CHAPTER 5

NEPANTLERAS IN THE NEW LATINO DIASPORA

The Intersectional Experiences of Bi/multilingual Youth

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ABSTRACT

The New Latino Diaspora has emerged across many Midwestern non-tradi-
tional gateway communities (Wescham, Muñillo, & Hammon, 2002), bringing
a unique set of linguistic and cultural resources, repertoires, and experienc-
es that are shaping and being shaped by new demographic configurations.
This chapter elaborates a line of analysis that conceptualizes the participa-
tion across in-school and out-of-school settings of one Latina bi/multilingual
adolescent I call Sura as border-crossings. That is, like many Latina youth in
the New Latino Diaspora, border-crossing epistemologies (Anzaldúa, 2002) live
between languages and cultures and traverse different spaces in
ways that shape everyday practices—even as these youth are simultaneously
being shaped in/through these practices. I argue that Sura’s linguistic rep-
eroire and identities were embraced and constrained in different but sig
significante ways across settings. In particular, I analyze how the intersections of difference across race/ethnicity, language, class, gender, and legal status affected the identities she enacted. I also examine the role her mother—and mother-daughter pedagogy (Villenas & Moreno, 2001)—played in Sara’s educational and life experiences, as well as in her decision-making as a youth learning and growing in the shifting contexts of the New Latino Diaspora. This study has implications for understanding bi/multilingualism as a co-constructed process. It illustrates that individuals, peers, and co-participants make significant efforts, create opportunities and constraints, and transform sociocultural changes that affect identity-making and language-expanding processes.

INTRODUCTION

The New Latino Diaspora has emerged across many Midwestern communities, bringing a unique set of linguistic and cultural resources, repertoires, and experiences that are shaping and being shaped by these new demographic configurations (Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002). States such as California, Texas, and New Mexico and large metropolitan communities such as Chicago, El Paso, and Miami have traditionally been home to both previous generations and new (in)migrants of Mexican and Latin American origin. In recent decades, however, Latinos have (in)migrated to non-traditional gateway communities in states such as North Carolina, Georgia, and Wisconsin and in rural communities throughout the United States for a variety of social, political, and economic reasons (Pew Hispanic Center, 2016). These rapid demographic shifts have created complex sociocultural dynamics, challenges, and opportunities for both the New Latino Diaspora as well as receiving communities.

For children and youth learning and growing in the New Latino Diaspora, Anzaldúa’s (2002) notion of mestizaje captures the essence of life between languages and cultures and the ways Latinas in particular must navigate, subvert, and re-imagine linguistic and cultural identities. As they confront circulating discourses about Latino families, Latino culture, and Latino (in)migrants in dominant-group communities, Latina youth must develop strategies for thriving and succeeding on their own terms in shifting linguistic and cultural landscapes. Perhaps the most noticeable conflicts, particularly in the educational arena, pertain to the Spanish discourses, varieties, and dialects Latino students enact. Thus, I have a specific interest in the ideologies about language, learning, and schooling that affect Latinx students’ active participation and sense making in the context of shifting landscapes.

This chapter draws from a larger ongoing ethnographic study that examines language learning and language-expanding opportunities as bi/multilingual youth accomplished various literacy tasks, in English and Spanish, across in-school, out-of-school, and online settings (e.g., classrooms, church groups, Facebook). Through an analytic focus on participation structures, discourses, language patterns, and interactional talk, I investigate how Latinx bi/multilingual youth produced particular language forms that emerged as by-products of their participation in different settings. I also examine the roles peers, teachers, and other adults (e.g., parents) played in the jointly accomplished participatory process, with a specific focus on the unique assistance they provided. For this chapter, I analyze the participation in/through English-Spanish language practices across in-school and out-of-school settings of one Latinx bi/multilingual adolescent I call Sara. Her experiences and perspectives as a mestiza reveal that throughout her border-crossings in the New Latino Diaspora, her linguistic repertoire and identities were embraced and constrained in significant ways and that she, too, engaged in the process of enacting and embodying particular linguistic and cultural identities. I also examine the significant role her mother played in her educational and life circumstances and analyze how mother-daughter pedagogy (Villenas & Moreno, 2001) figured into Sara’s decision-making processes.

This analysis has implications for how educational researchers and practitioners understand language and bi/multilingual practices as co-constructed processes rather than individual accomplishments and choices. It demonstrates the extent to which individuals, peers, and co-participants across settings make significant efforts, create opportunities and constraints, and shift normative practices that affect identity-making and language-expanding processes. Nevertheless, this process is fundamentally affected by the intersectionality of cultural and linguistic difference and their interactions with race/ethnicity, class, gender, legal status across contexts and settings for Latinx bi/multilingual youth.

I begin first with a conceptualization of the significance of language practices for learning and development that occur in the context of changing cultural communities whose histories of oppression also afford opportunities for families to develop forms of resilience and resistance. I also discuss how an understanding of Latina youth’s multi-dimensional, intersectional identities shapes their perceptions and experiences in the New Latino Diaspora—even as they are shaping these spaces.

The Intersectionality of the Bi/multilingual Latina Experience

Bi/multilingual adolescents—more commonly known as English Learners in public schools—are academically vulnerable in part because current
assessment and accountability frameworks impose monolingual models on their learning and academic trajectories (Dorrow, 2003; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gutierrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009). These frameworks overemphasize academic competencies in English and ignore the different types of insights, knowledge, and understandings that bi/multilinguals develop through their participation in distinct social worlds in and across languages (Gutiérrez, 2008; Moll, Sarr, & Dorrow, 2001; Zentella, 2005). Further, these frameworks construe what counts as knowledge and competency and restrict ways teachers might come to recognize and leverage bi/multi-
lingual students’ sociocultural, intellectual, and linguistic resources in the classroom (González, Moll, & Amant, 2005; Moschkovich, 2002; Orellana, 2009; Pacheco, 2009; Valdés, 2003).

To conceptualize how language practices have consequences for adolescent learning and development, this study employs cultural-historical perspectives on the relationship between language, culture, and cognition (Cole, 1985, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978). Specifically, these views conceptualize that everyday linguistic and cultural practices are fundamental to human learning and development as these practices provide essential mediational tools and artifacts co-participants employ as they co-participate in the valued but ongoing activities that constitute distinct cultural communities (Lave, 1993; Rogoff, 1995, 2003). Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) define cultural communities as “a coordinated group of people with some traditions and understandings in common, extending across several generations, with varied roles and practices and continual change among participants as well as transformation in the community’s practices” (p. 21). Thus, cultural communities are comprised of changing members who share some practices and views in common that change on an ongoing basis. Of relevance, this conceptualization shifts the focus away from monolithic—of-
ten deficit—views of racial/ethnic communities whose culture is located “within” its members (e.g., Asian Americans do X) to a cultural-historical view of dynamic, changing communities with common histories and shared experiences.

Adults and parents in particular play an important role in the learning and development process as they organize particular sociocultural activities and practices to prepare future generations to become full and meaningful members of their cultural communities (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003). In this enculturation process, however, children are active and creative co-participants: they are not simply “recipients” of the learning and development process but instead engaged in deliberate meaning making in this bidirectional process. Thus, as individuals participate across cultural communities, they not only employ their available repertoire of linguistic, cultural, and intellectual resources but also acquire and amplify this repertoire as they appropriate resources within these communities (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003).

Yet, while cultural communities are indeed dynamic, diverse, and changing, the shared experiences with oppression and marginalization experienced by cultural communities of color in the U.S., and women specifically, may be characterized as historically and structurally constituted (Lee, 2002; Cronbach, 1993; Saldívar-Hull, 1991). In this regard, the notion of intersectionality provides insights for understanding how social experience is shaped not by a single dimension such as socioeconomic class but by multiple intersecting dimensions of race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. Just as cultural communities do not transmit bounded single-dimension cultures from person to person across generations, no specific social category explains the extent and enduring ways communities of color have been discriminated against and marginalized in the United States. Their common histories and shared experiences, therefore, are better understood as the consequences of U.S. colonialism, expansionism, and imperialism.

For example, Latinos in the United States are a tremendously diverse group representing numerous nationalities, racial/ethnic backgrounds (e.g., African, mestizo, and Spanish ancestry), language varieties, educational backgrounds, etc. (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Sánchez, 2002). Still, Latinos also share a common history of Spanish colonization and U.S. expansionism and imperialism that have created a particular sociohistorical context within which Latinos’ race, ethnicity, class, gender, legal status, and language are situated (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Thus, while intersectionality illuminates the multiple factors that shape the Latino social experience, this multidimensional experience also operates within broader sociopolitical relations of oppression that have material consequences for Latino communities across the United States.

This intersectionality has been famously conceptualized by Anzaldúa (1987) as a powerful dimension of everyday life in the physical and psycho-
logical borders, particularly for Chicana/o and Latina/o communities. She theorizes a mestiza consciousness that fully embraces the multiplicity, contradictions, hybridity, and ambiguity of living bexisti and between sociocultural and linguistic worlds. Specifically, Anzaldúa articulates the notion of “bilingual terrorism” to capture the silent ways dominant Anglo society attempts to regulate, confine, and de-legitimate the language realities and material circumstances of Chicana/o and Latina/o communities. In her own words, she famously asserted, “If you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 81). Thus, as a strategy of both individual and collective resistance and resilience among oppressed communities of color, mestiza consciousness reflects a rejection of oppositional cultural and lingu-
istic categories that enhance these communities’ vulnerabilities. Instead, it
Nepotism in the New Latino Diaspora

practitioners must seek to understand deeply both the multidimensionality of social experience across cultural communities as well as the ways in which these resilient communities generate adaptive mechanisms and responses. While an exclusive focus on the ways intersectional experiences exacerbate the risks experienced by students of color, she builds a persuasive case for the importance of examining resilience with equal attention. She explains that we must examine both risk and resilience and shift the focus away from homogenous and essentialized views of diversity to a focus on cultural and ecological frameworks.

We need studies that examine how people who are Black, brown, and poor experience daily microaggressions (in school, in workplace settings, in neighborhoods) and uncover the range of resources (precarious and institutional) that buffer negative impacts...but such studies must avoid treating difference as deficit and cultural communities as static. We need longitudinal databases with variables that reflect the possibilities of plasticity and adaptation through multiple pathways. (Lee, 2010, p. 635)

My interpretation of Lee’s proposition is that even though it is critical to examine individuals’ intersectional, multidimensional lives as they are sociohistorically constituted, our studies must examine as well the resources their families and communities develop to help their children and youth thrive. Perhaps by virtue of teaching, learning, and living in oppressive contexts, modest-income cultural communities of color are forced to confront deliberately their exacerbated levels of risk and vulnerability in order to survive and thrive. I have made a similar argument about the importance of examining Latina/o families and communities’ everyday resilience to social and education issues and the problem-solving resources they develop to address these issues, (Pacheco, 2012), including situated forms of political-historical knowledge (Pacheco, 2009), which could be used to develop responsive curriculum practices.

In my conceptualization of Latina bi/multilingual students’ participation across settings and contexts, cultural-historical perspectives on teaching and learning help account for the cultural and linguistic resources individuals develop in changing cultural communities while notions of intersectionality illuminate the oppressive and discriminatory circumstances within which they develop these resources. Anzaldúa’s (1987, 2002) theorizations of mestiza consciousness foregrounds the consciousness individuals develop in the in-between spaces of squanda characteristic of life in the physical and psychological borders. However, I agree with Lee (2010) that acts of resistance and resilience must be examined and documented as part of the broader ecologies of modest-income communities of color. In this chapter, I argue that Latina bi/multilingual youth participants are border-crossing nepotism living between languages and cultures and traverse

reflexes a tolerance for being and living in nepotism—or the “land in the middle” located between shifting sociocultural landscapes and histories of colonization. As Anzaldúa (2002) elaborates:

Nepotism is the site of transformation, the place where different perspectives come into conflict and where you question the basic ideas, values, and identities inherited from your family, your education, and your different cultures...Living between cultures results in “seeing” double, first from the perspective of one culture, then from the perspective of another. (p. 548)

Chicana and Latinas, as nepotism, navigate and traverse these borderlands with a consciousness that recognizes attempts to confine and silence cultural and linguistic hybridity and that simultaneously asserts the hybrid, multilayered, and contested realities of their lived experiences. Anzaldúa’s (1987, 2002) theorizations about everyday life in the borderlands and the necessarily hybrid, intersectional identities the borderlands engender provide useful ways to account for the consciousness developed by virtue of recurrently traversing these spaces.

The necessarily hybrid, mutually constituted cultural and linguistic forms enacted and embodied among bi/multilingual students have been documented in empirical literature that examines everyday practices related to code-switching (Martinez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008; Reyes, 2004; Wei & Wu, 2005), hybrid language practices (Guiterrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarado, & Chi, 1999), Spanglish (Martinez, 2010; Zenobia, 1997), Chicano English (Fought, 2005), and translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garch, 2011), and translating and interpreting across languages (Orellana, 2004; Valdés, 2005). Furthermore, bi/multilinguals have been conceptualized as possessing repertoires of language (Guiterrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2000) that include multimodal resources (Lam, 2009; Moshkovitz, 2002; Skilton-Sylvestor, 2002) as well as specialized discourses, registers, and dialects (Gay, 2005; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvestor, 2000). While bi/multilingual students whose lives in U.S. contexts are perhaps better understood as fundamentally hybrid and expansive in practice, examining their linguistic experiences as they interact with constructions of race, ethnicity, class, gender, legal status, religion, and sexual orientation is central to understanding their marginalizing schooling experiences in more depth (Montoya, 1994; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). That is, bi/multilingual students’ rich cultural and linguistic experiences inevitably with dominant ideologies about what types and kinds of students ‘count’ and are valued across everyday and educational contexts in ways that exacerbate the risks these youth face (Gonzalez, 2001; Vosso, 2005).
in- and out-of-school settings in ways that shape everyday practices—even as they are being shaped in/through these practices.

The Larger Study

The following research questions guide the larger study, which is ongoing: (1) What are the normative English-Spanish language practices across out-of-school, in-school, and on-line settings? (2) How do bilingual/multilingual adolescents employ their English-Spanish bi/multilingualism in these settings? (3) What individual and institutional efforts, opportunities, constraints, and changes affect and shape these language practices? The goal of the study is to examine the language practices instantiated across a range of settings, how b/ multilingual adolescents employ their bi/multilingual repertoires, and the equally significant co-participants across particular institutions (e.g., schools) and organizations (e.g., church, after-school clubs) affect the language practices that characterized their joint activity. This multi-year ethnographic study relies on participant observations, formal and informal interviews, primary document sources, photographs, and audio recordings of ongoing social interactions across settings (Creswell, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

The case presented here was developed through inductive analyses of field notes, transcripts of interactions and interviews, documents and photographs taken in different settings, and researcher memos (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss, 1987). I specifically analyze the cultural and linguistic experiences of Sara and focus on her varied experiences of acceptance and marginalization, inclusion and exclusion, accommodation and positioning across contexts. I illuminate particular statements, practices, or critical incidents that reveal how socially constructed categories came to matter for Sara and her co-participants to these contexts.

Following Crenshaw (1991), "a large and continuing project for subordinated people...is thinking about the way power has clustered around certain categories and is exercised against others" (pp. 1290–1297). Thus, I analyze Sara's case to examine how power was employed in relation to particular social categories—adolescent, teen journalist, Catholic/Christian, friend, student, Mexican/Hispanic, gang member—in ways that had consequences for Sara and other Latinx bi/multilingual adolescents like her within and across settings. Additionally, I analyze Sara's masculinismo, or her growing awareness about and response to how her fundamental differences mattered in distinct ways for the distinct individuals in her life (i.e., counselors, after-school program staff). To this end, I discuss some deliberate decisions Sara was making based on her emerging views and interpretations about who she was and how others saw her—seeing and being seen—and her simultaneous construction as subject and object (Anzaldúa, 1987). For example, I examine how Sara employed particular social categories to distinguish herself as 'American' in a way that revealed her uptake of circulating discourses about Mexican/Latino youth from modest-income families.

Finally, I analyze Sara's mother's beliefs, views, and decision-making based on her perceptions about her role in processes of socialization, language development, schooling, and education. Chicana feminist scholars have conceptualized the unique teaching and learning process between mothers and their daughters as mother-daughter pedagogies (Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Latina (im)migrant mothers in particular develop strategies for preparing their daughters to both succeed as well as develop resilience against systems and structures that exacerbate their vulnerabilities as (im)migrant women. These pedagogies are both reflective of mothers' critical understandings of their own racialized, classed, and gendered cultural experiences as Mestizas of mixed legal status and their deliberate attempts to prepare their daughters for their yet unrealized futures. As such, mother-daughter pedagogies are "wrought with tensions and contradictions yet open with spaces of possibility" (Villenas & Moreno, 2001, p. 673). In what follows, I analyze how these pedagogies take on new significance as Sara and her mother navigate their intersectional within-and-between experiences in the New Latino Diaspora where they seek to expand their educational opportunities and life chances.

Community Context

Wisconsin is considered part of the New Latino Diaspora as it is in a non-traditional gateway region for Latino and Hispanic migrants and (im)migrants (Lowenhaupt & Camburn, 2011). While the state has had a history of Latinos and Hispanics in Milwaukee, it has only recently begun to experience significant increases in this distinct ethnonlinguistic group throughout other parts of the state. Between 2000 and 2010, for example, Wisconsin’s Latino/Hispanic demographic has increased by over 74% and currently comprises approximately 6% of the state’s population (Applied Population Laboratory, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). In this same decade, the state’s overall growth was relatively slow, but Latino/Hispanic accounted for slightly over 44% of its growth. Wisconsin has at times responded with anti-(im)migrant policy initiatives—such as withdrawing state policies that allowed undocumented students to pay in-state tuition—and data show that one-third of Latino/Hispanic adults in the state live in poverty (Few Hispanic Center, 2006). Nonetheless, there is ample evidence that Latinos/Hispanics are integrating into the region’s sociocultural,
sociopolitical landscape (Benjamín-Alvarado, DeSipio, & Montoya, 2009; Pacheco, 2012).

Demographic shifts in non-traditional gateway communities create dynamic cultural and linguistic contact zones whereby (in) migrant and receiving communities are mutually affected. Driscoll is one mid-sized city with a population of approximately 235,000 that has recently experienced significant demographic shifts. Despite its longstanding White Euro-American majority and African-American minority, the city had a Latino/Hispanic population of 6.8% in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). This shift, however, is most pronounced in the local school districts. Between the 2000–01 and 2011–12 school years, for example, the percentage of Latino/Hispanic students has more than doubled—from 6.9% to 17.9% (WINNS, 2012). Thus, school-aged Latino/Hispanic students are in a unique position to engage as cultural and linguistic brokers across (in)migrant home contexts, local community spaces, and classrooms and schools.

Participants

Study participants currently include two male and four female U.S.-born Latina/o middle and high school students. I had met them previously through a multi-year study of a community-based teen newspaper, the Mainstream Gazette, which documented students’ developmental trajectories from novice to proficient journalists (Pacheco, 2010a). The majority of teen journalists at the community-based newspaper were English-only speakers but a quarter of them were native speakers of Spanish, Chinese, Nepali, Japanese, and Hindi. Given my particular interest in English-Spanish biculturality among adolescents, I recruited the six youth that were primary speakers of Spanish. Their families migrated from Mexico when these adolescents were very young. Like many (im)migrants, they migrated to the United States in search of economic opportunities and connected with networks of family, extended relatives, and friends from their Mexican hometowns to “make it” in the New Latino Diaspora of the upper Midwest.

While the larger study is ongoing, this chapter centers on a line of analysis pertaining to Sara who learned Spanish as a home language but who has been a proficient English-Spanish bilingual since she started attending school. I developed a close relationship with Sara and her two cousins, Camila and Perla, during my time at the community-based newspaper and I occasionally treated them to dinner, the movies, or a play. This close relationship facilitated my communications with their mothers, who seemed to have a high level of trust for the Mainstream Gazette staff and educators in general. My Spanish-speaking ability also played a key role as the mothers and I could communicate about a range of topics, including our (im)migrant narratives, our cultural backgrounds, their daughters’ schooling, and our personal lives, especially since I was of a similar age. Still, their daughters were a common topic and they occasionally asked me for advice. These mothers’ insights helped me understand their daughters’ experiences from a different perspective.

In the following section, I briefly address some of the major findings of the larger study to provide a broader context for understanding Sara’s border-crossings and the representativeness of her experiences. I then analyze Sara’s participation across settings and contexts, highlighting the ways her multi-dimensional locations and experiences affected this participation, as well as her emerging consciousness and actions related to positionings that occurred in those spaces.

FINDINGS

The Broader Context

Three major findings emerged from my analysis of youths’ participation across a range of settings and contexts but also my analysis of the ways in which intersections of race/ethnicity, class, gender, legal status, language, and religion factored into bi/multilingual Latina youth’s lives. First, it became clear across youth that even though they participated in relatively similar settings (i.e., the Mainstream Gazette, home), their interactional and multi-dimensional lives mattered in nevertheless distinct ways that had social and material consequences, particularly in terms of educational access and opportunities.

Second, there seemed to be a mutually exclusive relationship between educational success and their ethnic-cultural identities, which these youth both understood and reified in their decision-making practices. In other words, they made deliberate decisions about what type and degree of the available— albeit imposed—ethnic-cultural identities of “Mexican,” “(im)migrant,” “gang member,” and “ESL kid” they would enact and embody across these contexts. These enactments and embodiments also intersected with their co-participants’ varied ideologies and views. In this regard, these youth were simultaneously seeing and ‘being seen’ and hence revealing their “differential consciousness” (Aznaldúa, 1987). These deliberative practices can be conceptualized as the forms of resilience (and resistance) that their mothers, families, and communities have helped them develop to confront the vulnerabilities they might experience in particularly oppressive contexts. Finally, these youth had unique social experiences since their interpretations and perceptions—mother–daughter pedagogies for some—intersected distinctly with their social, cultural, and linguistic worlds. Sara’s
case is an illustrative and representative example of how these intersections shaped her everyday life even as she was simultaneously shaping the shifting linguistic and cultural spaces she navigated and negotiated.

Sara: "I hang out with the White kids"

Sara's case highlights that even though she was a successful student, participated across several academic programs and extracurricular activities, and had a home environment that partly facilitated her successful participation in these contexts; this success seemed to align primarily with her views of being 'American.' It appeared that, from her point of view, success across contexts depended on her ability to embody and enact a White, American—and English-speaking—identity at the expense of her ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities. While scholars have begun to challenge the 'acting white' approach to becoming academically successful (see Ogusu, 2008), Sara's case illustrates that her multi-dimensional experience pertaining to her language, culture, and Mexican (im)migrant background factored into her life. Significant tensions emerged for her (and her mother) as her attempts to realize a "good American student" persona clashed with the substantial challenges she faced at school.

Sara was in her freshman and sophomore years at the time of data collection and was a relatively successful student since she was enrolled in honors and college preparatory classes. In sixth grade, she was selected to participate in a university pre-college enrollment program for underrepresented students that awarded tuition scholarships to students who were admitted and chose to attend this university right after high school. Throughout middle and high school, the program provided weekly tutoring sessions, a summer academic enrichment program, academic advising, and assistance with the college application process. Her parents immigrated from Zacatecas, Mexico and moved to Dighton to join extended family members on the father's side. Sara and her younger brother, Adam, were born in Dighton.

Sara was often shy but was equally a determined, focused young woman who was willing to invest her time, energy, and efforts to achieve good grades and obtain a college degree with a tuition scholarship. As mentioned earlier, she was invested in maintaining an "American" identity which she associated with being White and English-dominant, as captured in the following field note excerpt:

When we discussed school, Sara said she only speaks Spanish in her Spanish class and during "passing time" when she runs into other "Latin and Mexican people" in the hallway. She specified that she mostly speaks English at school and that even though she occasionally interacts with other Spanish speakers, she likes to "hang out with English-speaking people" because "the Mexican kids do bad stuff, like gangs and I don't wanna do that stuff so I hang out with the White kids." So, she knows Spanish speakers but chooses to hang out with English-only speakers. [Field note, September 29, 2010]

By the time she was in high school, Sara had already developed some clear distinctions between being Spanish-speaking Mexican and Latino who do "bad stuff" and may be in a gang as well as being White, English-speaking, and "good" and views about what cultural identities she would enact (Olson, 1997; Pacheco, 2010b; Valdes, 1998). It seemed that despite being a fluent bi/multilingual of Mexican descent and brief interactions with students who shared her ethnolinguistic background, she made a conscious decision instead to "hang out with the English-speaking (White) people." She seemed to embody a "differential consciousness" about how dominant society and dominant groups perceived "the White kids" in positive ways as "good" students and people. Even though it is unclear how she developed her views about different groups, her views certainly aligned with negative stereotypes and images of Mexicans and Latinos in the popular media. Another way she enacted this "good" identity was by participating in mainstream extracurricular activities.

Sara spent most of her after-school time participating in cross-country practices and meets, attending required tutoring sessions for the university pre-college program twice per week, and "working" at the Gazette, which I discuss below. She was a member of her high school cross-country team though she acknowledged her marginal success. Still, she very much enjoyed running and went for long runs outdoors by herself when the weather permitted as a way to relax and have fun; in fact, her Facebook timeline poster was of a woman running outside in the countryside. Indeed, "runner" was a salient identity and relative to other aspects of her life.

Participation in a Community-Based Newspaper

As mentioned earlier, Sara "worked" as a teen journalist at the Main- town Gazette for about two to four hours per week alongside where she received a small monthly stipend for every story she published in the monthly newspaper. Her older cousin Veronica, who had also been a teen journalist, had encouraged Sara and her two cousins to participate in the community-based newspaper. In many ways, Veronica was a role model for Sara and her two cousins. It was clear from these teens and their mothers that they were expected to follow Veronica's path since participation at the Gazette resulted in valuable sources of cultural capital. For example, the adult editorial staff helped facilitate the college application process, assisted youth with autobiographical statements, and provided excellent letters of recommendation.
for teen journalists. Since Sara’s (im)migrant parents spoke very little English and had limited knowledge of schooling in the United States, they highly valued the assistance that the community-based organization and its staff could provide their daughter.

Typically, teen journalists received an original article source from both well-known hard copy and on-line publications and magazines (e.g., Wisconsin State Journal, csn.com, Deseret, etc.), which they then had to summarize within the journalism genre. The topics addressed in the Gazette newspaper reflected many of the same topics addressed in school: geography, history, physics, and health, for example. The editorial staff also assigned current events, technology, education, as well as oddities and “weird” news articles. In addition to its small staff, the organization relied on “teen editors” who had proven themselves as effective journalists, reliable and responsible, and positive mentors for novice teen journalists. Also, the program relied on numerous community volunteers such as retired journalists and teachers and occasionally, undergraduates from local universities.

Sara struggled a great deal with the everyday tasks and responsibilities related to journalistic writing in English, especially when she first started participating in the program as a novice teen journalist. During my observations in the newsroom, I documented her challenges with fully comprehending the article sources, deciding between major and minor details to include in her summaries, and writing with the use of journalistic conventions (e.g., short sentences, succinct description, effective “hooks”). My analysis demonstrated, however, that Sara’s ongoing challenges were significantly mediated by the spatial and temporal organization of human resources, material resources, and problem-solving resources in the newsroom. That is, teen journalists could access information, reference materials, and tips as their needs changed during the course of their journalism work. The newsroom, therefore, was spatially organized to allow free movement among program participants and to allow access to laptops with Internet access, reference materials, style and tip sheets, checklists, newspapers, and news magazines. Because teens completed most article summaries independently, the staff did not place rigid expectations about time-to-completion. Instead, teens could delve into an article to learn more about the topic or take advantage of working with available staff members and community volunteers on early drafts of their article summary. In this context, Sara thrived with the needed support from staff, teen editors, volunteers, and undergraduates to develop and hone a range of writing skills.

She regularly completed summaries that were deemed worthy of publication in the newspaper and over time, she was assigned more complex topics and denser article sources.

When I asked Sara to reflect on her challenges with English writing, she understood they were quite unique to her own experience as a Mexican/
functioning and valuing of institutions such as the Guastavine school where language faces prominently.

Further, she took the stance that the amount of what student say—regardless of accent, dialect, or non-standard forms—is ultimately more important than how they say it, "as long as you point gets across." She also seemed to have developed a sophisticated understanding that White students possess some highly valued language practices. It is evident from her doubtful posturing (i.e., "I don't know") and reasoning that even though she believed White people were "smart," she also believed they had several advantages (e.g., helpful parents, flexibility to focus on school, being U.S.-born). Thus, she seemed to implicitly critique the valuing of the way students speak rather than the valuing of what they say even as she continued to question and interrogate the reasons for White students' seemingly effortless accomplishments.

An important point here is that regardless of her challenges with standard and academic English language and with honing her journalistic writing; she found a flexible, robust support network in the resource-laden newsroom at the Guastavine. Her participation at the Guastavine, then, was modified and facilitated by her co-participants and the timely, relevant, and individualized help they provided on various articles about mammals, jellyfish, and bats as well as book reviews. My analysis of everyday newsroom practices demonstrated that the sociocultural organization of assistance, guidance, and support—rather than individual ability—that allowed Sara's successful participation and full inclusion as a novice (and later a teen editor) in the newsroom community. While Guastavine staff members minimally discussed her Spanish-language background and life circumstances, the program was one context where her challenges were less consequential even though she was developing a sense of marginalization from and critique about the power of the English language. At home, Sara's mother was increasingly aware of the power of English, educational institutions, and American popular culture and engaged in calculated actions to mitigate their effects on her daughter.

**Mother-Daughter Pedagogies**

Sara's mother, Señora Salazar, was determined and invested in her daughter's education: she sought many educational opportunities as possible for her daughter, encouraged her accomplishments, school tasks and assignments successfully, and maintained ongoing communications with her daughter's teachers and after-school program staff. Like many Latino (first- and second-generation parents, she enacted her own version of 'parent involvement' because she was unaccustomed and unfamiliar with the U.S. public educational system and its formal and informal structures (Delgado-Gaitán, 1992; López, 2001; Valdés, 1996). As a homemaker raising young Adam, she was able to be highly involved in Sara's everyday life. Señora Salazar, worked as a Chinese restaurant chef to support the family. Sara bonded with her father over the Green Bay Packers and I observed them on several occasions discussing recent sports highlights, football statistics and rankings, and players' recent performances.

Señora Salazar had completed high school in Zacatecas and was highly literate in Spanish. She made concerted efforts to ensure that Sara had enough time to complete required schoolwork by making minimal demands of her within the home (e.g., chores). She respected her daughter's busy schedule pertaining to school and extracurricular activities but there were two areas where Señora Salazar asserted her parental authority: Sara's Spanish language maintenance as well as her Christian upbringing.

On most Sundays, the family attended a Christian church that, based on its growing Spanish-speaking congregation, had recently decided to provide Sunday services through simultaneous English-Spanish translation. Moreover, simultaneous translation was instituted to keep bi/multilingual youth "engaged with their parents" and to make religious content relevant for youth because "no puede escucharnos [they don't pay attention]" (Field note, October 10, 2010). In this setting, language backgrounds were accommodated and embraced, even though the church nevertheless maintained its typical religious routines and activities that had existed before their congregation's demographic profile began to change.

At home, Señora Salazar was forthcoming about the "mother-daughter pedagogies" she emphasized with her children, Sara in particular. First, she was adamant about the need for her children to speak and develop their home language. Thus, the parents spoke Spanish exclusively and the children were encouraged to speak Spanish as well, as captured in this memo excerpt:

Señora Salazar elaborated that from a very early age, she created a rule for Sara that required her to use Spanish exclusively at home. She could speak English outside the home "toda la que quiere, pero en la casa tiene que hablar español" (all she wants, but at home she must speak Spanish). She says that it has really helped Sara develop as a bi/multilingual. Now that she's older, Sara tends to speak more English but the rule still stands. However, she uses a different strategy with Adam. She speaks to him in Spanish but attempts to translate everything to English so this translation has become a family endeavor. Just yesterday, for example, Adam asked about a noise and she responded, "Es un tambor" [It's a drum]. She then turned to Sara, who translated "tambor" into "drum." Though she is using different strategies with her children, she and her husband value both languages. (Memo, September 25, 2010)

Even though Sara was beginning to use English almost exclusively and was in English mainstream classes, Señora Salazar made concerted efforts...
to maintain and develop her home language. One particular activity she organized to promote Spanish language development was a weekly Bible reading. Oftentimes, mother and daughter read and discussed the Bible together. In her explanation about this routine practice, Señora Salazar referenced a television show about the importance of being bi/multilingual among recent university graduates looking for jobs.

Nevertheless, she was frustrated by the fact she could not help Sara with her homework for her Spanish classes because she did not know "eso de la gramática y los acentos" [things related to grammar and accents]. Additionally, she referenced occasional comments by Sara’s Spanish teacher that “Spanish from Spain is the main and real Spanish” (Field note, December 5, 2010). Given these circumstances, it is clear that language ideologies about “correct” and substantive Spanish-language proficiency (Achuga, 2008; Valdés, Gomez, Garcia, & Márquez, 2003) factored into Sara’s life experiences. On one hand, Sara’s mother was deeply committed to Sara’s Spanish-language maintenance through deliberately coordinated activities and tasks (e.g., home and church). On the other hand, Sara seemed to favor English and simultaneously received negative messages about the kind and type of Spanish—and Spanish speakers—that are valued.

Furthermore, Señora Salazar believed that Spanish was linked to Mexican culture. Whenever the opportunity arose, she made references to cultural traditions, beliefs, worldviews, and practices. For example, during one conversation between Sara, Señora Salazar, and I, we discussed the extent to which parents are honored and revered among Mexican families in the U.S. and Mexico. Specifically, Señora Salazar explained, “Honor a tus padres en su manera de honrar a Dios… En nuestra cultura se acentúa que los padres se huyen sobre todo” [Honoring your parents is one way to honor God… In our culture, it is customary that parents are honored above all else] (Field note, October 10, 2010). Even though Señora Salazar was perhaps homogenizing an entire group’s culture, she took advantage of opportunities to remind Sara “who we are” despite the circulating discourses about them as members of a Mexican/Latino ethnonational group. Yet, Sara responded to her mother’s assertion by proclaiming, “I love America!” in a loud and affirmative tone as if to show her inclinations into “nuestra cultura” [our culture]. Because Sara identified as “American,” she was clearly both aware and responsive to circulating discourses that denigrated her home language (and her mother’s efforts) and her Mexican cultural background even if it meant distancing herself from her mother.

Finally, Señora Salazar’s mother-daughter pedagogies included sustained communications with Sara’s classroom teachers and the Maestras Gigante staff as well as advocacy work on her daughter’s behalf. To expand her knowledge about the U.S. educational system and the post-secondary pipeline, she gathered as much information and problem-solving strategies as possible from accessible teachers, Guatite staff, extended family, and educators (e.g., this author). When I first met her, for example, she asked me to share my educational narrative with her and Sara. She asked questions such as “¿Cómo le ha ido?” and “¿Cómo le ayudaron sus padres?” [How did you do? How did your parents help you?] (Field note, October 10, 2010).

During participatory observations, Señora Salazar shared a critical incident she experienced with one of Sara’s teachers. It pertained to an attempt she made to cooperate with one of Sara’s teachers on her class grade, which I captured in a field note:

The previous school year, Señora Salazar contacted Ms. Green, one of Sara’s middle school teachers, about the fact Sara’s grades were worsening. When contacted Ms. Green, she asked for some help monitoring Sara’s schoolwork and grades. The teacher explained that Sara’s low grades were due primarily to incomplete homework. Señora Salazar explained that she herself could not determine whether Sara completed her homework, did her assignments correctly, or fulfilled her teachers’ expectations. Thus, she asked Ms. Green to notify her whenever Sara’s homework was not submitted, incomplete, or incorrect. This suggestion angered Ms. Green—“Yo misel más se” [She got really bothered]. Within the next week, Ms. Green forced Sara to call her mother about her homework during class, which Señora Salazar thought was humiliating. She also noticed that her daughter’s attitude had started to change and decided she needed to be moved to another classroom. Señora Salazar contacted the assistant principal and school counselor to make her request. She also followed up with Ms. Green, who ignored her for two weeks. When they finally spoke, Señora Salazar demanded an explanation but the teacher instead proceeded to complain that she was the only parent who communicated with her—implying this was unfortunate. Although Señora Salazar threatened to complain to the district if Sara was not moved, the process took an entire semester so she decided to abandon the issue (Field note, December 5, 2010).

This particular incident illustrates that Señora Salazar was not only aware of the mechanisms used to rank students (i.e., grades, homework) but also that there were strategies she could employ to challenge teachers’ practices, such as working closely with teachers to monitor students’ schoolwork and performance. Importantly, it demonstrates the extent to which Señora Salazar was constrained in her ability to help Sara with her homework because assignments were in English and she did not know enough about U.S. schools to determine how, specifically, assignments needed to be completed.

Home-school misunderstandings and the subsequent marginalization of parents have been well documented, especially as these issues pertain to Chicano/Latino (immigrant parents and mothers in particular (Lopez-Shelton, 2010; Valdés, 1996; Vilén & Deyle, 1999). In Wisconsin,
researchers have documented that, for example, even when Latino migrant and (im)migrant parents have mobilized to advocate for their children, school administrators, teachers, and staff at times ignore these efforts (Cline & Necochea, 2006; Olivio, 2004). In Señora Salazar’s case, she acted on her emergent knowledge of schooling systems and the spaces where particular policies and practices could be modified by administrators, teachers, students, and/or parents—individually or collectively. While Señora Salazar reached out to administrators, a teacher, and a counselor, her attempts to get Sara re-assigned to another classroom were at best ignored and at worst met with insults.

Here, the intersectionality of language, class, and (im)migrant status affected Señora Salazar’s ability to facilitate Sara’s educational success and ability to advocate changes in her daughter’s education. That is, despite her high school education in Mexico, her status as a Spanish-speaking Latina (im)migrant might have affected the teacher’s response to her as it has long been documented that mainstream teachers tend to hold negative views of non-dominant parents of color (Pacheco, 2010b; Ramirez, 2003; Scott-Marsh & Swick, 2006). As a Spanish-dominant speaker with limited formal schooling because of her family’s low socioeconomic status in her home country, Señora Salazar’s multidimensional experiences factored into the ways she could potentially mitigate Sara’s increasing vulnerability as a student. Though she possessed sufficient knowledge to understand her daughter’s increasing level of risk in school, she did not possess the types of cultural capital upper- and middle-class dominant group parents transform into opportunities to advocate on behalf of their children in school settings (Auerbach, 2017; Jasso & Orfield-Jay, 2004; Lareau, 2000).

Mother-daughter pedagogies for Señora Salazar centered on promoting education and academic success, providing Sara plenty of time and space at home to complete her schoolwork and supporting her participation in after-school activities that were enjoyable and academically oriented (e.g., cross country, Guata). She monitored Sara’s educational progress and actively became involved when Sara’s grades began to decline, talking with teachers and other adults familiar with schooling in the United States. Furthermore, it was evident that she was equally invested in her daughter’s cultural identity. She made sure Sara attended church service on a weekly basis and required Sara to read and discuss the Bible in Spanish, which she also linked with being culturally Mexican—things no adult in the community (i.e., Mexicans) do. Recall that, for example, Sara regularly made references about “loving America” and held negative albeit socially constructed perceptions about “Mexican kids who do bad stuff” at her school.

My ongoing analysis of these mother-daughter pedagogies reveals that through these practices, Señora Salazar simultaneously acknowledged that Sara needed to enact a “good student” identity associated with the highly valued opportunity provided by the U.S. public education system as well as a cultural identity linked to her parents, extended family, being ‘‘bicultural’’ and ‘‘dualing’’ Mexican, and Christianity. In some ways, these practices reflected her fundamental dilemma. She had a keen perception about the type of views, dispositions, activities, and academic performance that is needed to succeed in education and in U.S. society. Drawing on her social location and experiences as a Spanish-dominant Latina (im)migrant in the New Latino Diaspora, she was still developing a nuanced understanding about the strategies and opportunities Sara actually needed to achieve educational and life success. On the contrary, Señora Salazar held strong beliefs about the particular cultural and religious practices, traditions, customs, and worldviews Sara needed to develop and maintain to succeed across her lifetime. In essence, she leveraged her growing knowledge about educational access and opportunity to help prepare her daughter for a still unknown future (Villenas, 2005; Villenas & Moreno, 2001), protecting her against still unknown risks and even as she helped her develop some resilience.

Discussion

The case of Sara demonstrates that she was appropriating particular circulating discourses about Latino cultures and languages as well as developing sophisticated but nuanced perspectives about the power of the English language in educational settings as well as in society. She was questioning “the way things are” for her White counterparts and interrogating the understandings of meritocracy since her individual efforts were not resulting in similar levels of success. Nonetheless, she experienced relative success as a tenacious journalist with the robust assistance, guidance, and support from Garrett staff and volunteers. At the same time, Sara and Señora Salazar were developing strategies and pedagogies to enhance their life chances.

For Sara, the American and Mexican social worlds seemed mutually exclusive. For Señora Salazar, mother-daughter pedagogies attempted to resolve this tension. Those pedagogies both encouraged Sara to embrace nepotismo—the ambiguities, contradictions, multidimensionality, and intersectionality of life as a Latina Bilingual/multilingual adolescent in the New Latino Diaspora. They reflected Señora Salazar’s trans-border lived experiences and emergent understandings about life in the New Latino Diaspora and the important need to retain and perpetuate some highly valued cultural practices and ideologies, despite its distinct challenges. Thus, in many ways, Sara was a nepotista—living with ambivalence, traversing distinct social and linguistic worlds, enacting trans-border and trans-cultural identities (e.g., student, runner, ten journalist, English-speaking friend, Mexican), navigating ongoing contradictions and dilemmas, and resolving the process
of 'seeing' and 'being seen' in particular ways in society. It was clear that Severa Salazar was deeply invested in Sara's educational and life future and that the consequences for Sara were still in process and being negotiated.

Conclusion

Given that many Midwestern communities are experiencing significant increases in their Spanish-speaking Latino populations, this New Latino Diaspora represents a unique sociocultural, sociopolitical context for bi/multilingual adolescents. These spaces are not neutral, however, and reflect the unique and changing sociocultural, sociopolitical contexts that affect these youths' teaching and learning trajectories—as well as their identities. Thus, they provide important insights into bi/multilingual adolescents' ecologies of development. Latina bi/multilingual adolescents in effect neoparamitism (Anzaldúa, 2009). These neoparamitism are bicultural and between-illegalistic and cultural world shaping and being shaped by these sociocultural, sociopolitical contexts where they experience divergent forms of acceptance, accommodation, and inclusion as well as marginalization, exclusion, and positioning.

This study has implications for educational researchers and practitioners, particularly those interested in bi/multilingual adolescents. First, it demonstrates that analyses of language must account for both the sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts of development for bi/multilingual youth, especially since assessment and accountability frameworks continue to narrow what it means to fully know language. For example, despite her relative success in school, Sara felt increasingly marginalized based on her understanding about the way language practices interested with race/ethnicity, culture, class, and (im)migrant background, and so on. Her growing critiques—and the critiques of other vulnerable students—serve a more prominent place in the crafting of educational policy and practice.

Second, our theories of language, culture, learning, and development must recognize the everyday life of being biethnic and between-for language minority and (im)migrant youth who are contending with multiplicity, contradictions, hybridity, and ambiguity (Anzaldúa, 1987, 2002). My point is that a more in-depth examination of the in-between spaces and the border-crossings reveal the extent to which youth—and those around them—are actively and creatively managing the fissures and crevices. Third, given these ecologies of development, educators might also consider the strategies, resources, and pedagogies for resilience and resistance youth, families, and communities develop to confront and overcome their distinct educational and life circumstances (Lee, 2010). These responses certainly would illuminate ways that educators can better assist, guide, and support language minority and (im)migrant youth, families, and communities with limited socioeconomic means as they navigate systems and institutions they are only beginning to fully comprehend. Finally, it seems that the power of mother-daughter and home-community педагогу cannot be understated: Severa Salazar was deeply invested in the person Sara was being and becoming. Rather than continue to employ outdated modes and models of 'parent involvement,' educators are well positioned to learn from language minority and (im)migrant parents who are preparing their children for futures they can only imagine.

NOTES

1. "Latina" (with an e at sign) is a combination of "Latina" and "Latina"—the maculize and feminine forms in Spanish that signify an individual of Latin American origin.
2. The terms "Latina" and "Hispanic" are used throughout this paper to characterize individuals of Mexican, Central American, and South American descent and who either speak Spanish as a home or were raised in Spanish-dominant homes. The terms "immigrant" refers to first-generation individuals who migrated to the United States, as well as their children (the 1.5 generation).
3. For this paper, "bi/multilingual" refer to an individual who is relatively fluently using two languages—in this case, Spanish and English.
4. I recognize that use of the phrase "unaccommodated (im)migrant" poses many potentially problematic assumptions (e.g., dehumanizes them on the basis of U.S. policy). Still, the term is used commonly to describe the life experiences of individuals who did not enter the United States through a formalized process and yet contribute to its social and economic reality.
5. All names are pseudonyms.

REFERENCES


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