

2013 AMAE JOURNAL
Volume 7 • Issue 1

AMAE

ASSOCIATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS



EL FUEGO NUEVO

AMAE OPEN ISSUE

ASSOCIATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS
A M A E • 2013

AMAE Co-Editors

Oscar Jiménez-Castellanos
Arizona State University

Antonio Camacho
Past AMAE President
Los Angeles Unified School District

AMAE Associate Editor

Patricia Sánchez, University of Texas—San Antonio

AMAE EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Enrique Alemán
University of Utah

Alfredo Artiles
Arizona State University

Marta Baltodano
Loyola Marymount University

Antonia Darder
Loyola Marymount University

Kathy Escamilla
University of Colorado—Boulder

Ruben Espinosa
San Diego State University

Gustavo Fischman
Arizona State University

Juan Flores
California State University, Stanislaus

Patricia Gándara
University of California—Los Angeles

Eugene García
Arizona State University

Kris Gutierrez
University of Colorado—Boulder

Donaldo Macedo
University of Massachusetts—Amherst

Enrique Murillo
California State University, San Bernardino

Sonia Nieto
University of Massachusetts—Amherst

Pedro Noguera
New York University

Alberto Ochoa
San Diego State University

Edward Olivos
University of Oregon

Amado Padilla
Stanford University

William Perez
Claremont Graduate University

James Rodriguez
California State University, Fullerton

Richard Valencia
University of Texas—Austin

Angela Valenzuela
University of Texas—Austin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Message	4
FEATURED ARTICLES	
The Association Between School Engagement and Achievement Across Three Generations of Mexican American Students	5-16
James L. Rodríguez, California State University, Fullerton Ioakim P. Boutakidis, California State University, Fullerton	
Looking for Science and Mathematics in all the Right Places: Using Mobile Technologies as Culturally-Sensitive Pedagogical Tools to Capture Generative Images	17-26
María G. Arreguín-Anderson, University of Texas—San Antonio Elsa Cantú Ruiz, University of Texas—San Antonio	
Sex Education Justice: A Call for Comprehensive Sex Education and the Inclusion of Latino Early Adolescent Boys	27-37
Claudia Kouyoumdjian, California State University, Los Angeles Bianca L. Guzmán, California State University, Los Angeles	
Resisting the Dominant Narrative: The Role of Stories in Latina Educational Success	38-47
María Oropeza Fujimoto, California State University, Fullerton	
Using Literacy to Understand Mexican Boys' Perspectives of Life	48-57
Debby Zambo, Arizona State University Cory Hansen, Arizona State University	
Teachers' Memories of Schooling: The Sociocultural Injuries and the Mis-Education of Mexican Teachers in the Barrio	58-72
Lilliana P. Saldaña, University of Texas—San Antonio	
BOOK REVIEW	
The Latino Education Crisis	73-75
by Patricia Gándara and Frances Contreras Eden Cortez, University of Utah	
Author Biographies	76-77
2014 AMAE Journal Call for Manuscripts	78-79
AMAE Journal Rubric	80
AMAE Application	81

Editors' Message

We are pleased to publish six featured articles and a book review in the 2013 AMAE Open Issue (Volume 7, Issue 1). We would like to thank the authors for contributing their research to the AMAE Journal. In addition, we would like to thank our peer reviewers for their efforts in carefully reviewing the manuscripts in 2013.

The lead article co-authored by James L. Rodríguez and Ioakim P. Boutakidis conducts an empirical study focused on the cognitive and emotional engagement and their relationship to academic achievement of Mexican-American adolescent students across three generations. The second article co-authored by María G. Arreguín-Anderson and Elsa Cantú Ruiz examines mobile devices as culturally sensitive pedagogical tools in science and mathematics. The third article co-authored by Claudia Kouyoumdjian and Bianca L. Guzmán questions the status quo approaches to sex education. The results show a need for a new approach to comprehensive sex education, especially for Latino adolescent boys. The fourth article authored by María Oropeza Fujimoto uses counter narratives of Latina educational success to challenge the dominant narrative regarding educational failure. The fifth article co-authored by Debby Zambo and Cory Hansen uses literacy as a mechanism to understand the socio-historical and political context of schooling for Mexican youth, especially young boys in Arizona. The sixth article examines the memories of Mexican American teachers and the ways in which they transform, negotiate and reproduce the culture of schooling in San Antonio, Texas; this article is authored by Lilliana P. Saldaña. Finally, Eden Cortez reviews the book, *The Latino Education Crisis*.

Sincerely,

Oscar Jimenez-Castellanos
Antonio Camacho
Patricia Sánchez

The Association Between School Engagement and Achievement Across Three Generations of Mexican American Students

James L. Rodríguez

Ioakim P. Boutakidis

California State University, Fullerton

Abstract

The study examined the relation of cognitive and emotional engagement and academic achievement across three generations (immigrant, children of immigrant parent(s), non-immigrant) of 474 Mexican American adolescent students attending a junior high school in Southern California. Regression analysis revealed a generational shift in regards to the specific academic engagement components that predicted grade point average (GPA). Cognitive engagement was a positive predictor of GPA for first-generation students while both cognitive and emotional engagement were positive predictors for second-generation students. Meanwhile, only emotional engagement positively predicted GPA for third-generation students. Educational responsiveness is utilized as a conceptual framework to understand, interpret, and discuss the study findings. Implications for the development and implementation of policies and practices for Mexican American students responsive to this generational shift are discussed.

Introduction

School engagement is considered a critical factor in academic achievement (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). While school engagement has been defined in various ways across various theoretical frameworks, it is typically characterized as a psychological process that involves positive attention, interest, and/or commitment to academics (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Fredricks et al., 2004; Marks, 2000). School engagement is also associated with volition or motivation that, in turn, impacts academic performance. Educational researchers have begun to consider students' self-beliefs and attitudes, such as motivation, personal agency, and engagement, as keys to improving student learning, above and beyond the more traditionally studied school- and family- level factors (Dweck & Master, 2009; Klem & Connell, 2004; You, Hong, & Ho, 2011). Finally, it is important to recognize that engagement is an interactive process in which engaged students are more likely to be involved in school activities and in relationships with teachers (Willms, Friesen, & Milton, 2009). Studies have shown that academically engaged youth consistently outperform their less engaged peers and are at lower risk for other academic problems, such as dropping-out of school (Fredricks et al., 2004).

The role of school engagement in the academic achievement of immigrant youth, in general, and Mexican Americans specifically has also been noted (Gonzales et al., 2008; Ibañez, Kuperminc, Jurkovic, & Perilla, 2004; Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). It is noteworthy that differences between immigrant and non-immigrant Latino adolescents in regards to school engagement as a global concept (Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009) and academic achievement (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Padilla & Gonzalez, 2001; Suarez-Orozco, Bang, Onaga, 2010; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010) have also been found.

This article reports the findings of a study examining the relation of school engagement and achievement across three generations of Mexican American adolescent students attending a junior high school in Southern California. The unique contribution of this study is the examination of cognitive and emotional components of school engagement in relation to academic achievement across three generations of Mexican American students. Educational responsiveness is presented as a theoretical framework to better interpret, understand, and discuss the study's findings. Educational responsiveness has been defined as an approach to policies and practices that promote positive educational outcomes through the recognition, understanding, and utilization of students' cultural, linguistic, and psychological assets (Cadiero Kaplan & Rodríguez, 2008). Within this particular study, educational responsiveness provides a conceptual perspective to understand the relation between school

engagement and academic achievement among Mexican American junior high school students whose school experiences occur within dynamic and diverse sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts.

Components of School Engagement and Achievement

Beyond definitions that treat school engagement as a unidimensional factor, researchers have also attempted to identify specific components that may act independently. One common approach is to separate the emotional, behavioral, and cognitive components of engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004). The emotional component of academic engagement could include a student's feelings of belonging and her emotional reactions toward teachers and staff, whereas behavioral components would include things such as asking questions in class, following rules and studying habits. The behavioral component, which has been the most widely studied, broadly captures behavioral conduct, including completing school work, attending classes and following classroom instruction. The cognitive component of engagement typically involves concepts related to students' investment in learning, the perceived utility of learning, and interest in the subject matter above and beyond the requirements of the course or class (Fredricks et al., 2004). The various components of school engagement impact volition or motivation that, in turn, impact academic performance.

The importance of assessing these different components of school engagement has become increasingly clearer as researchers have determined that different forms of school engagement may be differentially related to academic outcomes. The association between cognitive engagement and academic achievement appears to be strongest in reviews of the literature (see Fredricks, et al., 2004; National Center for School Engagement/NCSE, 2006), whereas behavioral engagement appears most predictive of outcomes related to school attendance and dropping out (Connell, Spencer, & Aber, 1994; NCSE, 2006). Interestingly, emotional engagement has not been generally shown to significantly predict academic outcomes. However, while previous studies have reported generational differences among Latinos for school engagement (Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009) and academic achievement (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Padilla & Gonzalez, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995), the study reported here is the first to examine the relation between cognitive and emotional engagement as separate components to academic achievement across three generations of Mexican American students.

Educational Responsiveness to Understand School Engagement and Achievement

As previously mentioned, educational responsiveness serves as a conceptual lens to understand the relation between school engagement and academic achievement among Mexican American students. Educational responsiveness is enacted in various aspects of the educational process ranging from policy development to policy implementation through best practices, curricula, teacher professional development, etc. It has been previously applied to retention, preparation and professional development of teachers to work effectively with English language learners (Cadiero Kaplan & Rodríguez, 2008; Gonzales & Rodríguez, 2007) and to school finance in regards to the allocation of fiscal and human resources in schools serving English language learners (Jimenez-Castellanos & Rodríguez, 2009).

In this article, educational responsiveness is used as a conceptual lens to better understand how school engagement and achievement across three generations of Mexican American students can be better understood within dynamically diverse everyday contexts influenced by a myriad of cultural, economic, linguistic, political, and social factors. This conceptual lens is used to frame the interpretation and discussion of study findings including the identification of policies and practices sensitive to within-group diversity among Mexican Americans. The application of educational responsiveness is critical to schools' attempts to meet the needs of multigenerational Mexican American students as vital to improving their school engagement, and in turn, their academic achievement.

The Present Study

The study described in this paper examined the relation of cognitive and emotional engagement and academic achievement (grade point average) across three generations (immigrant, children of immigrant

parent(s), non-immigrant) of Mexican American students attending a junior high school in Southern California. While previous studies have found generational differences for school engagement and achievement among Latino students, the study reported here is the first to examine the relation between cognitive and emotional engagement as separate components to academic achievement across three generations of Mexican American students.

Method

School Context

Student data was collected from a public junior high school located in Southern California. The total school enrollment during the 2011-2012 academic-year was 767 students, of which 80% were identified as Hispanic or Latino. The school serves a primarily lower income district with 58% of students enrolled in a Free or Reduced-Price Lunch program, and 36% of the parents had not completed high school. Over one-third (37%) of the student population was also classified as English Learners at the time of data collection (California Department of Education [CDE], 2012).

Participants

Data for this study was collected in two ways. First, student achievement data (cumulative grade point average [GPA]) and enrollment in The National School Lunch Program (NSLP) for 7th and 8th grade students was provided by the school administration. Measures also included assessments on academic engagement and demographic background collected by the authors, in which case each participant's active consent was sought. These two datasets were matched using students' lunch ID numbers. All told, the final data set included 707 students, of which 474 identified themselves as Mexican or Mexican-American (see Table 1 for additional demographic details).

Measures

School Engagement. Cognitive and Emotional Engagement were assessed using two subscales from the School Engagement Scale (National Center for School Engagement/NCSE, 2006). Cognitive Engagement was assessed using a 22-item subscale (e.g., "How important do you think an education is?" "I study at home even when I don't have a test") to which students responded using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). The Emotional Engagement subscale contained 16 statements (e.g., "Most of my teachers care about how I'm doing," "I enjoy the work I do in class") to which students responded using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). The subscales have demonstrated strong reliability in previous applications with Cronbach alpha values ranging from .867 to .992. (NCSE, 2006). The authors could not find a previous application of this scale with a strictly Mexican American sample, however reliability values were similar to previous applications. In this study's sample Cronbach alpha values for Cognitive and Emotional Engagement were .832 and .891, respectively (see Table 2 for means by generational status).

Academic Achievement. Academic achievement was assessed using cumulative grade point averages (GPA), ranging from 0.00 to 4.00 (F's = 0 to A's = 4) from the students' last completed academic year (averaged across 3 quarters from 2011 to 2012) as taken from official school transcripts (see Table 2 for means by generational status).

Demographics. Students self-reported on the personal characteristics including their gender, grade level, ethnicity and generational status. Students were asked to select their ethnicity from a list of labels and could insert their own label. Only those students who selected "Mexican" or "Mexican American" or who wrote in the equivalent (e.g., "Guadalajaran") were selected for this study. Generational status was assigned based

upon participants' responses regarding their own and their parents' birthplace. Participants who responded that both they and their parents were born outside of the U.S. were classified as first generation. Participants who responded that their parents were born abroad, but that they were born in the United States were classified as second-generation, and participants who responded that both their parents and they were born in the United States were classified as third generation. Finally official school reports identified participants as either enrolled or not enrolled in the National School Lunch program. This program provides free or reduced-cost lunch in public schools based upon economic need.

Results

The following analyses all utilized an alpha level of .05 in representing statistical significance.

Mean Comparisons on School Engagement

Standard analysis of variance followed by Scheffé post hoc comparisons were used to compare mean subscale scores for Cognitive and Emotional Engagement. No statistically significant differences in either Cognitive or Emotional Engagement scores were found across first, second, and/or third generation Mexican American students in this sample (see Table 2 for specific means by generational status). Independent Samples T tests conducted on other group comparisons did reveal some notable differences, however. Cognitive Engagement subscale scores were significantly lower for 8th graders than for 7th graders, $t(451) = 2.03, p = .043$.

Mean Comparisons on GPA

Standard analysis of variance followed by Scheffé post hoc comparisons were used to compare mean GPA's from the previous academic year among the three generations of Mexican American students. A statistically significant difference ($p = .030$) was found between second and third generation students, such that second generation Mexican American students had higher GPAs than third generation Mexican American Students, $F(2,394) = 3.69, p = .026$ (see Table 2 for specific means by generational status). Independent Samples T-tests revealed no additional differences by grade level for GPA scores.

Regressions Predicting Academic Achievement

Linear multiple regressions using maximum likelihood estimation and listwise deletion were conducted in order to determine which variables were predictive of academic performance, as indicated by cumulative GPA scores, across three generations of Mexican American junior high school students. The following variables were all entered as one block in order to predict GPA: grade level, enrollment in the National School Lunch Program, Cognitive Engagement Subscale Score, and Emotional Engagement Subscale Score. Separate regressions were run for each generation of Mexican American students (first, second, and third).

For first generation Mexican American students, Cognitive Engagement Subscale scores were significantly associated with GPA such that greater Cognitive Engagement was associated with higher GPA ($p = .041$). However, *both* Cognitive and Emotional Engagement were significant, positive predictors of GPA for second-generation ($p = .019, p = .003$) students. The pattern changed once again for third-generation students, with only Emotional Engagement significantly associated with GPA ($p = .029$) (see Table 3 for full regression results).

Discussion

The principal finding of this study is the pattern or generational shift in whether cognitive and or emotional engagement predicted GPA across three generations of Mexican American students. Cognitive engagement was the sole positive predictor of GPA among first-generation, immigrant students. Meanwhile, there was a shift among second-generation students (children of immigrants) where both cognitive and emotional engagement

positively predicted GPA. Another shift was found among third-generation students (non-immigrant) where emotional engagement was the sole positive predictor of GPA. The significance of these findings cannot be overstated. While generational differences on school engagement and achievement (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Lopez, Ehly, & Garcia-Vasquez, 2002; Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995) have been previously found, this study has two significant findings that, to our knowledge, have not been previously reported in published work. First, the findings of this study revealed differences between the cognitive and emotional engagement domains of overall school engagement (i.e. Among first generation students, cognitive engagement was significant while emotional engagement was not significant). Second, this study found a generational shift in the prediction of GPA through the examination of specific components of school engagement.

Of course, caution should be taken in regards to the generalization and interpreting of findings. This is one sample from a single junior high school in one region of Southern California, and variations by region and school are possible. Future studies of these phenomena with student cohorts at the same school site and other school sites will provide the opportunity to replicate the findings of this study and to understand the phenomena over time and across contexts.

Nonetheless, it is important to further discuss these findings using the conceptual lens afforded by educational responsiveness. Cognitive engagement has been found to be most associated with the quantitative metrics or academic performance (e.g., grades and standardized test scores) for general adolescent populations. And this was in fact what was found for first generation immigrants. And yet, moving cross-sectionally across generational status, we found the increasing prominence of emotional engagement as a factor. This may speak to the importance of social connections and personal relationships that may form the basis for emotional engagement in schools for second, and even more so, third generation Mexican American students. It may be that second and third generation students feel more culturally dislocated than first generation adolescents who may still feel strong connections to their ethnic, heritage culture as evidenced through research on acculturation and ethnic identity (Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Lopez, Ehly, & Garcia-Vasquez, 2002). Therefore, schools may prove an important anchoring point, if they can access the necessary relationships and resources to foster emotional engagement. It should also be noted that this study found a decline in GPA from first- and second-generation to the third-generation that is consistent with previous research on academic achievement among Mexican Americans (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Educational responsiveness requires the consideration of these findings of within-group diversity for school engagement and achievement in order to address how to develop and implement curricula, student programs, and teacher professional development to more effectively promote the school engagement and achievement of Mexican American students. The implications of the study findings for research, policy, and practice will be discussed in the following section.

Educational Responsiveness to Promote School Engagement and Achievement

This discussion of study findings and their implications for the education of Mexican Americans is guided by the conceptual lens provided by educational responsiveness. As previously defined, educational responsiveness is an approach to the development and implementation of policies and practices that promote positive educational outcomes through the recognition, understanding, and utilization of students' cultural, linguistic, and psychological assets. Keeping educational responsiveness in mind, the findings of this study indicate that the development and implementation of educational policies and programs that target school engagement among Mexican American students should not be done uniformly across immigrant and later generations. The findings of this study reveal generational heterogeneity among Mexican American students in regards to school engagement and achievement. Educational policy and practice should be responsive to this within-group diversity. Efforts to promote higher levels of school engagement and achievement should take into account this diversity via curricular, academic enrichment, and other types of programs serving Mexican American students.

The findings of this study suggest that different educational models and programs are needed to address school engagement for different generations of Mexican American adolescents. Also, as the heterogeneity

within the group is better understood, enrichment and intervention programs should be sensitive to the specific characteristics of the group and should incorporate mechanisms that utilize Mexican American students' cultural, linguistic and psychological assets in order to enhance responsiveness to educational needs.

In addition, efforts to be educationally responsive to the heterogeneity of the group should take various cultural, linguistic, and psychological factors (such as school engagement) and their impacts on educational success into account. Efforts to be more responsive to these factors must also consider the dynamic nature of the cultural and linguistic processes that help shape the Mexican American adolescent experience. Policies and programs to enhance school engagement among Mexican Americans should take into account the generational differences found in this study and previously published research that indicates the presence of cultural and linguistic assets and coping mechanisms among immigrants and children of immigrant families that promote positive development and academic success (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Padilla & Gonzalez, 2001).

Teachers and counselors have a critical role in the design and implementation of educationally responsive programs and practices. The findings of this study highlighting each type of engagement and their relative importance across generations provide further evidence of the need for highly prepared, high quality teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students (including Mexican Americans). The findings of this study can support others who have argued the positive impact of high quality teachers on the academic achievement of culturally and linguistically diverse students (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004). Teachers are initially prepared by teacher education programs to enter the profession with a beginning level of competencies and the development and maintenance of quality teaching requires continuous learning (Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002). Teacher education programs should continuously refresh and incorporate new research findings such as those from this study to ensure beginning teachers have foundational knowledge including generational differences in school engagement and achievement to promote educational responsiveness.

Efforts to ensure educational responsiveness on the part of policymakers, educators, and researchers must continue to ensure that the continual challenges of meeting the needs of Mexican Americans maintain prominence especially considering the "educational crisis" confronting the group (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Responsibility for these efforts do not rest solely at the policymaking and practice levels, but at the higher education level too. Coordinated efforts between educational researchers, policy-makers, and educators, to meet the diversity, strengths, and needs of Mexican Americans are necessary to ensure educational responsiveness and will be more effective in yielding higher levels of school engagement and achievement.

References

- Buriel, R., & Cardoza, D. (1988). Sociocultural correlates of achievement among three generations of Mexican American high school seniors. *American Educational Research Journal*, 25, 177-192.
- Cadiero Kaplan, K., & Rodríguez, J.L. (2008). The preparation of highly qualified teachers for English learners: Educational responsiveness for unmet needs. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 41, 372-387.
- Connell, J. P., Spencer, M. B., & Aber, J. L. (1994). Educational risk and resilience in African-American youth: Context, self, action, and outcomes in school. *Child Development*, 65, 493-506.
- Connell, J. P., & Wellborn, J. G., (1991). Competence, autonomy, and relatedness: A motivational analysis of self-system process. In M.R. Gunnar and L.A. Sroufe (Eds.), *Self-process and development: Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology* (Vol.23). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Darling-Hammond, L., & Youngs, P. (2002) Defining “highly-qualified teachers”: What does “scientifically-based research” actually tell us? *Educational Researcher*, 31(9), 13-25.
- Dweck, C. S., & Master, A. (2009). Self-theories and motivation: Students’ beliefs about intelligence. In K. R. Wenzel, A. Wigfield, K. R. Wenzel, & A. Wigfield (Eds.), *Handbook of Motivation at School* (pp. 123-140). New York, NY US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Fredricks, J. A., Blumenfeld, P. C., & Paris, A. H. (2004). School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence. *Review of Educational Research*, 74, 54-109.
- Gandara, P., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA.
- Gándara, P., Maxwell-Jolly, J., & Driscoll, A. (2005). *Listening to teachers of English language learners: A survey of California teachers’ challenges, experiences, and professional development needs*. Santa Cruz, CA: The Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning.
- Gonzales, N., German, M., Kim, S., George, P., Fabrett, F., Millsap, R., & Dumka, L. (2008). Mexican American adolescents’ cultural orientation, externalizing behavior and academic engagement: The role of traditional cultural values. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1-2), 151-164.
- Gonzales, S. A., & Rodríguez, J.L. (2007). Resource implications of NCLB for the recruitment, preparation, and retention of highly qualified teachers for English learners in California. In G. Rodríguez & A. Rolle (Eds.), *To What Ends & By What Means? The Social Justice Implications Of Contemporary School Finance Theory & Policy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ibañez, G., Kuperminc, G. P., Jurkovic, G., & Perilla, J. (2004). Cultural attributes and adaptations linked to achievement motivation among Latino adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 33(6), 559-568.
- Jimenez-Castellanos, O., & Rodríguez, J. L. (2009). Intradistrict Resource Reallocation for Latino English Language Learners: An Exploratory Multiple Case Study Approach. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 32, 298-316.
- Keefe, S., & Padilla, A. (1987). *Chicano Ethnicity*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Klem, A. M., & Connell, J. P (2004). Relationships matter: Linking teacher support to student engagement and achievement. *Journal of School Health*, 74(7), 262 – 273.
- Lopez, E., Ehly, S., & Garcia-Vazquez, E. (2002). Acculturation, social support and academic achievement of Mexican and Mexican American high school students: An exploratory study. *Psychology in the Schools*, 39(3), 245-257. doi: 10.1002/pits.10009
- Marks, H.M. (2000). Student engagement in instructional activity: Patterns in the elementary, middle, and high school years. *American Education Research Journal*, 37, 1, 153-184.
- National Center for School Engagement (2006). Quantifying school engagement: Research report, 1-16.
- Padilla, A., & Gonzalez, R. (2001). Academic performance of immigrant and U.S-born Mexican heritage students: Effects of schooling in Mexico and bilingual/English language instruction. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(3), 727-742.
- Rumberger, R. W., & Gándara, P. (2004). Seeking equity in the education of California’s English learners. *Teachers College Record*, 106(10), 2032-2056.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (1995). *Transformations : Immigration, family life, and achievement motivation among Latino/a adolescents*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.

- Suarez-Orozco, C., Rhodes, J., & Milburn, M. (2009). Unraveling the immigrant paradox: Academic engagement and disengagement among recently arrived immigrant youth. *Youth & Society, 41*, 151-185. doi: 10.1177/0044118X09333647
- Suarez-Orozco, C., Bang, H.J., & Onaga, M. (2010). Contributions to variations in academic trajectories amongst recent immigrant youth. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 34*(6), 500-510.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Gaytán, F. X., Bang, H., Pakes, J., O'Connor, E., & Rhodes, J. (2010). Academic trajectories of newcomer immigrant youth. *Developmental Psychology, 46*(3), 602-618. doi:10.1037/a0018201
- Willms, J. D., Friesen, S., & Milton, P. (2009). *What did you do in school today? Transforming classrooms through social, academic and intellectual engagement*. (First National Report) Toronto: Canadian Education Association.
- You, S., Hong, S., & Ho, H. (2011). Longitudinal effects of perceived control on academic achievement. *The Journal Of Educational Research, 104*(4), 253-266. doi:10.1080/00220671003733807

Table I*Student Demographics**(Generational Status, Gender, Grade Level and Enrollment in National School Lunch Program)*

Generational Status		
1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
71	331	71
Gender		
Male	Female	
224 (47.3%)	250 (52.7%)	
Grade Level		
7th Grade	8th Grade	
208 (44.2%)	263 (55.8%)	
National School Lunch Program		
Enrolled	Not Enrolled	
314 (67.5%)	151 (32.5%)	

Table 2*Means (Standard Deviations) by Generational Status*

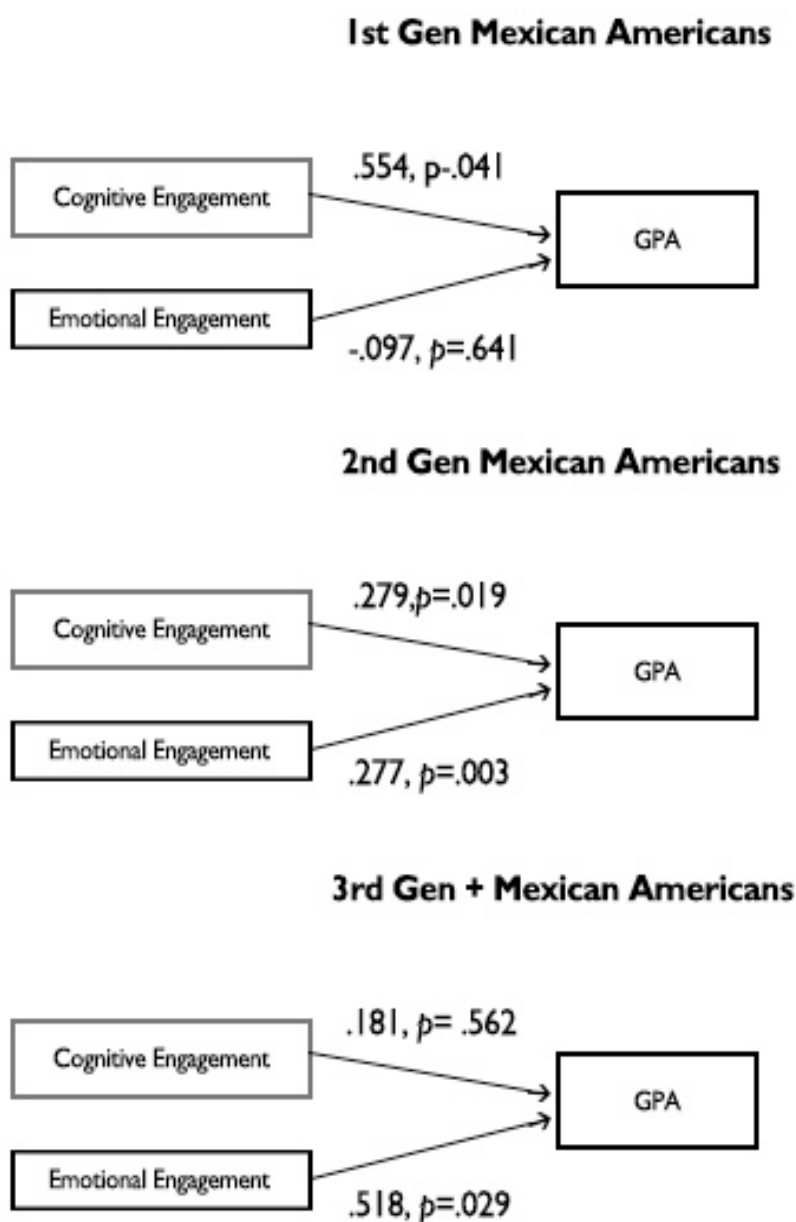
	7th Grade	8th Grade	1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation	Total Sample
GPA	2.68(.860)	2.63(.816)	2.75(.766)	2.74(.767)	2.42(.999)	2.70(.808)
Cognitive Engagement Scores	3.97(.469)	3.89(.466)	4.01(.455)	3.93(.462)	3.66(.657)	3.66(.657)
Emotional Engagement Scores	3.66(.612)	3.64(.619)	3.67(.602)	3.64(.600)	3.66(.657)	3.65(.607)

Table 3

Unstandardized Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and significance Levels of Cognitive and Emotional Engagement Predicting Cumulative GPA, Controlling for Enrollment in NSLP and Grade Level

	Cumulative GPA								
	First Generation			Second Generation			Third Generation +		
	B	S.E.	p	B	S.E.	p	B	S.E.	p
Cognitive Engagement	.554	.265	.041	.279	.119	.019	.181	.311	.562
Emotional Engagement	-.097	.207	.641	.277	.091	.003	.518	.232	.029
Enrollment in NSLP	.262	.216	.256	.110	.095	.246	.084	.238	.724
Grade Level	.092	.195	.639	.045	.087	.602	-.482	.261	.069
	$R^2 = .109, F(4,64)=1.83, p=.135$			$R^2 = .112, F(4,318)=9.87, p=.000$			$R^2 = .173, F(4,67)=3.29, p=.016$		

Figure 1. Graphical Repression of the regression coefficients of Cognitive and Emotional engagement on Cumulative GPA across 1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation Mexican American students.



Looking for Science and Mathematics in all the Right Places: Using Mobile Technologies as Culturally-Sensitive Pedagogical Tools to Capture Generative Images

María G. Arreguín-Anderson
Elsa Cantu Ruiz

University of Texas at San Antonio

Abstract

The exploration into cultural practices occurring in households has become more fluid and transparent process thanks to the presence of mobile technologies that allow members of a group to capture daily occurrences. This case study explored ways in which three Latino preservice teachers used mobile devices to discover connections between scientific/mathematical knowledge generated in their household and the academic curriculum. Through reflection and dialogue, three prospective Latino teachers were prompted to transform the focus of their exploration. The findings indicate that through prompted praxis our participants discovered science and mathematical connections in cultural practices emerging from their household.

Introduction

Mobile technologies (e.g., iPods, iPads, digital camera, video recorders, and cell phones) have emerged as possible venues for access to education and social equity empowering students to explore and validate learning spaces traditionally ignored in the academic context. With trends in media use indicating that 69% of all 8-18 year-olds have their own cell phone (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010) and that a substantial number of young people “carry most forms of portable digital media to school with them” (Roberts & Foehr, 2008, p. 15) educators are faced with the task of designing instruction that integrates these technological devices so that students continue to learn while on the move. Hence, teacher preparation programs must equip prospective teachers with pedagogies that address the challenges and opportunities that the use of media technology entails. In this study we present the case of three Latino bilingual preservice teachers who, through dialogue and reflection, were prompted to use mobile technologies to explore their home as a valuable source of scientific and mathematical knowledge.

Theoretical Consideration for Mobile Learning

The practice of using knowledge that originates in non-traditional spaces can be traced to Freire’s (1994) use of locally generated words and images to conduct literacy circles and discussions closely related to the audience’s lives. This notion connects to the idea that households are sources of knowledge and skills that have been historically accumulated and culturally developed and are “essential for household or individual functioning” (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 72). The exploration into cultural practices occurring in households has become more fluid and transparent thanks to the presence of mobile technologies that allow members of a group to capture daily occurrences.

Operating under the Freirean premise that learning is facilitated when content introduced holds deep connections with one’s familiar context, we find intersections between scientific/mathematical learning and the use of generative images. Based on a critical framework, we define generative images as pictures or video clips captured directly by the students within their social and familiar space using technologies or devices such as their cell phone camera, digital camera, portable video recorder or any device at hand. Because these digital images emerge from authentic settings, they can potentially generate further explorations and discussions when brought to the classroom allowing teachers to connect students’ cultures to the official curriculum. However, “while a

situated curriculum is one way for the teacher to practice democratic authority, this is not a static entrapment in what students already know and say. What students bring to class is where learning begins” (Shor, 1992, p. 44). This type of students’ active involvement in the learning process opens the door to generative themes connecting academic, community, and home issues to the multiple contexts in which students learn while on the move contributing to solve the mismatch between the school and the outside world (Gonzalez et al., 2005).

In this sense, mobile learning “offers new ways to extend education outside the classroom, into the conversations and interactions of everyday life” (Sharples, Milrad, Sanchez, & Vavuola, 2009, p. 5). Sharples et al. (2009) advanced a theory that defines mobile learning as “the processes (both personal and public) of coming to know through exploration and conversation across multiple contexts, amongst people, and interactive technologies” (p. 5). They state that exploration is mobile and involves learning that may take place across space, time, and from topic to topic. Mobile learning has the potential to transcend general traditional dynamics usually found in minority classrooms and become a pedagogy of possibility and social mobility. Kim, Mirand, and Olaciregui (2008) propose that access to learning through mobile technology is a viable option worth exploring for underserved individuals and stated that “recent innovations in mobile learning technology offer promising opportunities to combat the deep seated chasm of inequality entrenched in Latin America and many places on earth” (p. 417) including the United States.

Review of the Literature

Mobile learning literature suggests that hand-held devices hold significant potential for learning and teaching (Johnson, Smith, Willis, Levine, & Haywood, 2011; Rideout et al., 2010; Sharples et al., 2009). Through a variety of innovative projects, teachers in K-12 settings have gradually engaged in the design of lessons and activities that are completed over a virtual space or beyond the confines of the classroom walls (Kim et al., 2008; Shuler, 2009; Valk, Rashid, & Elder, 2010). These opportunities to learn in asynchronous ways have changed traditional patterns of knowledge construction. Today’s emerging technologies allow learners to take a more active role in activities that are relevant, significant, and personalized.

The potential for enriched learning in the mobile era is currently maximized by students’ permanent access to devices that facilitate ‘anytime, anywhere’ social interactions (Lenhart, Ling, Campbell, & Purcell, 2010). This type of social skills are essential in a globalized world, thereby allowing students to widen the circles of collaboration and communication in project-based tasks that range from exploration of community resources at the elementary level to the study of chemistry terminology at the college level (Kolb, 2008; Pursell, 2009; Shuler, 2009). However, wide acceptance of mobile learning pedagogical design is still not the norm. Shuler (2009) warns that prior to launching formal initiatives in mobile learning, current cultural norms, and teachers’ negative attitudes represent a challenge that must undergo transformation.

Change of attitudes and beliefs in regards to technology is perhaps better addressed at the teacher preparation level. Gado and Ferguson’s (2006) research on the integration of mobile technology into a science methods course explored aspects of student learning that would be affected by hand-held based science activities. Their findings indicate that preservice teachers’ inquiry skills and organizational skills, engagement in science content learning, and attitudes and self-efficacy were enhanced. Scholars have also investigated the pedagogical and content knowledge relevant to the teaching of mathematics in primary and secondary schools that could be activated by the use of mobile technology (Chinnappan, 2009; Hlondan, 2010). These studies emphasized the role of the teacher in developing a good understanding and familiarity of the mobile technologies they will be using in class. Although these studies recognized the key role that technology plays in today’s classrooms, research is needed that situates the use of such technology within the dynamics of culturally and linguistically diverse settings.

Our study explored the educational potential of mobile learning and focused on this research question: What type of cultural and academic science and mathematics connections were identified as preservice bilingual teachers explored their home environment using mobile technologies?

Methods

The purpose of this study was to explore and describe the potential of mobile learning for scientific/mathematical inquiry with preservice bilingual teachers at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in south Texas. The instructor used mobile technology to complement and extend formal face-to-face class meetings as a regular instructional strategy. Mobile devices used in this course included cell phones, digital, and video camera. Initially, this intervention study involved 15 bilingual preservice teachers enrolled in one science methods course. All participants owned cell phones previously provided to them as part of a grant awarded by the Academy of Teacher Excellence (ATE). Given the intricacies of all data collected and our overall purpose to identify specific instances of home-school exploration with mobile technologies, we decided to focus on data produced by three students.

Participants

The authors utilized purposeful homogeneous sampling as the guiding strategy to select three participants based on characteristics that were consistent with the overall objectives of this inquiry (Miles & Huberman, 1994). We selected Carlos, Magda, and Perla out of the 15 preservice teachers because they sought bilingual certification EC-6 (race will not be a variable in this study); were enrolled in a science methods course; had access to a cell phone and other mobile technologies such as video recorder, and digital camera; and collected data in various formats.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection included semi-structured interviews, reflections, field notes, blog posts, and multi-media presentations. All students were interviewed during and after the semester. Additionally, we recorded field notes in 5 x 8 index cards limiting one topic per card in order to facilitate coding (Glesne, 2006). Maxwell (2005) proposed coding as the main categorizing and analytic strategy in qualitative research and defined it as a strategy that “applies a pre-established set of categories to data according to explicit, unambiguous rules” (p. 5). Miles and Huberman (1994) stressed the need to code field notes using predetermined categories as a prerequisite step in preparation for effective data representation or display. This multiple case study focused on the following categories: academic connections, cultural connections, and mobile technologies. Participants also created a personal blog in which they included weekly personal reflections, pictures, audio recordings, and interviews related to a variety of science and mathematics topics. Students used mobile technology to explore their households and other personal spaces as sources of scientific and mathematical knowledge. A preliminary analysis of students’ posts on their personal blogs revealed a noticeable absence of cultural significance within the events and objects captured leading the instructor to plan intervention.

Using Prompted Praxis

The authors chose prompted praxis as the intervention strategy for this study. Rodriguez, Zozakiewics, and Yerrick (2005) defined this strategy as one that seeks to solve the disconnect between “espoused beliefs” and beliefs in action. In a study conducted with inservice teachers Zozakiewics and Yerrick identified the need to intervene or prompt teachers to “reflect and take action in a manner more congruent with their stated professional development goals” (p. 357) as well as the goals of their project. This type of intervention can occur before, during, or after teaching and seeks to encourage transformative action. A similar approach was adopted in this course where the instructor identified opportunities for purposeful intervention. Focusing on praxis while teaching, in the next section the authors describe the type of dynamics that prompted the instructor to encourage reflection. Then, the results of such intervention are narrated.

Findings

Prompted Praxis while Teaching

As part of the requirements stated in the syllabus of the science methods course, preservice teachers completed an assignment titled: “Science and mathematics found at home.” The general purpose was to compile digital images with cultural significance that could be connected to the science and mathematics curriculum. In order to allow sufficient time for discussion and feedback, the instructor divided students’ individual presentations into two groups, each presenting on a different day.

During the first day of presentations, seven students described their projects. In most cases, students included pictures of objects and living organisms found at home such as a chair, a tree, and other items randomly selected and categorized under science or mathematics related topics such as states of matter, living things, geometrical figures, etc. Once again, the instructor noticed the cultural disconnect initially identified in the students’ weekly blogs. After all presentations had concluded and an open discussion began, the instructor used a student’s picture of rocks (see Figure 1) to pose a variety of questions. Field notes of this discussion reflect students’ ideas of what they perceived as valid representations of scientific/mathematical knowledge with cultural relevance.

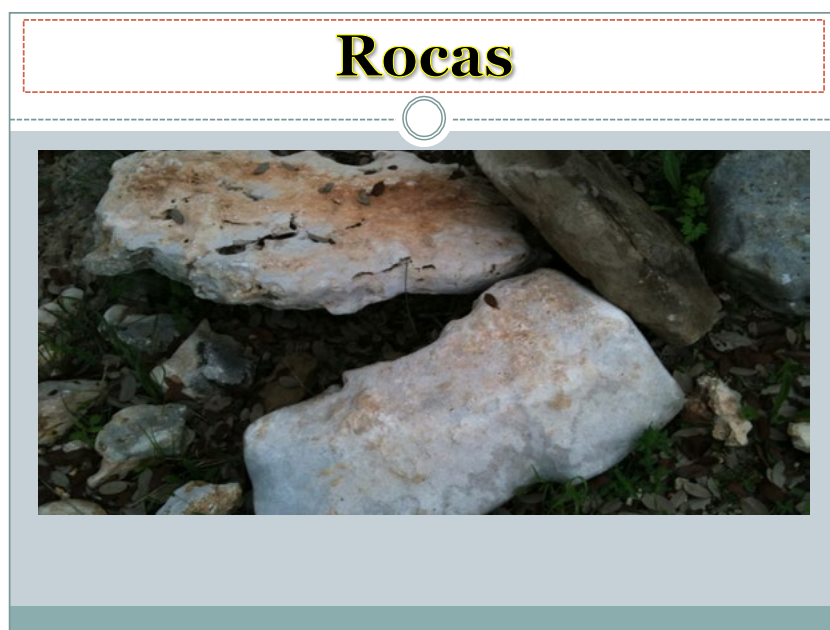


Figure 1. Objects found at a students’ home.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Professor | In what ways do we make culture at home? What does a rock represent to me? Does my family manipulate that rock in any way? Let’s talk about objects that we manipulate. What happens when some of us get a stomachache? |
| Student 1 | Grandma makes tea. |
| Professor | What tea would that be? |
| Student 1 | Chamomile tea or spearmint tea sometimes |
| Professor | Isn’t that part of our cultural practices? |
| Student 2 | Yes, but that is not in the TEKS (state curriculum) |
| Student 3 | Culture is in the TEKS but the tea is not. |
| Student 1 | Well, I guess when the water boils to make the tea then we actually witness part of the water cycle. |
| Professor | Great! So an herb or an object holds very little meaning if we do not act in relation to this object. |

So in a way we create culture. Let's think what other connections can we make? In what ways is scientific and mathematical knowledge available at home? Let's talk to our parents, our neighbors, our children, and see what we can find.

Generative Images after Prompted Praxis

The presentations designed during our second meeting included a variety of "generative images". In contrast to day one, students' pictures and video showed important changes in content (see Figure 2). In most cases, students began to identify objects, organisms, and experiences that could be dissected in terms of their academic and cultural significance.

**Day One Sample Images
Before Prompted Praxis**



**Day Two Sample Images
After Prompted Praxis**



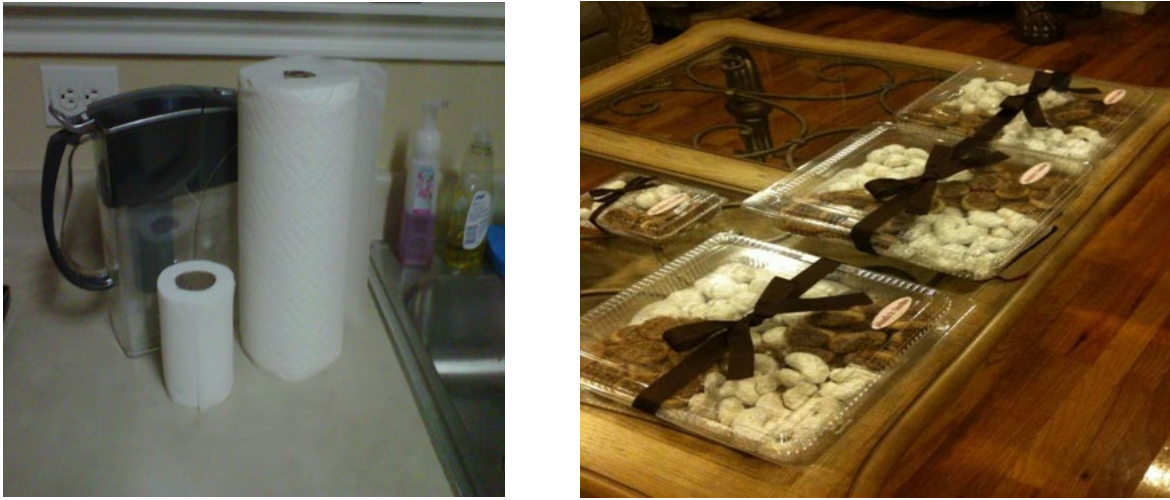


Figure 2. Images presented on day 1 and day 2.

In this section the authors included three cases that were representative of the new focus undertaken by the students. A variety of comments reflected in field notes indicate this change in view, “I had to look at things with new eyes” stated Magda, who just like Carlos explored and inquired about their families’ activities related to the care and use of plants. A series of interviews revealed the significance of the topics selected, “Yo quería incluir esto porque esto era muy importante para él (his father).” [I wanted to include this, because it is important to him], stated Carlos. As part of his presentation, Carlos included an interview with his father, who eagerly shared a love for plants that could be traced back to his years in Nicaragua where he crossed the border with Honduras to work in a plantation. Although he now supported his family with income earned in construction jobs, plants remained his passion. Carlos’ recorded images showed his home’s backyard, a special place where his father cared for a variety of plants including trees and herbs such as guava, mango, grapefruit, papaya, fig, pepper, mint, epazote, and rosemary.

Magda’s cell phone and video recorder images also related to plants, however, contrary to Carlos’s father, Magda’s mother initiated this activity as a hobby which gradually allowed her to supplement the family’s income as she began selling plants in small pots at a local flea market. Magda’s presentation included pictures and an interview with her younger brother who initially grew epazote plants with the help of his mother out of curiosity, but later realized that those plants were in high demand at the flea market as ladies used them for culinary purposes. Encouraged by an initial sale, Magda’s brother expanded both the quantity and type of plants he grew.

During the second day of presentations students also captured images of family pets and farm animals, such as the case of Perla who included goats and an interview with a relative who raised them. In class, Perla explained how, the process of raising and caring for goats was labor intensive. She was particularly impressed by the techniques and equipment involved in dehorning the goats and added that “Ni idea tenía yo de lo que implicaba cuidar a las chivas”. [I had no idea about everything involved in taking care of goats]. Although her uncle was instrumental in the administration and management of the ‘goat business’ the entire family participated in different roles. Figure 3 shows scientific/mathematical connections that Carlos, Magda, and Perla identified in their home-family environment and shared with their classmates.

Sample Generative Images		Connection to Curriculum
	<p>Perla's Uncle:</p> <p>“Hay varios productos que se pueden elaborar con la leche de cabra, por ejemplo el delicioso dulce de leche quemada. Con un litro de leche y dos tazas de azúcar tienes.” [There are a variety of products that can be made with goat's milk, for example burned milk candy. All you need is a liter of milk and two cups of sugar].</p>	<p>Mathematics: Grades 3–5 Expectations (Measurement). Understand the need for measuring with standard units and become familiar with standard units in the customary and metric systems.</p> <p>Science: Grades K-4 Standards (Life Science) Children learn that all animals depend on plants. Some animals eat plants for food. Other animals eat animals that eat the plants (National Research Council, 1996, p. 129).</p>
	<p>Carlos's father:</p> <p>“Este es un palo de “grapefruit” a este también...cuando se siembra si la cubeta es de 6 pulgadas hay que hacer el orificio 12 pulgadas y echarle “mulch”.</p> <p>[It is a grapefruit tree... when you plant it if the bucket is 6 inches then you have to dig a hole that is 12 inches wide and cover it with mulch.]</p>	<p>Mathematics: Grades 3-5 Expectations (Algebra). Investigate how a change in one variable relates to a change in another variable (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 2000).</p> <p>Science: Grades K-4 Standards (Life Science) Children learn that plants and animals have life cycles that include being born, developing into adults, reproducing, and eventually dying (National Research Council, 1996, p. 129).</p>


	<p>Magda:</p> <p>En la casa mi mamá utiliza las naranjas y los limones para varios propósitos: cocinar, limpiar, etc. Con las cascaras de 15 limones y 1 litro de agua por ejemplo se puede hacer un limpiador. [At home, my mother uses the oranges and lemons for various purposes: cooking, cleaning, etc. Using 15 lemon shells and a liter of water you can make a cleaning substance].</p>	<p>Mathematics: Pre-K-2 Expectations (Number and Operations). Connect number words and numerals to the quantities they represent, using various physical models and representations; Science: Grades K-4 (Life Science) Standards- Humans depend on their natural and constructed environments. Humans change environments in ways that can be either beneficial or detrimental for themselves and other organisms (National Research Council, 1996, p. 129).</p>
---	---	--

Figure 3. Generative images and their connections to the curriculum.

Historical and Cultural Connections of Mathematical and Scientific Knowledge

Students discussed the cultural and historically accumulated meaning that plants and animals held for their families, as expressed by Carlos' father who stated that: "En mi ambiente era muy fácil aprender como sembrar productos para vender y comer porque el clima está perfecto para la agricultura, también tuve que aprender hacer esto porque era la única manera de sobrevivir en mi país." [In my environment, it was very easy to learn how to plan products that you could later sell and eat. The weather was perfect for agriculture, plus I also had to learn because it was the only way to survive in my country]. Magdas' brother also shared the cultural connections of the plant sold and commented "mi mamá y las señoras usan mucho el epazote para sus guisos y podemos hacer negocio vendiéndolas en la pulga" [My mother and other ladies use epazote as a spice when cooking and we can make business selling epazote plants in the flea market). In all cases, the activities stemmed from intergenerational practices such as 'goat raising' that reminded Perla's uncle of his childhood years in the ranch, "es lo que hacía mi padre y todo lo que yo sabía como niño y como adolescente." [this is what my father did and all I knew as a child and as a teenager].

Implications for Practice

Carlos, Perla, and Magda identified the pedagogical implications of a teaching and learning approach that establishes connections between the home and school: "This type of connections allowed students to experience real life learning. They can connect what they are learning in school with their home. This will definitely maximize their learning," expressed Carlos. In essence, preservice teachers perceived themselves as future 'agents of change', specifically in terms of validating parents as key participants of the education process as expressed by Perla who identified the potential for parental involvement:

Invitarlos y que vengan y nos ayuden a hacer una actividad y luego podemos relacionar eso con ciencia o matemáticas y es la mamá la que lo está presentando, entonces ellos a la vez se sienten orgullosos de su cultura, de sus padres, pero a la vez están aprendiendo ciencia de una manera diaria o sea de algo que ven a diario en casa y utilizando a los padres como un medio informativo va a ser algo que sí quiero hacer en clase. [I would invite them to come and help us with an activity which could later be connected to science or mathematics. All while having the mother present, so that they feel proud of their culture and proud of their parents while at the same time learning they learn science using what they see at home daily. This is something I definitely want to do in the classroom.].

In his future classroom, Carlos and Magda saw themselves integrating mobile technology in different ways. A camera, for example, can capture images that can be archived for later use in the classroom if there is no time to discuss such images at the moment. Carlos suggested a compilation of photographs sent by the parents through e-mail to be used when pertinent in connection with the curriculum. These pictures, taken with any mobile device can also reflect moments that are significant in students' culture, such as his own family tradition of making Naca Tamales (Nicaraguan tamales) from scratch. Magda talked about the possibility of having her students capture real life events using cell phone technologies such as the digital camera, Como la vez en que mis perros pescaron un tatuache y yo lo tengo en mi teléfono porque era lo único que tenía. O luego cuando se me descompuso la troca y le tomé fotos.” [Like the time when my dogs caught a possum and I recorded it in my cell phone because that was all I had with me, or when my truck broke and I took pictures of it].

Generative images and Mobile learning: Implications for Teacher Education

Given current trends in media use, today's learners and educators possess tools to transform learning into a fluid process that transcends the walls of the classroom. With this in mind, teacher preparation programs are in the position to prepare educators to face the challenges posed by emerging mobile learning environments. There is a need to equip preservice teachers with pedagogical practices that are responsive to the needs of a technologically-bound generation whose mobility currently influences how they gain new knowledge and skills. This is crucial at a time when most children in the U.S. have access to a mobile device (Shuler, 2009) and 83% of teen cell phone owners already use their phone to take pictures (Lenhart et al., 2010).

The use of generative images to establish relevancy in the teaching of mathematics and science content is essential at a time when the interest and motivation of Latinos in STEM fields continues to show a significant gap as only 8% of STEM bachelor's degrees awarded in 2006 were received by Latinos nationwide (Dowd, Malcom, & Bensimon, 2009). The process of validating bodies of knowledge, or funds of knowledge, (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) generated at home should begin with exposure of preservice teachers to experiential learning. In other words, there should be a systematic effort to immerse preservice teachers in the identification of knowledge found in their own environment to create awareness that can eventually lead to transformation of their own practices. The goal is to counter the deficit views of minority groups.

Conclusions

Generative images, as democratic tools, place learners in a position to construct meaning while advancing academically in the science and mathematics fields. This is particularly important for linguistic and culturally diverse learners whose academic advancement is often hindered by narrow representations of their cultural background in the school curriculum. Mobile learning technologies have now the potential to empower, validate, and extend the discussions of mathematics and science to often unexplored social spaces. A purposeful inquiry into historically and culturally accumulated bodies of knowledge can create personal connections contributing to a perception that science and mathematics occur everywhere. This exploration generated in non-traditional spaces can now transcend barriers and reach the academic environment providing the mirror so that minorities can begin to see their image reflected on the STEM arena.

References

- Chinnappan, M. (2009). Role of mobile digital technology in fostering the construction of pedagogical and content knowledge of mathematics. Retrieved from <http://ro.uow.edu.au/edupapers/83>
- Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gado, I., & Ferguson, I. (2006). Using handheld-computers and probeware in a science methods course: Preservice teachers' attitudes and self-efficacy. *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education*, 14(3), 501-529.
- Gonzalez, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hlondan, O. (2010). Mobile learning anytime, anywhere. *Bioscience*, 60(9), 682.
- Johnson, L., Smith, R., Willis, H., Levine, A., & Haywood, K. (2011). The 2011 Horizon Report. Austin, Texas: The New Media Consortium.
- Kim, P., Miranda, T., & Olaciregui, C. (2008). Pocket school: Exploring mobile technology as a sustainable literacy education option for underserved indigenous children in Latin America. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 4(28), 435-445.
- Kolb, L. (2008). *Toys to tools: Connecting student cell phones to education*. Eugene, OR: ISTE Book Publishing.
- Lenhart, A., Ling, R., Campbell, S., & Purcell, K. (2010). *Teens and mobile phones*. Washington: Pew Internet & American Life Report.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pursell, D. P. (2009). Adapting to student learning styles: Engaging students with cell phone technology in organic chemistry instruction. *Journal of Chemical Education*, 86(10), 1219-1222.
- Rideout, V. J., Foehr, V. G., & Roberts, D. F. (2010). *Generation M²: Media in the life of 8-to 18-year-olds*. Menlo Park, CA: The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Roberts, D. F., & Foehr, U. G. (2008). Trends in media use. *The Future of Children*, 18(1), 11-37.
- Rodriguez, A. J., Zozakiewics, C., & Yerrick, R. (2005). Using prompted praxis to improve teacher professional development in culturally diverse schools. *School Science and Mathematics*, 105(7), 352-362.
- Sharples, M., Milrad, M., Sanchez, I., & Vavoula, G. (2009). Mobile learning: Small devices, big issues. In N. Balacheff, S. Ludvigsen & T. d. Jong (Eds.), *Technology enhanced learning: Principles and products* (pp. 233-249). Heidelberg: Springer.
- Shor, I. (1992). *Empowering education: Critical teaching for social change*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Shuler, C. (2009). *Pockets of potential: Using mobile technologies to promote children's learning*. New York: The Joan Ganz Cooney Center at Sesame Workshop.
- Valk, J. H., Rashid, A. T., & Elder, L. (2010). Using mobile phones to improve educational outcomes: An analysis of evidence from Asia. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 11(1), 117-140.

Sex Education Justice: A Call for Comprehensive Sex Education and the Inclusion of Latino Early Adolescent Boys

Claudia Kouyoumdjian

Bianca L Guzmán

California State University, Los Angeles

Abstract

Many sex education programs do not conceptualize adolescent sexuality as a normative process of development, thus sexuality is not part of a holistic picture of health education. The current project examines the multiple determinants of adolescent boys' sexual behaviors in the context of developing sex education. Limited research has examined the simultaneous influence of individual, peer, partner, and parent factors on adolescent's sexual behaviors. Results suggest that adolescents' substance use and self-efficacy were strong predictors of boys' sexual behaviors. Moreover, while parental and peer communication were not significant predictors, partner communication significantly influenced the number of sexual behaviors. Overall, the results of the study suggest that comprehensive sex education programming could benefit from having multiple outcome goals that address the dual influence of substance use and risky sex, while including partners in fostering positive adolescent sexual health.

Introduction

A sexual education revolution is needed in public schools that views adolescent sexuality as comprehensive and part of normative health development; this is particularly critical for Latino boys. A substantial proportion of sex education within public schools in the U.S. consists of abstinence-only education (Gresle-Favier, 2010), which presence is determined primarily by the political climate of each state. In recent years abstinence-only education has increased in several states. For example, Tennessee and Utah have recently introduced legislation to increase abstinence-only programs in schools (*The Huffington Post*, 2012), which may encourage other states to pursue such policies. In some states, schools have rejected abstinence only federal funds and have included some comprehensive sex education (Freking, 2008). Yet, current sex education continues to be insufficient, lacking cultural components or often being conducted after school or in community agencies¹. Many sex education programs do not conceptualize adolescent sexuality as a normative process of development, thus sexuality is not part of a holistic picture of health education. Health education has been consistently linked to academic success (Murray, Low, Hollis, Cross, & Davis, 2007), thus, a well-integrated sex-education program curriculum can lead to adolescents who have greater health and in turn greater school success.

Research suggests that abstinence-only education² renders adolescent sexual behavior as a deviant activity rather than a normative process, emphasizing moral values at the expense of health knowledge and skills (Bay-Cheng, 2003). An abstinence-only sex education agenda may deny adolescents the opportunity to foster sexual agency, and has been linked to higher teen pregnancy rates (Stanger-Hall & Hall, 2011). Alternatively, comprehensive sex education³ that is maturationally appropriate tends to emphasize sexual health as an age-appropriate developmental task. Only a handful of programs nationwide cater to the sexual needs of boys in a culturally appropriate manner (i.e., Tello, Cervantes, Cordova, & Santos, 2010), leaving Latino adolescents with limited health knowledge and at higher risk for negative sexual outcomes.

1. While providing sex education in a community setting is beneficial to both youth and agencies, it is also important to institutionalize sex curriculum into public schools.

2. Abstinence-only education promotes being chaste until marriage (Bay Cheng, 2003).

3. Comprehensive sex education includes knowledge, attitudes and skills about sexuality, and has been found to be effective in preventing teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (Chin, Sipe, Elder, Mercer, Chattopadhyay, Jacob, et al. 2012)

Despite decreasing general teenage pregnancy rates in (i.e., California teen birth rate of 29 per 1,000) Latino teens aged 15-19 continue to have the highest birth rate in 2010 (45 per 1,000) when compared to other ethnic/racial groups. It has also been argued that these drops in teenage pregnancy rates are artificial because the state has continually eliminated funding for comprehensive sex education and it is expected that these rates will shortly continue an upward trend (Center for Research on Adolescent Health and Development, 2012). Given this information it continues to be important to understand why teenage pregnancy still exists, and what factors contribute to what states continually label as a public health concern. Many comprehensive sex education programs have targeted adolescent females and in recent years health experts have acknowledged that not enough programming has occurred with adolescent males (Ott, 2010). Therefore, it can be posited that in order to better understand teenage pregnancy their needs to be more comprehensive sex education programs that specifically target the needs of young men. To more fully understand this argument it is important to examine what determinants influence an adolescent boy to engage in sexual behaviors. It is especially important to examine this perspective with a group of school aged Latino males because most of the research that exists about male sexual development has an emphasis on sexual risk and deviance (Ott, 2010).

An emphasis on negative outcomes coupled with abstinence-only education, sets a tone of deviance in defining Latino normative sexual experiences which includes kissing, touching, and intercourse. The current study contributes to the limited research on early adolescent Latino boys by examining what sexual behaviors they engage in and what factors determine their sexual behaviors. Therefore, the goal of the study was to examine how the following factors determine the number of sexual behaviors adolescent males engage in: (1) home language and maternal country of origin; (2) substance use and gang activity; (3) parent, peer, and partner sexual communication; and (4) sexual efficacy. The following sections provide a brief review of determinants that influence adolescent sexual behaviors.

Determinants of Sex

Self-efficacy theory proposed by Bandura (2001, p. 10) highlights how “competent and capable individuals feel as an important role in predicting behavior”. As part of a social learning perspective, self-efficacy is constructed in a cultural context where individuals learn gender-typed behaviors through reinforcement and observation (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Consequently, in Latino and U.S. society young boys are socialized into constrained definitions of masculinity that are promoting early sexual activity, while living in a social context that deems their sexuality as deviant. In a home environment with conservative family norms, such as youth from immigrant Latino families, early sexual activity may be negatively sanctioned (Bordeau, Thomas, & Long, 2008). On the other hand, in a peer context that supports substance use and sexuality, adolescent early sexual activity may be promoted. Few studies have examined the competing information adolescent receive, simultaneously. Therefore it is important to examine multiple determinants that influence adolescents’ decision to engage in sexual behaviors.

Home language and maternal country of origin. Past research suggests that the more acculturated an adolescent male is the more likely he is to engage in early sexual behaviors (Marín & Gamba, 2003), yet recent research has found this protective effect to disappear in regards to sexual activity (Blake, Goodenow, & O'Donnell, 2001). Acculturation has been defined as the process by which one is influenced by the host culture and one's own culture of membership (Berry 2003), which has been examined through factors such as home language and parental country of origin.

Substance use. Substance use, such as alcohol and marijuana, have been found to be consistently associated with early adolescent sexual activity (Deardorff, Gonzales, Christopher, Roosa, & Millsap, 2005; Guzman & Dello Stritto, 2012). Specifically, 25% of sexually active youth report alcohol or drug use before last sex (CDC, 2004). Some studies have found that immigration status can play a protective role, with immigrant adolescent boys participating in less substance use in comparison to their U.S. born counterparts (Blake, Goodenow, & O'Donnell, 2001). Thus, substance use is a major determinant of risky sexual behavior that should

be understood in the context of acculturation.

Gang activity. Research consistently support the theory that boys in gangs are more likely to engage in substance use and delinquent behaviors compared to their non-involved peers (Curry & Spergel, 1992; Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2004). Additionally, young boys that engage in gang activity are also more likely to engage in risky sexual activity (Voisin, Salazar, Crosby, DiClemente, Yarber, & Staples-Horne, 2004). During adolescence, a peer context that supports substance use and risky sex, may increase the need to conform by engaging in excessive substance use that may impair young boys decision-making abilities.

Parent, peer and partner communication. A factor contributing to adolescent's sense of competence and decision-making is verbal persuasion, or listening to the encouraging words of trusted individuals. As such, parents, peers, and partners play a role in influencing adolescent's confidence in their sexual efficacy and the extent to which they engage in sexual activity. Research suggests that Latino adolescents talk less with their parents about sex compared to other ethnic groups (Hutchinson, 2002). When communication occurs it tends to focus on the consequences of sexual activity, such as teen pregnancy (Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Goldberg, Casillas, & Bouris, 2006; Guzman et al., 2003). Research suggests that boys may be receiving more communication from other sources, such as peers, that entail positive messages about sexual activity (Epstein & Ward, 2006). Moreover, studies that have examined boys sexual communication with partners, suggests that partner communication (Giordano, Longmore, & Manning, 2006), and a partner with a positive attitude about condoms are linked to consistent condom usage (Small, Winman, Buzi, & Smith, 2010). Few studies have examined the influence of parents, peers, and partner communication about sex simultaneously.

Sexual self-efficacy. There is a growing body of research that suggests that it is a teen's perception of how much control they have about their sexual behavior that impacts their decision to engage in sexual acts (Ryan, Franzetta, & Manlove, 2007). For the purposes of the current study, sexual self-efficacy is defined as the confidence, perceived capacity/control and perceived ability to choose to engage in sexual behaviors (Bandura, 2001; Pearson, 2006). Research suggests that sexual self-efficacy plays a positive role in birth control use, primarily condom use in Latinos who are in a heterosexual relationship (Pearson, 2006; Ryan, Franzetta & Manlove, 2007; Villaruel, Jemmott, Jemmott, & Ronis, 2004). Moreover, sexually active adolescents who have self-efficacy to communicate about sex with peers and parents are more likely to engage in safer sex practices (Halpern-Felsher, Kropp, Boyer, Tschann, & Ellen, 2004). For example, in an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents and young adults, feelings of self-efficacy were linked to contraceptive use, particularly for boys (Black, Sun, Rohrbach, & Sussman, 2011). Further research is needed to better understand how self-efficacy impacts various aspects of sexuality for early adolescent boys.

To better understand how comprehensive sex education can meet the needs of Latino early adolescent boys the goal of the current study was to examine how diverse factors simultaneously impact sexual behaviors. We believe that home language and maternal country of origin will play a protective role, being linked to lower levels of sexual behaviors. Substance use and gang activity will increase the number of sexual behaviors. Maternal and paternal communication will be linked to lower levels of sex, while peer and partner communication will be linked to greater numbers of sexual activity. Lastly, sexual efficacy will be associated with lower levels of sexual behaviors.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The data used for the current study are derived from a large scale intervention study called the Community Awareness and Motivation Partnership (CAMP), which is a theater-based project aimed at decreasing teenage pregnancy rates and increasing the safer sex behavior of adolescent males and females through safer sex comprehensive education. The CAMP Theater project is a humorous bilingual, bicultural performance that is

tailored primarily for Latino audiences, through a mix of culturally relevant music and dramatization skits. The use of culturally responsive, age-appropriate actors has allowed the theater presentation to be poignantly realistic to the participating adolescents. The content of the skits is comprehensive, focusing on sexual pressure, HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections, unplanned pregnancy, drug/alcohol use, LGBTQ community and relationship violence (for an additional discussion of the CAMP project see Guzmán et al., 2003). The current study focuses on the 9th grade class from one high school campus in a low-income community. A total of 338 adolescents who returned signed consent and assent forms participated in the intervention. The data from the current study is from the pre-test questionnaire before adolescents had participated in the intervention.

The sample for the current study consisted of 167 males who self-identified as being Latino and whose mean age was 14.4 years. Nearly half (49%) of the boys lived in homes in which Spanish was spoken the majority of the time by the adults in the household, 23% spoke primarily English, and 28% spoke both English and Spanish. Moreover, 95% of adolescents reported being heterosexual and 27.5% reported currently having a girlfriend. Table 1 displays the demographic characteristics of the subsample.

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Language Spoken at Home		
English	38	23
Spanish	82	49
English and Spanish	47	28
Maternal Country of Origin		
US Born	32	19.2
Foreign Born	117	70.1
I Don't Know	18	10.8
Grades on most recent report card		
Mostly A's	36	21.2
Mostly B's	64	37.6
Mostly C's	43	25.3
Mostly D's and F's	19	11.2
Participation in gang activity		
Never	131	78.4

Measures

Sexual behavior. Sexual behavior was derived by summing the nine possible sexual behaviors measured as listed in Table 2. The sexual behavior total score was created by adding the number of sexual behaviors adolescents reported. Scores ranged from 0 = never engaged in any sexual behavior to 9 = engaged in all sexual behaviors listed, with boys reporting a mean of 3.36 behaviors.

Table 2. Type of Sexual Activity

Characteristics	Frequency (%)
Have you ever engaged in any of the following activities?	
Kissing	139 (83.7 %)
Masturbation	75 (46%)
Making out with clothes off	44 (27%)
Anal Sex	18 (11.1%)
Making out with clothes on	117 (70.9%)
Oral sex	41 (25.5%)
Hand Job	42 (25.9%)
Vaginal Sex	36 (22.4%)
Digital stimulation	43 (26.7%)

*This data does not account for individuals who may have participated in more than one sexual behavior, and therefore percentages will not add to 100%.

Home language and maternal country of origin. Participants were asked what language the adults in their home spoke most of the time, and were provided three response choices: “1= English”, “2= Spanish”, and “3= Both English and Spanish”. Moreover, participants reported the country of origin of their mothers (i.e. 1 = U.S.-born, 2 = Foreign-born).

Substance use. Substance use was measured by eight items that asked how many times in the last month they had used a particular substance, as listed in Table 3. The response choices included 1= “never”, 2= “1 time”, 3= “2 to 4 times”, 4= “5 or more times.” A total substance use score was calculated using the following method. For each substance category, response choices 2 through 4 were collapsed, (combining usage anytime in the past month or earlier). The resulting scores for each substance category were summed to calculate the total substance use score. Scores ranged from 0 to 8, with adolescent boys reporting a mean of 1.68 substances used.

Table 3. Risky Behavior

Characteristics	Frequency (%)
Have you ever engaged in any of the following activities?	
Drank Alcohol	91 (55.2%)
Marijuana	56 (32.9%)
Inhalants	36 (21.4%)
Participated in gang activity	36 (21.2%)
Smoked cigarettes	33 (19.6%)
Prescription Drugs	23 (13.8%)
Ecstasy	21 (12.7%)
Cocaine	12 (7.1%)
LSD	9 (5.4%)

Gang activity. Participants were asked how often they had participated in gang activities in the last month and were provided with the following response choices: 1= “never”, 2= “1 time”, 3= “2 to 4 times”, 4= “5 or more times.”

Parent, peer and partner communication. A 3-item sub-scale was used that measured how frequently in the last 6 months (5 = 5 or more times to 1= never) teens engaged in the following conversations: 1) your questions about sex, 2) ways to prevent a pregnancy, 3) ways to protect yourself from sexually transmitted infections/diseases (STIs/STDs). The same three questions were used to examine maternal communication, paternal communication, peer communication, and partner communication by developing a mean score for each communicative partner. The reliability for these scales were $\alpha = .89$, $\alpha = .93$, $\alpha = .85$ and $\alpha = .92$, respectively. Higher scores on each sub-scale indicated more communication.

Sexual self-efficacy. This three-item measure asked about the participant’s self-efficacy to abstain from sex based on three vignettes. Students responded to, “how sure are you that you could keep from having sex?” with three responses to choose from: “1= not sure at all”, “2= kind of sure”, “3= I’m sure I will.” The three items were scaled and the reliability is $\alpha = .69$ level. The three scores were averaged and a mean score was calculated.

Results

A correlational analysis was conducted, between the control variables (i.e. language, maternal country of origin) independent variables (i.e. substance use, gang activity, maternal communication, paternal communication, peer communication, partner communication, and self-efficacy) and the dependent variable (sexual behaviors) in order to examine the strength of the relationships among variables. As shown in Table 4, the results indicate that there was a significant positive correlation between substance use and sexual behaviors. Gang activity was also positively correlated with sexual behaviors. Maternal country of origin was negatively associated with sexual behaviors, while home language was not associated with sexual behaviors. There was also a positive correlation between all four types of communication and sexual behaviors. There was a negative correlation between sexual efficacy and sexual behaviors. In order to further test our predictions and explore home language, maternal country of origin, substance use, gang activity, maternal communication, paternal communication, peer

communication, partner communication, and self-efficacy had a significant impact on boys' sexual behaviors, a multiple regression analysis was conducted.

Table 4. Zero-order correlations between sexual behaviors and predictor variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sexual Behavior	----									
Language	-.07	----								
Maternal Country of Origin	-.15*	.11	----							
Substance Use	.64**	.07	-.03	---						
Participated in Gang Activity	.33**	.10	.03	.46**	---					
Maternal Communication	.16*	.16*	-.03	-.06	.21**	----				
Paternal Communication	.15*	.29**	.05	-.19**	.25**	.50**	---			
Peer Communication	.26**	.12	-.09	-.03	.18*	.40**	.18*	---		
Partner Communication	.31**	-.14*	.02*	.01	.18*	.45**	.30**	.45**	---	
Sexual Self-efficacy	-.36**	-.13*	-.01	-.24**	-.25**	.01	-.13*	.02	-.05	---

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Multiple Regression

A multiple regression analysis was used to test the predictive value of the multiple determinants of sexual behaviors. In step 1, the control variables, language was entered first into the equation followed by maternal country of origin. In step 2, substance use and gang activity were entered into the model. In step 3, maternal, paternal, peer and partner communication were entered. In step 4, adolescent sexual efficacy was entered. The data was entered in this order given previous evidence of an emerging theory of how sexual behaviors work in adolescent Latino populations (Guzmán & Dello Stritto, 2012). The results are shown in Table 5. In step 1, the control variables accounted for less than 1% of the variance and were not significant predictors of sexual behavior. In step 2, substance use and gang activity were entered into the model, which explained 42% of the variance. In step 2, substance use was a significant predictor of sexual behavior, as well as language spoken at home. In step 3, we entered maternal, paternal, peer and partner communication, which explained 45% of the variance in the model. In step 3, substance use and home language remained significant predictors of sexual behavior; in addition, partner communication significantly predicted sexual behaviors. In step 4, we entered self-efficacy, which explained 49% of the variance in the model. In step 4, substance use, home language, partner communication remained significant predictors of sexual behaviors, in addition, adolescent sexual self-efficacy significantly predicted sexual behaviors. The results of the combined model proved significant in that $R^2 = .49$, $F(9, 125) = 15.06$, $p < .001$, as Spanish home language, substance use, and more partner communication increased, sexual behaviors also increased. Additionally, as adolescents reported higher levels of sexual self-efficacy, adolescents engaged in less sexual behaviors.

Table 5. Regression results of the predictors of Latino early adolescents' sexual behavior

Model I	Variables	F (df)	R ²	ΔR ²	B
Step 1	Language	1.33 (2,132)	.005	--	-.33
	Maternal Country of Origin				-.49
Step 2	Language	25.08 (4,130)	.42	.42	-.55*
	Maternal Country of Origin				-.14
	Substance Use				.83*
	Gang Activity				.15
Step 3	Language	14.41 (8,126)	.45	.03	-.56*
	Maternal Country of Origin				-.17
	Substance Use				.75*
	Gang Activity				.24
	Maternal Communication				-.30
	Paternal Communication				.05
	Peer Communication				.26
	Partner Communication				.52**
Step 4	Language	15.06 (9,125)	.49	.04	-.67*
	Maternal Country of Origin				-.17
	Substance Use				.71*
	Gang Activity				.12
	Maternal Communication				-.23
	Paternal Communication				-.02
	Peer Communication				.23
	Partner Communication				.46**
	Sexual Self-Efficacy				-.98*

*p<.05, **p<.01

Discussion

The current study is one of the few studies to address multiple influences on Latino young boys' sexual behaviors to aid in developing age-appropriate and culturally competent comprehensive sex education programs in schools. A comprehensive literature review of male adolescent sexuality suggests there is limited research on Latino early adolescent boys (see Smith, Guthrie & Oakley, 2005). Previous research tends to focus on individual level determinants such as personality and risky behaviors to assess sexual activity in ethnic teens (Lescano et al., 2009), and has not examined simultaneously the effects of parent, peer and partner communication on adolescent sexual behaviors. This study also used a normal distribution of boys attending high school, which may assist in generalizing results to a broader population. The results of our study are unique in that we have considered a variety of determinants that can impact the sexual health of Latino early adolescent boys.

First, the results suggest that maternal immigration status did not significantly predict sexual behaviors;

however, adolescents who came from homes where Spanish was spoken were less likely to engage in sexual behaviors. Future research needs to examine the protective factors that immigrant families contribute to adolescent behaviors. Second, results suggest that substance use is a strong predictor of adolescent sexual activity. This finding is consistent with the general literature on adolescent sexual activity (Donenberg et al., 2006) and suggests that programming that targets sexuality should also target other risky behaviors like alcohol consumption and marijuana use. Third, similar to recent research on young girls' sexual behavior (Guzmán & Dello Stritto, 2012), maternal, paternal, and peer communication were not significant predictors of sexual behaviors. Future research needs to consider alternative measures of parent and peer influence, as communication about sexuality may not be a salient topic among Latino youth given the way we currently measure it. It may be that parent-child relationship quality in general may be playing a protective role in Latino adolescent sexual behaviors. Consistent with the literature was that partner communication about sexuality was predictive of adolescent sexual behaviors. Lastly, sexual self-efficacy negatively predicted adolescent sexual behaviors, that is, adolescents with higher self-efficacy engaged in fewer sexual behaviors. Such finding suggests that young boys may be more similar to girls in their sexual behavioral trends (Guzman & Dello Stritto, 2012) than previously argued.

Overall, the results of the study suggest that comprehensive sex education programming could benefit from having multiple outcome goals that address the dual influence of substance use and risky sex, while including partners in fostering positive adolescent sexual health. While comprehensive sex education is not a new phenomenon, adolescents continue to be unjustly treated by policies that remove their access to quality sex information (The Huffington Post, 2012). This is particularly true for Latinos, as they are less likely to support sex education in public schools compared to other ethnic groups (Chappell, Maggard, & Gibson, 2010). Thus, providing adolescents with comprehensive sex education in schools that allows for a space where youth can develop health-promoting sexual attitudes, knowledge, and skills, requires a culturally appropriate movement for change. Adolescents need to feel competent and capable to make sexual decisions, as it is a critical component of sexual health, and thus an integral component of programming. On the other hand, families and schools need to define the sexuality of Latino early adolescents as normative, rather than deviant, by embracing a holistic approach that emphasizes health across the lifespan. Accordingly, sex education should be embedded into a health curriculum that is taught within the classroom, year round, and begins in early childhood. Despite the surgeon general's call for comprehensive sex education, and consistent research that links it to positive health outcomes, policies that silence opportunities to consider adolescent sexuality as normative continue to appear (The Huffington Post, 2012). Subsequently, leaving adolescents with limited health knowledge, and placing them at a higher risk for negative outcomes and unprepared for adult sexual relations.

References

- Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 1–26. doi: 10.1111/1467-839X.00024
- Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2003). The trouble of teen sex: The construction of adolescent sexuality through school-based sexuality education. *Sex Education*, 3(1), 61–74. doi:10.1080/1468181032000052162
- Black, D., Sun, P., Rohrbach, L., & Sussman, S. (2011). Decision-Making style and gender moderation of the self-efficacy-condom use link among adolescents and young adults: Informing targeted STI/HIV prevention programs. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 165(4), 320–325. doi:10.1001/archpediatrics.2011.17
- Blake, S. M., Ledsy, R., Goodenow, C., & O'Donnell, L. (2001). Recency of immigration, substance use, and sexual behavior among Massachusetts adolescents. *American Journal Of Public Health*, 91(5), 794–798. doi:10.2105/AJPH.91.5.794
- Bourdeau, B., Thomas, V. K., & Long, J. K. (2008). Latino sexual styles: Developing a nuanced understanding of risk. *Journal of Sex Research*, 45(1), 71–81.
- Bowleg, L., Belgrave, F. Z., & Reisen, C. A. (2000). Gender roles, power strategies, and precautionary sexual self-efficacy: Implications for Black and Latina women's HIV/AIDS protective behaviors. *Sex Roles*, 42, 613–635. doi: 10.1023/A:1007099422902
- Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106(4), 676–713. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.106.4.676
- Carvajal, S. C., Parcel, G. S., Basen-Engquist, K., Banspach, S. W., Coyle, K. K., Kirby, D., & Chan, W. (1999). Psychosocial predictors of delay of first sexual intercourse by adolescents. *Health Psychology*, 18(5), 443–452. doi:10.1037/0278-6133.18.5.443
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC]. (2003). AIDS cases in adolescents and adults, by age-United States. HIV/AIDS Surveillance Supplemental Report, 9(1), 1–24.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC]. (2004). *Surveillance Summaries*, MMWR (Vol. 53, No. SS-2). Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/PDF/ss/ss_5302.pdf
- Center for Research on Adolescent Health and Development, Public Health Institute. (2012). No Place for Complacency. Retrieved from <http://teenbirths.phi.org/>
- Chin, H. B., Sipe, T., Elder, R., Mercer, S. L., Chattopadhyay, S. K., Jacob, V., & ... Santelli, J. (2012). The effectiveness of group-based comprehensive risk-reduction and abstinence education interventions to prevent or reduce the risk of adolescent pregnancy, Human Immunodeficiency Virus, and Sexually Transmitted Infections: Two systematic reviews for the guide to community prevention services. *American Journal Of Preventive Medicine*, 42(3), 272–294. doi:10.1016/j.amepre.2011.11.006
- Deardorff, J., Gonzales, N. A., Christopher, F. S., Roosa, M. W., & Millsap, R. E. (2005). Early puberty and adolescent pregnancy: The influence of alcohol use. *Pediatrics*, 116, 1451–1456. doi: 10.1542/peds.2005-0542
- Epstein, M., & Ward, L. (2008). 'Always use protection': Communication boys receive about sex from parents, peers, and the media. *Journal Of Youth And Adolescence*, 37(2), 113–126. doi:10.1007/s10964-007-9187-1
- Giordano, P. C., Longmore, M. A., & Manning, W. D. (2006). Gender and the meanings of adolescent romantic relationships: A focus on boys. *American Sociological Review*, 71(2), 260–287. doi:10.1177/000312240607100205
- Greslé-Favier, C. (2010). The legacy of abstinence-only discourses and the place of pleasure in US discourses on teenage sexuality. *Sex Education*, 10(4), 413–422. doi:10.1080/14681811.2010.515098
- Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Goldberg, V., Casillas, E., & Bouris, A. (2006). The content and process of mother-adolescent communication about sex in Latino families. *Social Work Research*, 30(3), 169–181.
- Guzmán, B. L., Schlehofer-Sutton, M.M., Villanueva, C.M., Dello Stritto, M.E., Casad, B.J., & Feria, A. et al. (2003). Let's talk about sex: How comfortable discussions about sex impact teen sexual behavior. *Journal of Health Communication*, 8, 583–598. doi: 10.1080/716100416
- Guzmán, B. L., & Dello Stritto, M. E. (2012). The role of socio-psychological determinants in the sexual behaviors of Latina early adolescents. *Sex Roles*, 66(11–12), 776–789. doi:10.1007/s11199-012-0133-7
- Halpern-Felsher, B. L., Kropp, R. Y., Boyer, C. B., Tschann, J. M., & Ellen, J. M. (2004). Adolescents' self efficacy

- to communicate about sex: Its role in condom attitudes, commitment and use. *Adolescence*, 39(155), 443-456.
- Hutchinson, M. (2002). The influence of sexual risk communication between parents and daughters on sexual risk behaviors. *Family Relations*, 51(3), 238-247. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2002.00238.x
- Kaestle, C. E., Halpern, C. T., Miller, W. C., & Ford, C. A. (2005). Young Age at First Sexual Intercourse and Sexually Transmitted Infections in Adolescents and Young Adults. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 161(8), (774-780). doi:10.1093/aje/kwi095
- Lescano, C. M., Brown, L. K., Raffaelli, M., & Lima, L. A. (2009). Cultural factors and family-based HIV prevention intervention for Latino youth. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, 34(10), 1041-1052. doi:10.1093/jpepsy/jpn146
- Ott, M. (2010). Examining the development and sexual behavior of adolescent males. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 46(4S), S3-11. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.01.017
- Pearson, J. (2006). Personal control, self-efficacy in sexual negotiation, and contraceptive risk among adolescents: The role of gender. *Sex Roles*, 54(9-10), 615-625. doi: 10.1007/s11199-006-9028-9
- Ryan, S., Franzetta, K. & Manlove, J. (2007). Knowledge, perceptions, and motivations for contraception: Influences on teens' contraceptive consistency. *Youth and Society*, 39(2), 182-208. doi:10.1177/0044118X06296907
- Small, E., Weinman, M. L., Buzi, R. S., & Smith, P. B. (2010). Explaining condom use disparity among Black and Hispanic female adolescents. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 27(5), 365-376. doi:10.1007/s10560-010-0207-8
- Smith, L. H., Guthrie, B. J., & Oakley, D. J. (2005). Studying adolescent male sexuality: Where are we? *Journal of Youth And Adolescence*, 34(4), 361-377.
- Stanger-Hall, K. F., & Hall, D. W. (2011). Abstinence-only education and teen pregnancy rates: Why we need comprehensive sex education in the U.S. *Plos One*, 6(10).
- The Huffington Post. (2012, April 8). Tennessee Sex Education Bill Promotes Abstinence-Only, Warns Against 'Gateway Sexual Activity.' *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/08/tennessee-sex-education-b_n_1411100.html
- Villaruel, A., Jemmott, J. J., Jemmott, L., & Ronis, D. (2004). Predictors of sexual intercourse and condom use intentions among Spanish-dominant Latino youth: A test of the Planned Behavior Theory. *Nursing Research*, 53(3), 172-181. doi:10.1097/00006199-200405000-00004
- Voisin, D. R., Salazar, L. F., Crosby, R. R., Diclemente, R. J., Yarber, W. L., & Staples-Home, M. M. (2004). The association between gang involvement and sexual behaviours among detained adolescent males. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 80(6), 440-442. doi:10.1136/sti.2004.010926
- Walker-Barnes, C. J., & Mason, C. A. (2004). Delinquency and substance use among gang-involved youth: The moderating role of parenting practices. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 34(3-4), 235-250. doi:10.1007/s10464-004-7417-1

Resisting the Dominant Narrative: The Role of Stories in Latina Educational Success

María Oropeza Fujimoto
California State University, Fullerton

Abstract

This study focuses on how stories influence Latinas' motivation and resiliency toward academic success and how Latina parents support their daughters in resisting racial discrimination. In the spirit of Critical Race Theory, it concludes with a counterstory of hope and possibility about how higher education can create a space for all students to achieve.

Introduction

I am named for my grandmother María Mojica Oropeza. She had worked in the fields as a migrant prior to getting married and completed only three years of formal schooling. Still, she had the foresight to save for her children to attend college. My aunt Luisa and my father became college graduates.

My grandparents were pragmatists. They had seen disabled veterans unable to provide for their families and the financial hardships that resulted. A college degree was perceived as providing greater economic and social opportunities for their children. My grandmother, in particular, wanted to protect her daughter from financial uncertainty; she saved money and persuaded my grandfather to consider the benefit of having an educated daughter.

I never met my grandmother. She died before I was born. However, because of the stories about her, from my father and my aunt, there was little doubt that I would attend college. The stories I heard growing up set particular expectations for me and countered the stereotypical images of Latina teen pregnancy, poverty, and limited English proficiency. These negative images were typically validated by statistics about risk factors and popular media headlines⁴. Yet I am not alone in having my life transformed by stories that were counter to the dominant narrative⁵ of who I was supposed to be as a Latina in the U.S. I hope to convey such stories to my daughter some day. This paper presents a snapshot of how stories influenced Latinas' motivation and resiliency as well as how parents supported their daughters to resist discrimination.

Literature Review

Statistics, Risk Factors and Latinas: An Incomplete Picture

Latina/o students are often viewed as poor, with limited or no English, who act in ways that lead to their own under-achievement (e.g. teen pregnancy, gang membership, etc.). However, when the data are examined critically the picture is not so clear. One frequently identified "risk factor" is poverty, yet 66% of Hispanic children live above the poverty line (Aud et al., 2012). Speaking a language other than English at home is considered another "risk factor". While 76% of Hispanics over 5 years-old spoke a language other than English at home, the majority of these Spanish speakers spoke English "very well" (Hispanic Americans: Census Facts, 2007). Moreover the research on bilingual education clearly shows that speaking more than one language has cognitive benefits (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

With regard to teen pregnancy, these mothers are often highly motivated to obtain a college degree,

4. "53% of young Latinas get pregnant in their teens, twice the national average" (The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, 2009).

"Hispanic kids the largest group of children living in poverty" (Morello & Mellnik, 2011).

5. Dominant narratives are stories of or by the majority culture that perpetuate myths and stereotypes of people of color, women and the poor; (adapted from Delgado & Stefancic, 2001)

although many are academically under-prepared (Haleman, 2004). It is difficult to generalize about women who had children at a young age because most colleges and universities do not collect data on the motherhood status of their students.

This is not to imply that relative income status, teen pregnancy, and English language learner issues are irrelevant to Latina student success. Rather it is to say that Latina students and the reasons for their academic success or failure cannot be understood simply through apparent “risk factors” and aggregate statistics. These “risk factors” and the mainstream media stories that typically follow them convey only part of the reality of Latina achievement. In general, these narrow portrayals of complex people and situations focus on deficits and conversely ignore the assets and exacerbate the general sense that this population cannot achieve. They create a norm that oversimplifies an entire population, limiting what is known to racial stereotypes. The “risk factors”, statistics, and stories can become deterministic, self-fulfilling prophecies of underachievement, often creating barriers to what can be achieved by Latina/o students. Simultaneously, these negative images make invisible the actual academic achievement of Latinas and the growing numbers of Latinas graduating from high school and college.

Adichie (2009) describes “the danger of the single story,” the story that is told over and over again about a people or a place we do not know first-hand. The result is stereotypes and half-truths, not the multiple truths that reflect the complexity of lived experiences. The danger is that the “single story” becomes the definitive story about a people or place. This study reveals some of the “multiple truths” about the Latina student experience; truths that remain largely concealed and hidden from view. But it is not only the popular media and culture that perpetuates these deficit explanations of underachievement. Higher education itself suffers from this malady as well. This study attempts to complicate the picture of who Latinas are. Disproportionately low income and underachieving, while at the same time graduating in higher numbers than has previously been known; the lives of Latinas are far more complex than typically portrayed.

Latina Academic Success

Recently, a *Chronicle of Higher Education* commentary critiqued elite colleges for seeing a broad range of students (first-generation, non-native English speakers, immigrants, and students of color) in terms of their deficits (Alves, 2007). The author urged that these students’ assets, including their strong desire to succeed, enthusiasm about learning, and life experiences, not be overlooked. There is a growing interest in understanding how and why successful Latina/os advance academically (Conchas, 2001; Delgado-Bernal, 2001; López, 2002; Morales, 2008). In addition to focusing on Latina/o academic success (as opposed to failure), they include contextual factors and many illustrate the institutional barriers that Latina/o students must negotiate in order to succeed. With few exceptions, most institutions are not structured for Latina/o student success. Given that educational institutions have struggled to effectively educate Latina students, families and communities can play a strong part in their achievement.

Theoretical Framework

In moving away from individualized, deficit notions of Latina student achievement, critical race-based methodologies are particularly useful in recognizing patterns and practices that maintain racial inequities in higher education. Critical Race Theory (CRT) and LatCrit both have their origins in critical legal studies and are theoretically similar. LatCrit extends CRT by addressing issues specific to Latinos such as language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, and identity (Villalpando, 2004). Four elements of CRT and LatCrit contribute to a more holistic understanding of the dominant narrative.

1. Racism as normal

CRT views racism not only as individual, unusual actions (Bell, 2008), but as a deeply embedded, pervasive aspect of U.S. society. Racism is both a historical and contemporary part of practices, policies, and institutions, including higher education, which perpetuates racial and social inequities (Harper & Patton, 2007).

2. Experiential knowledge

CRT focuses on the lived experiences of students, their families, and communities of color to learn from their racialized lives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Such experiences are not only racialized but gendered as well. For example, the experiential knowledge of Latinas is distinctly different than Latinos.

3. Dominant claims of meritocracy

Meritocracy reinforces the notion that the primary reason students do not succeed in college is due to personal, familial, or cultural deficiency, with little attention to institutional or societal factors that impact opportunities. (Academic deficiency claims can also reinforce false notions of meritocracy, although that is not a factor in this study of graduates).

4. Narrative

CRT theorists identify stories that illustrate how America sees race and inequality. In identifying the limitations of such stories, which have framed society's racial reality, counterstories of those who have been marginalized emerge. The emergence of stories that have historically been submerged allow racial minorities to "name their reality," to use their own words to describe how they were wronged or injured (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). They give voice to and reveal experiences that are common among minorities. Together CRT and LatCrit provide an analytic framework to examine the motivation and resiliency of Latinas, illustrate how parents teach their daughters about racial discrimination and resiliency, and bring to the forefront Latinas' academic achievements.

Research questions

The aim of this study is to illustrate how Latinas are influenced by family stories and expectations to counter these "single stories" or dominant narratives through stories of resiliency, motivation, lessons about discrimination, and ultimately, hope. To understand how Latinas use stories to counter, respond to, and resist stereotypical representations, this study asks:

1. How do stories influence Latinas' motivation and resiliency toward academic success?
2. How do Latina parents support their daughters in resisting racial discrimination?

Methodology

I am Latina conducting research about Latinas. Some may think that there was a particular story I wanted to tell in this research. This is true, to the extent that I believe risk factors do not capture the multitude of experiences and backgrounds about Latinas. Statistics about Latinas suggests that under-achievement will persist until Latinas stop being poor, become citizens, speak "standard" English, and not act in ways that ensure their underachievement. My concern is that research has accumulated statistics (and descriptions) about Latinas as under-achievers without examining how the pervasiveness of a dominant, deficit narrative presents a limited view of who can achieve academic success.

To broaden our understanding of Latinas' academic success, I draw upon their stories. Stories can address some of the limitations of risk factors by extending boundaries of what is examined. Some might argue that stories are ideological, that they exaggerate the power of context or social identities. I argue that stories provide a framework and conceptual tools that recognize the racialized and gendered experience of Latinas. Contextualizing Latinas academic achievement provides a more holistic and accurate view of Latinas.

All participants from this study graduated from St. Cecilia College.⁶ A snowball sample yielded eight Latinas who participated in the pilot study. Graduates were asked questions regarding culture, family, academic preparation, and college experience. Afterwards, seven of those Latinas participated in a collective interpretation process in which they were presented with initial themes and asked for their feedback (Ladson-Billings, 2009). Through this process, questions were refined and interviews with twenty-seven Latinas who graduated from St. Cecilia followed. All data were audio-taped and transcribed. A careful reading of the pilot study, interviews, collective interpretation transcripts, and analytic memos was completed; open coding was then used to analyze

6. The names of places and people are pseudonyms.

all the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

Results

The findings in this study present some of the ways that Latinas counter the dominant narrative to create new spaces in which they can be academically successful. These data help us to move beyond stereotypical representations of Latinas that utilize statistics to underscore their deficits, when in fact, the percentage of Latinas who have graduated from college has grown significantly. The 27 Latinas who participated reveal: 1) Latinas' motivation came in part through parental expectations and knowledge of their sacrifices; 2) Modeling about resiliency and direct teaching discrimination also impacted Latina's motivation.

In an effort to not perpetuate a different single story of Latina's academic success, I present multiple stories, including how the dominant narrative of Latina under-achievement seeps into parent's expectations. The stories illustrate the difficulty and complexity of countering, responding to, and resisting the dominant narrative of underachievement.

Parental expectations and sacrifices

Parents conveyed their expectations about college to their daughters. They saw college as a way for their daughters to have a life better than theirs. Through stories, parents shared personal sacrifices that they were making for their daughter's success. Isabela, like many in this study, is aware of her parent's sacrifices.

They did everything they could to put me in good schools whether that was working three jobs, or whatever. It was important for them that I have a good education.

Christina, a child of immigrants, grew up hearing stories about how there were so many opportunities in the United States compared to Mexico. These perceived opportunities informed her parent's expectations for her and her siblings.

They expected us to get a college degree. They sacrificed themselves for us. They worked hard so that we could accomplish ourselves as good citizens, and have good jobs, [and] make it big.

The knowledge of the personal sacrifices that their parents made for Latinas serves as a motivation for them to do well academically.

While many Latinas reported differences in gender expectations around dating and other social activities, they also shared that the *academic* expectations for them and their brothers were the same. Cecilia, the oldest of four siblings shared there was an additional expectation placed on her as the oldest. The story of Cecilia's academic success would be the story that her parents relayed to her siblings.

They [both] expected me to succeed. There wasn't even a question. There was no doubt that I would go to college, I would set the example for everybody else.

Difficult financial and social situations also contributed to parental expectations for academic success. Lola grew up in a community of poverty, gangs, and drugs in Texas. After her parents divorced, Lola, her mother, and sister, moved to the Midwest. Her mother did not have a steady job for a year; they were extremely poor. Despite the difficult circumstances, her mother not only maintained high expectations for Lola academically, but also modeled resiliency.

My mother didn't work for a year and during that time she did a lot of temp jobs and went to school, [and we were] on welfare. She just kept telling me, 'you are going to college... you are going to college.' Working hard was part of the expectations behind the stories shared by parents.

Although the parents of most of the Latinas in this study expected their daughters to be academically successful, the dominant narrative of Latina/o academic failure is so pervasive; it makes it difficult for parents to maintain those expectations. For example, both of Faye's parents are lawyers. As the youngest of four, her parents' expectations were lowered after her older siblings did not achieve academically. She shares:

My sister was a National Merit Scholar. She dropped out her first year. By the time [it came down to me], they said, "Well, she...barely got out of high school. She's not going to do anything.

It was also very difficult to blindly maintain their high expectations when going to college was so far removed from their present reality and the dominant narrative of Latinas and teen pregnancy was so prevalent.

My mother would go around telling people,...[my daughters] are going to college. Hopefully. If they don't get pregnant. She always wanted us to accomplish much but the support...was negative.

Finally, Eva, whose mother dropped out of high school because she was pregnant, used that knowledge to challenge teen pregnancy as being the only story of Latinas. Eva relayed the story of participating in a precollege program for Latinas in which many of the participants knew they were going to college, it was just a matter of where. Eva felt embarrassed when part of the program included a "crying baby class". Students were given a doll that needed to be fed, changed, and held. It bothered Eva that other summer programs on campus did not participate in this class. Eva wondered if it was because the other programs were predominantly White. She left wondering if the program directors really saw the students as high achieving.

Latinas' parents sought to convey expectations of high achievement to their daughters through their stories. At times it was difficult for them to maintain those expectations; yet all the Latinas had a sense that college was possible for them.

Modeling resiliency and direct teaching about racial discrimination

Some parents shared stories about their own racial struggles with their children so that they would know that race was something that they would have to contend with. Isabela explains:

As I got older and my dad got a better position, he had to fight and claw [his way] because he was Mexican. I didn't understand at the time but I know when I went to [college] he was like 'mi'ja you are going to experience that--I went through it at my job'.

Fed by racist notions of Latina/o underachievement being due to their inferiority to other people and groups, Latina/o parents are not immune to these narratives. Blanca explains,

My dad for example walks around with his head down when he is among English speaking people. He feels to be Mexican [it is] his destiny to suffer in the world... My dad was never part of our life.

My mother was the kind of mother who would fight for her rights and for her children's rights with a knife. She didn't see herself as 'I deserve less because I am Mexican [and] neither do my children.'

Some families helped their daughters to challenge the dominant narrative. They do this by first identifying the common perception which says that Latinas will not achieve and set counter expectations. Sofia explains,

You can't ignore statistics...People always tell you—you can't make it...It starts with family [helping you] to overcome and not just settle. When you have the opportunity you have to take advantage of it.

Even when parents do not internalize the narratives about Latina's inferiority, it does

not mean that they necessarily know how to support their daughters, but they know that their daughters have to learn how to struggle on their own in order to be resilient. Hermenia shares,

We were on the way [back to college] and she was dropping me off and I started crying. I told her 'I'll just work for one year and then I'll go back, next year.'
She said, 'Well you are not going to do that, because if you stop now, you'll never go back.'

I was crying...but she didn't stop, she just kept on driving and dropped me off.

Finally, there is Iris, a high achieving student, whose sister had a learning disability. She was deeply bothered by how special education students were treated in her school. Iris wondered why schools could not act more like families. Her family knew that her sister could not do everything that they were doing, but they still always found a way to make her a meaningful part of whatever they were doing. In their family, they create a space in which everyone is a valued member.

Conclusion

Latina/os have participated in the U.S. educational system for generations, yet there continues to be widespread failure in educating Mexican and Puerto Rican students (Donato, 1997; Nieto, 2000). As the largest ethnic minority group in the nation, Latina/os under-participation in the professional sectors of our economy (which requires higher levels of education) can no longer be seen as a minor issue affecting a small segment of society. What do the stories of the women in this study tell us about what needs to be done to create change?

The stories presented here illustrate how Latinas and their families disrupt the dominant narrative of educational underachievement. The typical explanation for their achievement tends to reside in a cultural and familial deficit understanding of who succeeds and who does not. In other words, it is easy to explain the success of these students in terms of their being anomalies, their being unusual, and exceptional in terms of their intellect, their passion, their drive, etc. These Latinas and their families are not exceptional. This begs the question then, how did these students succeed when so many with similar backgrounds are failing to do so?

The answer is obviously complex. For some, it was a family move that took them out of a tracking system that would not have prepared them for college, and landed them into a college bound track. For others, it was encountering key people at crucial times in their lives. Such as the chance meeting with alumnae of a four year institution that put them in touch with a university that their own families could not. Many other such circumstances had bearing on these students success. But what role did the stories retold in this study play in the student's subsequent success? And why did these particular stories hold the power that they did for these student's lives?

These stories set expectations, taught about race and modeled resiliency, reminded the student that they are part of a larger family, community, and legacy that is far beyond their individual selves, and taught about the reality of struggle and hard work and that this is part of what life is and much more. These stories show that those who have succeeded learned ways to counter the common misperceptions of Latinas.

Further, these stories may be revealing of insights regarding why these Latinas tended to understand these stories in the particular ways that they did. This may be related to how gender tends to play out in Latina/o families. Girls are often expected to help in the home, with household chores and childrearing responsibilities, much more than boys. This puts Latinas in close, consistent contact with family members and the opportunity to hear the family stories and their interpretation and reinterpretation.

Another insight may be related to the fact that many of the interviewees were children of immigrants. This generally meant that many of the students' parents were closely tied to their culture of origin, which was often strongly reflected in the home. The findings indicate that this home environment contributed to the conduciveness of the sharing of stories and their influence.

Finally, the women in this study consistently displayed a high level of maintaining or developing contact

with their culture of origin. This cultural knowledge appears to be enabling them to understand the stories being told to them in a deep and culturally relevant way which then serves as a guide to negotiating the obstacles that lead to academic success.

Understanding the role of such stories helps us to imagine new ways campuses can support Latina students' academic success. What is needed for wide-scale success of Latina/o students is a transformation in our institutions of higher education. Such a transformation is unlikely, but possible if there was a convergence of interests⁷ by institution(s) of higher education, and external influences such as college rankings and accreditation boards. The convergence of interests would entail reflection about the purpose of higher education and action to achieve that purpose(s). As a result of such reflection, higher education might take a more expansive view of the purposes of education which are congruent with the values of students, families, and communities.

7. The term *interest convergence* is used by Critical Race Theory scholars (Bell, 1992) to analyze societal or macro changes historically and are argues that progress towards racial equity, will only occur if it benefits those who are in positions of power.

EPILOGUE

In the tradition of CRT, a narrative of what might be possible in higher education is presented. Esperanza's story takes place 25 years in the future; St. Cecilia is a campus that has been transformed toward fostering the success of all students.

Esperanza

I felt awkward visiting St. Cecilia after all these years. To be honest, my daughter, Esperanza, was more excited about her acceptance than was I. I am grateful for my education, but somehow I just thought my daughter could do better. Of course, it didn't matter how I felt. Today was the convocation. It was Esperanza's day. I was surprised at how many families were there. I inquired about the large turnout to a young woman, whom I presumed was a student.

She responded, "Oh, St. Cecilia recognizes the sacrifices that families have to make for students to be successful, and wants to acknowledge them. It is also a time when St. Cecilia recalls its Transformation."

I must have had a blank look on my face. She went on.

"Several years back the college was moving up in their rankings and becoming more and more renowned. There was also a growing awareness of the impact our graduates have on communities—as professionals and as individuals who engage in philanthropy. As civic engagement became more important to the rankings there was a fear that we might not be able to maintain our position because our graduates did not know how to work effectively with diverse populations. Graduates were not aware how their background had shaped their work and level of community engagement. Furthermore, academic majors and careers were narrowly focused. While, we were learning the 'book stuff' significantly less attention was paid to us learning the 'life stuff'.

"This is really interesting", I said, "but I am surprised to hear the College's 'dirty laundry' being aired at an event like this."

"Let me back up. We are taught the history of the Transformation and are encouraged to share it with others. It is not only a tradition, but one of the ways that St. Cecilia 'walks the talk.' We recount the story of the Transformation because it is an essential part of who we are as an institution."

"The transformation in our education started with a group of Latina students who challenged St. Cecilia's to do more to support their academic success and the success of all students. They argued that their academic success was threatened through stereotypical encounters with fellow students and faculty; further they reasoned that their fellow students would become professionals who would marginalize their colleagues or those they were supposed to help because they were unaware of their own biases."

"I want to hear more about how students become, Transformed, is it?"

The student laughed, "Well, to begin with, we take a philosophy class. I don't remember the exact name, but it was based on the African proverb: *I am because we are*. This course emphasizes critical thinking, cooperative learning, and reflection. The first part of the course helps us to build a strong connection to other students and encourages us to learn together. In the second part, we learn that we are all members of multiple communities and inequity is reproduced within communities. We become aware of what is 'normal' in our everyday lives and if there is some aspect of our lives that does not fit what is 'normal', we analyze why. We constantly reflect on our actions. It was a really interesting class."

"Wow, it sounds like it." I remained skeptical. "But how does this help you with your career or in working with community?"

"The class then helped us understand how all of us make judgments about others based on what is deemed 'normal' and because of our positions as professionals, we need to be mindful that our judgments can have unintended negative consequences for those we work with. We are taught that to be effective professionals we need to ask, 'what is going on here? How do the others understand what is going on here? What is my role? What are the potential negative and positive consequences? By the end of the class, we realize that equity is inseparable from excellence."

"I see your point. So, what about faculty? It sounds like they have been a key component to the

Transformation.”

“Well, the Latinas claimed that the College was not doing enough to support them academically, right around the time of accreditation. St. Cecilia did a little self-scrutiny and realized that most of the faculty were raised in middle-class, monolingual English families from the suburbs. The faculty didn’t see teaching students of color as an essential part of their jobs. They were not mean people, but in the grand scheme of things they were more concerned with their specific discipline. However, the reality is ‘minority’ students are the majority on a lot of campuses, and a growing population at St. Cecilia. Consequently, after the Transformation, the curriculum is more infused with diversity than it has ever been; faculty are rewarded for creating opportunities for community engagement by students; racial achievement gaps are measured annually with progress being made regularly. They also successfully recruited new faculty with equity and diversity as part of their research interests. These faculty were encouraged to challenge conventional thinking about what it means to teach and learn. Faculty also must mentor new students, so they understand more about students’ lives.”

St. Cecilia’s campus climate and how it engaged all members of the campus community in the process of learning had been Transformed. St. Cecilia was a place where Esperanza could be successful.

References

- Adichie, C.N. (2009). Chimamanda Adichie: The danger of a single story. TEDGlobal Ted.com. Retrieved from http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html.
- Alves, J. (2007, September 28). Elite colleges must give low-income students the tools to succeed. *Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/article/Elite-Colleges-Must-Give/29737>
- Aud, S., Hussar, W., Johnson, F., Kena, G., Roth, E., Manning, E., Wang, X., & Zhang, J. (2012). The Condition of Education 2012 (NCES 2012-045). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch>.
- Bell, D. (2008). Racism as the ultimate deception. *North Carolina Law Review*, 86(3), 621-34.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the Bottom of the Well : The Permanence of Racism*. New York, NY: BasicBooks
- Bhattacharjee, Y. (2012, March 18). Gray matter: Why bilinguals are smarter. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/18/opinion/sunday/the-benefits-of-bilingualism.html?_r=0
- Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: complementary research strategies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Conchas, G. Q. (2001). Structuring failure and success: Understanding the variability in Latino student engagement. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(3), 475-504.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Learning and living pedagogies of the home: The Mestiza consciousness of Chicana Students. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 14(5), 623-639.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. Critical America. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Donato, R. (1997). *The other struggle for equal schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights era*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Haleman, D. (2004). Great expectations: Single mothers in higher education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17, 769-784.
- Harper, S.R., & Patton, L.D. (Eds.) (2007). Responding to the racial realities on campus. *New Directions for Student Services*, 120.
- Hispanic Americans: Census Facts — Infoplease.com. (2007). Infoplease: Pearson Education, publishing as Infoplease. Retrieved from <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/hhmcensus1.html>
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). *The Dreamkeepers : Successful Teachers of African American Children*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- López, N. (2002). Rewriting race and gender high school lessons: Second-generation Dominicans in New York City. *Teachers College Record*. 104(6), 1187-1203.
- Morales, E. E. (2008). Exceptional female student resilience and gender in higher education. *Innovative Higher Education*, 33, 197-213.
- Morello, C., & Mellnik, T. (2011, September 28). Hispanic kids the largest group of children living in poverty. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-09-28/local/35275234_1_hispanic-children-black-children-poverty-rate
- Nieto, S. (Ed.) (2000). *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Solórzano, D.G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). A critical race counterstory of race, racism, and affirmative action. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 155-168.
- The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy. (2009). An overview of Latina teen pregnancy and birth rates. Retrieved from <http://www.thenationalcampaign.org/>
- Villalpando, O. (2004). Practical considerations of critical race theory and Latino critical theory for Latino college students. *New Directions for Student Services*, 105(5), 41-50.

Using Literacy to Understand Mexican Boys' Perspectives of Life

Debby Zambo

Cory Hansen

Arizona State University

Abstract

Many nine- and ten-year-old boys find reading interesting but begin to feel insecure about themselves as readers and avoid reading whenever they can. Reading avoidance starts early and for many boys, especially those of color living in poverty, fourth grade seems to be the time when this downward spiral begins. National and state assessment data consistently and currently indicates a gap and stall in the reading achievement of male Latino and English Language Learners living in poverty. However, as Weaver-Hightower (2008) notes, when educators talk about boys and their literacy achievement, they must not only ask *which* boys are failing but must also ask *why*? The goal of this study was to answer the *why* to Weaver-Hightower's questions for Mexican boys living in Phoenix, Arizona in the early part of 2010. Toward this goal, we established a fourth grade boys' book club in a neighborhood which presented many challenges for its inhabitants but especially for the Mexican boys who were learning English at their local school. Immigration sweeps and State Bill 1070 permeated their lives and skewed their vision of academic and social success. Regardless, our book club members emerged as tolerant, courageous, and generous individuals who do enjoy reading but too often find themselves reading alone. From these findings implications for educators are provided.

Introduction

Over our collective twenty years plus of teaching, we have found the early elementary years especially important in boys' views of literacy. Many nine- and ten-year-old boys find reading interesting but too soon begin to feel insecure about themselves as readers, perceive reading to be a feminine task, and avoid reading whenever they can (Brozo, 2002; Payne & Slocumb, 2011; Smith & Wilhelm, 2009). In elementary school, struggling male readers earn the lowest grades, boys are retained more often than girls, and males dominate special education and remedial classes (O'Connor & DeLuca Fernandez, 2006). Reading avoidance starts early for many boys and boys of color living in poverty often begin a downward spiral in fourth grade (Brozo, 2002). National and state assessment data consistently and currently indicates a gap and stall in the reading achievement of male Latino, African American, and English Language Learners living in poverty (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009).

However, as Weaver-Hightower (2008) notes, when we talk about boys and their academic and literacy achievement, we must not only ask *which* boys are failing but must also ask *why*? Reflecting on these questions prompted a study designed to investigate how fourth grade boys living in an inner city transacted with text and to shed light on their interpretations of manhood through talk about men in stories. A safe place to think and talk about storybook characters would help these boys learn themselves, literacy, and honorable traits of manhood.

To do this we read books that focused on archetypes, or modes of thought about honorable manhood derived from experience because their traits (e.g., tolerance, courage, generosity, persistence) are valued and consistent cross-culturally. These archetypes teach boys how to act for the common good and how to cope with the inward and outward struggles they face on their journey to manhood (Zambo & Hansen, 2010). Then we listened to the boys' genuine response to story and engaged them in relevant learning activities including drawing and writing.

Theoretical Frameworks

We filtered our work through a systems perspective and complex ecology. We use

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bio-ecological model of development because it allows us to understand the importance of context on children's lives. Every child lives in a *microsystem*, or immediate setting, an *exosystem*, a distant social setting, and a *macrosystem*, the bigger picture that influences his/her development. A systems perspective highlights how environments affect children and that children have the agency needed to affect the systems in their world. Lee's (2010) complex ecology, or theory of learning that focuses on the interplay between human dispositions, physiology, cultural practices, and environment, builds on previous systems perspectives, and includes the child and the environment.

As teacher educators and early childhood researchers, we believe honorable manhood and literacy relies on both internal and external factors. Honorable manhood, as Brozo (2002) notes, is an idea or mode of thought derived from cultural and personal experience that points a boy in the way honored by tradition in his society. Honorable manhood means having values like cooperation, courage, generosity, honesty, perseverance, responsibility and respectfulness (Zambo & Brozo, 2009). Tales of honorable manhood began as oral stories passed down from generation to generation and today, are found in the words and illustrations in children's picture books.

Self and literacy are shaped by one's own biology, disposition, use, and motivation; these are nested in one's cultural, social, and political landscape. Literacy in this sense becomes transformative and much more than a skill. For example, Freire (1970) helped Brazilian students understand the unforeseen structures suppressing their lives through photographs of their impoverished surroundings. Through visual literacy and texts, Freire helped students beware of their situations, to think critically about them, and begin to think that things do not have to remain the same. Effectively, he led students to empowerment through literacy. Therefore, when it comes to literacy a boy must have a reason to read, the understanding he will be transformed by literacy, and perceive that he is respected as a learner and young man.

While there is no doubt boys of all ethnicities need the insights literacy provides this is not always the case due to poverty. Poverty affects children of all racial and ethnic backgrounds but living in the inner city and being a black, Hispanic, or Native American male places one more at risk. Too often, Mexican children attend impoverished inner city schools, are in segregated classrooms, and cannot use their native language to learn. This situation is growing and becoming more severe. According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2011), the number of Hispanic children living in poverty jumped by 36 percent from 2007 to 2010 and the youth of this group and recession were factors as to why. Children living in young households with young earners earning below minimum wage struggle to put food on the table. However, even with older parents, Hispanics suffered more than some ethnicities in the recession because their heads of household were employed in service-oriented occupations that experienced sharp declines. Furthermore, if a breadwinner was an immigrant or spoke Spanish they were more likely to be cut. Of the 6.1 million Latino children living in poverty, more than two-thirds have immigrant parents even though they themselves were born in the United States.

Nowhere in our country is this more prevalent than Arizona (Oakes, 2008). Stevens and Stovall (2010) note that xenophobia (fear of foreigners) is enacted in Arizona with the passage of Arizona State Senate Bill 1070 (which requires that immigrants have registration documents in their possession at all times, allows those without registration documents to be imprisoned, and enforces jail time for anyone who shelters, hires, or transports an illegal), and Arizona Revised Statutes § 15-756.01 (which places children learning English in sheltered English immersion programs). Such legislation promotes intolerance, racism, and the suppression of Mexicans.

Our study will rely on these points to investigate the influence of race, class, and gender as the boys in our club responded to literature and to understand the complex ecologies that surrounded the boys, any xenophobia they felt, and how each of these intertwined and affected their perceptions of themselves as readers and young men.

Methodology

The goal of our book club was to provide a safe place where a group of inner city Mexican boys could listen to stories with male characters, do activities, and talk about what they knew and felt. To help the boys feel comfortable club sessions had a routine. The second author always read the stories while the first author

managed the tape recorder, gathered field notes, and led the activities.

Both researchers selected the books that were used and planned response activities. Two weeks was spent on each book and in sum 10 books were read. We chose books with male characters because we felt they would help the boys make text-to-self connections and that this would benefit their literacy and language development. We also thought that these characters and discussions about them could be a vehicle to help us understand why these boys were not faring well. Weaver-Hightower (2008) reminds us of the importance of this work and encourages educators and researchers to not only look at *which* boys are failing but to also question *why* certain boys fail. Aligned with this idea O'Connor and Fernandez (2006) remind us that if we do not, "examine "what" (poor) minority students "are," we will lose sight of what we can do. While there are many strategies and curricula for English Language Learners, there is little deep insight into these children and why, despite policy and efforts, they continue to struggle so much. The literacy field needs this research because it has the potential to reveal how political forces against certain groups impact the academic success of younger generations.

Participants

All of the boys were Mexican, a subgroup of the Hispanic population which is the fastest-growing group in the United States (Sadker & Zittleman, 2012). The boys were first generation English speakers and were not doing well on standardized tests of English, were classified as limited in English proficiency, and they were typical of many others in our state and nation. National Assessment of Educational Progress scores for fourth grade reading indicate that Latino males trail behind other ethnicities and behind the nation as a whole. This was true for the 23 members of our club. The boys were all struggling readers between the ages of 9 and 11. The boys in our club walked to school and came from the impoverished neighborhood surrounding it. Boys were recruited into our club through their teacher, Rosa. We had both parent and child consents to participate in the study. To keep the names of boys confidential and meet IRB requirements, each boy created a code name which we use in this manuscript. Examples of names are Junior, Shredder, Brain, PitBull, Pepe, 2Pac, Superman, and Wrestler.

Rosa (also a pseudonym), the boys' teacher with 15 years experience, was interested in our study because she grew up in Mexico and immigrated to the United States as an adult. Conversations with Rosa after book club served as a member check and a source of data through field notes.

Setting

Our book club operated from January to April 2010 in a classroom nested in a district surrounded by iterative poverty defined in terms of substandard housing, low median salaries, and struggling families. District scores indicated that 19% of its students fell below the standard in reading, 36% were approaching, 43% met, and only 2% exceeded. Saguaro (a pseudonym for the school) fell below these district percents. The average growth index at Saguaro was -8 in reading and students did not meet annual yearly progress. Labeled as underperforming, Saguaro was in its second year of Corrective Action. Students included 97% Latino/a population with 48% of students labeled as limited in English proficiency. Ninety-two percent of the students qualified for free or reduced lunch programs (Arizona Department of Education, 2013). The median household income in the neighborhood was \$25,562, an amount slightly above than the federal poverty level of \$21,200 but significantly below the U.S. average of \$56,604 (Prior, 2010). These figures must be taken with caution because of the mobility of immigrant families and their fear of being counted in any type of census data (Berliner, 2006; Pew Hispanic Center, 2009; Zacher, 2008).

Data Sources

Our data consisted of 1) one opened-ended survey we created to learn about the boys' reading preferences, which was given once midway through the study. Sample items on this survey include: Tell us about the type of books you like to read. Where do you like to read? Who do you like to read with? When do you

like to read?; 2) 100+ response activities, including drawings, produced by the boys; 3) 60 transcribed pages of book conversations; and 4) field notes gathered every moment we were with the boys and their teacher, Rosa. Every Thursday for twenty weeks, we read and discussed picture books for one or up to two hours. We present results from four of the ten books in this article.

Data Analysis

Through a constant comparative approach, we moved between our data sets, codes we developed, and final assertions that linked to both a systems perspective of literacy development and complex equality (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Un-packing the Data into Codes

Both researchers read and reread all data independently. At this stage, initial labels, key words, and broad codes, were established. Next, one researcher linked data to these codes question by question in a partially ordered matrix checklist (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Using a spreadsheet format, raw data was housed in the right column and emerging codes on the left. Our choice to link codes to questions at this phase was careful and inductive. Data were labeled systematically and examined for confirming and disconfirming ideas. Nascent codes were discussed, clarified, and refined with the other researcher.

Re-packaging and Aggregating Data and Developing Themes

Both researchers met and discussed prominent codes, ordering, and how codes fit into themes. To achieve transparency, preconceived beliefs were discussed and ideas were continually compared to participants' perspectives, words, and pictures.

Next, data were examined for relationships and the writing of analytical memos began. We moved inductively from our data set, to the matrix, to the themes looking for linkages (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We then broke apart the matrix and created a conceptual map. Themes were fit together to show relationships and hierarchies. Salient, repeated findings allowed us to formulate nascent assertions.

Solidifying Assertions and Creating an Emergent Framework

The conceptual map and nodes solidified emerging assertions. Narrative assertions supported participants' words, and linked to theories. As assertions were drawn, we constantly reflected on our analysis and data. Using this constant comparative approach ensured that patterns, not merely two dimensional pictures of the boys, revealed the more complex, multidimensional ecology around each boy individually and as a book club member.

To assure our findings were inclusive, trustworthy, and credible we met often. To assure the correctness of our analyses, we took our assertions to Rosa and the boys for member checks. With a few minor exceptions, the interpretations of participants' responses were consistent with their intentions.

As a result of carefully applying the previous analytical procedures, we claim process validity. Additionally, reflectivity, detailed procedures, a clear and comprehensive audit trail, and member checks warranted for credibility. However, despite this detailed process, we cannot claim generalizability nor do we present our findings as true or the only perspective known. We simply tell our story as honestly and truthfully as we can.

Results

Challenges

A bothersome trend started early. Our club started with 32 boys but the number of boys constantly went up and down. New boys transferred in for a short time, boys who left came back, and some boys simply

disappeared. Rosa informed us that even though there was a “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy at the school, most of her students were legal but most of their families were not. The political world influenced attendance, success in school, and had major implications for the boys.

Sheriff Arpaio was conducting immigrant sweeps. Families, relatives, and friends could be jailed and deported. Governor Brewer was about to sign Senate Bill 1070 which would require immigrants to have registration documents in their possession at all times. Those without required documents would be imprisoned and anyone who helped them would also face jail time. Daily attendance at school and consistent participation in our book club paled in importance to the bigger issues in their lives.

Language emerged as our second challenge. Arizona Revised Statutes § 15-756.01 was requiring children classified as English Learners to be educated in a sheltered English immersion program. Rosa was required to provide four hours of English language development daily with English materials. A glance around the classroom showed a disrespect for the boys native language. Even though they were proficient in Spanish not a book, poster, or any other educational material ever appeared in Spanish. This was obviously hampering the boys’ reading achievement because as research shows, children the boys’ age learn best when they are allowed to learn in their native language then transition to their second language (Garcia Bedolla, 2012). Being that the boys were placed in Rosa’s classroom because of their lack of proficiency in English, this was a challenge each boy faced.

Despite Arizona’s law, it was evident that the boys were below grade level in speaking, reading, and writing English. Language caused us to rely on the boys’ ability and passion to draw and willingness to act out what they could not express in words.

Tolerant Men Look at the Inside, Not the Outside

Teammates (Golenback, 1992) the story of Jackie Robinson, the first Negro player in major league baseball, was our first book. *Teammates* engaged the boys in conversations about tolerance and as we listened, we came to understand that they were very aware of tolerant and intolerant men.

When asked to present examples of the tolerant men, the boys identified fathers, stepfathers, uncles, teachers, the principal, and the janitor. To Pocho, tolerant men were respectful, patient, did not fight with their mother, and spoke kindly to everyone regardless of the color of their skin. Tolerant men, in 2Pac’s words “Look at the inside of a person and do not think they are better or smarter than anyone.” Junior and Wrestler experienced tolerance when men taught them to throw a ball or ride a bike. The boys felt tolerant men were patient with them when they made mistakes.

The boys also identified with the intolerance Jackie faced. Four boys strongly and repeatedly objected to using the word “Negro” in the book because it was “mean.” Three expressed bewilderment when hearing Jackie could not drink from the White drinking fountain. Wrestler said Jackie’s situation was, “messed up” and Brain said he felt like Jackie when, “people look funny at him.” The boys’ lives taught them about intolerance first hand. Rosa told us that Junior and Shredder had been called “inhuman” when they marched against SB 1070 with their parents. Pepe stated the local sheriff was an intolerant man. PitBull said, “He is not respectful to somebody that’s a different color.”

PitBull’s words align with a picture he drew of tolerance. When asked to draw his perspective of tolerance, PitBull drew a man with a gun smiling as he shoots another man (explained to be Mexican). Critically examining this image shows PitBull’s realities, identities, and subjectivities as a Mexican boy growing up in poverty in Phoenix, Arizona (Kincheloe, 2010). PitBull and his classmates were nested in a neighborhood, state, and nation where due to policy, poverty, and their gender, language and ethnicity, violence and intolerance were a part of their world.

Several boys noted that they felt divided because of the intolerance they faced. The boys talked about achieving the American Dream but also yearned to return to Mexico where their families lived. They felt caught between two countries, cultures, and languages. When asked to draw a picture of their family, Wrestler and Soul revealed their divided lives. Their families stand under the Mexican *and* American flag.



Courageous Men Do What They Have to Do



We read *The Man Who Walked Between the Towers* (Gerstein, 2003) about Philippe Petit, because he was courageous and defied odds to live his dream. Philippe knew it was illegal to tight rope between the twin towers but he defied authority to do it. We investigated the boys' perspective of courage by asking them to write and draw what they thought Philippe was thinking as he pondered his plan. Results reveal that all the boys thought Philippe was justified in walking across the towers and agreed that they would have done the same thing. Superman said Philippe was thinking, "I'm not going to listen to the police," "I don't care what the police say, I am going to cross it." Wrestler recognized that Philippe would face consequences because he wrote, "I know I am going to get arrested but I don't care." There were also words of determination like, "I know I can do this, I can," "I have to concintrade [concentrate], and "I am not going to fall."

When we asked the boys about the courageous men they knew, their answers were similar to the tolerant men they knew. Their number one choice was their fathers, followed by their stepfathers, uncles, and the school janitor. To find out what the boys thought about fatherhood, we presented five images of men and their sons (Peter and Stewie Griffin, Homer and Bart Simpson, an African American father and his son, a Latino father and his son, and a Caucasian father and his son). The boys selected who was the best father and explained why. Twelve boys chose Peter Griffin, six chose Homer Simpson, three chose the African American father, two chose the Hispanic father, and no boy chose the Anglo father. The boys felt the best fathers worried about their sons, spent time with them, allowed them to do whatever they wanted to do, and were generous. Important to Shredder was a father who was cool, caring, and funny. Important to Wrestler, Pocho, Superman and Wrestler were fathers who spent time with them, acted responsibly, and were not angry or mean. Pepe and PitBull had different opinions reflecting the pressure they felt to be tough and manly. To them fathers and sons, "hate, do pranks, and steal stuff together." When we talked with Rosa after this club session her words added insight:

Most Hispanic families are very traditional and they want their boys to be tough and manly. Fathers, especially, are like this. They don't want their sons to cry, wear bright colors such as pink, and they have a great fear of them becoming homosexuals. Some fathers include their sons in mafia or gang related activities. Most of the time boys feel they do not have a choice with the decisions their families make for them.

Asking boys to be tough causes them to grow up fast and the book we discussed helped us understand what this meant to the boys.

Fathers are Generous Men

Oscar Wilde's *The Happy Prince* (Grodin, 2006) tells the story of a fancy Prince statue overlooking his kingdom and becoming aware of the poverty and despair below. The Prince befriends a swallow that removes a ruby from his crown, gold paint from his body, and sapphires from his eyes to give to the needy people below. Their generosity comes at the expense of their own demise.

The number one generous man the boys knew was their father. Junior said his father was generous when he, "helped him with his homework". Shredder said his father was generous like the Happy Prince and because of this it has changed his life. When asked to draw a picture of a generous man, Shredder drew his father going off to work at a Mexican restaurant (with a Mexican flag outside) where he washes dishes. Soul said his Father was generous because he "gives all his money to his family and keeps only a little for himself sometime." Beside fathers, the boys also mentioned President Obama, Cesar Chavez, God, and Michael Jackson as generous men because they give things away and ask nothing in return. Pocho and Wrestler said generous men worked at their church and gave away food boxes at Christmas time.



The Boys in Our Club Read What They Enjoy

More Than Anything Else (Bradby, 1995) is a fictionalized account of the life of Booker T. Washington, an ex-slave who became a leader in the African-American community. Nine-year-old Booker did not go to school or learn to read because he worked from sunup to sundown in a salt mine. His real dream was to become literate and gain the knowledge books contain. Booker's dream seemed unattainable until he met a man, as brown as him, who taught him how to read.

More than Anything Else helped the boys understand perseverance as it related to themselves as readers. We used this book conversation and the *All About Me* survey to explain book and reading preferences. All 23 of the boys felt that reading was important and that they did read outside of school if they could, "read what they wanted to read." Typical boy preferences included comics to make them laugh, scary stories, and non-fiction books for facts. Superman and Wrestler especially liked books about UFOs and monsters "just in case they are real." PitBull liked books like *More than Anything Else* because Booker overcame obstacles and came out on top.

The boys knew reading was important. On our survey 12 of them felt positive personal connections to reading but 9 boys noted that when they read at home, it was typically alone. The other 11 boys relegated reading to times of boredom or unhappiness. 2Pac "never does and never will like to read."

Conclusions

The goal of our book club was to understand the reading passions and habits of the fourth grade Mexican boys in our club and how these were influenced by the contexts surrounding their lives. We also sought to know if our use of male characters displaying positive traits would allow us to gain insight into the boys' perceptions of these qualities and their own lives. Our theoretical frameworks, varied forms of data, and careful analysis allow us to make assertions that explain why *these* boys are struggling and how important literature is to their lives.

Our book club was situated in a school surrounded by generational poverty and a political storm that

picked up force in the early months of 2010. It took place in Phoenix, Arizona as SB 1070 was about to be signed, immigration sweeps were in the news, and sheltered immersion became a reality in schools. As researchers, we had an opportunity to witness first hand, the impact these actions and legislation had on young Mexican boys. Through literacy we discovered that even though the boys in our club were only in fourth grade, they were very aware of what was going on around them. Some of the boys marched against SB 1070 with their parents and all of the boys knew someone who had been affected by immigrant sweeps. Characters like Booker T. Washington and Jackie Robinson resonated with the boys and helped us understand that the boys in our club did not live in a world that was neutral or color-blind (Stevens & Stovall, 2010).

Living in a xenophobic society relegated the boys' caregivers to long hours in low paying jobs that left little time for them to read at home with their children. Generational poverty and literacy struggles are recursive and spread across our country but in Phoenix, Arizona they seem to be particularly harsh. The boys and their families did not live in a meritocracy. The boys faced adult-like problems and we can only conclude that these were not good for their literacy or language development (Bernard, 2004; Lee, 2010).

Our club was also nested in a classroom full of kindness and care. Rosa worked tirelessly. She reminded her students how lucky they were to be in the U.S. and have an opportunity to achieve the American dream. Rosa knew literacy was the way to do this and she worked very hard to help her students become literate. But not being able to teach in Spanish or use Spanish materials made her job very difficult. Even though the intent of English immersion may have been for the good of children it was obvious it was not working for *these* boys. The boys in our club were struggling with reading and writing so we had to use alternate activities that asked the boys to respond to texts through short segments of writing, discussion, and drawing. Instead of looking at worksheets, or tests the boys could not do, we discovered how clever, creative, and good they were. Like Booker T. Washington, Jackie Robinson, Philippe Petit, and The Happy Prince the boys in our club were persistent, tolerant, courageous, and generous. They were tolerant with us every Thursday when we came to their class to read and they were persistent as they worked on response activities.

The boys generously gave us their drawings, words, and stories and, as we analyzed these data sources, we came to understand how the systems surrounding their lives affected their literacy, language, and social-emotional development. Over time we came to realize just how courageous the boys in our club were. They faced media portrayals of illegal immigrants as thieves and drug lords and they were fearful of intolerant men who were ready to sweep their loved ones away. Through literacy we discovered that *these* boys were failing because the systems around them are just too harsh to nurture literacy development. If we want *these* boys to become literate, we need to work to remove xenophobia, provide systems of support for their families, lead them to literacy in ways that fit their needs, and simply listen to what they have to say. The field of literacy strives for scholarship, curriculum, and instruction that address diversity and equality but it overlooks how systems around certain groups allow them to develop the persistence and courage they need to become literate. The school experience of Mexican boys, like those in our club, is preparing them to become citizens, fathers, and workers who will embrace literacy and democracy or turn their backs on both (Garcia Bedolla, 2012). More research on the lived experience of these boys is needed.

Ecological systems surround children and seem to be recursive for Mexican boys. The 1946 *Mendez v. Westminster* case challenged the segregated schooling of Mexican and Mexican American students in California. The plaintiff's most enduring vision was that there would be educational equity for all children; that schools would treat every child with dignity and respect, and accommodate children's realities as much as they ask children to respect and accommodate the realities that schools pose (Cole, 2010). Yet, 65 years later Mexican boys, like the ones in our club, still attend schools isolated by poverty and need, are placed in segregated classrooms, and fail to receive the dignity and respect they need to become literate young men.

References

- Arizona Department of Education. (2013). Health and nutrition services: Percentage of free and reduced reports. Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov/health-nutrition/frpercentages/>
- Arizona Revised Statutes § 15-756.01 *Arizona English language learners task force; research based models of structured English immersion for English language learners; budget requests; definitions* (2008). Retrieved March 23, 2008 from <http://www.azleg.gov/FormatDocument.asp?format=print&inDoc=/legtext/48leg/2r/bills/hb2699p.htm>
- Arizona State Legislature. (2010a). *Text of Senate Bill 1070*. Phoenix: Author. Retrieved from www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/sb1070s.pdf
- Berliner, D. (2006). Our impoverished view of educational research. *Teachers College Record*, 108(6), 949-995.
- Benard, B. (2004). *Resiliency: What we have learned*. San Francisco, CA: WestEd.
- Bradby, M. (1995). *More than anything else*. New York, NY: Scholastic.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiment by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brozo, W. G. (2002). *To be a boy, to be a reader: Engaging teen and preteen boys in active literacy*. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Cole, M. (2010). What's culture got to do with it? Educational research as a necessarily interdisciplinary enterprise. *Educational Researcher*, 39(6), 461-470.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Garcia Bedolla, L. (2012). Latino education: Civic engagement, and the public good. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 23-42. doi: 10.3120/0091732X11422666
- Gerstein, M. (2003). *The man who walked between the towers*. New York, NY: Scholastic.
- Glasser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Golenbock, P. (1990). *Teammates*. New York, NY: Harcourt.
- Groden, E. (2006). *The happy prince*. Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear.
- Kincheloe, J. (2010). Beyond reductionism: Difference, criticality, and multilogicality in the bricolage and postformalism. In G. S. Goodman (Ed.), *Educational psychology reader the art and science of how people learn* (pp. 26-48). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Lee, C.D. (2010). Soaring above the clouds, delving the ocean's depths: Understanding the ecologies of human learning and the challenge for education science. *Educational Researcher*, (39)9, 643-655.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2009). *The condition of education*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/2010/section1/indicators.asp>
- Oakes, J. (2008). Keeping track: Structuring equality and inequity in an era of accountability. *Teachers College Record*, 110(3), 12-13.
- O'Connor, C., & DeLuca Fernandez, S. (2006). Race, class, and disproportionality: Reevaluating the relationship between poverty and special education placement. *Educational Researcher*, 35(6), 6-11.
- Payne, R. K., & Slocumb, P. D. (2011). *Boys in poverty: A framework for understanding dropout*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree.
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2009). *Latinos and education: Explaining the attainment gap*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2011). *The toll of the great recession: Childhood poverty among Hispanics sets record, leads nation*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Prior, P. (2010). Foreclosure Activity Slowing In The Hardest Hit Areas Of The Country. Retrieved from <http://www.nuwireinvestor.com/articles>
- Sadaker, D. M., & Zillteman, K. R. (2012). *Teachers, schools and society* (3rd edition). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Smith, M. W., & Wilhelm, J. D. (2009). Boys and literacy: Complexity and multiplicity. In L. Christenbury, R. Bomer & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent literacy* (pp. 360-371). New York, NY: Guilford.

- Stevens, L. P., & Stovall, D. O. (2010/2011). Critical literacy for xenophobia: A wake-up call. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 54(4), 295-298.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2008). *The politics of policy in boys' education: Getting boys right*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Zacher, J. C. (2008). Analyzing children's social positioning and struggles for recognition in a classroom literacy event. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 43(1), 12-41.
- Zambo D., & Brozo, W.G. (2009). *Bright beginnings for boys: Engaging young boys in active literacy*. Newark, DE: The International Reading Association.
- Zambo, D., & Hansen, C.C. (2010). Once upon a theory: Using picture books to help students understand educational psychology. In G.S. Goodman (Ed.), *Educational psychology reader: The art and science of how people learn*, (pp. 641-650). New York: Peter Lang.

Teachers' Memories of Schooling: The Sociocultural Injuries and the Mis-Education of Mexican Teachers in the Barrio

Lilliana P. Saldaña

University of Texas—San Antonio

Abstract

Relying on life history and memory as methodology, this essay unearths the memories of schooling of five Mexican American teachers at a dual-language school in San Antonio, locating their memories of trauma within the history of language oppression and cultural exclusion in U.S. public schools. In re(membering) their schooling experiences as working-class, Spanish-speaking, racialized students in San Antonio's segregated Westside, teachers pointed to schools as the source of their miseducation and trauma and framed these experiences within a shared history of institutionalized language oppression and educational inequality. *Historias*, semi-structured life history interviews, and *conocimiento*—reflexive and dialogical focus groups—reveal that teachers' memories of racialized cultural violence in schools are central to their personal and professional identity formation. As ethnic/race teachers with embodied knowledge of racialized cultural violence, they transform the culture of schooling for Mexican origin students as they move within the dialectic of domination and empowerment in their everyday teaching practices.

Introduction

[F]or Blacks, Chicanos/as, and Native Americans, memory allow us to resist and to heal: we know ourselves through the act of remembering. When we lose sight of who we are, when we lose touch, when we lose our minds, we find ourselves through remembering, through talking cures, which are reenactments of remembering. And memory becomes a thread that can bend, bind, and gather broken bits and pieces of ourselves (bell hooks in hooks & Mesa-Baines, 2006, p. 107-108).

This essay examines the memories of schooling by Mexican American teachers at Emma Tenayuca Elementary⁸, a dual-language school in San Antonio's Westside. Most teachers at Tenayuca entered elementary school as Spanish speakers during the 1950s and 1960s. Through semi-structured in-depth interviews that I call *historias* (oral histories), and a methodological process of *conocimiento* (coming to consciousness), participants shared the psychological and physical trauma of language oppression they experienced as working class, Mexican school children.⁹ Teachers recalled their memories of schooling during the *historias* and the *conocimiento*—many of which had been suppressed.¹⁰ Teachers framed these memories as part of the collective experience among Spanish-speaking Mexican barrio children in San Antonio's Westside. With that, they identified the “system,”

8. In my study, the school is named after Emma Tenayuca, a Chicana labor organizer from San Antonio who organized numerous labor unions and defended the rights of working-class Mexican women. A member of the Communist Party, she received many death threats and as a result, left to California where she pursued a teaching degree. She returned to San Antonio where she worked as a teacher for over two

9. Montejano (1987) argues that by the turn of the 20th century, Mexican people became racialized as an ethnic group. Regardless of their social class, nationality, or skin color, Mexicans became incorporated into a culture of segregation in rural and urban areas in Texas. Racial separation was an indispensable component in the creation of a racialized dual-wage economy where Mexicans became relegated to low wages, little to no schooling, and segregated in separate living quarters. As Mexicans left the rural areas and migrated to cities like San Antonio, schools continued to segregate Mexicans where they had to contend with racism, including language oppression, thus directly linking language violence to racism and class oppression.

10. Grounded in Freire's (1970) notions of critical dialogue and conscientization, where the teacher-student relationship is reciprocal, as well as Chicana feminist perspectives that privilege self-reflection in the production of knowledge, *conocimiento* is a method for understanding oneself in relation to others and with others (J. Méndez-Negrete, personal communication, October 8, 2006). The *conocimiento*, or process of awareness, started with an individual *conocimiento* survey, which included demographics, open and close-ended questions, and educational and work legacies that map the generational, sociohistorical and sociocultural experiences of teachers at the school. The *conocimiento* served as the means by which I designed the questions for the *historias* and the teacher *pláticas*.

that is, the ideological practices of K-6 public education, as the source of their trauma, academic failure, and internalized language, race, and class oppression.

In his historiographic analysis of the Mexican school system, Gonzalez (1997) posits that Americanization, as an assimilationist schooling campaign, lasted until the 1930s. However, teachers in this study point to its persistence in San Antonio public schools throughout their schooling. Through these assimilationist practices that stripped Mexicans of their language and culture in public schools, the majority of the teachers in this study experienced racialized cultural violence on a daily basis as Mexican, working class, Spanish-speaking children.¹¹ Many endured physical punishment for speaking Spanish, while others were forced to Anglicize their names to go along “with the mainstream,”¹² as one teacher said. Still, other teachers, particularly those of the 1980s generation, lack the recollections of their early schooling experiences as English language learners. Unlike the teachers who were schooled before the Civil Rights Era, teachers of this generation did not endure corporeal punishment for speaking Spanish. Identified as Spanish-dominant speakers, these teachers were placed in early-exit transitional programs aimed at assimilating students linguistically and culturally into the dominant language and culture of the nation. Like the ideological goals of the Mexican school system throughout the Southwest, San Antonio public schools did not “abandon the objective of assimilating Mexicans into the dominant culture” (p. 170).

In this essay, I rely on the teachers' memories of schooling—memories that evoke anger and pain, as well as emotional healing, to explore the insight they carry about this kind of racialized cultural violence and how this has shaped their personal and professional lives as children, students, parents, and ultimately as teachers, illuminating the dialectic between domination and empowerment. While many experienced racialized cultural violence in their individual psyches, they spoke about this as a historical and collective trauma endured by *mexicano* children in the barrio. In this article, I unearth teachers' memories of schooling and analyze the ways in which their memories of schooling, particularly the racialized cultural violence, mis-education, and everyday microaggressions, they experienced in school, frame their personal and social identities as barrio teachers.

The Language Oppression and Mis-education of Mexicans in U.S. Schools

In U.S. schools, Mexicans and Mexican Americans have endured a history of language oppression and mis-education. In *Mexicans and Anglos in the making of Texas, 1836-1986*, Chicano historian, David Montejano (1987) argues that the mis-education of Mexicans in Texas, including language oppression and segregation, is founded in the racial and class formation of the state. Following the Mexican American War (1846-1848), in which the U.S. appropriated and colonized half of Mexico's national territory, Mexican and Mexican Americans lost their lands and became segmented into a racialized dual-wage economy as landless *peones*. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 and the territorial annexation of the Southwest, Mexicans had to learn their place as second-class citizens of the nascent nation-state. The denial of their language was the first step of exclusion.

The Hegemony of English in Segregated Mexican Schools

With U.S. incorporation of the Southwest, states like Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas institutionalized “English only” policies (Montejano, 1987; Valencia, 2002). In Texas, this meant that Mexicans often endured corporal punishment, school fines, and “Spanish detention classes” for speaking Spanish

11. I extend on Freire's (1970) concept of cultural invasion, where the “invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression” (p. 152). Within the context of colonialism and neocolonialism, this form of cultural invasion and cultural imposition, as Freire posits, is a form of violence as those who are invaded “lose their originality or face the threat of losing it.” In this article, I use the term “racialized cultural violence” to point to the ways in which members of the dominant culture racialized Mexicans as inferior to Anglos, subjecting them to physical violence, as well as cultural violence, deriding their worldview, inhibiting their way of life, and prohibiting the use of the Spanish in the public space. Language oppression is one form of cultural violence, where the dominant group prohibits, silences, or punishes those who speak a non-dominant language.

12. Past research by scholars like Concha Delgado-Gaitan (2001) and Cummins (1989) have examined language loss in the context of assimilationist educational policies and practices.

in school. These language restriction policies were often anchored in the racist and hegemonic ideology of Americanization, an ideology that was based on the assumption that immigrants and people of color had to discard their culture of origin to be recognized as authentic cultural citizens. Unlike the experience of European immigrants who were able to “melt” into dominant U.S. culture, as a racialized group, Mexicans could not assimilate. Gilbert Gonzalez (1997) describes the Americanization of Mexicans as the “political socialization and acculturation of the Mexican community, as well as, ironically, the maintenance of those social and economic relations existing between Anglos and Mexicans” (p. 158).

Americanization, Gonzalez (1997) argues, became the main goal of schooling during the era of segregation. As a pedagogical practice, Americanization projects in schools involved the “elimination of linguistic and cultural differences, but of an entire culture that assimilation advocates deemed undesirable” (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 163). According to Gonzalez, educators promoted activities that enforced white, middle-class values and ideals that would make Mexicans as “American” as possible. Moreover, proponents of Americanization programs often “reinforce[d] the stereotypes of Mexicans as dirty, shiftless, lazy, irresponsible, unambitious, shiftless, fatalistic, selfish, promiscuous, and prone to drinking, violence, and criminal behavior” (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 163). Through this ideology, Mexican children learned that their cultural customs, language, family, and community were undesirable traits and barriers to academic success. The assumption was that Mexican children were culturally inferior and came to school with limited intellectual knowledge and skills. This ideology was woven into everyday classroom learning. In sum, Americanization was an oppressive curriculum that reproduced an ideology of white supremacy and Mexican inferiority (Gonzalez, 1997; for a discussion on the intersections of race and class in Mexican and Anglo schooling, see Montejano, 1987).

In Texas, Americanization took place in the rural and urban segregated school system. In the rural areas, the Anglo power structure—which included large farm owners, local authorities, and state policymakers—created Mexican schools to maintain a subordinated, uneducated, and racialized work force. The sharp, racial separation between Mexicans and Anglos in schools was “rationalized on the grounds that it was necessary in order to provide effective remedial instruction in English to students who were ‘language handicapped’ ” (Cummins, 1989, p. 9). Many English-speaking students were placed in remedial instruction simply because of their Spanish surnames. Dolores Delgado Bernal (2001) argues that these language-based segregationist policies became “a social philosophy and a political tool used by local and state officials to justify school segregation and to maintain a colonized relationship between Mexicans and the dominant society” (p. 261). Similarly, social historians like Acuña (2000) and Montejano (1987) argue that the Anglo power structure created the Mexican school system to keep Mexicans politically, socially, and economically subordinated, keeping them tied to commercial farm interests during the era of Jim Crow segregation.

Throughout the Southwest, Mexican families and communities challenged segregated schooling. In 1931, parents of 75 Chicano students in Lemon Grove, California, refused to send their children to a segregated Mexican school. The school board justified this segregation, claiming that the district was “[helping] Mexicans learn English” (Acuña, 2004, p. 234; see also Delgado Bernal, 2001). Parents organized a committee, sued the school district, and won. Chicanos continued to contest segregated schooling on the basis of language. In 1946, with *Méndez v. Westminster School District* case, the U.S. District Court in California decreed that the segregation of Mexican children was unconstitutional and that neither language nor race could be used to justify segregated schooling (Acuña, 2004; Delgado Bernal, 2001). A year later, in *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District*, the Western District of Texas also found that segregated schooling violated Mexican children’s rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, ruling that this was unconstitutional. These cases preceded *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954 (Acuña 2004), creating a movement that “would expand in later decades to include not only the desegregation of Mexican schools as a means to equal education but also the need to restructure curriculums to account for the bilingual, bicultural traditions of Mexican Americans” (Garcia, 1989, p. 83).

The Chicano Civil Rights Movement and the Affirmation of Cultural Rights

While cases like *Méndez v. Westminster School District* (1946) and *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1947) found segregated schooling unconstitutional, Mexicans continued to contest language oppression

and cultural exclusion in everyday curricular practices. A case in point is that of Crystal City, Texas, where Chicano activists, teachers, and families, pushed for bilingual-bicultural education as a way of dismantling the Anglo power structure that had kept Mexicans politically and economically subjugated since the Mexican American War in which the U.S. annexed Texas and other parts of the Southwest (Trujillo, 1998). Self-determination and community empowerment and the cry for Chicano political representation in the school board yielded a cultural revitalization movement to preserve the Spanish language and teach Chicano culture and history in local schools.

Although the inclusion of Mexican American history and culture never came to pass, Mexican American educators continued to call for and support the implementation of bilingual education because it “purported to use a pedagogically sound, language-based approach which led to increased educational achievement and higher self-concept among language minority children” (Cummins, 1989, p. 193). It is important to note that the bilingual education programs that were implemented during this time were couched in a deficit ideological discourse in which poverty programs were created for the “educationally disadvantaged.” Bilingual education programs were not necessarily intended to maintain students’ heritage language or to produce bilingual and biliterate students. Instead of seeing students’ home language as a resource and strength, these policies promoted notions of other-language speakers as a disability. Bilingual education policy made it clear that a student’s native language could only be used to the extent necessary for a child to achieve competence in the English language. As such, the government favored programs that transitioned students into mainstream classrooms. In practice, there were very few opportunities to incorporate students’ home language and culture in the classroom.

The History of Bilingual Education Policy after *El Movimiento*

With the implementation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the federal government encouraged local districts to incorporate native language with the purpose of transitioning students into an all-English learning classroom. While the government provided funding for incorporating native language instruction, it did not offer a specific model to promote student learning among linguistically diverse students (Crawford, 1999). In 1974, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that school districts were responsible for educating linguistically diverse students in their native language, recognizing that equal education for linguistically diverse students involved native language instruction and that “equal is not the same.” Through *Lau versus Nichols*, the U.S. Supreme Court argued that treating everyone the same did not lead to equality and ruled that schools that did not offer linguistically diverse students with an education in their own language were violating the students’ civil rights (Acuña, 2004; Nieto, 2004; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). The *Lau versus Nichols* thus expanded bilingual education, as the *Lau* remedies “provided guidance in identifying students with a limited proficiency in English, assessing their language abilities and providing appropriate programs” (Nieto, p. 223).

In the 1980s, bilingual education came under attack by conservative educators and government officials including Secretary of Education William Bennett who argued that “limited English proficient” students had not benefited from the Bilingual Education Act (Crawford, 1999). As such, the federal government reduced federal funding for bilingual education, even when the number of English language learners increased in states like California. The U.S. government placed a three-year limit for funding students in bilingual education programs, requiring schools to mainstream English language learners in three years as part of its assimilationist agenda (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003).

Under the administration of President Clinton, in 1994 Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was modified to provide “educators with the flexibility to implement and expand programs that built upon the strengths of linguistically and culturally diverse students” (U.S. Department of Bilingual Education). In 2002, under Bush’s No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the Bilingual Education Act “expired quietly,” replacing it with English Acquisition Act which stressed English language skills and solely funded programs that 1) rapidly mainstreamed English language learners to English language classrooms and 2) reclassified students as English dominant speakers (Crawford, 2002).

Still, despite this anti-bilingualism context, some schools, inspired by Canada’s success with its immersion bilingual education in the 1960s, have implemented two-way or dual language programs to promote academic gains and linguistic and cultural enrichment among bilingual students (Crawford, 1999; Ovando, Collier, &

Combs, 2003). This approach has an equal number of “language minority” students who speak a language other than English, and language “majority” students, who are English heritage speaker in the same classroom. In the 90-10 model of the two-way or dual-language program, 90% of the instruction is in the “minority” language (i.e. Spanish), with 10% in the “majority” language (English) beginning in kindergarten. The majority language then gradually increases with each grade level until the 5th grade, when curriculum and instruction is offered in both languages (Baker, 1997; Crawford, 1999; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Based on a pluralistic ideology, this program aims to produce biliterate and bilingual students, as well as multicultural attitudes. Research studies on dual language programs show a strong correlation between bilingualism and academic achievement (Crawford, 1999).

In the mid 1990s, abolishing an early-exit “bilingual” model, Emma Tenayuca School implemented a dual-language program. This was the result of a university-community partnership that prepared the bilingual teachers within an additive language philosophy and practice. Bilingual teachers, many who completed graduate studies in dual-language education, support this program because it is “designed to eliminate the academic achievement gap for English language learners and Hispanic children. The program develops bilingualism and biliteracy in English and Spanish in classrooms, where English language learners and English speakers are integrated” (Emma Tenayuca Elementary, *Two languages...A world of opportunity*, p. 1, 2006). It is within the sociohistorical and political context of language oppression and language rights that I examine and locate teachers' memories of schooling as sources of healing and praxis, since many of the teachers experienced physical and psychological trauma from assimilationist practices in Mexican, working-class, Spanish speaking schools. I begin with Juanita Martinez, a third grade dual-language teacher who has been at Emma Tenayuca for 35 years, longer than any other teacher at the school. Interestingly, she is also one of two teachers at Tenayuca to have attended this school as a child.

Memories of Racialized Cultural Violence in the Barrio

Juanita Martinez, who also goes by Janie Martinez, is a third-generation Mexican American woman in her late fifties. Her grandparents immigrated to San Antonio, Texas, from Mexico. Without formal education, her grandfathers worked as carpenters and plumbers and supplemented their wages as migrant workers, bringing along their wives and children to work the fields. Without any education, her father worked as a gas station attendant, while her mother, who had some primary education, worked as a waitress. Like her parents and grandparents, Martinez grew up on San Antonio's Westside and learned Spanish as her first language. She is the first in her family to complete primary and secondary education, pursue higher education, and obtain professional employment as a bilingual education teacher.

From Denial of Language and Dehumanization to Language Empowerment

Martinez attended Tenayuca Elementary in the late 1950s when the main objective of instruction was Americanization. Like others of her generation, their memories of schooling are connected to the collective history of language oppression and cultural violence experienced by Mexicans. She entered the first grade as a Spanish dominant speaker. Martinez' first three years in elementary school were “really rough.” Speaking about her schooling experience at Tenayuca Elementary, she recalls: “I cringe when I think about elementary school...I had very, very bad experiences here...it's not something I like to think about.” She continues by describing an incident in which her teacher hit her for requesting to use the bathroom in Spanish. When she tells me about this, her voice quivers. As she attempts to hold back her tears, she adds, “Imagine being hit for wanting to go to the bathroom!” Not only was she physically punished for speaking Spanish, Martinez also had to endure the discipline and control of the body as her teacher imposed English as the language of schooling. The violence she experienced for speaking Spanish is only softened by Martinez' recollection of her mother's encouragement for her to persevere and excel in her studies despite the physical and psychological trauma. “My mom always said, *‘Mijita, haz todo lo que puedas—do all you can.’*”

This type of sociocultural muting over time shaped Martinez to become “shy and reserved” as a result

of “not being able to speak English and not being allowed to speak Spanish.” After being punished so many times for speaking Spanish, before long, Martinez “refused to speak it after learning to speak English in school.” Despite these oppressive experiences, Martinez opted to teach at Emma Tenayuca Elementary where she has taught for over three decades, with the objective to create an empowering educational experience for Mexican American students in her community.

Because of the linguistic trauma she survived, Martinez became an active supporter of bilingual instruction in her school. When the school implemented the dual-language program in the mid-1990s, she supported the program’s goal of producing bilingual and biliterate children who were not ashamed of speaking Spanish or identifying as Mexicans. This was her way of giving back and redressing the damages done to her. However, this has not been an easy process. The injuries of language carried over into her daily professional life, initially establishing language boundaries to ensure she only spoke Spanish in the classroom, fearing that at any moment her colleagues would hit her over the head or criticize her language abilities.

As a working-class, Spanish-speaking, Mexican American woman, these traumatic schooling experiences shaped her personal and social identity. Describing her path, Martinez remembered how she had once rejected Spanish and racialized signifiers associated with being Mexican. As a child and adolescent, “I didn’t want to speak Spanish... I didn’t want to dress like a *mexicana*.” By the time she was in college, she had already internalized the institutional racism that forced her to shed the Spanish language. During her college years, she made every effort to shed all that marked her a Mexican, expressing that her ethnicity had become a source of shame. When she graduated with her bachelor’s degree at the age of twenty-two, Martinez demanded that the university write “Janie” on her diploma rather than “Juanita.” This is a story she had never told anyone. It was not until she participated in a *conocimiento plática* with other teachers at the school—thirty-five years after that experience—that she voiced her *papelito guardado*. In their book, *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios* (Latina Feminist Group, 2001), the authors refer to *papelitos guardados* as hidden writing pieces that speak to the multiple forms of oppression they have experienced as women of color inside and outside of the academy. I use this term metaphorically so as to speak about the personal and institutional injuries that are kept as secrets by those who survive social and cultural violence in schools. The racialized cultural violence not only led her to Anglicize her name in college, she also made the conscious decision to only speak English to her children as a way of protecting them from the trauma she experienced.

While working at Tenayuca Elementary’s early-exit bilingual program, Martinez did not teach her children to speak Spanish, a decision she regrets today. Placing the onus on her own personal loss, she offered: “I regret that there was so much that I could’ve learned, so many of the holidays I could have attended or taken part in and take for myself and taught my [children] that I didn’t. I didn’t want my kids speaking Spanish...” to protect them from “what I went through.” Through the retelling of her life history and sharing and reflecting on these memories, Martinez has come to a greater awareness of the ways in which she internalized the racialized cultural violence as a child, as adolescent, and as young adult. In retrospect, Martinez thinks about it differently. “Now, I wish I had kept my language...I forgot it because when I was younger, I didn’t want to speak [Spanish].” That is precisely the reason why, despite the language oppression and cultural loss, Martinez sought employment at Tenayuca after graduating from college—it was her desire to change the schooling experiences of Spanish-speaking barrio school children. While she taught some Spanish within the school’s early-exit bilingual program, she supported a university-community partnership to implement a dual-language program, the first of its kind in the community. Unlike the early-exit bilingual model, which aims to transition students into English language instruction, the dual-language model values students’ linguistic and cultural knowledge and promotes bilingualism and biliteracy. Like Martinez, second-grade dual-language teacher, Graciela Linares, also supported the program to create an enriched educational experience for students.

Transnationalism as Language Validation and Language Practice

Linares, a third generation Mexican American who grew up in San Antonio’s Westside, learned Spanish as her first language. Her maternal grandparents worked as self-sustaining farmers in Mexico before immigrating to Texas, where her grandfather died unexpectedly. As a single parent during the Depression, her grandmother

sewed and cooked outside the home, and often pulled resources with other women in the family, to make a living amidst poverty. With only a third grade education, Linares' mother helped raise her siblings in the United States and made the best out of their poverty-stricken circumstances. "I think my mom had a Ph.D. in life," she adds. She emphasizes that from a very young age, these stories of survival taught Linares about her "humble beginnings" and reminded her "not to forget where [she] came from." In addition, she often traveled to her family's rancho in Mexico as a child, experiences which affirmed her cultural identity as a *mexicana*.

Even though her father spoke English, Linares grew up speaking Spanish as her first language. Like colleagues of her generation, she remembers the teachers hitting students on the hand with a ruler and pinching their cheeks for speaking Spanish. Her brother also endured language oppression, but her younger sister, who passed as a "little Anglo girl," because of lighter complexion, did not experience similar nuances of racism. Color privilege protected her sister from the injuries siblings experienced in school.

In addition to being linguistically subtracted from her first language, Linares also learned English within an Americanization model, "repeatedly reading much about Dick, Jane and their dog." Within the context of the poor, working-class, Spanish speaking schools of the Westside, the Dick and Jane readers, which portrayed the idyllic life of White, middle-class children, were intended to instruct children in English, but also to socialize them into a culture of whiteness. As Gilbert Gonzalez (1997) notes, "the objective [of Americanization] was to transform the Mexican community into an English-speaking and American-thinking community" (p. 163). While Linares does not remember exactly how she learned English, she was determined to learn it and resist school failure. She adds:

I wasn't going to let these people—the system—not let me learn. So as I started getting a little older, third, fourth, and fifth grades, I told myself, "I'm going to learn this and learn it to understand it, not just to mimic it." I actually wanted to learn and understand what we were doing.

Linares recognized the consequences of not learning the dominant language at an early age and resisted academic exclusion at a time when schools systematically failed Mexican students (Valencia, 20002). She survived the "sink" or "swim" English language approach, transitioning to English by third grade. Unlike Martinez, who refused to identify as Mexican, Linares drew from her cultural knowledge in the barrio to forge a positive ethnic identity, bridging her frequent trips to Mexico as a child to reinforce her cultural citizenship as a U.S.-born *mexicana*. As a bordercrosser, she learned to navigate multiple cultural codes in the Westside barrio and in her family's rancho. Her classroom motto, a reflection of her lived experiences: "You can't know where you're going, unless you know where you come from," evidences a philosophy she nurtures in her classroom so that her students are not ashamed of identifying as Mexican, working class, and Spanish-speaking. Despite the racialized cultural violence she and other barrio teachers experienced in barrio schools, Linares' cultural ties to Mexico provided her with the sustenance to overcome language oppression and Americanization as a student, and the epistemological foundation to bridge academic and community knowledge as a teacher in her everyday teaching at Tenayuca Elementary.

The Trauma of Schooling in Americanization and Language Loss

Tomas Huerta, a first grade general education teacher in his mid-fifties, also experienced similar schooling as Janie Martinez and Graciela Linares, but unlike his bilingual education colleagues, he privileges English-language and the middle class life of Americanization in instruction, despite their collective histories of language oppression and cultural violence he has in common with his colleagues. Huerta is an immigrant from Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, who came to San Antonio's Westside at the age of six. His mother was a stay-at-home mom, while his father worked as a carpenter, laborer, and steel worker until he secured a position as a manager at a fast food franchise. This provided Huerta's family with social status, which took him out of the housing projects to a small, modest home in the neighborhood. "We did move up going from the projects to our own home ... it made a big difference ... even though we were still poor, we had a bed, a TV, sofas, a refrigerator—things we didn't have before." Huerta's family and he continued to frequent Mexico every weekend, maintaining connections

with their roots. However, as a teenager, he preferred to hang out with his neighborhood friends, and his father, who had responsibilities as a manager and worked weekends and longer hours, limited his visits to Mexico. With fewer ties to Mexico, it was then that Huerta “started to become assimilated here.”

Like Martinez and Linares, Huerta's experience at school was traumatic. Huerta attended various public schools in the Westside where he contended with the injuries of language oppression. Huerta recalls the collective experience of language oppression in elementary school, where teachers physically punished him and his peers for speaking Spanish. “We were either hit, spanked ... on the calves, on the palm of your hands, you know [shows me], behind your hands.” Also, “they would ask us to kneel down in the corner with books in our hands and I remember and I think that was really traumatic.” According to him, his schooling experiences “had a big impact psychologically” and academically (Valenzuela, 1999). Like the Latino students that Angela Valenzuela (1998) writes about, Huerta attended schools that divested him and other students of color from their cultural knowledge, marginalizing them from the school culture and the process of learning. Huerta has become aware that his subtractive schooling experiences have shaped his personal and social identity as a teacher.

As a result of the teaching practices he experienced as a student, Huerta developed anxiety towards academics—he was afraid of asking questions, he feared the consequences of not knowing, and amassed a “mental block” about learning. He adds,

I couldn't read. I couldn't spell. I was afraid. And it stayed with me the rest of my life. And, it's not that I was dumb or anything. It's just that the teachers just put this fear into me that I was afraid every time we'd go to reading . . . I was already panicking, [feeling] like ‘What's the next page. How do I do the reading?’ I was just terrified. I was just terrified.

He still carries the trauma of those times. To this day, Huerta sees himself as a “terrible speller” because of his experiences as a second language learner of English. In addition, during our *pláticas*, he often described himself as “not very articulate” like his colleagues who readily shared their ideas and concerns at faculty meetings; he often remained quiet and rarely spoke when in a group or public situation. I was rather surprised to hear him say this. Every time I observed his classroom, he expressed himself quite eloquently and demonstrated a panaché for storytelling. However, I did notice that while he attended all of the faculty meetings, he seldom said a word, keeping to himself.

Initially, I attributed his detachment as disinterest. However, with time I understood his silence at meetings and his self-perception as “not very articulate” as sources of trauma. Given the physical and emotional repercussions of his schooling, Huerta told me that he developed a profound anger as a student. Through our interviews, he has verbalized awareness that the injuries were in his “sub-conscious mind.”

[The injuries were] Always there . . . why I did certain things, why I acted a certain way—and it was all due because of that. Because my parents didn't know any better. *También*, they didn't speak any English at all . . . so they really didn't know how to handle it. They were just happy that we were in the United States and I was going to school. But they didn't realize what I was going through.

Huerta's schooling years gnawed at his self-concept. In Huerta's own words, he was “emotionally and psychologically destroyed or eaten up.” Moreover, he adds that, “the teachers were really rough on us...they were really hard times and not just me, but on anyone who didn't speak English. So that was real hard on me.”

Unlike his dual-language colleagues, Huerta promotes English-first in his personal and professional life. As a father, he became “adamant about [his] kids not being in a bilingual program, telling them, ‘you're gonna learn English. You're gonna go [to an English classroom] because everything you do is gonna be in English.’” At one of the faculty meetings, one of Huerta's colleagues reflected on their schooling experiences, stating that they spoke English at the expense of Spanish because of what happened to them as children. After hearing his colleagues share their ideas he told me that,

It just clicked. And how naïve of me not to have seen all of this . . . I was kinda taken aback because I

said, 'My God . . . how simple. The answer was so simple and I never saw the forest for the tree in front of my face . . . And that's why basically, that's why I feel the way I do or felt the way I did, the way, 'Well, my kids aren't going to a bilingual classroom. They're gonna learn English. That's all they're gonna do.'

As a result of language trauma, Huerta made a conscious decision to privilege English as the language of learning. However, he only became aware of his decision, listening to other faculty members speak about the legacy of language oppression and the cultural violence that they experienced. This offered Huerta a critical lens to reflect on his own lived experiences with language oppression. Huerta's evolving consciousness emerges as he interacts with his community of practice, as he reflects on how his schooling experiences shaped his parenting and his pedagogical beliefs and practices.

The memories of schooling offered by Martinez, Linares, and Huerta give insight to the ways in which the process of remembering is more than the recollection of past experiences. As teachers like Huerta and Martinez unearth the past, they articulate an awareness of the ways in which public schools fractured their cultural identities and shaped their personal and social identities. In voicing their race, class, and language experiences in school, these teachers came to a greater awareness of how schooling, as a process of linguistic violence and cultural loss, inscribed their academic success, ethnic and racial identity formation, and self-concept as Mexican working class Spanish speaking barrio students. For example, Martinez became aware of internalizing race oppression as a result of the linguistic violence she experienced at Tenayuca Elementary School. As a result, she disassociated herself from the Spanish language and other ethnic/racial markers to conform to Anglo society because it marked her inferior as a Mexican (Montejano, 1987). As Huerta became "subtracted" of his language, he performed poorly in school. As he traveled less to Mexico, he identified less and less with Mexico, and more as an "Americanized" Mexican. Linares, who also experienced linguistic violence and a mainstream curriculum in school, embraced the Spanish language and Mexican culture. She learned English as a way of resisting academic failure and learned to navigate multiple cultural and geographic spaces inside and outside the barrio, asserting her right to learn the language of her everyday discourses as she maintained her Spanish language abilities.

Memories of Learning within a Culture of Low Expectations

With the exception of Carolina Rubio, who attended a prestigious public university in the Midwest, all teachers I interviewed grew up in racially and class segregated working class barrios and attended schools that tracked Mexican students to pursue vocational employment, regardless of whether or not they excelled in their studies. All were schooled inside a culture of low expectations. For example, Huerta's teachers did not expect him or his peers to graduate from high school much less pursue a college degree. "We were expected to go to trade school. 'You're gonna be a mechanic. You're gonna be a plumber . . . a carpenter . . . that's what it was . . . but not to go to college; oh, no way!'"

Reminiscent of Jim Crow culture in rural schools, where Anglo farmers and politicians mis-educated Mexicans, urban schools relegated Mexican students to a racialized dual-wage economy, where they continued to work in low-status and low-paying employment (Montejano, 1987). In writing about the experience of urbanized Mexicans before World War II, Montejano notes, "the urban situation for the majority of Mexicans was not vastly different from that found in the rural areas, in spite of some concessions.... 'Urbanization' merely signified the geographic expansion of segregation" (p. 265). Like Huerta the majority of Mexican students were not expected to attain a higher education and were systematically funneled into vocational tracks to reproduce the existing race and class arrangements (Montejano, 1987; and Valencia, 2000).

Mis-education through the Discipline of Sports

Huerta suffered academically throughout his primary and secondary education. In elementary school, he began to play baseball and by middle school he had decided to play semi-professionally. Still, he recalled that, "No one told me I couldn't play in college unless I did good." With regret in his voice over what could have been, he said, "No one ever pulled me aside, guided, and directed me or told me, 'Look, if you don't study, educate

yourself, all this athletic ability you have is not going to do you any good.” Even though his coach “helped [him] develop as a player,” by encouraging him to become the best player, “the academic part was never there, not from the counselors, not from the coaches, except from Dr. Valdez,” his former seventh grade teacher who encouraged him to go to college. He continues, “No one was there for *mexicanos*. There was no one to tell *mexicanos*, ‘Don’t be *pendejos* [dumb].’ Do well in school. If not, you can’t play.” Throughout our *pláticas*, Huerta criticized the school system for failing him academically. Still, while he believes that he did not become a professional baseball player because of his low academic record, Huerta offers that he was not destined to become a professional sports player. Instead, he is confident he was destined to become a teacher so that he could make a difference in the lives of Mexican American students through English language instruction.

Scholarship *Mexicanos* and their Self-Made Trajectory

Graciela Linares also experienced low expectations in Westside schools, despite her good grades and leadership. In high school, Linares played in band, maintained satisfactory grades, and became involved in student council. However, teachers and the administration overlooked her potential to further her education. “The biggest deficit or shortcoming of the school administration was [that they held on to that] ‘I-don’t- think-you’re-going-to-college mentality.’” As she states,

There were only a few handful, a dozen [students] that counselors spoke to all the time, and said ‘You’re going to college.’ I wasn’t on that list. And, not just me, but I felt others were being oppressed and discriminated against, ignored ...

Displaying the resentment of being overlooked, she added, “No one ever talked to me about going to [college], bettering my life, being successful. I did well in school . . . no one ever explained these things to me . . . I just felt ignored.” Because she lacked the social capital the school values, she was treated differently from those who were identified as college bound. Linares also recalls that as a high school student, she became aware of the ways in which schooling shaped her peers’ identity, particularly those who excelled in their studies. She recalled:

The students who were the elite, were very Americanized in their mannerism. I would eat bean tacos for lunch and they were like ‘Ugh!’ So, their ways had changed ...their mannerisms and their way of thinking. And maybe because of their parents they were socialized that way. At home, we had *fideo* [vermicelli] and beans...but you could tell the difference between the elite students and those of us who were ignored because we were still eating beans.

Linares associated poverty and economic class status to her academic neglect. She adds, “I probably didn’t have those thoughts when I was in high school, but as I’ve grown, matured, and experienced, I’ve realized that.” In other words, as a more class and race conscious educator, Linares has become aware of how these “elite” students enacted their race and class privilege and sense of superiority over their working-class peers. In order to succeed, they disassociated from anything Mexican, including eating food that marked them as working class.

Attending high school in the late 1960s, Ismael Balderrama spoke about not being encouraged to pursue higher education, even though he ranked high in his graduating class and participated in his school’s band, where he developed a life long love for music. With limited possibilities of going to college, he contemplated joining the army. His high school, which had an army office to recruit young men into the Vietnam War, “made it so easy to enlist.” However, rather than follow that path, he took his family’s advice and enrolled in a community college where “there were very few *mexicanos* [Mexicans].” Telling me about the way he saw his educational preparation, he adds, “I wasn’t smart enough to have anybody tell me to apply for a scholarship. I didn’t know that. I graduated tenth out of 300, but I never applied for a scholarship. I wasn’t planning on going to college.” The education system failed Balderrama and Linares even though they excelled in school, reflecting the pervasive structural inequality that Mexicans face in public schools (Valencia, 2000).

He also remembers the 1968 walkouts, where he and other students in the Edgewood Independent

School District protested the inequitable conditions. This walkout launched the *Rodriguez versus San Antonio Independent School District* case, one of the most important school finance reform cases in the country. This lawsuit is considered a Chicano civil rights landmark case that went to the Supreme Court in 1972 (Acuña 2001; Kozol, 1992). Balderrama remembers, "I was a freshman so I didn't know what the hell was going on, but everybody walked out of the school and I said, 'Hey, get outta class!'" While he adds that, "I didn't know what the hell was going on," his narrative suggests that this is when he started to interrogate the quality of education, availing a glimpse into the educational inequality in his community.

I joined the walk out . . . we marched down to the central office . . . I didn't know what we were protesting, but we wanted the same opportunities everybody else had. And things were bad in Edgewood. The school was broken down—the windows were broken—missing equipment, not enough books. It wasn't that good. There were a lot of things that were wrong. We needed money, but we didn't have the money in the community . . . that's the way it was.

His re-telling of the story suggests that even though he claims to not have been "politically knowledgeable" and that he "didn't know what we were doing," Balderrama was aware of the structural inequalities and the ongoing struggle for educational justice in his community. He recognized that "there were a lot of things that were wrong" because he lived inside the educational inequality and poverty of his barrio.

The memories of schooling by Linares, Huerta, and Balderrama give insight to the ways in which these teachers understand the culture of schooling as a system of social reproduction in working-class, barrio schools where Mexican children were academically neglected, even when they were stellar students in their community. Their memories of schooling are inscribed in their everyday teaching as they teach within a culture of high expectations where college is an attainable, if not expected goal for their students. For example, Huerta became aware of the culture of low expectations for barrio children as a result of the lack of encouragement to do well academically. As a result, he was not able to pursue higher education right after high school, even though he was a star athlete, but instead enlisted in the army to serve in the Vietnam War. Linares and Balderrama were both in band and were ranked high in their class. However, neither were encouraged to pursue higher education, leaving them to struggle. Linares worked as a secretary after high school, while Balderrama enrolled in a community college. Their memories serve as sites of knowledge as they theorize barrio schooling, as well as sites of resistance as they create a culture of high expectations for their students at Tenayuca Elementary.

"Catching Up" – Speaking Out Against Educational Inequality in Barrio Schools

Teachers' *historias* of language oppression, cultural violence, negligence, and the structural inequalities they faced in their schools (from funding to curricular materials), experienced in Mexican barrio schools evoked anger, resentment, confusion, and tension. Like the teachers, these were emotions that I had learned to carefully negotiate, if not dismiss, in my formation as a *mexicana* working class scholarship girl. As a second-generation working class Mexican female in the U.S., I was an outsider to the culture of academia. Like the teachers in this study, their narratives become a mirror for viewing our common catching up experiences. I knew what it was like to "catch up" and negotiate a new culture—its practices, ideologies, and cultural expectations—as a first-generation college educated Chicana.

With the exception of one teacher, the participants in this study are first generation college-educated. When Balderrama enrolled in a community college in San Antonio, he thought, "I can't compete with these people." But, later he found out, "Hey, these *bolillos* [Anglos] aren't that smart. I'm smarter than they.' So, it was okay. Even though I didn't have the same opportunities, I learned a lot in college and I was able to catch up." College was a new cultural and psychological environment for Balderrama. Being new to the culture of academia, he asserts,

What was difficult was that I didn't have nobody to look up to that had been to college so I couldn't ask anybody any questions like 'What was it like?' or 'What's it gonna be like?' I had no idea what it was going to be like. I didn't even know if I could make it in college, but I did . . . it's a big step for me, from the Westside to

becoming a teacher because I didn't start off with a lot of opportunities that a lot of people do.

When he says that he went “from the Westside to becoming a teacher,” he is not only speaking about being an outsider to academia but also to the privilege of having become part of the middle-class culture, as a first-generation college educated Mexican American from a working class background.

Huerta also learned the extent of his mis-education in college, an experience he was able to access through the support of his seventh grade teacher who continued to mentor him. Also, from the support of his college professors, and long hours of day and night school, Huerta succeeded in his coursework and earned a bachelor's in education. He was the first in his family to obtain a college degree, although Tomas Huerta had to enroll in day school, night school and summer school for four consecutive years to “catch up” and finish his degree like “the normal kids.” With little academic preparation, Huerta became aware of the inequitable education he had obtained in predominantly Mexican public schools. His first year in college was very difficult. “I thought, ‘I can't be any more of an idiot.’ They were up here [points up to his head] and I was down here [points to the ground]” academically. He felt “very, very embarrassed” about his abilities in college. He continues,

I wanted to hide. I couldn't talk like the rest of the kids that came from Alamo Heights, the Northside, whose families were very well off. I mean my oral language was terrible. My vocabulary was at the bottom of the barrel. And I heard these people talk and I couldn't understand what they were saying.

One of his professors made the commitment to work with Huerta if he did his part, which he did by meeting with him before and after class started. This professor taught him writing skills, such as looking up words in the thesaurus and how to write essays—skills that many of his peers already had in college. Throughout the first year, Huerta worked hard at playing catch up, learning “what I didn't learn in four years in high school.” His other professor offered constant motivation, always telling him, “Come on Tomas, you can do it.” He describes these professors as teachers who “understood what we had gone through, coming back from Vietnam, where we came from [the community], the schools, Edgewood. They knew what was going on. They knew what it was all about.” By his junior year, Huerta excelled in his studies and thrived in his education courses, completing his studies “like the normal kids” in four years.

While a message of democratic education has continued to evolve in San Antonio, through this project and my own personal experience, I have concluded that Mexicans continue to contend with educational inequality, a form of oppression that includes racialized language oppression, a culture of low expectations, and a differentiated curriculum where Mexicans are schooled within vocational tracks that promote work in San Antonio's downtown tourist industry.

In their *historias*, Huerta and Balderrama unearthed their feelings of frustration, anger, and resentment they experienced from “catching up” in college—learning what they believe they should have learned in their primary and secondary education. In doing so, they spoke against the mis-education they endured in Westside schools. Their *historias* offer knowledge about the ways in which segregated, barrio schools reproduced race and class arrangements in San Antonio where Mexicans were expected to seek vocational tracks, rather than pursue higher education. While they were never encouraged to pursue higher education, they did with little or no support, and excelled despite the legacy of educational inequality in Mexican, working-class schools.

Navigating Racial Microaggressions in Higher Education

Carolina Rubio, the youngest of the teachers interviewed, did not grow up in the Mexican, working-class barrios of San Antonio's Westside. Among all the participants I observed or interviewed, Rubio was the only one whose family helped her navigate both schooling and home cultures. As a cultural bordercrosser Rubio stands out as the exception because of her status as second-generation college educated. “My family was very supportive. They were the ones who emphasized the maintenance of identity. And my parents were educated. They were proud to be Chicanos. They didn't immigrate from México so they had an understanding of both cultures and could move in and out. And they set a large example for me. So, that helped me become who I was

as far as my identity.” In other words, their cultural and schooling experiences provided Rubio with the cultural capital to navigate school and home cultures. While she credits her family for shaping her bicultural and bilingual identity, Rubio states, “I didn’t really feel like I had ownership of [my identity] until I went to [the university] because I had to present myself that way and because there were so few of us [Mexican Americans], we had to represent the people that way.” She adds, “Whenever we did something, it was assumed it was what Mexicans did.”

It was in college where Rubio experienced what Solorzano (1998) calls microaggressions, unconscious and subtle forms of racism that take place in private conversations and interactions with Whites. Rubio’s memories of microaggressions in college offer much insight about the ways in which she negotiated the collegiate racial climate at a predominantly white campus, and the ways in which these experiences now inform her teaching practices.

After high school, Rubio pursued her undergraduate studies at a prestigious university in the Midwest where she majored in biology. In a campus that was predominantly white, she and other students of color were “clearly a minority.” As she states, “There were a lot of questions about who I was. I was often asked to identify myself and my ethnicity and it was difficult for me.” This was a time of intense debates about affirmative action, which “made it very difficult, especially in classroom discussions, dorm room discussions, about whether or not I belonged there as a Hispanic and as a female.” Given the hostile environment, Rubio changed her major to Latino Studies and Spanish “because I felt I needed information to defend myself for my position [in college]. My grades didn’t seem sufficient. The social pressure that was placed on me at the time, I was very defensive and I actually became quite an activist on campus.”

Due to the limited representation of ethnic groups on campus, Rubio realized that she was not only representing herself but also Mexicans/Chicanos as a whole. She recalls the time one of her friends introduced her to a group of white students as the “Mexican” friend because many of them had never seen a Mexican before in the Midwest. She was, needless to say, angry that her friend hadn’t distinguished other people’s ethnic/racial background (‘John, he’s Jewish.’). This was one of the many times she realized “I was representing a people. I wanted to make sure I made a positive impression, that they had a clear understanding of not only my personal background, but the background of our people.” It was these experiences that led her to develop closer networks with other Chicanas/os and people of color. “I didn’t want to be with anybody else. I wanted to be with our people and for our cause. I know that a lot of my Anglo friends had a hard time with that. ‘What do you mean, ‘My people?’ Your cause?’ I wanted to ensure that the community I grew up with will be there for the children I will have. For that to happen, I need to make sure we promote the language and culture.”

To contest dominant notions of affirmative action as a form of tokenization, she and other student activists participated in multicultural student organizations to assert that she and other students of color were there on her own merit. In addition, she participated in school programs in Latina/o communities. Most of her activism focused on education, even her one-on-one experiences. Whether it was in the dorm or cafeteria or classroom, Rubio “challenged her peers for their thoughts” in an attempt to disrupt their assumptions about “Hispanics.” As she states, “I knew that education was valued and important [in my family] and when I was in [college], I realized it was the only way that people changed their mind, where people realize things.” Going to Michigan alone was “frightening, yet empowering.” She understood her parents’ insistence on going to an out-of-state university, because it gave her alternative view of the social world.

Conclusion

Through *historias*, *conocimiento*, and *pláticas*, I have unearthed and examined teachers’ memories of schooling to better understand the ways in which schooling shapes the personal, social and professional lives of Mexican descent teachers. Naming the source of their oppression—whether teachers, administrators, or the “system”—teachers contest unequal and assimilationist practices based on their lived experience. Critical theorists, Donaldo Macedo and Ana Maria Araujo, argue that reflexive knowledge is the process of “the sharing of experiences” and that these “must always be understood within a social praxis that entails both reflection and political action. In short, it must always involve a political project with the objective of dismantling oppressive

structures and mechanisms" (in Freire, 1998, p. xiv). Teachers' memories of schooling implicate power and agency. As they made sense of their personal and social identities, ethnicity was framed through their racialized and class experiences. Moreover, these teachers link their schooling experiences to the historical legacy of mis-education, language oppression, and cultural violence, often referring to the hidden injuries experienced by working-class, Spanish speaking, and Mexican Americans in the barrio. Their *historias* suggest that they live with the memory of historical trauma, displacement, and pain associated with oppression. In this project, they are not merely sharing their stories or engaging in self-therapy (Macedo & Araujo, 1998), they are voicing their legacies of pain to document their experiences as teachers who have been mis-educated within public education, as well as voicing their commitment to creating a more transformative culture of schooling that values the knowledge students bring to their classrooms. Similarly to Juanita Martinez, who had never shared her story about anglicizing her name, teachers in this study demonstrate an awareness of their oppression, with Rubio displaying consciousness about the colonizing impact of the curriculum.

These teachers have become aware of the ways in which their own schooling experiences have prepared them to teach as evidenced in their pedagogical practices, in their communities of upbringing, having examined the subordination they survived as Mexican working-class students in the barrio, naming the cultural violence they endured as racialized students in Mexican schools. While none of the teachers use a radical discourses of domination, mis-education, and cultural violence they experienced in schools, they name the source of their oppression and come to what Donaldo Macedo calls a "cultural voice" (in Freire, 2000, p. 12). Revisiting and reflecting on these members is an emotional process that necessarily leads to personal transformation or what Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa theorizes as the "Coatlicue State." These teachers have charted a way station or a way of life as they begin to re-create, re-piece, and re-invent their personal and social identity through reflexive memory-work. It is by reflecting on these cultural injuries that teachers move in and out of resistance, internalized oppression, decolonization, to create transformative change in their community of practice, even when it means teaching students to deal with the structural inequalities—racism, classism, and language oppression—and assimilationist ideologies that they will continue to face. As they have reflected on their schooling, these teachers have come to a greater awareness of their own subjectivity. They have learned to see themselves as teachers who are not merely servants of the state who disseminate official curricula, but as barrio teachers whose philosophical orientation is informed by their Chicana/o working class barrio ethos. As teachers who grew up in the barrio, they bring cultural wealth as Mexican people who have struggled to understand their racialized schooling experience in a dual-wage economy that did not imagine them as potential agents of change. As a result of their own schooling experiences and the injuries they survived, these teachers made the conscious decision to teach at Emma Tenayuca School to transform the culture of schooling in the barrio.

References

- Acuña, R. (2000). *Occupied America: A history of Chicanos* (4th Edition). New York: Longman.
- Anzaldúa, G. (2007). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The new mestiza* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: AuntLute Books.
- Baker, C. (1997). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Crawford, J. (1999). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Cummins, J. (1989). *Empowering minority students*. Sacramento, California: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Chicana/o education from the Civil Rights era to the present. In D.J. Bixler-Márquez, C.F. Ortega, R. Solorzano Torres, & L.G. LaFarelle (Eds.), *Chicano studies: Survey and analysis*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Emma Tenayuca Elementary School (2006). *Two languages... A world of opportunity*. San Antonio, Texas.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppression* (M. Bergman Ramos, Trans). New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1998). *Teachers as cultural workers: Letters to those who dare teach* (D. Macedo, D. Loike, and A. Oliveira, Trans). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Education for critical consciousness* (M.B. Ramos, Trans). New York: Continuum Books.
- García, M. (1989). *Mexican Americans: Leadership, ideology, & identity, 1930-1960*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Gonzalez, G. (1997). Culture, language, and the Americanization of Mexican children. In A. Darder, R.D. Torres, & H. Gutierrez (Eds.), *Latinos and Education*, pp. 158-173. New York: Routledge.
- hooks, b. & Mesa-Bains, A. (2006). *Homegrown: Engaged cultural criticism*. Boston: South End Press.
- Kozol, J. (1992). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Latina Feminist Group (2001). *Telling to live: Latina feminist testimonios*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Montejano, D. (1987). *Mexicans and Anglos in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Nieto, S. (2004). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson at School and Allyn & Bacon, Inc.
- Ovando, C.J., Collier, V.P., & Combs, M.C. (2003) *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Solórzano, D. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *Qualitative studies in education*, 11, 1, 121-136.
- Valencia, R. (2002). *Chicano school failure and success: Past, present, and future* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge/Falmer.
- Valenzuela, A. (1998). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies (2010).

Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

By Patricia Gándara and Frances Contreras

Eden Cortez

University of Utah

In *The Latino Education Crisis* by Gándara and Contreras (2010), the authors offer an in-depth analysis of the American public school system that has historically failed to provide adequate and equitable education opportunities for the Latino population in the U.S. In their book, they argue that the inadequate education of Latinos creates a barrier for social and economic mobility and if we fail to address the “low education achievement of Latino youth... we will have created a permanent underclass without hope of integrating into the mainstream or realizing their potential to contribute to American society” (p. 13-14). Gándara and Contreras utilize national data on K-12 Latino education achievements, longitudinal studies, and students’ narratives to demonstrate the severity of having an undereducated emerging minority. They address the education crisis by focusing on educational, socioeconomic, political, and immigration policies. This book provides ample information on the current state of Latinos in every sector of the education system as well as utilizes the students’ narrative to demonstrate the type of living conditions that can promote or hinder education achievement.

Gándara and Contreras begin with an introduction chapter that provides their readers with background information on the current state of Latinos, especially “individuals of Mexican origin” (p. 7) or descent, in the U.S. This chapter allows readers to understand the complex education crisis that Mexican decent youth have and continue to endure in their educational trajectory. Immigration is a central topic in this chapter and Gándara and Contreras explain the relationship of immigration and education achievement by sharing studies that contradict the relation of low education achievement to immigration background. They conclude that immigrant students outperform their Latino native-born peers in the subject of English. Therefore, immigration cannot be the sole contributor of the low education achievement of Latino students. Gándara and Contreras explain that it is the current living conditions of Latinos in this society that impacts their education attainment.

In chapters one and two, Gándara and Contreras place into context the achievement gaps of Latinos students from kindergarten through high school by using multiple assessment data that constantly place Latinos at the low performing end. They also provide an in-depth discussion on educational landmark cases (*Plyer v. Doe* and *Lau v. Nichols*), affirmative action, standardize testing policies, and social conditions that contribute to the marginalization of Latinos in education and society. Further, the story of Carlos and Andrés, two of the many Latino students whose stories are present in this book, are brought forward to provide a social context of the lives of Latinos in the U.S. Gándara and Contreras seamlessly integrate Carlos and Andrés’ social and educational background into their book to shed light on the social conditions that impact, negatively or positively, the education attainment of high school and college Latino students. The stories of these two students, and others, help the readers understand that whether students have advantages or disadvantages (e.g., parent education background, socioeconomic status, and student education background) do not determine their success or failure in school. It is the “social context in which the students” (p. 55) grow up that can shape “their vision of the future” (p.55), and not having the necessary resources in their communities can impact their level of education achievement.

In chapter three, Gándara and Contreras make an argument that public schools are a critical component for “further occupational opportunities, but also key to” socializing Latinos “into American society” (p. 86) but many fail to provide such an opportunity for their students. The data provided by Gándara and Contreras illustrates the inadequate school facilities and poor educational instructions of public schools in predominantly low-income Latino neighborhoods. Gándara and Contreras end the chapter by emphasizing, “given the enormous barriers that Latino children face, is not evidence of a lack of intellectual ability,” (p. 120) a clear proof that our education system lacks support systems needed to facilitate a successful education.

Furthermore, chapter four is dedicated to answer the beliefs that language deficits cause low

education achievement in Latino students. Gándara and Contreras explore the perception that Latino children underperform in English due to their native language. By providing data from studies done on Latino students' language acquisition, Gándara and Contreras questions such perceptions and places the data into an education context. Proving that a significant number of Latino children are English speakers (contrary to beliefs that they all are native Spanish speakers) and that native Spanish speakers outperformer Latino English speakers, contradicts the issue of language being associated with low education achievement. Bilingual education as well as language assessment is at the core of the discussion in this chapter.

Chapter five and six are connected by a common theme, the experiences of college-going Latinos/as who become resilient. These two chapters provide the readers with an inside view of the lives of several Latino/a students, their hardships and successes, and the program that supported their transition from high school to college. The story of Carlos and Andrés and six other Latino/a participants of the Puente program are shared in this section. The eight students represent a small sample group followed during and after their participation in the Puente program and transition to college. The stories of each student demonstrate how regardless of high or low education performance in high school (e.g., GPA, SATs, AP and IB courses) students living conditions can either promote a college-going culture or subdue their aspirations to attend college. By sharing the students' stories and connecting their profile to national statistics on student achievement, Gándara and Contreras prove that even a high performing Latino/a student with all the characteristics that ensure that he/she will attend college can steer the opposite direction. There is no guarantee that a high GPA, SAT, and socioeconomic status can predict the overall success of Latino students. In fact, Gándara and Contreras highlight that Latinos who come from adverse backgrounds, and despite all odds, have manage to make it through K-12 and into college. Regardless of the success of these students, there are many how fall between the cracks of a failed public school system that is not serving its purpose, to educate those who have been historically marginalized, segregated, and oppressed.

In the last two chapters, Gándara and Contreras provide a wealth of information on intervention programs and they describe how to address, through seven initiatives, the several issues affecting Latino education. The programs presented in chapter range from early childhood to college. Each program promotes and encourages a healthy and high educational environment for Latino parents and their children. In chapter eight, Gándara and Contreras address the "seven areas in which public policy acknowledges the interlocking nature of schools and communities," (p. 307) therefore, changing the course "of academic achievement for Latino students" (p. 307). Gándara and Contreras recommendations are a small, but significant step to address the education crisis faced by many Latinos in the U.S.

Gándara and Contreras's book provide a complete analysis of the K-12 public school systems and the implications it has on Latinos attending post-secondary education. Their work is admirable as it counteracts deficit beliefs that place Latino students from every sector of the education system at fault for their overall low education achievement. This book is a great addition to the body of knowledge produced on Latino education. It is an essential book to read.

Reference

Gándara, P., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino education crisis: The consequences of failed social policies*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

María Guadalupe Arreguín-Anderson, Assistant Professor of Early Childhood & Elementary Education, completed her doctoral degree in Bilingual Education at the Texas A&M University-Kingsville. Dr. Arreguín-Anderson has provided professional development to numerous school districts focusing on elementary science education in dual language settings. Her publications explore issues of equity in culturally and linguistically diverse environments. Dr. Arreguín-Anderson received her B.A. from the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico and her M. Ed. from the University of Texas Pan-American in Edinburg, Texas.

Ioakim P. Boutakidis is an assistant professor at California State University, Fullerton. He received his Ph.D. in psychology from University of California, Riverside. As a graduate student, he worked on a multiyear NIH-project focused on Asian American immigrant families. He has continued working with issues related to cultural processes, such as ethnic identity and acculturation, and their associations to adolescent adjustment outcomes. He is currently working on a range of projects including cross-disciplinary collaborations in clinical psychology and social work. He is also focused on the implementation of mixed methods design and analysis in child development research.

Elsa Cantú Ruiz is an assistant professor of middle and secondary level education and curriculum and instruction in the Interdisciplinary Learning and Teaching Department at University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA). Her research interests include academic motivation of Latina/o students in mathematics classrooms and teachers' efficacy.

Cory Cooper Hansen is an Associate Professor in Arizona State University's Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College. Her undergraduate degree is from The University of Calgary, in her home town of Calgary, Alberta, Canada. She is a proud graduate of ASU's graduate schools earning a Masters Degree in Elementary Education and a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction. Prior to entering higher education, Cory taught kindergarten for 10 years in Phoenix, Arizona. She received an award for excellence in teaching at the West campus in 2006 and has been recognized outstanding work in early childhood literacy education. She has presented numerous papers at the state, national, and international levels.

Eden Cortez is a doctoral student in the educational Leadership and Policy program at the University of Utah.

Bianca Guzmán is an assistant professor of Chicana/o Studies and teaches courses in psychology and Chicana/o health. Her primary area of research involves examining the socio-behavioral determinants of health in Latina/Chicana youth and women. Dr. Guzmán was awarded a grant by the California Department of Health to examine the sex behavior of ethnic youth. This project is a theater-based program called the Choices-CAMP School Project which employs CSULA students. Dr. Guzmán has also authored multiple articles in publications like the Journal of Community Psychology, the Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology and the Journal of Health Communication. Dr. Guzmán is continuously invited to speak at professional conferences and she and the CAMP School Project staff annually present at professional conferences. She is also the co-editor of a book published by NYU press entitled "Latina Girls: Voices of Adolescent Health in the U.S." (www.nyupress.com).

Claudia Kouyoumdjian received her B.A. from the University of California, Santa Barbara in the field of Psychology in 2001. She then attended the teacher credential program at California Polytechnic University, Pomona and received a multiple subjects teaching credential with a BCLAD emphasis in 2002. Shortly after she returned to Santa Barbara, and entered the Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, UCSB. She received her Ph.D. in Education with an emphasis in Child and Adolescent Development in 2008. Her current research focuses on the development of autonomy among Armenian adolescents. Past research has focused on mother-child communication about education, family dynamics among Latino adolescents experiencing a teen pregnancy, and sexual health social support among diverse populations.

Maria Oropeza Fujimoto completed her doctorate in summer 2011. Prior to pursuing doctoral studies at the University of Washington, Maria worked in 4-year public as well as private institutional settings as a student affairs administrator and academic support services counselor. She has worked in the areas of Leadership Development, Academic Advising, Multicultural Affairs and a Women's Center.

James L. Rodriguez is an associate professor at California State University, Fullerton. He received his undergraduate degree in psychology from Pomona College and a Ph.D. in education with a specialization in child and adolescent development from Stanford University. Prior to joining the Department of Child and Adolescent Studies in 2008, he was an associate professor of education at San Diego State University. Dr. Rodriguez' research is focused on the psychosocial development and education of Latino children, adolescents, and families.

Lilliana P. Saldaña is a Chicana activist scholar raised in San Antonio's Southside. She is currently an Assistant Professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio in Mexican American Studies (in the Department of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies). During her undergraduate and graduate studies, she was involved in numerous campus-activist projects and worked in community settings, synthesizing her passion for research and social change. She earned a doctoral degree in Human Development and Family Studies, with a minor in Chicana/o families, schools, and communities, from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2010. Her dissertation—"¿De mi barrio no me voy!: The identity and consciousness of Mexican American teachers at a dual-language school"—examines the life histories of Raza teachers and the ways in which they transform, negotiate, and reproduce the culture of schooling in San Antonio, Texas.

Debby Zambo received her Ph.D. in 2003 from Arizona State University in the Division of Educational Psychology with an emphasis on learning. Awarded tenure in 2010, she is currently an Associate Professor in Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College. Debby currently serves as the Coordinator of the EdD in Leadership and Innovation.

2014 AMAE THEME ISSUE CALL FOR PAPERS

Association of Mexican American Educators (AMAE) Journal Special Issue (<https://amaejournal.asu.edu>)

Critical Issues in Teacher Education: Building a Bridge Between Teacher Education and Latino English Language Learners in K-12 schools (Due April 1st 2014)

Guest Editors: Christian J. Faltis, Ester J. de Jong, Pablo C. Ramírez, and Irina S. Okhremtchouk

According to the United States Census, Latinos are the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population. By 2050 the population of school-age Latinos will soar to 28 million and surpass the number of non-Latino White students. As a result, this demographic shift will considerably alter population trends in the K-12 educational system. Despite the fact that Latino students enter schools with rich cultural, linguistic and schooling backgrounds as well as, comprise a significantly large segment of the English Language Learner (ELL) population in the K-12 public school system, Latino youth continue to be underserved in the U.S. Research reports reveal that in the past 10 years Latino ELLs continue to underachieve in literacy and mathematics as compared to their monolingual White counterparts. Moreover, Latino ELLs represent the group with the highest high school drop out rates in the public school system. Much of the concern in the K-12 school system has been the preparation of teachers and consequently, teachers' readiness to effectively address the needs of Latino ELL populations.

This special issue aims to highlight and examine the various ways teachers are prepared through teacher education and professional development for meeting the sociocultural, linguistic, and academic needs of Latino ELL students in K-12. There are cases where teacher education programs and school communities are developing intelligent and caring teachers committed to providing the best education for Latino/a youth. This issue seeks to document the manner in which teacher education and professional development programs guide teachers to engage in culturally and linguistically diverse academic contexts in K-12 and conversely, shed light on ways to draw from diverse theoretical frameworks to inform teaching practices that benefit Latino ELLs academically.

We expect this call for papers to continue to build collective knowledge on the operational practices enacted by teacher education programs to prepare teachers for teaching and servicing Latino ELL students within the constraints of standardization and new education reforms. It is also our hope for this issue to provide a forum for scholarship that addresses the current role teacher education programs have on cultivating caring and committed teachers whom are needed to prepare a future generation of Latino ELL students.

We welcome manuscripts that offer theoretical perspectives; research findings; innovative methodologies; pedagogical reflections; and implications related to (but not limited to) the following areas:

- Preparing and advancing teachers' and educators' knowledge about multiple teaching approaches needed in diverse language and literacy contexts;
- Issues concerning Latinos/ ELLs' L1 and L2 and how to incorporate these within teacher education practices (coursework and fieldwork)
- The role of family, culture and community in Latino/ ELL learning contexts and teacher education;
- Teacher education and school community partnerships;
- The intersectionality of teacher education and social justice education;
- Teacher praxis: Discussing and examining ways in which teacher education programs prepare pre-service teachers to reflect and dialogue about issues concerning Latino/ELL student populations;
- Preparing educators for dual language/bilingual school settings (i.e., best practices; the need for this type of preparation);
- Supporting pre-service and in-service teachers for working in constraining times as it relates to high stakes testing, standardization (i.e., Common Core Standards), and current education reform
- Issues of translanguaging and language diversity within Spanish-speaking communities and their impact on and/or role in teacher education and preparation

Submissions suitable for publication in this special issue include empirical papers, theoretical/conceptual papers, essays, book reviews, and poems. It is important to note that the special issue is interested in the broader Latina/o experience and not solely

focused on the experiences of Mexican Americans (per the title of the journal).

The selection of manuscripts will be conducted as follows:

1. Manuscripts will be judged on strength and relevance to the theme of the special issue.
2. Manuscripts should not have been previously published in another journal, nor should they be under consideration by another journal at the time of submission.
3. Each manuscript will be subjected to a blind review by a panel of reviewers with expertise in the area treated by the manuscript. Those manuscripts recommended by the panel of experts will then be considered by the AMAE guest editors and editorial board, which will make the final selections.

Manuscripts should be submitted as follows:

1. Submit via email both a cover letter and copy of the manuscript in Microsoft Word to Pablo C. Ramírez (pablo.c.ramirez@asu.edu).
2. Cover letter should include name, title, short author bio, and institutional affiliation; indicate the type of manuscript submitted and the number of words, including references. Also, please indicate how your manuscript addresses the call for papers.
3. Manuscripts should be less than 6,000 words (including references). The standard format of the American Psychological Association (APA) should be followed. All illustrations, charts, and graphs should be included within the text. Manuscripts may also be submitted in Spanish.

Deadline for submissions is **April 1, 2014**. Please address questions to Pablo C. Ramirez (pablo.c.ramirez@asu.edu) and Irina Okhremtchouk (iokhremt@asu.edu). This special issue is due to be published in December 2014. Consequently, authors will be asked to address revisions to their manuscripts during the summer months of 2014.

Reviewer Form

The following is the rubric to be used for the evaluation of manuscripts considered for the AMAE Journal.

To the Reviewer/Evaluator: please feel free to make embedded changes to the article to improve the quality and/or the delivery of the message. Please do not change the message that the author intended, however. The edited piece will be forwarded to the original author for feedback. The name of the reviewer/evaluator will remain anonymous to the original author.

Reviewer/Evaluator _____

Date _____

Email: _____

Phone: _____

Article Title:

Article addresses the general scope of the Association of Mexican-American Educators Journal	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

Timeliness and relevance to current Latino/Mexican-American scholarship and issues	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

Theoretical framework/review of the literature is well grounded, focused, and is aligned to the topic/methods of manuscript	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

Research methods are clearly articulated and supported with appropriate data to substantiate findings.	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

Article is accessible and valuable to researchers and practitioners.	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

Clarity, Style, organization and quality of writing	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

Overall Score on the Rubric: ____/30

Do you recommend inclusion of this article in the AMAE journal?

Yes, as submitted ☐

Yes, but with minor revisions ☐

Yes, but would need significant revisions and another review ☐

No ☐

Comments/ suggestions to improve the article (for the author)

Comments/ suggestions about the article (for the guest editors) (these comments will not be shared with the author):



Application to Join AMAE

Association of Mexican American Educators, Inc.

634 South Sping Street, Suite 602 • Los Angeles, CA 90014

(424) 261-2623 • ExecutiveDirector@amae.org

www.amae.org

Local Chapters (Check One)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Central Coast (San Luis Obispo County)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Central Los Angeles (Metro Area)
<input type="checkbox"/>	East Los Angeles
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fresno Area
<input type="checkbox"/>	Inland Empire (San Bernardino and Riverside Area)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Los Angeles Harbor Area
<input type="checkbox"/>	Madera
<input type="checkbox"/>	North Central Valley (Stanislaus County Area)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Oxnard/ Ventura Area
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pajaro Valley (Watsonville)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Parlier
<input type="checkbox"/>	Porterville
<input type="checkbox"/>	San Diego
<input type="checkbox"/>	San Fernando Valley
<input type="checkbox"/>	Santa Maria
<input type="checkbox"/>	Santa Monica/ West Los Angeles
<input type="checkbox"/>	South Central Los Angeles
<input type="checkbox"/>	Visalia Area
<input type="checkbox"/>	I'm not sure. Please place me or make me a member at large
<input type="checkbox"/>	The chapters are too far away. I'd like to start a new chapter. Contact Executive Director.

Date:	New:	Renewal:
Name:		
Address:		
City:	State:	Zip Code:
Home Phone: ()		Cell Phone: ()
E-Mail:		
District:		
School:		
Position:		Membership Type:

Type of Memberships

State Dues + Chapter

Regular: Open to all certificated personel (Teachers, Counselors and Administrators) \$50 + Chapter Dues
Retired: Open to all Regular AMAE Members Retired. \$25 + Chapter Dues
Paraprofessional • Associate • Student (non-certificated or community member) \$10 + Chapter Dues

Please mail this form to the AMAE Office:

Attention Memembership, 634 South Spring Street, Suite 602, Los Angeles, CA 90014

MISSION STATEMENT

The mission of the Association of Mexican American Educators, Inc., is to ensure equal access to financial resources for a quality education for Mexican American/Latino students at all levels, validate and affirm cultural and linguistic diversity, advise local/state boards, legislators, administrators, and faculty on educational and financial policy, work in partnership with parents and communities for the benefit of our students, and advocate for ongoing recruitment, retention, support, and development of Mexican American/ Latino educators and all others committed to a top quality education in the 21st Century for our students.



