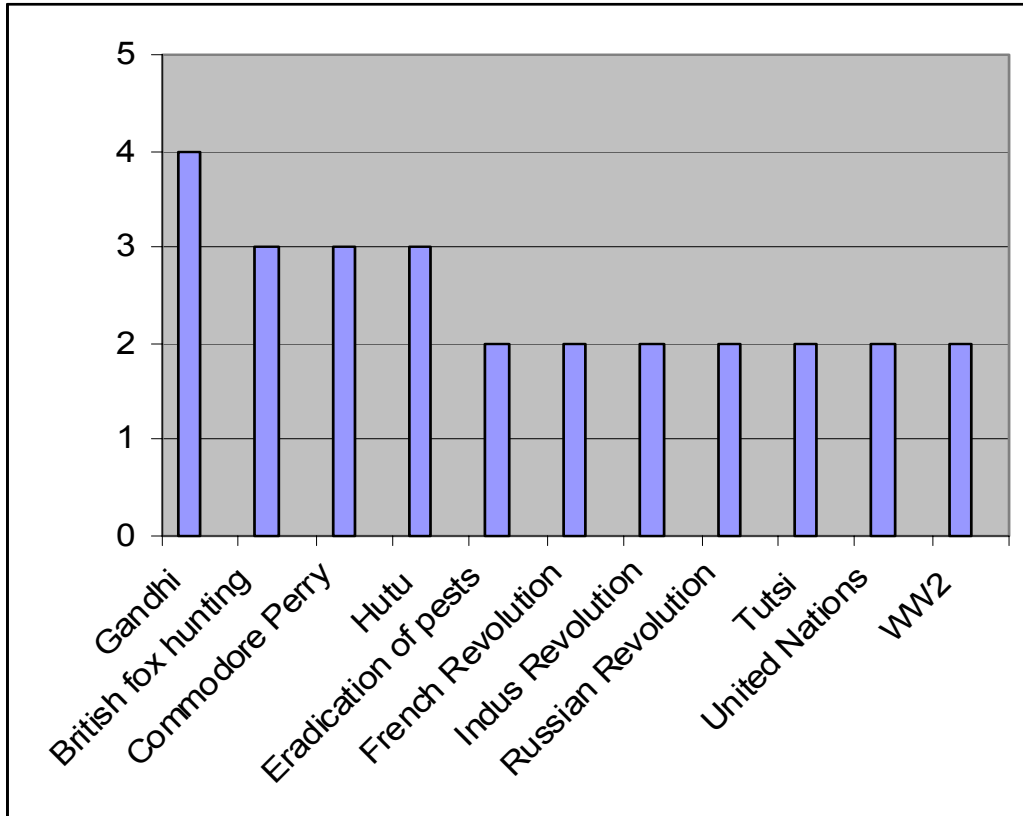
Figure 6: Most frequent concepts, events, and people on practice graduation test

One question attempting to address the region of Latin America queried "Where is Spanish the predominant language?" Unfortunately for multiple-choice-loving students, several regions on a world map where Spanish is spoken were offered. Option 1 included part of Mexico, all of Central America, the entire Caribbean, and parts of Columbia and Venezuela. In these countries, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Creole are spoken, as well as Nahuatl, Quiché Maya, Taino, Karina Carib, Kekchí, Miskitu, Tarahumara, Ottomanguean languages, Zapotec, Oluteco, and many-hundreds more languages. The second world region incorporated Brazil, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador,

and Paraguay, where Portuguese and Spanish interplay with Guaraní, Aymará, Quechua, Quichua, Mapudungun, Papiamentu, Jívaro, Emberá, Ticuna, and again, hundreds of additional languages.

The third area displayed all of Spain with most of Western Europe. Every country in Europe speaks at least one different language than their neighbor, but many speakers know that Spain is the "king" of Spanish. Hence, students may interpret the question to mean, "From where does the dominance of Spanish come?" The fourth area included New York. Two student-participants from New York averred that Spanish and English are mutually powerful languages in New York City. How would my Nuevo Rican and Dominican students perceive this question on the graduation test? In summary, this question regarding a Latin American concept, event, or person was poorly constructed.

Another question presented the per capita GDP of Honduras in relation with four other counties. Honduras had the lowest per capita GDP of the five displayed. This negative representation of non-Western cultures is detrimental to students' perceptions of Latin America.

In summary, the practice version of the State Graduation Test I examined was not representative of the range of information included in the K-12 State Social Studies Content Standards. It would be impossible to include all the information in a fifty-question test; but, I have shown the Western-centric focus of the K-12 Social Studies Standards and a practice version of the State Graduation Test. Additionally, the practice version of the Test contained poorly constructed questions and negatively portrayed Latin America.

Closing

The State Social Studies Standards serve as the students' base for learning and the teachers' base for teaching. Content standards, accountability, and standardized testing are not inherently negative. Asking students to learn particular information and demonstrate their knowledge is not wrong or harmful when well-written standards and assessments are utilized. As this chapter has clarified, Western-centric content standards and a Western-centric standardized test do not properly prepare students to meet the demanding conditions of the 21st century. Furthermore, the student-participants in this study clarified that their needs do not align with the State Social Studies Standards and the required State Graduation Test.

On paper, the standards and accountability system established by *No Child Left Behind* has the potential to "improve the education of children of immigrants and limited English speaking children in several important ways" (Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, & Jeffrey, 2005). Provisions in NCLB call for programs to raise test scores of CLD students. Teachers interviewed for this study indicated that NCLB provisions have not been properly funded or followed; hence, the reality of raising CLD students' performance differs from expectations.

This dissertation research is significant because it addresses how a group of CLD students perceive the Anglo- and male-oriented US History curriculum. Asking students about their perspectives and needs may reaffirm that US History classes perpetuate the "values and social stratification existent in American society" by ignoring the "perspectives of people of color" (Diaz-Greenberg, 2003, p. 3). Additionally, this project

intersects with topics essential to the future of our nation: schools, the social studies curriculum, CLD students, students' perspectives, and the reality of state content standards and high stakes testing.

CHAPTER 10

RECOMMENDATIONS: GLOBAL EDUCATION

Given students' perceptions of their needs and wants for the US History curriculum, their definitions of success, and their descriptions of racism, I felt a section was necessary responding to the question, "now what?" What can US History teachers do in their classes to positively affect students' perceptions of the school and society, take steps towards improving relations between students, teachers, and students' perceptions of the curriculum, and *still* meet the curriculum content standards? In this chapter, I argue for the inclusion of a global perspective in the US History curriculum.

Nearly 40% of American K-12 students are from culturally and linguistically diverse groups (Skolnik, Dulberg, & Maestre, 2004). Twenty-two percent of students have at least one foreign-born parent, including 91% of Asian children and 66% of Latino students (Associated Press, 2005). K-12 schools contain a growing number of students whose first language is not English (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Hayes-Bautista, Hurtado, Burciaga Valdez, & Hernandez, 1992; Hurtado & García, 1994; Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003; López, 2003; Sosa, 1993). Given these statistics of American students, we must realize that as citizens of this world, we do nothing in isolation; therefore, we must learn how to interact across cultures. Since "culture cannot exist without communication"

(Porter & Samovar, 1991, p. 21) and we are consistently communicating with people around the world, our students must become culturally literate to the wide range of styles, norms, and traditions in our global society.

The schools are an ideal situation to foster cross-cultural learning because of the broad knowledge base of teachers, the technology and media available, the opportunities to learn from community members, and the ability to organize travel. "Schools are charged with the function of educating students, of teaching them about the physical and social world, as well as giving them some basic skills for functioning as members of society" (Albert & Triandis, 1991, p. 416). Global education helps students develop respect for all cultures and should be an integral part of pedagogy, curriculum, and the school atmosphere.

Global education is an important perspective in the social studies curriculum. In this chapter I address the background of global education. Second, I discuss postcolonialism, a foundation for the selection of global content, which is compatible with the frontera lens used to analyze student-participants' comments in this study. I then discuss cross-cultural experiences and intercultural sensitivity, two key goals or outcomes of global education. Finally, using 10th-grade United States History as a model, I illustrate my ideas for the inclusion of global knowledge (See Appendices O and P).

Global Education

"Time and space have long cushioned intercultural encounters…But this insulation is rapidly wearing thin" (Barnlund, 1991, p. 23). Therefore social studies

teachers need to prepare their students for the physical and electronic contact with different cultures in our global village. In 1982 The National Council for the Social Studies defined global education as the development of "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live efficiently in a world possessing limited natural resources and characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence." Twenty years later their definition has not significantly changed:

> Global education refers to efforts to cultivate in young people a perspective of the world which emphasizes the interconnections among cultures, species, and the planet. The purpose of global education is to develop in youth the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live effectively in a world possessing limited natural resources and characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence. (NCSS Databank, 2002)

Two important outcomes of global education are: (a) the increased exposure to other cultures, also known as cross-cultural experiences; and (b) the development of intercultural sensitivity as students learn how to deal with cultural differences. These two outcomes will be addressed later in this chapter. Cross-cultural experiences and intercultural sensitivity cultivates "the capacities of caring, concern, and commitment" for other cultures (Hassard, 1999, p. 742). Therefore, teachers need to help students "transcend their cultural boundaries and acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to engage in public discourse with people who differ from themselves" (James Banks, 2000, as cited in Cushner, et al., 2000, p. 243) in the social studies classes.

Global education creates "meaningful, flexible, and important conceptual knowledge" (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. vii) that supports diversity and social justice (Merryfield, 1997), and promotes "higher order thinking skills and the ability to locate

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relevant information" *every day* (Irvine & Armento, p. vii). *Every day*. Every day social studies students should be exposed to the ideas of women, the working class, and minorities, both in the United States and internationally. Global education is not a "one shot deal" whereby teachers celebrate African Americans during February and women in March. It is a paradigm shift that allows students to learn about other cultures, learn about themselves, and ultimately, question the structures of power that surround them daily. Why are there differences between people based on skin color, religion, or gender? Students should not simply study gender and racial equality movements; they learn to question why racism and sexism *exist*.

Global education also celebrates what brings us together. Students learn that while there are few universals in this world, they may have more in common with a student in Bangladesh than they previously thought. This highlights the crucial point of recognizing that unity *and* diversity must be preserved in American schools; therefore, the teacher must stress the balance between unity and diversity in our global society.

Perspective Consciousness

An organizing principle for a global education program is Robert Hanvey's *perspective consciousness*, "the recognition that one's traditions, opinions, and world views are not universally shared" (Merryfield, 1997, p. 3). Hanvey supports global education for how it enhances five dimensions of students' lives: (a) perspective consciousness; (b) awareness of other cultures; (c) understanding of the choices humans make; (d) knowledge of the environment and condition of the planet and (e) attentiveness to global dynamics. Students benefit from questioning their frame of reference and from

learning about how others see the world; for no one, not even their neighbor, sees the world in exactly the same way. Hanvey's model is useful as a conceptual framework for global education and has extensive similarities with postcolonial theory, a paradigm that inspires my perception of how global social studies should be taught.

Postcolonial Theory: Bringing in the Other

Postcolonial theory questions the Eurocentric construction of history, allows the "Other" to speak and be heard, discards dichotomies and universalities, and examines how written and spoken language affect the production of history. The key component around which postcolonial theory spirals is the perspective of the "Other," the marginalized peoples whose voices have not been heard in traditional history classes. Postcolonialism serves as an organizing principle for the selection of global content because of its natural inclusivity of perspective consciousness, multiple cultures, and awareness of human choices, the environment, and global dynamics. Students gain insight into these five areas when the "Other" becomes a permanent addition to the global social studies curriculum. Utilizing a postcolonial perspective "decolonize[s] students' understanding of their world so that they are able to look beyond the blinders of American-centrism" (Merryfield & Subedi, 2001, p. 279).

Postcolonial theory enhances social studies classes in several ways, three of which will be discussed here. First, postcolonialism questions the hegemonic construction of Western Euro-centric history by advocating for multiple perspectives. For example, when studying turn of the century imperialism, US History classes traditionally focus on the

"beneficial economic aspects" of the United States' presence in the Philippines. However, students must learn another side of the imperialist story: that the United States had to create a less capable "Other" out of the Filipinos to justify the US's aggressive behaviors. Peoples from Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands can create their own knowledge and write their own history; therefore, their accounts must be included in social studies classes. Global education brings the margin, or the "Other," to the center and decenters Western epistemologies.

Second, an outgrowth of multiple perspectives is a resistance to "either-or" dichotomies. Postcolonialism discards binaries and Hegel's dialectic, commonly used during the Enlightenment era to create a system of social ordering and marginalization. Hegemonic categories of identity can and do shift, and postcolonialism is able to account for the expansive middle space in between the end points of a binary or a dialectic. Merryfield and Subedi (2001) discuss how postcolonial theory accounts for cultural intermixing or hybridity, "emphasiz[ing] connectedness instead of the colonial 'us' versus 'them'" (p. 284).

Third, postcolonialism analyzes societies around the world with a deconstructive lens. Hence, the colonial delineation of arbitrary boundaries and artificial separations (Davies, 1998, p. 1008) and the Enlightenment perception of "the one reality" is dismantled. Nietzsche once declared that there are no facts, only interpretations, and postcolonialism stresses the point of view of the "Other" to demonstrate that history is a social, cultural, and rhetorical construct that is not innocent or unbiased. In addition, postcolonialism gives great attention to language as it examines how language can be

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directed for the purposes of control. Postcolonialism troubles historical accounts while it discerns what has been excluded and misstated about the history, culture, and literature of the "Other."

In summary, postcolonial theory questions the construction of history, listens to the "Other," rejects dichotomies and universalities, and examines the production of history through language. These principles help teachers select global content as "Teachers and students…expand their field of study to examine how race, class, and gender are represented not only historically but in past and contemporary media, including books advertisements, film, and television" (Hursh, p. 129, 2001). This examination may further lead to questioning the systems of institutionalized inequality apparent across the American and global landscape.

How Global Education Increases Cross-Cultural Experiences and

Intercultural Sensitivity

When a postcolonial framework is utilized in the social studies classroom, global education increases cross-cultural experiences and enhances intercultural sensitivity. Expanding experiences and sensitivity to other cultures, two goals of global education, does not require that students grasp the *entirety* of the culture of study (Barnlund, 1991). Instead, with insight and practice, students learn how to move from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative viewpoint (Bennett, 1993). In this section I develop each of these topics and give examples for classroom teachers interested in incorporating global education into their socials studies classes.

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Cross-Cultural Experiences

"Cross cultural…learning is central to global education" because students and teachers learn "with people different from themselves" (Merryfield, 1997, p. 20). I have justified the significance of global education in the previous section. In the following section I describe two techniques for extending theory into practice. These two core techniques for transferring cross-cultural theory into classroom practice are termed informational and experiential (Albert & Triandis, 1994, p. 432). While discussing these techniques I also provide examples for increasing students' exposure to other cultures in social studies classes.

Informational

The informational technique focuses on knowledge that students gain from lectures, books, role-plays, and guest speakers. These four examples usually occur within the classroom. Because of convenience and practicality, most students will develop cross-cultural understanding from the informational method.

First, many cross-cultural experiences come from a second-hand source, such as from a teacher who is not of the culture of study. Hence, international travel is of great importance for future educators. It is desirable that the teacher has traveled to or lived in the culture of study so that she may recognize negative stereotypes in class materials (this assumes the teacher has developed her intercultural sensitivity, addressed in the following section). For instance, are all French rude to Americans as their language book infers? Do

all Africans live in huts as is shown in this book? Students may be aware of cultural stereotypes, and it is the teacher's responsibility to reconstruct the students' knowledge in a positive manner.

A second method is the use of primary documents written by people living in the culture. High school students could read Leon Clark's *Through African Eyes* or Benedita da Silva's *An Afro-Brazilian Woman's Story of Politics and Love* series to learn firsthand what life is like for people who may be of a different gender, race, or class. Online newspapers are also an excellent source to compare various perspectives and accounts of an event. When students read non-Eurocentric literature or historical accounts, they begin to walk in the shoes of others and question their previously "fixed" paradigm.

The third method is participating in activities that emphasize cultural differences and similarities to stimulate conversation. (Weeks, Pedersen, & Brislin, 1979, p. x). Benefits of this practicing or role playing method will help bring cultural differences to light, as students will realize that "culture is real…it actually turns up in our behavior" (Storti, 1994, p. 6) and that each culture has its norms.[87]

A fourth method is learning firsthand from people who currently live in or have lived in that culture. This mode of interaction can be realized with guest speakers from the community and with electronic communication. The Discovery.com site has a plethora of forums for students to "ask an expert" in a different country. Kidlink.org

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[87] For more information see Bigelow, 1994.

prides itself on "empowering kids and youth to build global networks of friends" with their cross-cultural youth chats.[88] Students must be aware that they are hearing *one person's* interpretation of their culture; and that generalizability of a particular trait or tradition may be inaccurate for that larger culture; however, learning directly from a person of the culture of study is extremely effective.

Experiential

The second core technique to transfer cross-cultural theory into practice is experiential. This requires students travel to or live in the culture. By embracing another culture, students will be exposed to the "beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe and material objects" and verbal and nonverbal cues of a group (Porter & Samovar, 1994, p. 11). Truly, comprehending how others view *their* world is a key facet to a cross-cultural experience. Having many cross-cultural experiences allows students to see from another's point of view, encourages personal adjustment, and stimulates growth as a citizen of our world (Cushner et al., 2000). To fully incorporate the breadth of another culture's traditions and norms, one must live in and *practice life* in that culture.

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[88] For more information on educational benefits of the Internet see Dynneson, Gross, & Berson, 2003; Merryfield, 2000;

How Global Education Enhances Intercultural Sensitivity

Bennett (1993) states that intercultural sensitivity is not natural: historically, when cultures have interacted, genocide and oppression have occurred. What is a cultural norm for one may be "shocking and incomprehensible in another," leading to hurt feelings or even organized warfare (Storti, 1994, p. 2). Sensitivity to other cultures may not be inherent to human beings but it can be taught. Social studies classes are an ideal venue for modeling and teaching about intercultural sensitivity (hereafter known as IS) because of opportunities to discuss cultures other than one's own. A global focus helps to move students from an ethnocentric position to a more sophisticated ethnorelative outlook. Ethnorelativism emphasizes that a particular behavior can only be understood *within its cultural context*; hence, there is *no absolute standard* of "right and wrong" or "good and bad" behavior. In this section I discuss two models that illuminate the mental and physical processes students experience when developing intercultural sensitivity.

Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity.

Milton Bennett (1993) explains "how cultural difference is comprehended" (p. 22) during the evolution from ethnocentricism to ethnorelativism. He outlines three stages of ethnocentrism: (a) denial; (b) defense; and (c) minimization. During the denial stage students only see a monoculture, or they only see the familiar and general. For instance, travelers abroad might reflect upon the similarity of cultures because of the presence of McDonald's, or might generalize about all peoples from Africa, failing to see differences. In the defense phase the student becomes aware of cultural differences but reacts negatively, egotistically, or "reversed-ly." A negative reaction sees difference and

attributes these "undesirable" characteristics to every member of the culture (p. 35). Egotism provokes the reaction "my culture is better"; whereas reversal stimulates denigration of one's own culture "and an attendant superiority of a different culture" (p. 39). The third phase, minimization, distinguishes cultural difference, but suppresses awareness of this diversity while over-highlighting cultural similarities.

Globally infused social studies classes can scaffold students as they transition through the phases of ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. The three ethnorelative stages are: (a) acceptance; (b) adaptation; and (c) integration. The acceptance stage no longer relies on the denial or minimization of differences as defense strategies; instead, distinctions between values and behavior are recognized and respected. During adaptation, students "transculturate" by becoming bi-culturally "literate." Students in this phase add skills to their repertoire (Bennett, 1993, p. 52) and are able to function and communicate sensitively and efficiently across cultures. The third ethnorelative stage, integration, necessitates a shift in perception. This frequently occurs after long-term contact with another culture where the student becomes aware of changes in their identity and their definition of "reality." This is not a permanent shift entailing loss of one's original identity; instead, integration is a consciousness of the cultural interactions that form and inform who we are and how we see the world.

Wilson's model of intercultural sensitivity.

Angene Wilson (1997) details a five-stage model of IS development, the Hierarchy of Intercultural Experiences, that reflects commonplace events in students' lives. First, people become *dabblers* by visiting an international folk fair, seeing a foreign film, or eating in a "non-traditionally-American" restaurant. This is the first exposure to different ethnicities, cultures, ideas, and experiences for many students. Second, school courses on world geography, politics, cultures, language, and literature move the individual to the *student* phase.

Continuing with Wilson's model is the *observer* phase, where the person travels to another country in a tourist capacity. The *friendship* phase is fourth, entailing the development of healthy relationships with people from different cultures and countries. Finally, in the *participant* phase, individuals live in another country for an extended period of time and interact fully in the day-to-day lives of people from this culture.

Combining models of intercultural sensitivity.

Bennett's and Wilson's IS models compliment each other and can be used in tandem in the social studies classroom. Bennett focuses on mental phases of acceptance, whereas Wilson concentrates of physical actions that present new opportunities for learning. Both are crucial for fostering intercultural sensitivity. Moving to another country does not signify automatic acceptance of others, and developing empathy simply from watching foreign films may be shallow. It behooves teachers and students to

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combine Bennett and Wilson's models to grasp the mental and physical aspects to intercultural sensitivity because "the armchair approach…can rarely be as powerful as reflected upon cross-cultural experiences" (Wilson, 1997, p. 147).

Closing

I felt responsible to generate this chapter after completing the research with students and faculty members at Crawford High School. My praxis as a researcher calls upon me to generate positive change, or at least the *potential* for change. US History classes were not meeting the perceived needs of Latino students. US History teachers can positively affect students' perceptions of the school and society and take steps towards improving relations between students and teachers. In this chapter, I argued for the inclusion of a global perspective in the US History curriculum.

In summary, global education creates "meaningful, flexible, and important conceptual knowledge" (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. vii) that supports diversity and social justice (Merryfield, 1997), and promotes "higher order thinking skills and the ability to locate relevant information" *every day* (Irvine & Armento, p. vii). Teachers who support a postcolonial framework in their US History classroom will expose students to non-national and non-regional ideas. Global education is a continuous "process of becoming" for teachers. Just as students progress through phases of acceptance with a global curriculum, teachers traverse through stages of pedagogical accomplishment. Questioning the dominant hegemony permits teachers to include different perspectives

that augment students' cross-cultural experiences and intercultural sensitivity. Students

will be more likely to react sensitively to a wider spectrum of events and people as they

overcome cultural parochialism (Barnlund, 1991, p. 31).

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History class at one high school in the Eastern United States. From the viewpoint of Latino students, in what ways does their US History class meet their perceived needs? In this paper, I have presented personal, evocative "portraits" (Lightfoot, 1983; Perrone, 1985) of Latino students' perceived needs.

Latinos are 40% of our nation's minorities, over 25% of the entire K-12 population, the largest CLD minority in the American public school system, the youngest population group, and the fastest growing (Chapa & De la Rosa, 2004; Pedraza, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002). Between 1972 and 1999, the percentage of Latino students in K-12 schools nearly tripled, increasing from 6% to 16.2%. Diversity has grown and continues to grow in the United States. Therefore, more attention to this problem is needed because of the population increase and projected growth of Latinos in the United States. "Because of their numbers, Latino youth, and more specifically youth of Mexican origin, are of enormous public policy interest, and their educational achievement is a matter of growing national concern" (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004, p. 2; see also Portes, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b; Trueba, 1991b, 1998b; Valencia, 1991b). Cultural and linguistic diversity is rapidly increasing in the United

States; hence, it is imperative that our schools address CLD students' needs (Hayes-Bautista, Schink, & Chapa, 1988; Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Iglesias & Fabiano, 2003; Latino Eligibility Task Force, 1993; López, 2003; McGroarty, 1998; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Valencia, 1991a).

Review of Related Research

Copious literature regarding Latino students exists. Over the past 20 years, the nation has seen increased enrollment of K-12 Latino students, as well as an unprecedented emergence of research on Latinos and education (Fernández, 2002). However, the specific intersection of this project regarding Latino students' perceived needs in their US History classes is scarce. The perceived educational needs of Latino students in other curriculum areas is also an understudied area.

Case studies regarding the intersection of Latino students and the US History curriculum conclude that middle-school Mexican-American students found the US History curriculum "boring" and irrelevant (Almarza, 2001). Further exploration revealed the intimate connection between the systemic school atmosphere and the US History curriculum. Both were Eurocentric and detrimental for Mexican-American students' academic success. School practices and the US History curriculum paid little attention to CLD students' needs. One student commented, "…it seems that the Whites are the only ones who have history… [the teacher] doesn't say that Mexicans were here [the United States] first" (p. 4). The monocultural education climate of the school and the US History curriculum confounded students' abilities to learn and achieve in their History class.

Yeager and Terzian (in press) inspected advanced-placement Cuban-American students' perceptions of the nation's official narrative. The researchers surveyed students' perceptions of events, people and documents judged to be significant in the teaching of US History. They discovered the students' perceptions "were congruent with those of the teacher and the standard curriculum" (p. 2); in other words, the Cuban-American students bought into the "grand narrative" of "exceptionalism and progress" (p. 32), where racism was an aberration (p. 31).

Additional studies concluded that students as young as 10 are capable of responding concretely when asked what it is like to be an immigrant in American schools (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), or about their educational needs (Darder & Upshur, 1993, p. 139). Students across multiple studies reflected they wanted teachers and the school system to challenge them academically, respect their home culture and language, honor their background knowledges and previous experiences, and continue to work for positive change. Further studies move beyond immediate perceptions of students' needs to include specialized programs for newly arrived immigrants and initiatives to increase parental involvement.

Literature regarding Latino students includes topics such as structural inequities in American schools, cultural deprivation and deficit theories, and discriminatory practices against the broad Latino definition of "family." These studies indicated teachers frequently blamed the students' language and culture (Ryan & Carranza, 1977), unfit home life, and apathetic parents who did not "know how to care" about their child's education (see also Urciuoli, 1996, Zentella, 1997a). However, effective and culturally

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sensitive programs to nurture Latino students' academic success reached out to the extended family. The extended family can be an essential part of a program to maintain a youth's presence in school.

The status of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students adds another layer to the topic of Latino student achievement (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; Cohen, 1970; Crawford, 1989, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Deyhle, 1995; Epstein, 1977; Freeman & Freeman, 2002; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Gibson, 1987, 1997; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Minami, 2000; Ogbu, 1978, 1987, 1991a, 1992; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Suárez-Orozco, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1993; Valdés, 1996). In *general*, involuntary migrants face greater academic failure in American schools. The dichotomy of in/voluntary immigrants is complicated by the experiences of many Mexicans. For example a Mexican family that comes to the US without documentation is likely to be treated as a lower-status minority than Mexican immigrants who comes to the US with proper documentation. Valdés (1996) suggested that undocumented Mexicans might be considered involuntary immigrants because of "the permanent limitations they will encounter as members of this group" (p. 26).

Migrant students also face complex challenges in American schools (Gibson & Bejínez, 2002). Over 80% of migrant students are Latino, and half of these are ELLs (Henderson, Daft, & Fong, 1998; Strang & von Glatz, 1999, US Department of Education, 2000). Because migrant students move as their families follow agricultural work, migrants are one of the most educationally and economically disadvantaged groups in the United States (Gonzales, Stief, Fiester, Goldstein, Waiters, & Weiner, 1998). Migrant students tend to begin school with fewer academic skills, score below average on

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tests of math and reading (US General Accounting Office, 1994, US Department of Education, 2000), and dropout at higher rates than non-migrant students (Gonzales et al., 1998).

The social studies is an additional area of great diversity. Recent literature reviewed for this paper addressed diverging opinions of social studies curriculum, the politics of inclusion, and the politics of erasure. State standards, high-stakes testing, the textbook, and the classroom teacher affect Latino students' connection to the US History curriculum, and thus, their subsequent success. I suggested, as did many academics, that issues of race and racism be inserted into the US History curriculum to address the inequities CLD students and their families face daily.

LatCrit, *La Frontera,* and Postcoloniality

The research I completed with Latino students embodies aspects of Latino/a critical theory, *la frontera*, and postcoloniality. LatCrit builds on the five themes of Critical Race Theory. LatCrit emerged from CRT to dispel the myths of the "monolithic Hispanic Other" (Hidalgo, 1998) by adding perspectives unique to the Latino experience in the United States such as language acquisition, cultural background, gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and colonial experience (Auerbach, 2002; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Gomez, 1998; González, 1998; Gutierrez, 2000; Hidalgo, 1998; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1998b, Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2002).

La frontera underscores the displacement and transitionality of identities, pertinent to the lives of the student-participants. Literature written in the *frontera* style enriches discussions around displacement, the collective voice, the border and negation of culture, the "messiness" of research, fear of expectations, the mestiza consciousness and hybrid identity, the autobiographical pact, and bringing the margin *to* the center.

Finally, postcolonialism calls for a new political literacy that recontextualizes texts against the Empire as it rethinks the dominant Western canon. Postcolonial literature deconstructs the Enlightenment perception of language as capable of capturing the "one reality." Nietzsche declared that there are no facts, only interpretations, and it is upon this idea that these theories ground themselves in interpreting literature, culture, and history. Literature of this style are concerned with the limitations of ethnocentrism and of the dissident histories of those who have been marginalized (Bhahba, 1998).Thus, this flexibility allows a plurality of centers, truths, and identities, in cultural, personal, and political respects. The once-assumed stable categories of identity are recognized for what they are--as imaginary constructs, a point theorized by Anzaldúa.

I intentionally drew upon the non-mainstream theories of LatCrit, *la frontera*, and postcolonialism for constructing and evaluating research with marginalized students. LatCrit gave the student-participants and me greater flexibility in designing "where" the research would go at the day-to-day and holistic levels. Some days Gabriel took part in counterstorytelling. Other days Crystal displayed a dramatic recreation. Additional students spoke in the forms of *testimonios* and *cuentos*.

The Praxis of Empowerment

Generating *mestiza* consciousness in the students was a personal goal connected to my praxis as a researcher. I did not want to take from the students their life accounts without giving something back: empowerment. Every student began from a unique level of empowerment. For Mariana, encouraging her to find solutions to situations and think critically about her life was advancement. Artella, already a critical thinker, gained enough confidence to accompany me to an interview with a State Board of Education member. Crystal politely challenged a teacher who openly discriminated against students in her study hall. I lent Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* to three of the students, read passages to others, and discussed Anzaldúa's strong personal awareness of who she was ethnically and linguistically. Even though students experienced different degrees and types of empowerment, all students shared the empowering ability to define their academic needs and wants. Crystal remarked she had never been asked to articulate her needs—she interpreted needs as that which others wanted *for* her. "Designing" personal needs and wants affirmed each students' ability to determine what was right and functional for them.

Findings and Conclusions Through a LatCrit lens

Institutional racism manifested itself with an Anglo-dominant US History curriculum that did not meet many students' needs, by allocations for space, and through financial support for programs. In the following subsections I discuss conclusions of students' academic needs; the displacement of diversity through the State Social Studies

Curriculum Standards and the State Graduation Test; the interaction between race and space at Crawford; and ESL students and the ESL program.

Conclusions from Students

I generated data-rich "portraits" of students' experiences at Crawford High School. Regardless of which role (Lawrence, 1994) I adopted as a therapist, a mirror, a spider woman or a human archaeologist, race and racism pervaded the interviews. Students in Groups One and Two were the most detached from the school experience. Sadly, during one visit in early May 2006, I found only one of these five students in school on that day: the remaining four had skipped out. Given the frustration these students felt in US History class as early as October of their sophomore year, I understood why spending a beautiful spring day with friends off school grounds seemed more inviting. The LatCrit lens offers explanations for Latino students' detachment from school without relying on cultural deprivation and deficit theories. LatCrit suggests that academic detachment among Latino students may be due to a societal structure of dominance, or institutional racism.

Group One: English Only

The US History class was not meeting the most basic perceived need of students in Group One. The two students, Gabriel and Yessica, expressed the need to learn English in order to gain access to the power structures in the state. Their basic need to learn English "trumped" the curriculum, teacher, and classroom activities. Gabriel and Yessica were neutral regarding the curricular content of their ESL US History class. The

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type of information covered during class was not significantly important to them as learners, due to their ELL status. Gabriel and Yessica were in separate classes, but with the same ESL US History teacher. They both had mildly favorable impressions of their teacher: she did not heavily impact their perceptions of the class. Neither student expressed desire to do different activities in class, such as working in groups, watching more videos, or having less homework. In summary, the students in Group One stressed the basic need to learn English. Crawford High School did not offer English classes for ELL students; hence, the students in Group One will not have their needs met for their US History class in the near future.

The Racism, Injustice, and Hardship of Group Two

The US History class did not meet the perceived needs of students in Group Two. Group Two student-participants wanted their culture to be present so that other students—particularly *White* students—would learn about them. The student-participants, all girls of Mexican ethnicity, were not directly concerned with raising their own self-esteem by reading about Mexicans. They wanted the White students to learn that Mexicans (and other Latin Americans and Latinos) were as intelligent, powerful, and articulate as were the White people in the US History textbooks.

Students in Group Two conformed to Levstik's (2000) findings that the history of the United States is rife with racism, injustice, and hardship. Their realities and experiences within the small-scale communities of the school and the city were more powerful in forming their perceptions than was the imagined community of a united, patriotic, and morally right nation, to rephrase Bodnar (1994). Students in Group Two

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may be cause for great concern. Latinas who are part of peer groups who participate in school activities and value academics "do better in their classes and future jobs than students in peer groups that reject the school and feel rejected by it" (Romo, 1998; see also Eckert, 1989; Reyes, Gillock, & Kabus, 1994; Steinberg, 1996). These girls are less likely to graduate and consider attending college than Latinas who are positively school oriented.

The Official Narrative of Group Three

The student-participants in Group Three perceived that the majority of their needs were being met in their US History classes. They made minor suggestions such as "show more videos with better graphics," and "give us more opportunities to interact with students we don't know." Students were in separate classes with different teachers. One student was enrolled in an Advanced-Placement class, the other two were in "regular," or mainstreamed classes.

The students' perceptions of their US History class conformed to the findings of Yeager and Terzian's (in press) article. Like Yeager's Cuban-American students, the students in this study "conformed to the official narrative of the nation…their teacher, and the standard curriculum" (p. 2). They de-emphasized conflict (unlike students in Group Two) and saw most of the nation's behaviors as moral, linear, and expansive, findings corroborated by FitzGerald (1994). Reina typified the Group Three mentality of linear and expanding progress:

> My mom came here as an immigrant and now she's a
> citizen, so she gets treated the same by everyone…in a fair
> way.

In this utterance, Reina perceived a politically unified nation that worked with, not against, cultural diversity. Reina did not challenge the narrative of her US History class, even though earlier in this conversation she noted that racism would always exist because racist people could never be purged completely from society.

The State Social Studies Curriculum Standards

I inspected the K-12 Social Studies Content Standards in the state where this research was completed. The State Content Standards indicated proper alignment with statewide diagnostic and achievement tests. Latin America/American appeared six times in the entire document. While the region was *listed* six times, it was scheduled for grades four and nine, with one rationale for each grade. For example, in grade four, students were to learn about recent immigrants to the US from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In grade nine, Latin America was related to ideas spread during the age of European Enlightenment and wars for independence. These two grade level indications were each repeated twice in the document, summing to six indications of Latin America/American in the entire document.

A random search for Latin American countries revealed zero "hits" for Mexico, Brazil, Honduras, Argentina, Haiti, and Cuba throughout the entire K-12 social studies curriculum. Latin America did not exist as a stand-alone region with its own countries, cultures, ideas, people, and histories.

I understood why my participants felt their history was being disregarded in US History. Their countries, cultures, ideas, people, and histories were scarcely found in the

content standards for their entire K-12 career. The Latino culture in the United States has an extensive record of cultural and historical contributions in this nation (Contreras, 1997). A large part of the "American Story" can be told by recognizing the technological, educational, political, and social efforts of Latino men and women, particularly in the Southwest United States (Roybal, 1979). Unfortunately, scholars have failed to reflect accurately the activities and involvement of Latinos in the "American Story" because of Latinos' ethnic minority status. The "American Story" in mainstream literature and educational textbooks focuses overwhelmingly on contributions of the dominant, Anglo culture (Cruz, 2002; Dillabough & McAlpine, 1996; Garcia, 1980; Hyun, 2000; Noboa, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

In sum, my student-participants in Groups Two and Three stated that their needs were not being met in US History. Groups Two and Three participants wanted to learn about their culture and those of others, respectively. Unfortunately, the content standards were overtly focused on Western history. The three World History sequences in the State Standards delivered content through a Western lens, as if all other culture existed *because of* Europe and the United States. Central American and Cuba existed *because of* their effect on the US. NAFTA existed *because of* the agreement between Canada, the US, and Mexico. The Western-centric perspective of the content standards was troubling.

The State Graduation Test

The State Graduation Test heavily impacted my interviews with administrators, teachers, and students. The majority of teachers with whom I spoke were opposed to the State Graduation Test. The Test was cited as being inappropriately designed for students'

cognitive abilities at specific grade levels, as being too Western-centric, as testing students' abilities to use new information instead of material they were supposed to have learned, and for heavily stressing students' reading abilities, not their knowledge of history. Teachers and students feared that Latino students would not pass the test because of the heavy reading and writing emphasis. Some Latino students used the high-stakes test (which they assumed they would not pass) as a reason for dropping out of high school by their sophomore year.

Bonnie and other teachers shared concerns about the growing cultural diversity and the statewide standardization of curriculum and assessments.

"We used to do a Pancho Villa project one year, now we don't even try that. Now it's just benchmarks and standards. This is what you're teaching today because that's what the (State Graduation Test) says is being taught. They don't even disguise that. They say teach to the test," she remarked.

She added that, in her desire to teach in a diverse district with non-English speaking students, she feared she and her fellow teachers would be viewed by others as less capable. The ELL students' scores on the State Graduation Test would lower the district's overall score. She wanted to stress how detrimental this was to the promotion of students' cultural identities and continuation of their L1 as they learned English.

Finally, I examined a practice version of the State Graduation Test published by a major company in Iowa. The practice graduation exam is an indication of the material and the types of questions that are asked on the official State Graduation Test. The 50-question exam made my jaw drop. *Where was Latin America?* I read multiple-choice questions, examined maps, and studied the short reading excerpts. *Where was Latin*

America? ¿Dónde estuvo la cultura tan cerca a mi corazón? (Where was the culture so

dear to my heart?) It was evident from a practice test that knowledge about Latin

America was not necessary for high school graduation in this state.

Race and Space

Race and space interacted uncomfortably at Crawford High School. Many of the

spaces occupied by students of Latin American ancestries were separate and unequal to

spaces occupied by students of European heritages. For example, students in ESL History

exited the main building and walked 30 yards to a corrugated metal and stucco building.

Students were not given extra time to obtain their coats on cold or rainy days, so most

"weathered the storm" to attend class. The building was thin-walled and poorly insulated.

Sounds echoed in the spartan classrooms across the concrete floors, making it difficult to

understand a teacher who was already speaking a language largely unknown to the ESL

students. The ESL History classrooms were separate from the main building and were

unequal in quality. The message sent to students was "You're different. We do not want

you to be part of the mainstream."

The Parking Lot

The parking lot was another locale for race-space interaction.

"Last year a Mexican mother arrived with their two boys," John commented. The

sheriff stopped them out in the parking lot, asked them for their license, they didn't have

one, and detained their keys and their vehicle until a licensed driver came and drove their

car off the lot."

I saw the sheriff's cruiser in the parking lot nearly every time I visited the school. I was never approached and asked for my license. What differentiated the Mexican mother from me? I drove a twelve-year-old Honda with plenty of rust, scratches, and dents. Why was I never detained in the parking lot?

John told me another story about a new rule this school year concerning the parking policy. Only ESL students were called over the loud speaker to the library at the beginning of the school year.

"[The administrators] explained to them there's a new parking policy. You have to have a valid driver's license and proof of insurance. Sounds reasonable enough. However, why was that called to [the ESL] kids' attention? Because that's basically telling them "you can't park here." …They can't get a license. It's not like they're choosing not to. They can't...Their reasoning was 'we wanted to make sure we had interpreters down there. We're just making sure everyone understands.' That's the guise."

The Lunch Room

Race and space interacted in the Lunchroom. The Black kids sat with Black kids, the Mexican kids sat with other Latinos, the cheerleaders sat with their White peers, and the Goth kids isolated themselves in a corner. This race-space interaction is well documented in other studies (Tatum, 1997; West, 1997). The "that bitch" interaction between Crystal and Artella, Desiree and Mariana in November is a demonstration of how silenced race is at Crawford High School.

"She's Mexican?"

"You're not Mexican!"

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"How can you be Mexican?"

How could Crystal be Mexican, as light-skinned as she was?

This incident remained unresolved for the remainder of the school year. These two "sectors" of girls sat within inches of each other. Some days they were literally shoulder-to-shoulder if they pushed their chairs back. But they could not have been more separated and unaware of the others' existences. It was bizarre how physically close they were within the same public space, how culturally close they could have been, and how much in common their parents shared…but Crystal and the rest of the girls did not look for anything in common. The issue was dropped. It was over (at least on the surface) as soon as it began.

ESL Students and the ESL Program

I paid close attention to how the teachers and faculty described the school's demographics. Some teachers and faculty members aligned cultural and linguistic diversity with poverty and urban decay; others described diversity as a positive aspect from which they and students could learn. Three faculty members criticized severely how ESL students and staff were treated at Crawford: "like trash." Spanish speaking was discouraged by many faculty members. Mexican students were perceived as the least desirable group.

ESL teachers at Crawford High School were not sufficiently prepared for the challenges of teaching newly arrived immigrants from Eastern European, Asian, African, and Latin American countries. They were also undervalued: ESL positions in the major curriculum areas had been imposed on the teachers with the fewest years' experience.

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The ESL teachers were the least experienced in the school, while the Advanced Placement teachers had significantly greater seniority. I conjured images in my head of cronyism, corruption, and "the establishment" as teachers jockeyed to avoid ESL students and *the Greenhouse.*

A Summary of Race and Racism through a LatCrit Lens

Crawford High School did not offer a safe space for students to discuss race, racism and racial tensions. Stereotypes about students, particularly Mexican students, were prevalent during this research. The student-participants in all Groups, including the Study Hall Focus Group, *wanted* to talk about race. They wanted to talk about their "positive invisibility" at Crawford—that is, the absence of affirmative constructions around their ethnicity, country of origin, and language. A 1997 study by the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) observed that across society, Latinos are almost invisible in both the entertainment and mass media. When Latinos do appear, they are consistently portrayed more negatively than other ethnicities. For example, some teachers hinted that their *colleagues* (never themselves) negatively constructed the average Latino student as an illegal and unmotivated criminal who did not speak English. This differed from teachers' constructions of African American students (Kaplan, 1999; Plant & Southern, 1970; Powell, 1997): Latino students were further denigrated because of their perceived immigration status and native language.

The students with whom I worked at Crawford High School were not understood in terms of nationality and individual identity. Francisco's coach overheard us talking one afternoon in the Study Hall Focus Group

"Do you consider yourself Black?" I asked Francisco.

"No."

Francisco's coach firmly asserted, as if to direct Francisco, "*You consider yourself Black.*"

"I'm Dominican. No, I'm *Hispanic*, not Dominican."

"That's where you're *from*. We're talking about the color of your skin," responded the coach.

This micro-aggression between the coach and Francisco was an attempt to silence Francisco's self-identity as "Hispanic." The coach's construction of race and ethnicity separated the country of origin from the color of one's skin. "Hispanic" (or Latino) includes, by definition, peoples from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central and South America, with different skin colors, native languages, and reasons for immigration to the United States. "Latino" *incorporates* country of origin *with* skin color. The coach would not allow Francisco the space to develop his personal identity.

Critical race theory maintains that while there are commonalities between, for example, African Americans' and Latinos' struggles in the United States, that "each group has a distinct history and separate set of concerns vis-à-vis the Anglo power structure" (Noboa, 2004). These differences between African American and Latino students were apparent. Hence, the lens of LatCrit deepened my understanding of the students and the issues surrounding their (and their family's) ethnicities, languages, and reasons for migration to the United States.

In sum, students at Crawford did not have an adequate framework around which to make sense of race, racism, and racial tensions. The presence of how race *was* talked

about, and the absence of how race was *not* talked about, led to negative stereotypes against Latinos based upon ethnicity, immigration status, and native language. Furthermore, one teacher demonstrated a closed paradigm of ethnicity and skin color that silenced one of his students.

Suggestions for the School

My praxis as a researcher calls upon me to generate positive change, or at least the *potential* for change. In this section, I make two suggestions. First, US History classes were not meeting the perceived needs of Latino students. I suggest how US History teachers can positively affect students' perceptions of the school and society with globally oriented US History. Second, I urge the Principal of Crawford High School to become more aware of the ESL program.

For US History Teachers: A Global Perspective

Teaching US History with a global perspective is not simply a month of Black History or Women's History; nor is it merely discussion about the foods and holidays of other nations (Hursh, 2001). Instead, it is an attitude, or a paradigm shift, regarding every aspect of education. Content and context of lessons, multiperspective analysis, varying pedagogy, and diversity of assessment styles are aspects of global education that can and should incorporate non-Eurocentric cultures and perspectives. Global education teaching is not a "one shot deal," it is not a quick fix. It is a time consuming and omnipresent paradigm to change how teachers view education.

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I have discussed two outcomes of infusing a global, postcolonial theory-influenced perspective in the social studies. Postcolonial theory questions the Eurocentric hegemony and therefore exposes students to voices previously marginalized. Knowledge of non-nationalistic and non-regional cultures through informational and experiential learning enables students to develop intercultural sensitivity. Global social studies can transform ethnocentric attitudes into ethnorelative, or students from a "dabbler" to a "participant."

The ideal way for students to increase their cross-cultural experiences is through globally oriented social studies classes. Global perspectives can be infused across entire fields of social studies curriculums, as I have demonstrated with United States history. Our students will benefit from the opportunities to think beyond their own culture as they negotiate their way in an interdependent world.

The Principal

The Principal at Crawford High School was not aware of the ESL teachers' negative emotions. He was also unaware of, but not particularly surprised by, the overcrowded ESL classrooms and the lack of materials. I specifically asked him "How tightly connected are you to the ESL classes here? By that I mean how aware are you of the ESL program, how well the teachers are trained, how full the classes are…" He responded:

> In my role, I have a working knowledge of everything. Sometimes I have projects that are more my primary responsibility. ESL is more of an oversight role. One of my assistant principals who is now at [another district high school] was in charge of that when we were developing the

program. Mr. Reilly is more responsible for that now. As
far as scheduling classes and numbers of classes, I meet
with Mr. Reilly "in general" to discuss that. There's also the
ESL department head …As far as specific ESL training,
that comes out of the district level department.

Mr. Daggert was not aware of how the ESL program was running or how it was viewed

by insiders and outsiders at the high school. The administrator who arranged the ESL

program in 2002 was no longer at the high school. There was confusion among the

teachers as to who was in charge of the program. One administrator worked with the

bilingual assistants' schedules, another with bilingual students' academic needs. Teachers

and guidance counselors did not know who handled specific concerns, and thus, did not

know who should properly handle their questions. This gap in communication extended

vertically to the Principal. He stated he met the ESL administrator in charge of student

needs; however, he did not indicate he met regularly with the second administrator

accountable for bilingual staff. Finally, the Principal designated that ESL teacher training

was the district's responsibility. He did not suggest interest in extending additional

programs for ESL teachers at Crawford.

I recommend the Principal establish a stronger role regarding the ESL program.

Mr. Daggert needs to be better informed by his Assistant Principals. He needs to talk with

and listen to ESL teachers and staff. He may need to implement additional training for

ESL teachers at Crawford, and stop waiting for these initiatives to come down from the

district level.

Journal Entry
Today I had a conversation with a teacher at Crawford. He blamed students and parents (across all
demographic groups, not just Latino) for students' failure in school. His tone when speaking of the students

who did not achieve academic success was almost disdainful. "The problem at this school is we have only so many [meaning few] good kids…you go to a [suburban school]…they have SO many good kids…and we've got (he scoffs and motions to the open air) …their kids can do the same thing as our good kids, but they don't have all the…(Motions to bottom of barrel). They don't have to deal with… (Again motions to the bottom of the barrel)."

He continued, "We have a lot of Caucasian kids…with 70-80-90 days of schooling a year. Their parents allow it. Never taught them when they were little, never punished them, never made them do their homework."

"What can teachers do to help kids get connected?" I queried.

"Frickin' arrest their parents when they don't do their job. Throw 'em in jail. That'll change things a little bit. Everything you see on education, we always get blamed, the parents never get mentioned."

Implications for Future Research

Research begets more research. This qualitative study with Latino students generated additional worthwhile questions. In the following section, I suggest further research to be completed with students, teachers, the textbook, and the teaching of US History.

Questions for Students

The purpose of this investigation was to explore Latino students' perceptions of their US History class at one high school. From the viewpoint of Latino students, in what ways does their US History class meets their needs? In-depth research could be completed on students' perceptions of needs and wants. Broader investigations could be completed on concepts that arose during the research process such as students' definitions of "American." In addition, I did not ask students about historical significance, the focus of numerous studies with White-mainstream and culturally diverse students (Barton, 1997, 2001a, 2001b; Barton & Levstik, 1998; Cercadillo, 2001; Epstein, 1997; Lee,

Ashby, & Dickinson, 2001; Levstik, 1997/1998, 2000, 2001; Seixas, 1993, 1994, 1997; Yeager & Terzian, in press). This question could be asked to determine how Latino students' responses relate to the patterns of this study.

A commonality between Groups One and Two that differed from Group Three was the exposure to a common form of North American popular media: Hollywood movies. Hollywood has influenced our perceptions of historical events and the nation (Wineburg, 2001). Yeager and Terzian (in press) suggest that the high-achieving Cuban students in their study may have been more influenced by Hollywood "than…the works of historical scholars" (p. 7). I noted in Chapter 6 that students in Groups One and Two did not view, read, or listen to North American media in large amounts. Students in Group Three had significantly more exposure to North American media. Hence, more research should be completed to investigate to what extent linear development and "happy endings" have influenced students' perceptions of the US History curriculum.

Teachers and Administrators

This research focused on students' perspectives. A small number of teachers and administrators were interviewed. More in-depth interviews with faculty members investigating "how the US History class meets the needs of Latino students" would likely reveal a different set of responses. As Fernández (2002) specified, "The school's faculty might defend their intentions and practices as good. These teachers might not recognize their dysconscious or unconscious racism" (p. 59).

"Openly Welcoming Teachers" and the "Resistant Teachers"

Two teachers at Crawford High School did not "openly welcome" me into their class. One of the teachers appeared uninterested in my research, but allowed me to observe. I sat in his class once; fortunately, I knew the Latino students in his two US History sections from tutoring them the previous year. The second teacher would barely acknowledge my presence. The social studies department chair told me that this teacher did not want me to approach him or his students. I never asked the two teachers how they felt about my research with Latino students, nor did I ask why they resisted my presence in their classroom. I respected their decision and did not confront them with questions. However, I noted that teachers' opinions towards educational policies and their subsequent openness to research participation is an area for future research.

The Textbook

The textbook did not help students understand the complexity of Latin American cultures or that of other cultures. To what extent did the textbook contribute to students' lack of understanding? To what extent had years of *textbook-oriented history classes negatively affected students*? Did kids not pay attention because of the textbook-oriented curriculum?

During my research, I did not witness any US History teachers who utilized their own materials and completely eschewed the textbook. Understanding teachers' emotional attachment to the textbook at *this* school after working with Latino students is an area for future study. Perhaps researchers can better understand Latino students' lack of

connection with the US History curriculum by investigating further the classroom textbook use.

The Teaching of US History

It is not difficult to infuse multi-cultural perspectives into the social studies curriculum. Nevertheless, since one of the challenges of history is that history is always growing, teachers must continue to learn and forecast what students need to know. "Children should be educated for what is always a combination of existing and anticipated state of affairs. [Teachers] are perennially trying to forecast and decipher social trends" (Parker, Ninomiya, & Cogan, 2002, p. 152). Parker et. al. have developed upcoming trends for teachers to be aware of as they plan curriculum. Awareness of these trends allows learners to monitor events and examine the structures of power that may lead to changes in our global milieu.

Use of electronic technologies will continue to influence learning; therefore, teachers must become aware of the vast amount of resources and software programs available in the classroom. They should also become literate to the pros and cons of using such material, and continue to encourage the reading of *books*. Finally, teachers should utilize the knowledge base at area colleges and universities. Many institutions have area studies centers and speakers bureaus to enhance cross-cultural learning in the classroom. An emergent aspect of this project was students' perceptions of race and racism. Jonuel stated he would retaliate against racism if he saw it. Mariana did not feel she had been directly discriminated against this year, unlike her experiences speaking Spanish in middle school. Reina felt she was treated equally as a White student, with the same

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expectations from her guidance counselors and teachers. Jonuel's, Mariana's, Reina's comments reflect students' difficulties seeing the covert racism that infects their lives. It is interesting to note that students had negative perceptions of society and race relations, but did not see how institutionalized and pervasive racism had become. Understanding how students see race and racism is important to study.

Future Research with CLD Students

More research must be completed that utilizes a student-focused Critical Race or Latino Critical Theoretical lens. According to Valdes (1998a), CRT and LatCrit place the marginalized at the center of the entire research process. Latino students' stories must not be added as "garnish" to our research; but proffered as the main course, as the reason for *coming to the table*. Fernández (2002) indicated how critical this type of research is:

> What of those young people who didn't "succeed?" The
> ones who didn't go to college or who didn't even graduate,
> or the ones who did graduate but are barely literate? Where
> are they and what have their lives been like since high
> school? What are their prospects for the future?

More research investigating the quality of education CLD students are receiving is important to the future of our nation.

Journal Entry, December 28, 2005
During my first interview with Danielle, she admitted to being under prepared to teach ESL history classes. Eight observations over a two-month period confirm she is right. She does not know how to properly teach students whose first language is not English. I do not fully blame her. After her first year of teaching, she was given the choice to teach ESL history or move to another school. She liked her colleagues, so she "chose" to stay at Crawford. How much of a choice did she really have? She is now teaching three preps: regular US government, ESL Modern World History, and ESL US History. She has little extra time to investigate "best practices" for ESL students, even though I wish she would *find* the time.

Danielle's favorite teaching strategy is lecture. Some days the lecture was accompanied by reading from the textbook or following an outline from the overhead. There was nothing distinctly different about her teaching that made information accessible to ESL students. She did not know the English-level speaking ability of her students in order to pair higher-level students with their lower-level peers, nor did she pair students who speak different languages to make learners complete an activity in English (Petresky, 2004). She did not encourage students to be self-aware or "reflect upon their learning style, learning strategies, language needs, learning enjoyment, motivation, language strengths and weaknesses" (Rees, 2003). She did not frequently use maps, diagrams, or pictures. Students were passive. The same students answered her questions. One day the students watched the Hollywood movie *Amistad*. The Olde English accent of White actors combined with the tinny walls of the Greenhouse made for a disaster in my opinion. The students did not know what was going on. Another day the lecture was about "taxation without representation," "persecution," "fraudulent," and "sovereignty." A subsequent class included the metaphorical reference of Danielle the United States Constitution as "our Bible." *How do the Somali kids like that? How do ESL kids interpret this metaphor in general?*

How This Research Contributes to the Literature

This research contributes to existing literature regarding Latino students' academic needs. The participants at Crawford High School did and do not speak for all Latino students in the region; instead, this research opened ways of looking at students' needs that do not ignore the role of culture. Few studies have asked students about their perceived educational needs (Schunk, 1992). Fewer have asked minority students, and even fewer have approached Latino students in particular. Educational studies with "minorities" tend to focus on African American students, as opposed to students from other CLD groups (Campbell & Clewell, 2002; Scantlebury & Kahle, 2002; Webb, 2002). Even research with Chicano/a students does "not include the students' perspectives to any substantial degree" (Pizarro, 1999, p. 55). An extensive search revealed a small number of studies investigating the perceived needs of Latino students within the social studies curriculum (Almarza, 2001; Yeager & Terzian, in press). Qualitative studies evaluating the perceived educational needs of Latino students is an understudied area. Therefore, this research will fill gaps in the current literature regarding

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Latino students,' and is one of a few that addresses Latino students' needs for the US

History curriculum.

How My Personal Growth Will Contribute to the Literature

More qualitative studies should be completed to build our understandings of

Latino students' academic needs. For example, I learned a significant amount regarding

students' perceptions of needs (as related to their US History classes) based on how

students talked about their lives and "around" the essential question. I perceived basic

needs as information that needed *to be learned*. Some students perceived "basic needs"

actively, something they needed to *do*. Various definitions of basic needs developed, and

I learned more about students' perceived academic needs when I did not ask the question

directly.

The research process also taught me about my personal biases. My researcher

reflexivity wrestled with overt and covert biases and hidden structures that influence who

I am and how I perceive the world. This critical reflexivity made the final product more

insightful and compelling, as each reader experienced my personal struggles. For

instance, the Focus Group compelled me to reflect upon my White, suburban upbringing.

I also learned from my interactions that I might be influencing participants to answer in

particular ways. I knew that I had the ability to push students to answer in ways that

suited my needs by asking "loaded" questions to incite anger in students. I could "force"

answers from participants to reflect my own biases and research interests—but this would

have been unethical. My reflections on my behavior will contribute to the literature on

qualitative research.

Finally, I re-learned from these experience to assume nothing and allow the research to segue in unpredictable ways. The students had ideas of where the research could and *did* go. They invited me into their lives and talked about issues important to them. I was intrigued by their use of the term "American," and how they perceived "needs" differently. I could not have predicted these research foci.

Final Comments

It is difficult for me to stop writing. My student-participants motivated me to critically reflect and write from my heart more so than I have ever been. I am thankful for many things during this research process. I list only four here. First, I appreciated how each student "protagonist" struggled with establishing harmony between the personal, cultural, and political. Such political focus authenticates "the histories of exploitation and the strategies of resistance" (Bhahba, 1998, p. 937; see also Fernández, 2002) that are culturally significant to the background of each author/student. As students talked, they worked through their personal exploitation history. I listened.

Next, the student-participants brought the margin *to* the center. The marginalized have been "created" by the oppressor or colonizer and are "overdetermined and made stereotypic" (Davies, 1998, p. 999); but, each student broke down stereotypes and highlighted what life was like for them living at *la frontera.* The students created their own three-dimensionality.

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Third, working with the students revealed multiple aspects of postcoloniality. I challenged myself to rethink the dominant canon of how *I thought* students would perceive their US History class. I knew I would have my paradigms questioned, yet still, I grappled with information that surprised me. For example, during the writing of my introduction over 370 pages ago, I asserted, "*This research assumes that if a student is attending class, the class must be meeting at least one need. The need may be as banal as "I need this class to graduate," or as original as "in college I plan to major in history*."" Previous to completing the research, I perceived that needing credits was the "lowest" reason for attending US History class. I misjudged the entire situation by using a framework of "banal" and "elite" categories of answers. The two students in Group One understood that as non-native English speakers, they would probably not pass the State Graduation Test. Gabriel and Yessica were not in an environment where they were simultaneously learning adequate English *and* curricular content to pass a standardized test. These students attended class to be with their friends in a safe environment. The class was not meeting their needs, yet they continued to attend. It was incorrect for me to establish such a judgmental framework.

Congruent with my expectations of postcoloniality, students affirmed multiple truths, or responses to the essential question, by grounding their responses in their specific experiences. Hence, there was no one answer or truth to the essential question. Students worked comfortably in a non-linear style by controlling aspects of counterstorytelling sessions. They narrated to me their perceptions while speaking with a voice collective across family, community, and heritage.

Finally, the structures of LatCrit and *la frontera* allowed students (and me) to dismiss formality and chronology. The students' autobiographical accounts did not "run as unbroken, linear, discursive expositions, but [were] actually produced through a series of interruptions" (Davies, 1998, p. 996). *I* did not *start* with my essential question. *We* began in the *middle* and worked in multiple directions.

Conclusion

This research was conducted with Latino students in US History classes in a major city in the Eastern United States. I investigated to what extent the US History classes were meeting the needs of Latino students. The majority of students in this study indicated that their needs were not being met in their US History classes. What is unique to this research is its focus on students' voices. The student-participants were encouraged to engage in an internal dialogue, known as counterstorytelling. The students and I challenged dominant ideologies and centered the research around race and racism in the United States. The students gave voice to joys and concerns they felt as students of Latin American descent. The research findings were hardly surprising: the students were aware of and affected by prejudice and discrimination they and other Latinos faced in the community. Counterstorytelling "can make public what many already know but have not spoken out loud" (Fernández, 2002, p. 60).

Without doubt, the students made public what is already known: the educational system must become more culturally inclusive of and responsive to CLD students' needs

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(Associated Press, 2005; Cummins, 1993; Darder, Torres, & Gutierrez, 1997; De León & Holman, 2002; Gay, 2000; Howard, 2003; Huerta-Macías, 2002; Irvine & Armento, 2001; Latino Eligibility Task Force, 1993; McGroarty, 1998; McLaren & Gutierrez, 1997; Mullis & Jenkins, 1988; Oakes, 1990; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Olsen, 1997; Padilla, 1990; Perez & de la Rosa Salazar, 1997; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Sepúlveda, 1996; Trueba, 1989; Valencia, 1991a). Students did not "see themselves" in daily classroom interactions, were not evident in the state standards or a practice version of the State Graduation Test, and experienced negative and incorrect constructions of their identities by others. Race-space interactions revealed unequal and inequitable conditions for learning. Additional data suggested ESL students and the ESL program were underappreciated at Crawford High School. The lens of LatCrit deepened my understanding of the research with its emphasis on race, ethnicity, language, and immigration status.

This study revealed data patterns with student participants that have not been captured within one study. A major finding of this study was that the US History curriculum is or is not meeting student participants' needs in *different ways*, based upon pertinent characteristics of the students. Latino students' responses were informed by the following critical factors: English speaking ability, recency of arrival in the United States, and level of integration into the power structures of the state. The level of integration was further influenced by students' documentation status (their legal status in the US), parents' English speaking ability, and the English speaking ability of members in a

student's residence and immediate neighborhood.[89] Students' responses fell distinctly into three groups based upon these characteristics (See Table 5).

The students in Group One stressed the basic need to learn English. Maslow described human motivation with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Perhaps this is what students in Group One were telling me—their most basic needs had to be met before they would be ready to "grow" in American schools. Group Two student-participants wanted their culture to be present so that other students—particularly White students—would learn about them. Group Three students conformed to previous studies conducted with White students—they wanted to learn in more interactive ways, working with groups, and being stimulated with flashy videos.

The social studies is the ideal curriculum area for teaching about the diversity present in the classroom, the nation, and the world. In social studies classes, students can develop an "understanding of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups and their significance in US society and throughout the world" (NCSS, 1991), and "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live efficiently in a world…characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence" (NCSS, 1982).

Effective social studies practices incorporate students' cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive needs and backgrounds in the curriculum (Espinoza-Herold, 2003), and many teachers realize these procedures daily. Culturally inclusive social studies fosters factual knowledge, appreciation of differences, and necessary skills for functioning in a multicultural world. Comprehensive social studies classes "connect" with students because it addresses a topic students can relate to— *themselves*—while

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[89] In this school district there are multiple apartment complexes and neighborhoods inhabited by solely Spanish speakers.

reaching beyond the individualistic domain. An education inclusive of students' needs and backgrounds increases positive school experiences, and aids in students' academic success (Abi-Nader, 1990; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Nieto, 1992, 2000, 2004; Valdivieso, 1986a). Hence, the social studies, a curriculum area largely focused on the study of people and culture, was investigated as an indicator of Latino students' perceptions of school.

It is the responsibility of our nation to educate all students equitably. We can no longer relegate Latinos to second-class citizenship in school and the broader society (Ochoa, 2003; see also Barrera, 1988; Darder, 1995; Kitchen, 1990; Velasquez, 1994). American schools are "years behind" (Kloosterman, 2003, p. xii) where they need to be; and the educational challenges that Latino students face is daunting, compounded (Orfield, 1998), and complex (Trueba, 1998b). Instead of talking about the substandard educational *reality* of Latino students, educators must begin to *change* how they perceive, educate, and advocate for Latino students (Bailey & Pope, 2005); or as Zambone & Alicea-Sáez (2003) stated, 'it is time to stop *admiring* the problem and begin *solving* it" (p. 75). Freire (1997) described an early step in the quest for change as the lifting of the ideological fog that obscures meritocracy and other hegemonic practices. After this occurs, schools become places of contest (Olsen, 1997), where teachers courageously defend Latino students' needs and incorporate students' ethnicities into school curriculum (Diaz Salcedo, 1996; Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 1995a, 1995b, Trueba, 1998b). Latino students are the future of our nation; therefore, "more than ever before, educators need to become aware and deeply knowledgeable of their Latino students' expressions of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds…and reflect on their own values …Only then

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will equitable and challenging educational opportunities be provided, and the quality of

education improve" (Kloosterman, p. xii). Schools must welcome diversity in their house,

to rephrase Banks (James Banks' College of Education Speech, 13 October, 2000), for

the more successful an institution is at welcoming Latino students, the more likely the

students will find academic success.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION TO THE SCHOOL

June 23, 2005

XXXX High School
XXXXX
XXXXX

Dear Mr. XXXXX,

Thank you for meeting with me to discuss completing my dissertation research at XXXXX High School. As you know, I am a doctoral candidate at XXX in the College of Education. XXXXXXXXXX XXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXX.

I am investigating intersections between Latino students and the social studies curriculum. This dissertation research is directed by several interrelated questions. However, the following fundamental problem statement guides this investigation:

> **From the viewpoints of Latino students, in what ways does their tenth grade United States history class meet their needs?**

Given the growing Latino population at XXXXX and in the broader XXXXX area, I am excited about my topic. Growth in the U. S. Hispanic population has been tremendous in the last decade – up over 50% from 1990 to 2000, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX . This demographic shift has enormous implications for changing community needs over the next generation.

While the social studies is only one curriculum area that impacts Latino students' connection to the school experience, I will discuss the potential of this particular curriculum area to meet the cultural, linguistic, emotional, and cognitive of students. Education that incorporates students' needs and backgrounds has been shown to generate greater academic success.

Because cultural and linguistic diversity is rapidly increasing in the United States, it is imperative that our schools address culturally and linguistically diverse students' needs. Over 25% of the entire K-12 population is Latino, and Latinos are the largest minority in the American public school system; therefore, even more attention to this educational problem is required due to the tremendous population increase and projected growth of the Latino communities of the United States.

The design of this project will be modeled on the frameworks of Latino Critical Theory and qualitative ethnographic research. I will conduct research in Spanish and English. I will pursue various data collection practices including but not limited to one-on-one and focus group interviews, student journals, and naturalistic observations. The interviews will take the form of counter-storytelling sessions.

Before I begin research with the student-participants, all students must return parental permission to take part in the research. Students will be given a letter in English and/or Spanish outlining the research question, dissemination of results, and confidentiality procedures. I will make myself available to talk with parents and extended family members who have questions during all phases of the project.

I will co-create research with two groups. The first group (known as the "large group") will consist of approximately 20 Latino students who will share wide-ranging reactions to the U.S. history curriculum. The students in this group will self-select from the U.S. history classes. I will meet two to three times with the large group (or separate subgroups) during the fall of 2005. Each meeting will last 45 minutes. Students will be encouraged to format their discussions around the social studies curriculum, particularly the U.S. history curriculum.

Based on students' interest and involvement in the project, I will form a second group of two to five students (known as the "small group"). I will co-create additional research with these students during the 2005-2006 school year, which will be the focus of my dissertation. I will shadow these students in their U.S. history classes, complete one-on-one interviews, and ask students to maintain a journal. I intend to spend enough time with each student in the small group during the school year getting to know them as individuals.

I will also include conversations with US history teachers, support staff, and administrators in my research. I look forward to talking with you in depth about my topic and answering your questions. Please contact me at your earliest convenience, at XXX-XXXX. You may also email me at XXXXXXX, or fax me at XXX-XXXX.

Sincerely,

Stace Rierson

APPENDIX B

DATES AND HOURS SPENT AT CRAWFORD HIGH SCHOOL

Total Time at Crawford High School for Purposes of Research
     Indicated by Month and Date

Month	Dates	Total hours for Month
August	30	6
September	1, 6, 8, 13, 15, 20, 27, 29	48
October	4, 6, 11, 18, 25, 27	36
November	1, 3, 8, 10, 15, 22, 29,	42
December	1, 6, 13, 15, 20	30
January	3, 5, 19, 24,	24
February	2, 9, 14, 16, 21	30
March	9, 21,	12
April	11, 18	12

                             = 240 hours at
                             Crawford High School

APPENDIX C

SCRIPT FOR TEACHERS, SUPPORT STAFF, AND ADMINISTRATORS

Hi! My name is Stace Rierson. I am a doctoral student at XXX in education. I am writing my dissertation on the perceptions that Latino students have of their US History class. I will be at the high school for the entire school year, so this will be a slow process—I am not planning to finish this in one day. First, I will ask Latino students if they would like to become involved. They can choose to participate or not without penalty. Next, their parents have to give written consent for a minor to take part in the research. Then the students have to give written assent to being part of the research.

I will be interviewing Latino students during convenient times for them, such as during their lunch period or their study hall. This research will not take students out of classes.

This research is focused on students' needs and perceptions of their US History classes. Participation in this study will take up no more than three hours of your time during the remainder of the 2005-2006 school year. If you are willing to answer questions I have about the US History curriculum, I will make an appointment at a time that is convenient for you.

Would you be willing to have me to come to your classes to tell students about my research and ask them if they would like to participate?

APPENDIX D

SCRIPT TO RECRUIT STUDENTS IN 10TH GRADE US HISTORY CLASS

Hi! My name is Stace Rierson. I am a doctoral student at XXX. I am doing research with Latino students in the United States History classes. I am interested in knowing what Latino students think about what they learn in this class. Have you ever thought about what you learn in this class? You probably have opinions, and I would like to hear them.

I am going to be talking with students over this school year, so I'll be here for a long time. If you are interested in talking with me, please let me know. This will take no more than three hours during the rest of the school year. I have a form for you to take home for you and your parents to sign. Everything we talk about is private, and it will not affect your grade. Talking to me is completely optional.

Thank you!

APPENDIX E

CONSENT LETTER TO PARENTS IN SPANISH

Septiembre, 2005

Queridos padres de los estudiantes latinos,

Su hijo/a tiene interés en participar en una investigación con el título, Las perspectivas de los estudiantes latinos acerca de lo que aprenden en su clase de la historia de los EEUU.

Una estudiante doctorada, Stace Rierson, va a venir a XXX High School para investigar con aproximadamente 20 estudiantes en total. Ella espera aprender lo que los estudiantes latinos piensan de la clase de la historia de EEUU. Sra Rierson va a entrevistar a los estudiantes.

Las investigaciones con su hijo/a van a ser breves. La Sra Rierson va a hacer dos o tres entrevistas cortas con grupos de estudiantes en el otoño para aprender qué piensa el grupo acerca de lo que aprenden en sus clases de la historia de EEUU. Después, *solamente si tiene interés* en hablar con Sra Rierson más, su hijo/a tiene la oportunidad de compartir más detalles de todo el año acerca de sus experiencias en su clase de historia.

No es un riesgo que su hijo participe. La identidad de su hijo/a (y la familia) es confidencial, y la participación de su hijo/a es voluntaria. Pero, si habla su hijo/a de cosas importantes (como su abuso de las drogas o el alcohol) durante las entrevistas, la confidencialidad puede parar para proteger a su hijo/a.

Las investigaciones con los estudiantes latinos son importantes para el futuro de la nación y el estado de Ohio. La población de estudiantes latinos está creciendo en Columbus, y es importante saber las perspectivas de los estudiantes latinos para reformar el sistema de educación en el estado y en la nación.

Mi información de contacto es:	La información de la co-investigadora que habla
XXXXXX	español es:
XXXXXX	Stace Rierson
XXXXXX	XXXXX

Si da el consentimiento, por favor firme la hoja abajo con el título "madre o padre." Esta hoja da el permiso a su hijo/a de participar. La hoja abajo designada "estudiante" es para su hijo/a. Si él o ella quiere participar, necesita firmar en está hoja. Devuelva el formulario a la Sra Rierson, por favor.

Muchas Gracias,

Steve Miller y Stace Rierson

APPENDIX F

CONSENT LETTER TO PARENTS IN ENGLISH

September, 2005

Dear Parents of Latin American Students,

Your son/daughter is interested in participating in a research study entitled "Latino Students' Perceptions of the US History Curriculum."

A doctoral student, Stace Rierson, is coming to XXXX High School to do the investigation with approximately 20 students. She hopes to learn about Latino students' perceptions of what they learn in their United States history class. Ms. Rierson is going to interview the students.

The research with your son/daughter is going to take minimal time. Ms. Rierson is going to hold two to three group interview sessions in the fall to learn what students think about what they learn in their US History class. Afterwards, *only if your son/daughter is interested*, they will be able to talk more with Ms. Rierson through the school year to share more detail about their experiences in history class.

There is no risk to your son/daughter to participate. The identity of your son/daughter (and the family) is confidential, and their participation is voluntary. However, if your son/daughter speaks of important topics (like their abuse of drugs and alcohol) during the interviews, confidentiality will be broken to protect your son/daughter.

Research with Latino students is important to the future of our nation and the state of Ohio. The population of Latino students is growing in Columbus, and it is important to know the perspectives of Latino students for educational reform in the state and the nation.

My contact information:	Information for the co-researcher that speaks
XXXXXX	Spanish:
XXXXXX	Stace Rierson
XXXXXX	XXXXXX
	XXXXXX

If you give consent, please print and then sign the lines designated, Mother, Father, or "Guardian." The lines labeled "Student" are for your son/daughter. Then return the form to Ms. Rierson. She will make a copy and return it to the student.

Our sincere thanks,

Steven Miller & Stace Rierson

APPENDIX G

OBSERVATIONS AND CONVERSATIONS WITH TEACHERS BY

DATE AND TIME

	Observations		Conversations	
Teachers				
<u>Alex</u>				
9/20	<u>50</u>			
			9/13	25
			9/20	<u>45</u> (group)
	50 = .8 hour			65 minutes = 1 hour
<u>Bonnie</u>				
9/20 (AB)	100			
10/13 (AB)	100			
10/18	50			
10/25 (AB)	<u>100</u>			
			9/20	45 (group)
			10/27	<u>30</u>
	350 min = 5.83 hours			75 minutes = 1.25 hrs
<u>Danielle</u>				
9/6	50			
9/13 (AB)	100			
9/29	50			
10/13	50			
10/18	50			
10/25	50			
11/8	<u>50</u>			
	400 min = 6.6 hours	9/6		<u>45</u>
				45 min = .75 hour

<u>David</u>

9/13		20
9/15		30
11/1		20
11/3		<u>20</u>

90 min = 1.5 hr

<u>Ken</u>
9/15 Observe   <u>50</u>

50 min = .8 Hour
Total observations = 850 minutes = 14.16 hours

Observe
Sept 400 minutes = 6.6 hours
Oct 400 minutes = 6.6 hours
Nov 50 minutes = .8 hour

Conversation
Sept 205 minutes = 3.4 hours
Oct 30 minutes = 0.5 hour
Nov 40 minutes = 0.66 hours

APPENDIX H

CONVERSATIONS WITH ADDITIONAL FACULTY MEMBERS

Other Faculty	Date of Conversation	Minutes
Carla	11/22	25 25 min = 0.5 hour
Hilary	11/8 12/6	30 20 50 min = 1 hour
Tom	9/20	45 (group) 45 min = .75 hr
Mr. Daggert	12/6 12/20	30 15 45 min = .75 hr
Mr. Reilly	12/6 3/9	45 30 75 min = 1.25 hr
Doe 1	11/10	25
Doe 2	9/13	30 (.5 hr)
Doe 3	10/4	30

Mr. Cummings,   11/8   60
Member of State Board of Education

Observing Teachers :	Conversations
800 minutes in classes = 13.3 hrs	660 minutes to adults = 11 hours
	560 to adults at the school = 9.3
	275 to SS T = 4.5 hrs
	120 to school Admin = 2 hrs
	85 min to "Does" = 1.5
	60 to state admin = 1 hr

APPENDIX I

DATES, HOURS, AND LOCATION OF STUDENT INTERVIEWS

Gabriel

11/1	Lunch	20
11/3	Library	45
11/10	Library	45
12/15	Lunch	20 (with group)
1/19	Hallway	10
2/21	Lunch	<u>25</u>
		165 minutes = 2.75 hours

Yessica

11/15	Study Hall	45 (with group)
11/29	Study Hall	45 (group)
12/6	Study Hall	45 (group)
2/9	Lunch	30
2/21	Lunch	<u>15</u>
		180 minutes = 3 hours

Artella

10/29	In a park	20
11/15	Lunch	20
12/13	Lunch	45 (with group)
12/17	At my house	35
12/20	Lunch	45 (group)
1/19	Lunch	35 (group)
2/14	Lunch	<u>40 (group)</u>
		240 minutes = 4.0 hours

Desiree

11/15	Lunch	20
12/13	Lunch	45 (group)
12/20	Lunch	45 (group)
1/19	Lunch	35 (group)
2/14	Lunch	40 (group)
		185 minutes= 3.0 hours

Mariana

11/15	Lunch	20
12/6	Library, Tutor after school	15
12/13	Lunch	45 (group)
12/20	Lunch	45 (group)
1/19	Lunch	35 (group)
2/14	Lunch	40 (group)
		200 minutes = 3.3 hours

Crystal

11/1	Library	45
11/3,	Library	30
11/8	Library	30
11/10	Library	40
11/29	Library	25
2/16	Library	25
		195 hours = 3.25 hours

Reina

11/15	Lunch	15
12/20	Lunch	15
1/19	Hallway	30
2/9	Lunch	15
		75 minutes = 1.25 hours

Ruben

11/22	Library	40
12/6	Study Hall	20
12/20	Library	40
		100 minutes = 1.6 hours

November 485 minutes = 8.08
December 460 minutes = 7.6
January 145 minutes = 2.41
February 230 minutes = 3.83

22 hours with these students on task—conservative estimate of time spent talking about essential topic.

Study Hall Focus Group

11/15	45 with group
11/22	45 group
11/29	45 group
12/1	45 group
12/6	45 group
	225 minutes = 3.75 hours

APPENDIX J

LETTER FROM CRAWFORD HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
TO THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Dear Honorable Members of the Standards Committee of the State Board of Education,

I am speaking to you today on behalf of the thirteen teachers that comprise the Social Studies Department at XXX High School. I am also speaking to you on behalf of the countless other teachers that I have spoken with over the past few months who are overwhelmingly opposed to the changes in the Social Studies sequence proposed by the XXX Department of Education. My chief concerns center on the cognitive appropriateness of the courses offered beginning at the seventh grade level. I will now attempt to point out five of my chief concerns.

1) The vast majority of seventh grade students are not cognitively mature enough to handle the academic rigors of an Ancient Civilization History course. To try and move from the last history class your new sequence proposes (fourth grade XXX History!) to Ancient Civilization History three years later is bizarre and certainly will set most students up for failure. Students will simply not have enough history background to be ready to tackle the challenges of Ancient Civilization History. I see many top-notch juniors and seniors who have had two or three years of history challenged by our current World History offering at the junior or senior year. I can not imagine the academic massacre that will happen to seventh grade students under this proposed plan.

2) If we are truly going to prepare our students to be ready to live in a multi-cultural world after high school, it seems foolish to place a study of world history and cultures (what you call World Studies) at the ninth grade level. This is obviously a full three years before most students will have a chance to experience the multi-cultural world that will surround them. It only makes sense to place this world history and world culture emphasis later (junior and senior year). This later emphasis will increase the practicality and meaningfulness of a multi-cultural education in high school, one that they will remember and utilize.

3) Requiring all students to complete their history sequences before the end of their tenth grade year will strip local school districts of any freedom to develop a sequence which is appropriate for the level of cognitive development of their particular group of students. If it is true that local teachers and administrators know their students better than distant bureaucrats do, then leave scope and sequence questions to the local experts.

4) The proposed drastic change of sequence to most school districts will result in unexpected and unbelievable costs of replacement textbooks for these new courses. Many

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districts will have to abandon one-year old books to meet the new course requirements. This additional cost of perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars to a district may result in the unfortunate reallocation of funds at the expense of student programs.
5) Instead of challenging college bound juniors and seniors for the academic rigors of college (with an Ancient Civilization History course), teachers will have to water down a difficult, academically challenging course for unprepared seventh grade students.

My proposal is that:
1) History Benchmarks XXX, XXX, and XXX be removed from Grades 6-8 and placed in Grades 9-10, and
2) History Benchmarks XXX, XXX, and XXX be removed from Grades 9-10 and placed in Grades 11-12. This simple change will help to eliminate most of the problems mentioned above. These changes will still hold students accountable by the XXX Graduation Test to know the history of the founding of American democracy and the precedents from other parts of the world upon which it was based, as well as all of the other Benchmarks in the Social Studies. I hope that you will consider and then act upon the proposed amendments. With your help, the Social Studies teachers of XXX can help the students of today and tomorrow reach new academic heights. Heights that we can all be proud of because we had valuable input in their formation. Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX K

COUNTRIES, REGIONS, FORMER EMPIRES, AND CONTINENTS ON PRACTICE STATE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION TEST, ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Africa	4
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	1
Armenia	1
Asia	1
Austria-Hungary	1
Bangladesh	3
Belgian Congo	2
Belgium	2
Benin	1
Bosnia	2
Brasil	2
Britain	8
Canada (eastern)	1
Central America	1
China	6
Congo	1
Eastern Europe	2
Egypt	2
Europe	1
Fiji	1
France	1
French West Africa	1
Gabon	2
Germany	1
Honduras	1
Hungary	2
India	5
Iraq	1
Japan	6
Kenya	3

Madagascar	1
Mali	1
Mauritania	1
Ottoman Empire	1
Pakistan	3
Russia	1
Rwanda	2
Saudi Arabia	1
Somalia	1
South Africa	3
South America	1
Soviet Union	3
Sri Lanka	2
Tibet	1
Togo	1
Uganda	2
United States	13
Western Africa	1
Western Europe	3
Yugoslavia	1

APPENDIX L

COUNTRIES, REGIONS, FORMER EMPIRES, AND CONTINENTS ON PRACTICE
STATE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION TEST, SORTED BY DESCENDING
OCCURRENCE

United States	13
Britain	8
China	6
Japan	6
India	5
Africa	4
Bangladesh	3
Kenya	3
Pakistan	3
South Africa	3
Soviet Union	3
Western Europe	3
Belgian Congo	2
Belgium	2
Bosnia	2
Brasil	2
Eastern Europe	2
Egypt	2
Gabon	2
Hungary	2
Rwanda	2
Sri Lanka	2
Uganda	2
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	1
Armenia	1
Asia	1
Austria-Hungary	1
Benin	1
Canada (eastern)	1

Central America	1
Congo	1
Europe	1
Fiji	1
France	1
French West Africa	1
Germany	1
Honduras	1
Iraq	1
Madagascar	1
Mali	1
Mauritania	1
Ottoman Empire	1
Russia	1
Saudi Arabia	1
Somalia	1
South America	1
Tibet	1
Togo	1
Western Africa	1
Yugoslavia	1

APPENDIX M

CONCEPTS, EVENTS, AND PEOPLE ON PRACTICE STATE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION TEST, ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Adolph Hitler	1
Advertising tactics	1
Animal cruelty	1
Arab/Palestinian crises	1
Berlin Wall	1
British fox hunting	3
China Revolution	1
Cold War	1
Commodore Perry	3
Conflict in Middle East	1
Cotton	1
Eradication of pests	2
French Declaration of Rights of Man	1
French Revolution	2
Gandhi	4
Gaza Strip	1
GDP	1
GNP	1
Hobbes	1
Hutu	3
Indus Revolution	2
International Criminal Tribunal	1
Israeli	1
Kurds	1
Locke	1
Montesquieu	1
Muslim	1
Newton	1

APPENDIX N

CONCEPTS, EVENTS, AND PEOPLE ON PRACTICE STATE HIGH SCHOOL
GRADUATION TEST, SORTED BY DESCENDING OCCURRENCE

Gandhi	4
British fox hunting	3
Commodore Perry	3
Hutu	3
Eradication of pests	2
French Revolution	2
Indus Revolution	2
Russian Revolution	2
Tutsi	2
United Nations	2
WW2	2
Adolph Hitler	1
Advertising tactics	1
Animal cruelty	1
Arab/Palestinian crises	1
Berlin Wall	1
China Revolution	1
Cold War	1
Conflict in Middle East	1
Cotton	1
French Declaration of Rights of man /	1
Gaza Strip	1
GDP	1
GNP	1
Hobbes	1
International Criminal Tribunal	1
Israeli	1
Kurds	1
Locke	1

APPENDIX O

GLOBALLY INFUSED UNITED STATES HISTORY CURRICULUM

1870s-1880s Commerce and Expansion

Before:
- Examine human relations which result from connections among regions.

After:
- View the film "A Thousand Pieces of Gold" regarding the efforts of the Chinese in building the transcontinental railroad (Bigelow & Christensen, 1994).

1900s Imperialism

Before:
- Compare the effects of the United States government with governments in other nations to promote competition, to protect national economic interests, or to regulate economic activity.[90]

After:
- Understand events from a non-US. perspective. For example, read excerpts from Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1959) to recognize an African's point of view regarding imperialism (Wilson, 1997). The *Meeting on the Congo* activity (Merryfield, 1997) and T. J. Watson's (2000) *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce* are also recommended.

1900's Social History

Before:
- Examine the contributions of various cultural groups and representative individuals to American society.

After:
- Explore the creation of the NAACP and the activities of African-American activists such as Ida B. Wells, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and W. E. B. Dubois.
- Show the movie "The Killing Floor," about two African American men who migrate to Chicago to work in the meat packing plants. The film deals with racism and unionism (Bigelow & Christensen, 1994).

1910s Women's Rights Movement

Before:
- Explore the implications of the women's movement for economic, political, and social relationships.

After:

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[90] Cited from the Ninth Grade Performance Objectives.

- Describe the structural and institutional inequalities that necessitated these efforts and *continue* to require these efforts.
- Understand the multiple facets of the women's movement. How did race, ethnicity, class, religion, and sexuality affect the movement?
- Explain how women in other nations have fought for their rights. Not all nations allow open protest, yet women have been successful in obtaining rights. How have they done this?

1910s World War One

Before:
- Work forward from some initiating event to its outcome and work backward from some issue, problem, or event to explain its cause

After:
- Consider how history tends to seek the "one reason" or "universal truth" of an event. What impact does this perspective have on our interpretations of history?
- Understand the *global* aspect of World War One and the relatively small role the United States played.
- Compare reasons and outcomes of World War One with recent and current wars occurring around the world, such as in the Balkans, the Sudan, Sierra Leone, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. How do the media positively and negatively affect our knowledge of wars?

1920's: Stock Market

Before:
- Describe the business cycle and identify changes that occur in economic activities during times of contraction and expansion.

After:
- Describe the global implications of the boom and bust of the market.
- Consider who was "left out" of the stock market boom because of class and/or race.
- Understand the importance of intercultural sensitivity when selling and buying globally. Behaviors are cultural and there is no "universal way" to act in situations. Consider how ethnocentrism may have affected and may continue to affect international communications.

1920s: Immigration

Before:
- Design an alternative explanation as to whether the United States is a "melting pot" or a "salad bowl" and compare the implications for each interpretation for American social development.

After:
- Understand the history of the "melting pot" and "salad bowl" metaphors. What are the implications for each interpretation with respect to the American eugenics movement in the 1920s and the Aryan and Ku Klux Klan movements of today?
- Describe the metaphors from other cultures to explain the movement of people. How do other cultures describe the "melting pot" and "salad bowl" analogies?
- Investigate the societal "expectations" for new immigrants in various countries, both from within the immigrant culture and from the majority culture. What tensions result when these expectations between and within cultures clash? For instance, within Mexican culture the world "pocho" is a derogatory word for someone who has become too "Americanized." What effect does this tension have on people? Students can interview new immigrants in their community to understand the tensions.
- Consider the range of descriptors used in this context such as adaptation, transculturation, acculturation, and assimilation. How are these descriptors historically by the majority culture and the minority culture?

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- Trace students' family trees to recognize the global composition of students' backgrounds.
- Invite current local immigrants or "cultural consultants" to share what they believe American students should know about their culture (Merryfield, 1997).

1930s Great Depression & the New Deal

Before:
- Explain how the lessons of the Great Depression have impacted United States economic policy since the 1930s.
- Compare contrasting historical narratives and assess how historians come to different interpretations.

After:
- Understand how the Great Depression affected people around the world, not just in the U. S.
- Describe "how history is written." Who decides what "reality?" is Read narratives from non-mainstream historians.
- Show the films "Seeing Red," which chronicles the rise of the Communist party in the United States; "Union Maids," which tells about the rise of labor unions in the 1930s and 1940s from women's points of view; and "Matewan" to understand how economic stress affected racial issues in the United States (Bigelow & Christensen, 1994).

1940s: World War II

Before:
- Analyze diplomatic and military efforts to presence world peace and advance national interests.

After:
- Understand how the War affected people outside of the US, Europe, and Japan. For instance, how were Africans, Latin Americans, and Pacific Islanders involved in and affected by this global event? Even areas like the Galapagos Islands were directly impacted.
- Describe how people were "Othered" by the war process. How did the expansion of media assist in the vilification of the enemy? How has this vilification continued to affect people's perceptions?
- Analyze the Japanese internment camps in the United States. What rights were violated? Use the Bill of Rights to examine how American citizens were denied their rights because of their ethnicity.
- Invite a speaker involved in the war, either directly or indirectly. Consider Japanese internment camp and Holocaust survivors

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1950s Cold War and Cuba

Before:
- Identify key historical events and explain their impact on subsequent development.

After:
- Discuss global tensions from the point of view of Khrushchev and the former Soviet Union.
- Read Dr. Seuss' *The Butter Battle Book* to understand basic roots of global tensions and intolerance. Also, include discussion of internal intolerance, exemplified by the McCarthy hearings.
- Understand the previous and ongoing tensions between United States and Cuba--from the early 1900s imperialism to Elian Gonzalez to Guantanamo Bay. An excellent method for highlighting the tensions is to invite speakers who represent different viewpoints.
- Compare websites of current day Cuba based on their perspective of Communism and Castro.
- Read primary documents from the era, such as Kennedy and Castro's speeches.

Before:

- Demonstrate historical continuity and/or change with respect to a particular historical development or theme by reconstructing and analyzing the chronological succession and duration of events associated with it.

After:

- Understand the Korean perspectives and draw editorial cartoons representing the range of opinions regarding US intervention based on various personal demographic indicators such as age, class, and position in society.
- How does the stalemate continue to affect our relations with North and South Korea, their relations with each other, and with the rest of the world?

1960s Vietnam

Before:

- Identify and discuss consequences of a breakdown in a major linkage in contemporary events.

After:

- Understand the Vietnamese perspectives based on various personal demographic indicators such as age, class, and position in society.
- Describe the global and regional impact of the war. How did the regional impact influence immigration to the United States and other countries?
- Describe the composition of the military. How well did it equitably reflect race and class in American society?
- Consider the rise of civil disobedience during this era. How well did protests reflect race, class, gender, and ethnicity?
- Show the movie "Breaker Morant" to pose questions "about the culpability of individuals caught in an evil enterprise of 'empire building'" (Bigelow & Christensen, 1994, p. 189). Even though the film is about the Boer War in South Africa, it presents issues pertinent to Vietnam.

1960s Civil Rights

Before:

- Describe the efforts by African Americans and Native Americans[91] during the 20th century to achieve economic and political equality.

After:

- Describe the structural and institutional inequalities that necessitated these efforts and *continue* to require these efforts. For insight from people experiencing racism during this time, consider reading excerpts from Frantz Fanon, Wole Soyinka's *Telephone Conversation* (1967) (See Appendix L), or Richard Rive's *The Bench* (Wilson, 1997).
- Understand the Montgomery Bus Boycott as an organized "community effort to overthrow injustice" (Hursh, 2001, p. 129) and not the spontaneous actions of one woman.[92]
- Describe the efforts by Latin Americans and Asian-Americans during the same period.
- Describe the efforts of women during the Civil Rights era. How did Fannie Lou Hamer and Ella Baker influence the movement?
- Understand the human rights violated in the United States during this era. Read sections of the United Nations 1948 Declaration of Human Rights to comprehend the magnitude of violations.
- Describe the efforts to win civil rights occurring globally during this same period. Compare and contrast the demands, the tactics, and the success of these movements. What was the global situation that contributed to multiple protests around the world?

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[91] For more information see Bruchac, 1994.
[92] For more information see Kohl, 1994.

- Examine the current United Nations Human Development Reports (Wilson, 1997) for a ranking of countries based on, among other items, their human and civil rights indicators.
- Invite guest speakers from communities that protested for rights during this era.

1970s Consumerism, Industrialization, and Environmentalism

Before:
- Analyze the economic and social impact of the transformation from an industrialized, urban society to an informational, suburban society.
- Suggest how past actions and decisions offer limitations and opportunities for the present.

After:
- Read Dr. Seuss's *The Lorax to* understand the basic ideas regarding consumerism, industrialization, and the importance of environmental awareness for the world.

1980s Berlin Wall

Before:
- Examine historical situations and convey an understanding of key concepts in international relations.

After:
- Study how popular music around the world reflected this event (Wilson, 1997).
- What were the implications for West Germans and East Germans when the wall came down? What tensions arose? What stereotypes emerged?

1980s Latin America

Before:
- Cite historical examples and gauge the extent to which regions and nations have been dependent on other regions and nations.

After
- Discuss how United States intervention against suspected Communism affected the climate in Central American countries. Understand the social, economic, and political situation in countries such as Nicaragua and El Salvador, and how the wars affected the lives of millions of people.
- Explore the global connections between Iran and Nicaragua with the illegal sale of arms.
- Use literature of Latin American women to understand the intersection of race, class, and gender oppression (Rierson & Duty, 2002).
- Read the poem "Two Women," which juxtaposes a wealthy woman's narration with a poor woman's, to understand class issues (Rethinking Schools, 1994).
- View the film "El Norte" to understand the effect war has on immigration (Bigelow & Christensen, 1994).

1990s-2000 Globalization

Before:
- Discuss the development toward regionalized cooperation and assess the potential impact on the global economy.

After:
- Understand the range of pros and cons of globalization and free trade. Who loses? Who gains?
- Study maquiladoras and child labor (both in the United States and internationally).
- Consider the positive and negative impacts of boycotts on every person involved on the production and consumption of a good. How can boycotts backfire?

2000s Terrorism

Before:
- Examine historical situations and convey an understanding of key concepts in international relations.

After:
- Examine the global aspect of terrorism. For teaching suggestions, see T. J. Watson, 2002.
- Discuss the US Patriot Act from various points of view (including national and international perspectives)
- Investigate how the events of September 11 have affected the rights of people of Middle Eastern ethnicity living in the United States and around the world.

1990-2000s Current Events Suggestions

- Compare newspapers' accounts of events and join interactive chat rooms to connect students with others around the world.
- Use electronic technology to search for primary documents of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, The World Health Organization, UNICEF, the State Department, and numerous others. Compare perspectives and accounts of world events.
- Utilize computer software programs to learn about the world, such as MacGlobe (Wilson, 1997, p. 163).
- Empower students to write, telephone, email, or fax their elected government representatives.

APPENDIX P

WOLE SOYINKA'S *TELEPHONE CONVERSATION*

The price seemed reasonable, location

Indifferent. The landlady swore she lived

Off premises. Nothing remained

But self confession. 'Madam,' I warned

'I hate a wasted journey--I am--African.'

Silence. Silenced transmission of

Pressurised good breeding. Voice, when it came,

Lip-stick coated, long gold-rolled

Cigarette-holder pipped. Caught I was, foully.

"HOW DARK?...I had not misheard… 'ARE YOU

      LIGHT

OR VERY DARK?' Stench

Of rancid breath of public hide-and-speak.

Red booth. Red pillar box. Red double-tiered

Omnibus squelching tar. It *was* real! Shamed

By ill-mannered silence, surrender

Pushed dumbfoundment to beg simplification.

Considerate she was, varying the emphasis--

'ARE YOU DARK/ OR VERY LIGHT?' Revelation came.

'You mean--like plain or milk chocolate?'

Her assent was clinical, crushing in its light

Impersonality. Rapidly, wave-length adjusted,

I chose, 'West African sepia'--and as an afterthought,

'Down in my passport.' Silence for spectroscopic

Flight of fancy, till truthfulness clanged her accent

Hard on the mouthpiece, 'WHAT'S THAT?' conceding

'DON'T KNOW WHAT THAT IS.' 'Like brunette.'

'THAT'S DARK, ISN'T IT?' 'Not altogether.

'Facially, I am brunette, but madam, you should see

The rest of me. Palm of my hand, soles of my feet

Are a peroxide blond. Friction, caused--

Foolishly, madam--by sitting down, has turned

My bottom raven black--One moment madam!'--sensing

Her receiver rearing on the thunder clap

About my ears--'Madam,' I pleaded, 'Wouldn't you rather

See for yourself?'

Soyinka, W. (1967). Telephone Conversation. In J. Reed & C. Wake (Eds.), *A Book of African Verse* (pp. 81-82). Heinemann Educational Books, London.