

TRADITIONAL LATINO CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND
THE READING OF HISTORICAL TEXTS

by

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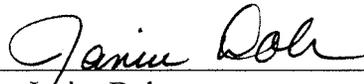
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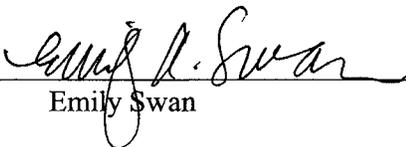
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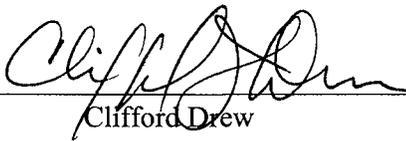
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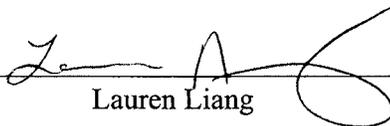
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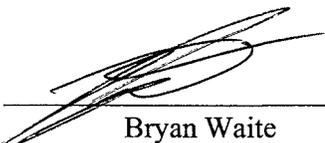
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ABSTRACT

The study uses the think aloud responses of 9 Latino freshman college students to analyze the forms of cultural background knowledge used while reading culturally relevant social studies texts. Each participant was asked to read four texts dealing with César E. Chávez and the United Farm Workers movement. Think alouds were analyzed to determine the forms of cultural background knowledge students used, if reading levels or demographic indicators influenced the use of cultural background knowledge, and participant metacognitive awareness of cultural background knowledge. The findings were compared to recent multicultural research surrounding Latino background knowledge. The findings suggest that Latinos use a large and varied amount of cultural background knowledge when reading culturally relevant social studies texts. The findings also suggest that research and theory concerning Latino cultural background knowledge may be synthesized into a new model-cultural background knowledge.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

I did not realize it at the time, but I used to believe that my students had limited opportunities in life. I thought that poverty was the root of many of their problems, and that this was something too big for me to change as a teacher. (Martha Floyd Tenery, a teacher, as cited in Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 95)

I find some of them [students] are so relieved to finally read something they're interested in, like sometimes I'll have novels, *cuentos*, traditional stories that we'll read. And they just love those stories, they'll eat them up, they ask me to take home the book. (Gina, a middle-school teacher, as cited in Sleeter, 2005, p. 148)

I did not believe that Latino culture had anything of value. For me, it was about growing up to be on the TV show, *Happy Days*. White culture was everything that was good; Latino culture held nothing but negative images.

Each of the vignettes points to the importance of a multicultural social studies education that positively influences not only the student but the teacher and curriculum as well. The vignettes address the need for students and teachers to view diverse heritage as a source of wealth instead of a deficit. Blaming Latino culture for the underachievement of Latino students has been all too common (Yosso, 2006). Fortunately, deficit views connected to Latino culture have been clearly refuted by the research (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso). Yet many teachers in the public school systems are unaware of the research suggesting that vast amounts of cultural knowledge

exist in Latino communities that can be used to help Latino students succeed in the classroom (Delpit, 1988; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Yosso). The result of not connecting to Hispanic communities is evident in the abysmal graduation rates of Latinos. According to 2000 census data, out of 100 Chicanos¹ entering elementary school, 56 will drop out of high school and only 44 will go on to graduate from high school with their class (Yosso).

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify some of the forms of traditional Latino background knowledge used by Latino students as they read culturally relevant texts. Among the potential significance of this study is the opportunity to identify the different forms of knowledge among Latino students so teachers, students, and researchers may be positively influenced about the forms of cultural background knowledge students bring to the classroom.

Educating Teachers About Cultural Knowledge

As a social studies teacher-educator, I have experienced many situations in which preservice teachers and in-service teachers have needed explicit training in the multiple forms of background knowledge students bring to the classroom. This observation is corroborated by research on the importance and utility of culturally specific background knowledge held by children in some Hawaiian schools (Au, 1980; Au & Blake, 2003) and the identification of different forms of funds of knowledge held by Latino students in Arizona schools (Gonzalez et al., 2005;

¹Yosso defined Chicanos as “people of Mexican descent” (p. 2) and as a subgroup of Latinos.

Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). The social studies research conducted by Barton, McCully, and Marks (2004) points to commonly held misconceptions of preservice teachers about the lack of background knowledge held by some students. In addition, the preservice teachers within the Barton et al. study believed there was a deficit, for all students, of background knowledge that could help students acquire social studies knowledge.

Recently, one of my history students was assigned to student teach in a highly diverse school in one of the major districts serviced by our university. Although I had prepared the student teacher to value the background knowledge of all students, his cooperating teacher stressed that students in this particular school were not “capable of higher order thinking.” The cooperating teacher went on to say the key to teaching social studies in this school was to “drill the basics into their heads so they at least learn something.” Clearly, the cooperating teacher held a deficit view towards his Latino students and was not hesitant to share it with my student teacher. Although my preservice teacher had been trained to value diverse students and to activate background knowledge, he was unsure as to what Latino background knowledge meant beyond what has been identified by Gonzalez et al. (2005) as “the outdated notion of culture as special and isolated ritual events and artifacts, the kind featured in *National Geographic*.” Frankly, until coming across cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006), I was unsure as to how to generalize Latino cultural knowledge beyond the mainstream views of cultural knowledge discussed above. My main suggestion to my students, prior to learning about cultural wealth

theory, was to “just build relationships with the kids” and “use culturally relevant texts.” Unfortunately, most culturally relevant texts and culturally relevant curriculum (curriculum related to a student’s cultural heritage) used in the school systems only present a superficial view of culture, mainly as “*tamales*, *quinceaneras*, and *cinco de mayo celebrations*” (Gonzalez et al., p. 99). Such use often results in relationships and educational experiences that are superficial, further marginalizing Latino students.

As a Latino, I knew the complexities, values, and dispositions of my culture but I had never seen it expressed in generalized statements that I believed to be accurate for most Latino individuals brought up in traditional homes. The funds of knowledge research conducted by Gonzalez et al. (2005) is extremely valuable and gives many insights into the cultural background knowledge of some Arizona students, but the research is anthropological and regionalized. However, cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) has potential general application and holds much promise, though the theory is so new that there is little research, if any, to support its utilization in a classroom. In addition, it has not been applied to a content area such as social studies.

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the various forms of cultural background knowledge Latino students use while reading culturally relevant historical texts. Such research answers the call of multicultural and social studies educators to acknowledge and use the experiential knowledge of people of color (Bell & Clark, 1998; Gonzalez et al., 2005; National Council for the Social

Studies, 1991; Yosso, 2006) and potentially fills the need of helping novice teachers understand the nature of a student's background knowledge and its potential application to history education (Barton et al., 2004). Thus, the main research question of this study is: What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant historical texts?

Foundational Research

The following research-based ideas are central to understanding the purpose of this dissertation. Sequentially, these research-based ideas will build the argument for using case study design for this dissertation, with the main data source being think aloud methodology. First, mainstream social studies curriculum is uninteresting and limits the opportunities of Latino students to use their unique cultural background knowledge towards conceptual understanding or critical thinking skills in history classes. Second, the multicultural literature points to many potential sources of traditional Latino cultural background knowledge. Third, Latino cultural background knowledge influences Latino students' interpretation of texts. Finally, think alouds can reveal different forms of activated cultural background knowledge.

Mainstream Social Studies Curriculum

Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik (1990) stated that history is among the least liked subjects in the curriculum. The sentiments have been echoed by the research of other educators (Holt, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 2001). In 1980, Shaver, Davis,

and Helburn discussed some of the problems surrounding social studies instruction. Unfortunately, many of the same problems still existed during the review of social studies teaching conducted by Seixas in 2001 (Shaver et al.) and continue today. Each of the studies cited the problem of historical knowledge being mainly associated with increased accumulation of historical facts. According to this view, demonstration of historical knowledge involves being able to reproduce information during discussions or on tests, most of which are decontextualized. The other problem cited in both studies was that the main curriculum tool is the textbook. In addition, teachers and students view the textbook as authoritative.

The above-mentioned problems are magnified when viewed through the lens of diversity. Traditional history instruction usually presents mainstream interpretations of history in which the voice of women and minorities is rarely interwoven into the history. Students from upper- and middle-class White families see social studies texts as a mirror into their culture. Conversely, minority students view textbooks as windows into the White culture rather than as mirrors, thereby seeing themselves as “others” in the curriculum (Banks, 2008; Sleeter, 2005). Latinos often find it difficult to make connections to mainstream social studies curriculum because they feel they are studying materials they are supposed to be a part of but instead feel a disconnect between what they value and experience and what they are studying (Urrieta, 2004).

The authoritative voice used by textbooks creates barriers for Latino students. Textbooks tend to mirror the dominant culture and are culturally loaded

with White mainstream culture regardless of attempts by textbook publishers to round out the curriculum (Paxton, 1999; Reynolds, Taylor, Steffensen, Shirey, & Anderson, 1982) by placing underrepresented populations into blue text boxes or in other segregated sections of the textbook. The dull, dispassionate voice of the textbook is often seen as detached and without bias (Wineburg, 2001). In essence, the textbook becomes the last and only word as to how history should be written (Wineburg), leaving no opportunities for Latino students to use their background knowledge to think critically about the text.

Sources of Traditional Cultural Wealth

When Latino households and communities are studied, researchers find that Latinos acquire multidimensional depth and breadth from their participation in household life and ethnic communities (Gonzalez et al., 2005). Much of their findings identify cultural knowledge that correlates to social studies knowledge. For example: Some students were found to already be running small neighborhood stores (*tienditas*) for their families (Gonzalez et al.). Such knowledge would easily connect to economic social studies curriculum. Other students were found to have familiarity with occupational knowledge gathered from family discussions on mining, geography, and international commerce. Students also gained vast quantities of knowledge from their family interactions: such as learning social history from family storytelling, religious training as part of culture in daily and festival worship, and a view of the complexities of culture (Gonzalez et al.). Recently, Yosso (2006) has begun to generalize the various forms of cultural

capital, including cultural capital used to resist and navigate the mainstream, under the term “cultural wealth.” Cultural wealth, as used by Yosso, refers to the aspirational, linguistic, navigational, social, familial, and resistant knowledge found in Latino communities.

Interpretation and Engagement

The type of background knowledge an individual has helps determine his or her interpretation of text (Brozo, Cantu Valerio, & Salazar, 1996; Reynolds et al., 1982). The influence of student cultural knowledge on the interpretation of texts was shown quite clearly by Reynolds et al. in their study on friendly, verbal jousting between friends, sometimes referred to as “sounding.” In that study, students reading from a traditional urban Afro-centric perspective understood the text differently from their White counterparts. Similarly, Epstein (2001) was able to demonstrate that African American students interpreted texts differently from their White counterparts based on their experiential knowledge. The importance of background knowledge on the interpretation of texts is reflected in recommendations made by the National Council for the Social Studies. The National Council for the Social Studies (1991) stresses that social studies should

include the varied experiential perspective of students of color [in order to] comprehend multiple perspectives that emerge from within their own culture [and help students] make appropriate sense of the actions, ideas, and products of others. (Section 18.0)

Culturally relevant readings that activate background knowledge lead to increased student engagement (Banks, 2008; Brozo et al., 1996; Jimenez &

Gamez, 1998). The use of culturally relevant texts by Jimenez and Gamez led to increase in metacognition, strategy use, and student engagement in social studies and science. Jimenez and Gamez used children's literature focusing on corn and tortillas, topics common to the background knowledge of Latino students raised in traditional households. Brozo et al. also demonstrated the connection between student interest and cultural background knowledge. Their study focused on a science/social studies unit connected to the book *Bless Me, Ultima* (Anaya, 1972). Student and parent engagement increased as a result of using the traditional cultural background knowledge of Latino families during the unit of study.

Think Alouds Can Reveal Different Forms of Activated Student Cultural Knowledge

Think alouds help researchers and teachers understand how students use their background knowledge as they verbalize their thinking while reading texts (Ericsson & Simon, 1993; Garner, 1987; Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995). Because think alouds are culturally independent, a researcher can use the think aloud to reveal cultural knowledge or metacognition about cultural knowledge. Verbal reports can be used with bilingual students by transcribing bilingual protocols and translating, as necessary. If proper methodology is used, think alouds will reflect most of what is available in a student's conscious working memory (Ericsson & Simon). Students are not expected to be aware of every process they are engaged in, nor will they be able to verbalize all the strategies they are using. However, most of the thoughts students are capable of recognizing will be captured by

following the basic principles behind think alouds. As a result, think alouds are the perfect vehicle for uncovering different forms of student cultural knowledge while reading historical texts.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the forms of cultural knowledge Latino students use while reading culturally relevant historical texts.

The study will look for evidence associated with the following questions:

1. What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant texts?
2. How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts?
3. As they encounter culturally relevant historical texts, do students become aware that they have cultural knowledge?

Proposed Study

In order to uncover the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latinos as they read culturally relevant historical texts and the effect that reading levels and demographics have on cultural knowledge, I had 9 Latino freshman university students, of various reading levels, read four culturally relevant historical primary and secondary sources. As they read the texts, I used think aloud methodology to document the forms of cultural knowledge used by the participants. Each of the

students was interviewed in order to get additional data concerning participant cultural background knowledge. I used case study design to qualitatively analyze the data. Open, axial, and elaborative coding was used to categorize the data. The research questions will be answered in connection with the coded data and interview data.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical models used in this study are schema theory and situated cognition. Schemata refers to individual units of past cognitive experiences. Schemata can be seen as scripts within a play or as a theory which interprets past events (Rumelhart, 1980). As new knowledge comes into the mind, schemata are activated, and the new information is interpreted through the scripts associated with the particular schemata that have been activated. The new knowledge then becomes part of the overall schema of the individual. This study used think alouds to uncover the schemata Latino students use while reading historical texts.

Schema theory allows for the independent judgment by individuals. By allowing for the independence of the mind in learning, it is possible to overcome the situatedness of the initial formation of schemata. It is this detail of independent cognition that allows schema theory to explain transfer of learning. Without independent cognition, all learning would be constructed outside the mind, in the sociocultural situation, and ideas could never be developed independent of the social context (which is the argument made by sociocultural theorists). Yet the situatedness of the learning is also important, for without situatedness, “learning is

either too general or too specific, and useless for any critical or deep purposes” (Gee, 1996).

Situated cognition states that all schemata is influenced by the particular situation in which the knowledge is learned prior to entering the mind, so the schemata cannot be separated from outside influences. Therefore, according to situated cognition theory, the background knowledge Latino students activate during a think aloud has been previously influenced by their home cultures. However, once the information enters the mind it can be fluidly adapted and changed based on additional experiences and, most important, the judgment of the individual (Gee, 1996). Situated cognition is related to schema theory in that knowledge coming into the mind becomes part of the individual’s schemata, but it differs by positing that the knowledge coming in has been socially mediated.

The strength of situated cognition lies in its appropriation of both sides of the mental and the environment dichotomy. The mental side of the dichotomy will be examined in this study by examining the individual’s reading of the culturally relevant historical texts through think aloud methodology. The individual judgments of students should become clear from using the think aloud protocol to uncover students’ cultural knowledge while reading historical texts. The environmental side will be explored by stimulating working memory through culturally relevant texts and examining the forms of background knowledge revealed in the data.

Operational Definitions

This study will use many terms from multicultural education. Therefore, I will define some of the key multicultural vocabulary used in this study.

Culturally relevant texts are defined as readings that relate to a student's cultural heritage. This study uses four culturally relevant texts associated with the United Farm Workers movement of the late 20th century.

Cultural capital is defined as the knowledge and resources that have value among others and can therefore be used as leverage to get something of worth (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988). This study will frequently refer to the forms of cultural capital used within Yosso's (2006) cultural wealth theory.

Cultural mores are defined as the customs, traditions, and practices that are of importance to a specific group.

Funds of knowledge is defined as the content area knowledge found within Mexican American communities in southern Arizona by teachers engaged in anthropological work for the benefit of their classrooms (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992). For example, students knew about southern Arizona's historical settlements, copper mining, running businesses, folktales, and so on from their interactions and experiences in their home cultures prior to studying about such topics in the classroom. Funds of knowledge research focuses on elementary-age students and predates cultural wealth theory.

Yosso (2006) coined the term *cultural wealth theory* as a label for the various forms of cultural capital found in Latino communities. Cultural wealth

theory is too recent to be used as an isolated term outside of multicultural studies. Therefore, for the purpose of this study cultural wealth, cultural background knowledge (background knowledge that may be generalized to a culture), and cultural knowledge will be used interchangeably. According to Yosso, Latino cultural wealth includes aspirational, social, familial, linguistic, navigational, and resistant capital. Each of these forms of cultural capital/knowledge is described in detail in Chapter 2.

While cultural wealth theory is a main focus of the study for the Latino students with whom I worked, I do not discuss issues of poverty or socioeconomic status that may be related in any number of ways to cultural wealth. Issues related to poverty or socioeconomic status are beyond the scope of this study.

Cultural knowledge is defined as a synthesis of the content area knowledge and cultural capital found within different culture groups.

Think aloud methodology is defined as students being directed to read passages and explaining to the researcher exactly what they are thinking as they encounter the passage. Think alouds can reveal students' background knowledge (Afflerbach, 2002).

Significance of the Study

This study connects recent multicultural education theory and research focusing on Latino cultural knowledge to the reading of culturally relevant historical texts. Uncovering the forms of cultural knowledge activated by students will add to the fields of multicultural education and social studies education by

(a) providing research to support the use of cultural wealth theory in content areas and (b) clarifying the forms of cultural knowledge activated by Latino students when reading culturally relevant historical texts.

Cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) is very new to the field of multicultural education and lacks supporting research in the general curriculum and specific content areas. This study is significant in that it will be one of the first research studies to support the theoretical work initiated by Yosso in the general curriculum or in the classroom. Cultural wealth theory extends the ideas of previous research into cultural knowledge. Funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) describes the different kinds of knowledge students bring with them to the classroom, but limits the research to knowledge yielded from anthropological studies surrounding elementary core knowledge. The forms of cultural knowledge identified in funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al.; Moll et al.) do not generalize beyond the anthropological case studies of the regions studied. Cultural wealth theory is aimed at generalizing the concept of cultural knowledge around different forms of community capital that are common to most traditional Latino communities. Although this study cannot be generalized beyond the findings for the individual participants, it can offer supporting research for a very promising generalized theory of cultural knowledge within the field of multicultural education.

In addition, this study will become one of the first studies to apply cultural wealth theory to a specific content area. This research will help fill the need

described by Barton et al. (2004) for history educators to understand the nature of urban students' background knowledge. Other than funds of knowledge research, few studies, if any, have been conducted to identify the forms of capital Latino students bring to the social studies curriculum. Instead, a majority of studies conducted with students of color focus on using culturally relevant pedagogy within social studies instruction (Brozo et al., 1996; Dillworth, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2001; Tyson, 2002). Of the few studies that investigate student cultural background knowledge (Epstein, 2001; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Tyson), none of them utilize Yosso's generalized concept of cultural wealth within content areas. Epstein's research compared the relationship of cultural background knowledge to the interpretation of American history by African American and European American students. Funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al.; Moll et al., 1992) does not generalize, nor does it view cultural knowledge in the broad terms identified by Yosso (2006). Thus, this study would be the first within the social studies literature to discuss cultural knowledge of Latino students using the broader view of cultural wealth.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the various forms of cultural background knowledge Latino students use while reading culturally relevant historical texts. The literature review will provide the background theory and research associated with this study. I will first summarize some of the basic theories of cognition associated with this study: information processing theory, schema theory, situated cognition, and metacognition. Second, I will summarize the multicultural research and theory associated with Latino cultural background knowledge. Third, I will discuss some of the issues surrounding the use of historical narrative. Fourth, I will discuss research associated with think alouds.

Theories of Cognition

This section will discuss the literature dealing with general theories of cognition and metacognition associated with this study. In order to understand think aloud methodology, it is important to understand how information processing views the ability to conduct research on the processes of the mind. Schema theory explains what may be going on in the minds of Latino students as they access various forms of background knowledge and connect it to new information. Situated cognition relates to all the experiences (socially and culturally) students

bring to the reading of texts. Theories of metacognition help explain awareness of cultural knowledge and critical thinking that may be experienced as students encounter culturally relevant texts. Together, these concepts help explain what may be occurring in the mind as students conduct think alouds with culturally relevant historical texts.

Information Processing Theory

The cognitive revolution of the 1950s replaced behaviorism with mind-centered learning theories, such as information processing and schema theory. Previous learning theories in the United States had been founded on behaviorist principles; behaviorism bi-passed the mind altogether by basing its premise on stimulus response interactions. Behaviorism was the dominant theory used to explain knowledge until the cognitive revolution of the post-World War II years. The basic premise of the cognitive revolution was that all knowledge exists in the mind rather than in behavior (Cobb & Bowers, 1999).

One of the early theorists of the cognitive revolution was Jean Piaget. Piaget used a biological framework for his cognitive development theory. Piaget's theories were based on the concept of biology determining similar stages of cognitive development for all human beings. Within those stages, children develop higher level learning by experiencing the world through sensory-motor activity (Cobb & Bowers, 1999). There is balance between nature and nurture in Piaget's explanation of cognitive learning. However, Piaget's emphasis on biological stages limited independent cognition to those stages and did not allow for accelerated

variance within the individual experience. Whereas Piaget used a biological model to explain cognitive learning, other early pioneers within the cognitive revolution used an information processing model and a schema-driven model to explain learning.

Information processing theory emerged during the cognitive revolution as psychologists began to conduct research using notions of mental knowledge such as mind, cognition, attention, imagery, reasoning, and the “computational metaphor” (Reynolds, Sinatra, & Jetton, 1996). According to Ericsson and Simon (1993) information processing seeks to

reveal in remarkable detail what information [people] are attending to while performing their tasks, and by revealing this information . . . provide an orderly picture of the extra way in which tasks are being performed; the strategies employed, the inferences drawn from information, the accessing of memory by recognition. (p. 220)

Thus, the purpose of information processing is to produce models of cognition, often with the emphasis on the kinds of processes associated with different degrees of expertise. Most of the early information processing research dealt with problem solving by experts in different fields in order to produce working models of what the experts did as they tried to solve different types of problems within and outside their domain (content area) expertise.

Favored at the beginning of the cognitive revolution, information processing was not universally accepted. Information processing theories describe learning as resulting from processing, storing, and retrieving information. Consequently, information-processing theorists believe short- and long-term knowledge is

internalized and readily transferred to other task settings (Cobb & Bowers, 1999). However, a strict computational metaphor has proved too rigid to adequately explain transfer of knowledge or the social conditions surrounding the acquisition of knowledge (Reynolds et al., 1996). Schema theory evolved independently from information processing to better explain the types of cognitive processes associated with learning and transfer of learning.

Schema Theory

Schema theory attempts to explain how readers come to understand new knowledge. Schema theory grew out of a general dissatisfaction with behaviorist explanations of cognitive learning and the strict computational metaphor of information processing. Behaviorism could not adequately explain complex cognitive strategies such as comprehending, remembering, and strategic learning (Reynolds et al., 1996) and the computational metaphor was too rigid to explain transfer of knowledge. According to schema theorists, the mind organizes information in schematas, which are strings of connected information. Individuals build knowledge when schemata they activate and the message they receive make a connection. Comprehension takes place when the mind takes a new message and connects it to prior knowledge or experiences. Rumelhart (1980) uses the metaphor of schemata serving as “scripts in a play” to explain the role of schemata. Since each person has unique schemata, it is unlikely information will be processed in the same way. This type of differentiated process is one of the attributes which separates schema theory from behaviorist theory.

A classic study conducted by Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, and Goetz (1977) is often cited as a reference for the role of an individual's schemata to interpret text. The researchers used an ambiguous text to determine if music students would interpret the text differently from physical education students. The participants in the study ended up interpreting the text along domain knowledge lines. In other words, the physical education students interpreted the text as it related to physical education concepts and the music students did the same for their content area, or domain. The findings suggest personal schemata strongly influence the interpretation of text. A different study, conducted by Reynolds et al. (1982), seems to suggest that the "scripts in a play" also extend to cultural scripts. Reynolds et al. found that Black students interpreted a reading passage about conflict in a lunchroom differently from their White peers. The Black eighth-grade students interpreted the passage to be about "sounding," friendly verbal jousting, whereas the White students interpreted the text to be about physical conflict between students in the lunchroom. The study by Reynolds et al. is one of the few studies directly aimed at viewing the impact of cultural schemata on the interpretation of text.

Situated Cognition

All learning theories attempt to explain how people learn. Many of the theories are predicated by the age-old argument as to whether human beings are formed by their environment or if they are preprogrammed by nature. This continuum has led to a dichotomy within learning theories. One has to take a side

as to whether learning is mind centered or if it is experience centered (Reynolds et al., 1996). Situated cognition straddles the dichotomy to explain learning. On the one hand, situated cognition recognizes that all human beings learn within the parameters set by their unique sociopolitical environment in which they participate, thereby implicating that all learning is socially mediated. On the other hand, situated cognition also credits the human mind as capable of individually interpreting the information based on cognitive processes that are independently situated within the mind.

Situated cognition is an extension of schema theory which is based solely on psychological research and is therefore focused on explaining learning as mind centered. Situated cognition recognizes the importance of environment (or the situation) to learning but does not divorce itself from the independent processes that occur within the mind. Because of this centeredness, situated cognition is a best fit for the synthesis of the experience-centered views of multicultural education and the mind-centered views of historical domain knowledge.

Although the transition from sociocognitive theories to sociocultural theories is beyond the scope of this review, discussing sociocultural theory is important because of its popularity in multicultural educational research. In recent years, educational psychology and teacher education research have relied on the work of anthropologists to explain learning. From such integrations has come the development of sociocultural frameworks. Sociocultural theorists believe there can be no distinction of independent thought because all thinking is influenced by the

environment. Therefore, all thoughts, memories, and cognitive actions are socially mediated. Individual judgment and practices are seen as dependent on the social and cultural practices on which they are formed. There is no room for independent cognition outside of society. At the present time, this is the framework from which many educational theorists are approaching teaching and learning. However, the sociocultural framework has yet to be fully researched and cemented into a coherent theory. Although sociocultural theory is based on the premise that all learning is socially mediated and there is no independent cognition taking place, there seems to be no common model to explain all the individual reasoning that seems to be occurring outside social cultural influences. Thus, sociocultural models are still being developed. As a result, schema theory and situated cognition are the best established theories for this study.

Similarities and differences between situated cognition and schema theory.

Because schema theory and situated cognition are both products of the cognitive revolution, there will be similarities. Chief among them is the idea that the mind is a separate entity which can process information independently, though schema theory does not attempt to explain the impact of socially constructed meaning. Another similarity is the importance of life experiences to background knowledge. Both schema theory and situated cognition rely on background knowledge to explain cognition. To best explain the similarity between schema theory and situated cognition I will extend the explanation of background knowledge as scripts in a play. Since each individual has unique schema, it is unlikely that he or she

will process the new information in the same way, so all scripts will be markedly different. Situated cognition takes this idea and adds a layer of environmental influence prior to the information reaching the mind. Situated cognition argues that scripts in the mind have already been socially mediated. Such social mediation influences the schemata so the schemata are tied into the experience under which it was obtained. Thus, while both theories rely on background knowledge, they do so in different ways.

Schema theory is not set up to account for environmental influence or meaning. Instead, it is a theory that only tries to explain what is happening in the mind for learning to occur. The issue of the social mediation that happens to information prior to entering the mind is not the focus of schema theory. Thus, there is no explanation for what may occur when the meaning created by the group changes. If changes in meaning are not allowed to take place outside of the mind, then each person within the group is creating the exact same schema at the same time, which is not theoretically appealing for an individual cognitive model of understanding. Although Rumelhart (1980) ascertains that schema can be tuned and restructured, he also states that “schema induction does cause some difficulty for the notion of schemata” (p. 54).

Metacognition

Metacognition is the ability to think about one’s own thinking. It is the ability to see above the level in which one is processing information. There is a large body of research concerning metacognition. Hacker (1998) explains that

while there are many definitions of metacognition, there is a “general consensus that a definition of metacognition should include at least these notions: knowledge of one’s knowledge, processes, and cognitive and affective states and the ability to consciously and deliberately monitor and regulate one’s knowledge, processes, and cognitive and affective states (p. 11). Specifically, the literature breaks down metacognition as the ability to (a) consciously monitor the level of knowledge, which we hold and judge if we have enough knowledge to deal effectively with a particular situation; (b) consciously monitor our ability to use declarative and procedural knowledge in the right conditions; and (c) consciously oversee our use of declarative, procedural, and conditional knowledge (Hacker).

The study may reveal if students are metacognitively aware of cultural background knowledge. Identifying such metacognition, or lack thereof, may offer guidelines for instruction on cultural forms of background knowledge for Latino students. Each of these facets of metacognition defined above may be part of the findings associated with cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006) and the reading of culturally relevant historical texts. During a pilot study (described in Chapter 3), 3 of the participants were aware of a lack of cultural knowledge while they were reading the texts. Such findings are consistent with Hacker’s (1998) first facet of metacognition—the ability to judge if we have enough knowledge to deal effectively with a situation. Clearly, each of the 3 participants knew they did not have enough cultural knowledge to connect to some of the readings.

Summary

In this section I have reviewed the literature dealing with general theories of cognition and metacognition. Each of these theories contributes to the understanding of what is occurring in the mind as students read culturally relevant texts. Information processing explains the early research using think alouds. Schema theory explains the importance of background knowledge in cognition. Situated cognition explains the environmental influences on schemata. Metacognition of cultural knowledge is also a possibility when using culturally relevant texts.

Cultural Background Knowledge

There are multicultural research and theory challenging the common notion that Latino students come to school from culturally, socially, and academically deficient backgrounds (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Delpit, 2006; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006). Key theories associated with cultural background knowledge are funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al.; Moll et al., 1992), critical race theory (Delgado Bernal; Villenas & Deyhle; Yosso), and cultural wealth theory (Yosso). Each of the theories plays an important role in the acknowledgement that the experience of Latinos can and should be used in content areas such as social studies. The last section discusses the connections between cultural background knowledge and culturally relevant texts.

Funds of Knowledge Research

Funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) refers to the content area knowledge brought to the classroom by Mexican American students. Funds of knowledge research predates cultural wealth theory and provides much evidence which can be seen as foundational to claims about Latino student cultural capital. In Yosso's (2006) work, there is only minimal connection cited to funds of knowledge research; a majority of citations are associated with critical race theory. The funds of knowledge research is based on the work of actual teachers conducting anthropological field research and implementing their findings in the classroom. It is based on ethnographic studies of Mexican American households. Funds of knowledge research is maintained by the funds of knowledge research project sponsored by the University of Arizona-Tucson.

The main goals of the funds of knowledge research project are (a) to establish a sense of community, (b) to maintain collaboration between teachers and researchers, and (c) to apply funds of knowledge in actual schools. Teachers are trained as anthropological researchers and conduct field work in which they are taught about the origin, use, and distributions of household and community funds of knowledge. The researchers then share their findings in after-school "labs," or study groups. The labs are settings created to help teachers and researchers collaborate and discuss their findings.

The groups are also used to plan, develop, and support innovative instruction. Studies are conducted within classrooms to examine existing

instructional systems and implement the findings from the community research and researcher/practitioner labs (Gonzalez et al., 2005). Through this approach the teachers begin to see their students through new eyes as they discover the amount of knowledge students bring to the classroom. In addition, research into a student's funds of knowledge can also identify community experts from the student's home communities.

The funds of knowledge that have been identified through teacher field work are diverse and enriching to both students and teachers. The teacher-researchers document that Latino students have a rich source of cultural background knowledge that ties into the Arizona state curriculum. Among the social studies findings associated with funds of knowledge is knowledge of Arizona's historical settlements, demographics, and land use. Some students also know the history of early copper mining and basic economic principles associated with running small and large businesses. Funds of knowledge were not limited to social studies knowledge. Most traditional Mexican American students bring knowledge of measuring and metrics to the classroom. In the language arts, researchers document knowledge of folktales and family anecdotes as well as an abundance of writing products, such as journals and essays. The studies also note that Mexican American students bring much science knowledge with them such as knowledge of minerals and gems and knowledge about the impact of the mining industry on the environment. Altogether, funds of knowledge research provides ample evidence that Latinos bring a large amount of background knowledge to the

classroom.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory, which developed from critical legal studies, offers a critical framework from which to view the experiences of people of color (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006). Critical race theory can appear too controversial for educational research because it puts race at the forefront of the dialogue and many schools try to promote a race neutral environment. However, not to acknowledge the issue of race within a society in which race still matters is to ignore the reality of the experiences of students from underrepresented groups (Ladson-Billings, 2001). If ignored, students develop a cynicism when they see the gaps between the ideal, often taught as a blanket statement for everyone in civics classes, and their reality (National Council for the Social Studies, 1991). Therefore, any report on multicultural education that does not bring up critical race theory is omitting most of the recent research and theory concerning multicultural education. Not every multicultural theorist uses critical race theory as his or her theoretical framework, but at least some of the tenets of critical race theory are found in every current multicultural study. Critical race theory was instrumental in the development of cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006).

Although critical race theory is still a relatively new conceptual framework, the literature generally agrees on the following five tenets (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006):

1. Critical race theory offers a heuristic for framing the intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination. Critical race theory is very up front about its stance towards racism in the United States. Its basic premise is that one cannot understand how society functions unless one views racism as a central feature of society in the United States. Critical race theory explicitly acknowledges that racism and subordination of the races exist along gender, class, immigration, and other lines.
2. Critical race theory is set up to challenge the dominant ideology. One of critical race theory's missions is to unveil White privilege in all its manifestations. It does not accept claims that education is race neutral or color blind. Critical race theory challenges the idea that our society is based on meritocracy or offers equal opportunities for all. Rather, critical race theory views terms such as cover for what is going on in educational institutions—the assumption that educational institutions perpetuate the subordination of minority groups.
3. Critical race theory is committed to social justice. Critical race theory seeks to eliminate racism, sexism, and poverty. It strives to achieve social justice by unveiling what is occurring to women and people of color within the dominant society. A major goal is to empower people of color and other subordinated groups.

4. Critical race theory values the experiences of people of color. Critical race theory posits that one cannot understand racial subordination without acknowledging the actual stories of people of color. Critical race theory uses original storytelling, family histories, and other narrative experiences to authenticate what is happening in the every day lives of people of color. Stories which explicitly show institutional racism or the subordination of people are showcased rather than cast aside as outliers.
5. Critical race theory embraces a transdisciplinary perspective. Critical race theory uses both historical and contemporary contexts to analyze race and racism. It incorporates scholarship from ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, law, psychology, film, and other fields. People who use critical race theory come from a variety of disciplines (Yosso, 2006).

The only tenet of critical race theory that directly applies to this study is the value placed on the experiences of people of color. Based on the findings of Moll et al. (1992) and Yosso (2006) it is expected that the think alouds will reveal examples of what is happening in the every day lives of people of color. If the tenets of critical race theory hold true, the think alouds may include instances of racism and subordination.

Cultural Wealth Theory

Cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) builds on Bourdieu's (1985) theories of cultural capital (Yosso). Bourdieu theorized that society values the knowledge that is inherent to those in the upper and middle classes. By accepting such knowledge as superior, society creates a form of cultural capital—ideas and mores that have value among others and can therefore be used as leverage to get something else of worth. The problem with such forms of cultural capital is that they are usually established by those in the upper and middle classes and are therefore hard to access by those in lower socioeconomic circumstances. When upper- and middle-class cultural capital is valued, it automatically puts the lower classes in a deficit category, since they are presumably void of the types of knowledge and processes that are valued by society. Although such types of cultural capital have been acknowledged by researchers in the past (Delpit, 1988; Gonzales et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992), it is the work of Yosso that has recently coined the term “cultural wealth” to group the types of cultural capital that can be found among Latino communities.

Unfortunately, deficit thinking has always been a part of the educational system. Students who are viewed as culturally deficient (and therefore academically deficient) are seen as students who must be “fixed.” As a result, home cultures are seen as detriments to student learning since it is presumably the home culture that caused the deficiencies in the first place. Furthermore, once students are seen as academically and culturally deficient, they are more prone to being “fixed

pedagogically” by teachers through the transmission (banking) method of teaching (Yosso, 2006). A transmission model is a view of teaching in which knowledge is acquired from one knower to another (Reynolds et al., 1996). Although enlightened educators understand that students today are coming into our schools with more knowledge than ever before, there are still many educators and administrators who cannot view students as little more than blank slates. They view students as a negative product of their environment. Even teachers who celebrate having diverse students in their classrooms may not see them as having any background knowledge of value and are thus seen as blank slates without any real assets. Yet many students may come into school knowing they have assets (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Unfortunately, when student assets are not valued in the school, the student may begin to believe what they previously viewed as assets are of no real worth in the school (Zambrana & Zoppi).

A cultural wealth approach attempts to help students and teachers realize what diverse students bring from their home cultures is of value to themselves and to the school. A cultural wealth approach challenges the mainstream viewpoint of cultural deficit models by revealing the different types of cultural capital available in Latino communities. Although there have been many references to social capital and the funds of knowledge found in underrepresented households (Delpit, 1988; Moll et al., 1992; Sleeter, 2005), it has only been recently that the different aspects of social capital found in Latino communities have been grouped together as cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006). The categories of cultural wealth, as identified by

Yosso (2005, 2006) will be explained as follows:

Aspirational capital. Aspiration capital is the ability to keep alive the hopes and dreams of individuals and communities despite the many barriers faced by ethnic minorities. Aspirational hopes and dreams are a source of inspiration which many Latinos may rely on. As such, it can be seen as cultural capital. Parents of Latinos often discuss the dreams they have for their children with the children themselves (Yosso, 2006). Often, aspirational capital is manifested in the form of *consejos* (personal advice). Many students, usually as they get older, view the struggles of their parents as a source of inspiration for what they do. They come to appreciate their parents' choice to sacrifice for them. The lessons of sacrifice and commitment, along with the family's drive to succeed in the United States, often propel first-generation Latino children to succeed despite great odds (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Although the research is limited as to the effects of aspirational capital because the *consejos* of parents are often not viewed as valuable capital by researchers (Villenas & Deyhle), it can be of value to the children of Latinos. As a Latino, I have come to accept that much of what propels me is the aspirational capital given to me by my mother. I get my work ethic from not only her example but her explanations for why she worked. To me, my mother's *consejos* (advice) is still a source of capital.

Linguistic capital. Students who come from homes that use another language have diverse forms of linguistic capital. Students from such homes may have multiple exposures to storytelling (*cuentos*), oral histories, poems, parables,

and proverbs (*dichos*). Linguistic experiences are also manifested as valuable communication skills, such as memorization, attention to detail, nonverbal expressions, and rhythm and rhyme. Linguistic capital also incorporates communication through visual means or music. In addition, bilingual students have also had multiple exposures to diverse vocabulary (legal, medical, economic) as they often have to serve as interpreters for older members of their family who have not yet mastered English (Yosso, 2006). The ability to code switch (use multiple languages when communicating) is also a form of linguistic capital (Yosso).

Navigational capital. Navigational capital refers to the skills used by individuals to successfully navigate through political, social, workplace, and educational systems not originally established for the benefit of minorities. The agency and skills shown by individuals as they navigate a complex world can be viewed as capital. People with navigational capital serve their communities by passing on much needed skills. Navigational capital can be manifested in something as simple as using multiple public transportation routes (Yosso, 2006) to something as complex as the daily exchange rate between monetary systems. Navigational capital is more likely to be recognized by underrepresented groups who have witnessed the use of navigational capital (Yosso). In addition, navigational capital includes the ability to show resilience (Yosso).

Social capital. Social capital comprises the knowledge, resources, and supports for people of color. It is a combination of networks of people and community resources (Yosso, 2006). People who provide this type of social capital

are viewed with trust (*confianza*) and are of great value. Once the individual is aided by the communities' capital he or she then becomes another source of capital for the community. Social capital in underrepresented communities is displayed in the support on new immigrants, church group interdependence, and the sharing of knowledge developed by utilizing navigational capital (Yosso).

Familial capital. Familial capital includes the larger familial networks of extended families. It includes the cultural knowledge passed on among families as to what is important and what it means to be part of the family or kinship. Family community connections help a student feel grounded in what is often a difficult journey. Sports, school, religious gatherings, and other social community settings also pass along kinship ties. Familial capital includes the family's sense of community and history and the sense of what it means to be *educado* (Yosso, 2006). *Educacion* is more than just academic knowledge; it is being an "upright" person. Being *educado* has more value than just academic knowledge and encourages the development of the whole person. The familial networks are responsible for encouraging all forms of *educacion* (Yosso). In my own family, not having a formal education is not a problem, but lacking an upright manner (*educacion*) would be a travesty.

Resistant capital. Resistant capital refers to the verbal and nonverbal cues and lessons underrepresented populations pass on to one another that sustain a view that they are people of worth, despite the messages that may be sent to them by society. Resistant capital challenges inequality in the mainstream. Although some

forms of resistance may end up being self-defeating or conformist, the hope is that resistant capital will develop into a critical consciousness from which resistance transforms into a determination towards the betterment of the community (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006).

Research Connecting Cultural Background Knowledge and Culturally Relevant Texts

Culturally relevant texts use examples, data, and information from a student's home culture in order to illustrate key concepts and generalizations in the content area (Banks, 2008). Most of the work connecting cultural knowledge to curriculum has been focused on culturally responsive teaching as a whole rather than focusing specifically on culturally relevant texts (Moje & Hinchman, 2004). The research tends to focus on interventions between the teachers and the students or the teachers and the institution. However, the work of Bell and Clark (1998), Jimenez and Gamez (1998), Brozo et al. (1996), and Tyson (2002) all address the connection between cultural background knowledge and culturally relevant texts.

Bell and Clark (1998) used culturally relevant texts to understand the effect that cultural knowledge had on students' recall and comprehension. The research was conducted with elementary students in Grades 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Tallahassee, Florida. The general hypothesis of the study was that recall and comprehension for African American students would be facilitated more by African American imagery and themes than by cultural distant (White) imagery and themes (Bell & Clark).

The research was conducted by putting students into three different groups and using different stories as treatments for each group. The independent variables were grade level and type of story used for each treatment group. The first group listened to a story composed of African American themes and characters. The second group heard a story with White characters and traditional European American themes. The third group heard a story with Black characters and traditional European American themes. The dependent variables were recall and comprehension which were measured by four recall and two comprehension questions at the end of each story.

The findings of the research supported the general hypothesis. Overall, African American students recalled more information from culturally relevant texts. This suggests that African American students were able to associate their home cultural background knowledge with the readings in such a way that recall was facilitated. In addition, the overall comprehension of African American students was increased when both the characters and themes of the readings were associated with traditional African American culture. Bell and Clark's (1998) study supports the idea that cultural background knowledge increases recall and comprehension for African American students when using culturally relevant texts.

Jimenez and Gamez (1998) used culturally relevant texts to work with Latino students on comprehension and fluency. Jimenez and Gamez worked with 3 middle school students who had grown up in the United States. The data were gathered during a year of research and consisted of four student observations,

group meetings, and think aloud methodology with the culturally responsive texts. The researchers conducted reading and fluency interventions with the students during individual and group study meetings. During the think-aloud segment, the authors used three culturally relevant texts that revolved around corn, corn flour (*masa*), tortillas, and other traditional Mexican foods. The books cited by Jimenez and Gamez for the think alouds were *A Quetzalcoatl Tale of Corn*, *The Day It Snowed Tortillas*, and *Aztec, Inca & Maya* (Banquedano, 1993).

Jimenez and Gamez (1998) decided to work towards automaticity in reading by using meaningful, culturally relevant texts. In order to build fluency, the researchers had the students continually reread text silently and, at times, orally. There was great care taken not to embarrass the students, but to instead help them understand that fluency was necessary in order to increase comprehension. The researchers also explicitly taught reading comprehension strategies resulting in increased confidence of students as they read and comprehended the text.

During the study, students showed increases in the reading process. Students became more metacognitive about their thinking. The researchers credited the use of culturally relevant text for increasing students' desire to read and use strategies to understand text that was interesting to them. Overall, the study showed promising advances in students' desire to read, strategy use, and metacognition by connecting to student cultural background knowledge. The limitations of the study include problems with generalization and disaggregating the effects of multiple interventions.

Brozo et al. (1996) also used culturally relevant text to connect to student cultural background knowledge. The goal of their research was to determine if a culturally relevant text would increase interest. The research was conducted with eighth-grade students and was part of an overall unit of study centered around traditional Mexican folk remedies, faith healing, and the book *Bless Me, Ultima* (Anaya, 1972). The curriculum discussed the medicinal uses of herbs in traditional Mexican folk medicine while bridging connections between the student and his or her home culture. Students were also asked to do shared readings about the topic with their parents. In addition, the students took field trips to the garden of a traditional faith healer and listened to a local Mexican American scholar discuss traditional faith healing from an academic viewpoint.

The findings suggest students were enthusiastic about the curriculum unit and text because of the strong ties to the home culture of the students. The findings were determined by qualitatively analyzing the written and verbal reflections of the students, teachers, parents, and researchers throughout the unit of study. The main source of data was student journals recorded throughout the study. Through qualitative analysis that was not mentioned in the research, the researchers concluded that the “heart of what made the Hispanic culture unit a success was the high quality of culturally relevant literature” (p. 9). The researchers then went on to give suggestions for increasing interest in culturally relevant units of instruction. Although this research study lacks rigor, it is one of the few studies published in a refereed journal connecting secondary Latino students and culturally relevant texts.

Tyson (2002) embarked on research that shows how students in the elementary and middle schools can be directed towards understanding concepts such as social action through the use of children's literature connecting to cultural experiences. In Tyson's study, urban African American students carefully discussed children's books in which the common thread was a need to take social action for the benefit of others. Students also discussed the day-to-day experiences they encountered that may have connections to the need for social action. According to Tyson, the students read and discussed examples of social action in connection with the following books: *The Skin I'm In*, *Leon's Story*, *SeedFolks*, *Something Beautiful*, and *Faithful Elephants*. All these books were chosen based on the criteria developed by Levstik (1990, as cited in Tyson, 2002). The criteria included (a) having high literary merit; (b) being accessible and readable; (c) featuring social justice concepts like civil rights, peace, and equity; (d) presenting issues of social injustice; (e) featuring multiple perspectives; and (f) stimulating debate and critique of social issues. From these experiences students developed a working definition of social action and brainstormed ideas about what needed to be done within their own lives and the urban communities in which they lived. Thus, past personal experience (background knowledge) was used to develop conceptual understanding within social studies curriculum.

Summary

This section has provided an overview of key multicultural theories associated with cultural background knowledge. It explained how funds of

knowledge, critical race theory, and cultural wealth theory all hold the valuable premise that the home cultures of diverse students are a source of wealth. Funds of knowledge began the careful documentation of social capital found in Mexican American communities in southern Arizona. Critical race theory provides a framework for viewing and valuing the experiential knowledge of underrepresented populations. Cultural wealth theory uses the theoretical framework provided by critical race theory to generalize the understanding of cultural capital. The section concluded with examples of studies examining the role of cultural background knowledge in relation to culturally relevant texts.

Although there are many anecdotal examples of positive outcomes from connecting cultural background knowledge to culturally relevant texts, there are few research studies to support these claims. Even though the above studies demonstrate the positive effects of connecting culturally relevant materials to cultural background knowledge, the findings of such research have not been robust enough to affect classroom instruction on a wide scale (Moje & Hinchman, 2004). Fortunately, research and theory associated to funds of knowledge research, critical race theory, and cultural wealth theory have helped broaden the understanding of cultural background knowledge.

Historical Narratives

In order to make connections between the traditional Latino cultural knowledge and the use of historical texts, it is important to understand historical narratives and how students relate to such narratives. First of all, historical texts

are usually constructed in narrative form. Second, because most history is written as narrative, it is important to understand the likely connections and conceptual pitfalls entered in by students reading historical texts. I will conclude this section by discussing research studies connecting cultural background knowledge to mainstream narratives.

Narrative Frameworks

Most Western views of history use a narrative framework. A narrative connects people and events causal-temporal (Britt, Rouet, Georgi, & Perfetti, 1994). The causal-temporal model places characters and events sequentially so the reader connects the people and events during a particular period of time (Britt et al.). The use of narrative helps provide order and allows the reader to personally connect to his or her place on the continuum. Consequently, most students learn history in the form of a linear narrative story, even when students are reading from multiple texts (Perfetti, Britt, & Georgi, 1995).

A narrative view of history has benefits for the reader. A reader can relate to the daily life occurrences found within the narrative and the conflict surrounding moral issues (Levstik & Barton, 2005). Students are often engaged by the extremes within human life that are discussed by narratives (Levstik & Barton). As a result, narrative allows readers to make personal connections.

Connections and Pitfalls Associated With Narrative History

As advantageous as the construction and connection to historical narratives may be, there are potential problems with the ways that most students approach narratives. Novices in history tend to relate to the narrative through personification, simplification, or objectification (VanSledright & Limon, 2006). Each of these approaches to history poses different problems to the study because it may limit the activation of various forms of cultural knowledge.

During personification, the student focuses on the people in the story rather than viewing history from the broader view of institutions (VanSledright & Limon, 2006). Personified history assumes all history is influenced by key individuals. Student personification of narrative may be advantageous to the study as it may prime students to make familial, linguistic, and aspirational connections similar to what is found in historical texts that focus the narrative on individuals rather than institutions. However, limiting a historical narrative by personification may lead students from viewing the institutional criticisms that are prevalent when discussing civil rights issues, thereby, limiting connections to navigational, social, and resistant capital.

During simplification, students focus on the facts of the narrative to the extent that history merely becomes a list (VanSledright & Limon, 2006). A simplification of history leads to a history that is unconcerned and unaware of the stereotypes that are found within history. If any of the participants in the study resort to simplification during their reading of the texts, it will be difficult for the

participant to make connections dealing with more than social capital. However, simplification of text may allow the reader to manage the amount of new information found in the narrative, thus freeing up working memory.

Objectification refers to the idea that history is fixed and stabilized (VanSeldright & Limon, 2006). Such historical views tend to favor the mainstream narrative. Objective views of history run the risk of alienating underrepresented populations. Fortunately, the study uses primary sources to offset some of the problems associated with the objectification of history. Primary sources focused on the stories of underrepresented populations make it difficult to view history through mainstream lenses, though it is still possible for a student to resort to his or her fixed historical interpretations (Epstein, 2001).

Objective history is also beset by problems associated with presentism and collective memory. Presentism is the act of viewing the past through the lens of the present. Someone who uses presentism to view the past judges the past by modern standards of thinking and acting rather than from the viewpoint (the context) of someone living in that particular era (Wineburg, 1998). For example, in a study comparing students' views of racism and political speeches from the 19th century, the students were more prone to view a politician's speech through the eyes of what politicians seem to do today (pander to the audience) rather than interpret some of Lincoln's language as being consistent with the racist views of that era. Students could not view racism without seeing racism as universally unacceptable, which was not the case in the 19th century (Wineburg, 1994). Students reading

texts dealing with the story of César E. Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and the struggles of the United Workers may have difficulty relating to a period in which consumers actively supported and aligned with agricultural workers.

Closely related to the issue of presentism are ideas so prevalent they become part of the collective memory of social groups. While it would be impossible to truly have a collective memory within a society because memory is an individual cognitive trait (Wineburg, 1991), there are many popularly accepted versions of history that are not consistent with historical findings. Much of this has to do with videos and film becoming a popular way to revisit the past.

Unfortunately, this creates student background knowledge that is not founded in history but rather Hollywood's construction of history. This then becomes the popular collective memory of the event (Wineburg, 2001). An example of collective memory fostered and perpetuated through popular media can be found in those students who use *Forrest Gump* to describe knowledge of baby boomers or the movie *Dances with Wolves* to explain the plight of Native Americans in the 19th century (Wineburg). In each of the cases, students seem certain they know what the time periods were like because they have witnessed it in movies.

Collective memory may limit the readers participating in this study by connecting the issue of Chicano civil rights to those associated with Black civil rights. While there were many similarities, the time period and geography of the Delano Grape Strike are not associated at all with the majority of Black civil rights demonstrations popularly portrayed in textbooks and films.

Research Connecting Cultural Knowledge and Narrative History

Social studies in the United States tends to focus on a narrative in which civilization is spread from Western Europe to the United States and in which ethnic groups appear as either obstacles or problems that must be kept under control (National Council for the Social Studies, 1991). Unfortunately, this finding of the National Council for the Social Studies continues to be prevalent in current social studies education. There are very few research studies focused on the cultural historical interpretation of narratives among secondary school students. However, a few studies show the promise of connecting historical narrative to cultural background knowledge. Among them are the work of Epstein (2001), Urrieta (2004), and Dillworth (2004).

Epstein (2001) set out to find if African Americans and Whites constructed different explanations for significant events in American history. His study was conducted in an urban, large Midwestern high school which was 43% African American and 56% European American. The study documented the attempts by 1 female teacher to present parallel views of history to two American history classes. Epstein used questionnaires and follow-up interviews to gauge how students interpreted the events and people presented to them. The questionnaires included questions on significant people and events in U.S. history, the credibility of secondary historical sources, family experiences and history discussed at home, and the treatment of African Americans historically and in contemporary society (Epstein). The findings were based on mixed-method methodology with qualitative

profiles of 6 of the students.

One of Epstein's findings was that regardless of the narrative presented to students, White students interpreted history based on their background knowledge and lived experiences, whereas Black students, who were taught in the same multicultural way, interpreted history based on their own background knowledge. White students identified with the mainstream history and saw the textbook as an adequate representation of the historical narrative. Black students were highly distrustful of the narrative presented in textbooks. Black students viewed family members as having the most trustworthy representations of what happened in history and in current events. Black students also viewed their teachers (depending on their inclusion of Black history) as also having "trustworthiness," but not to the same extent as family. The Black media also had a higher level of trustworthiness for Black students. The traditional textbooks were seen as being the least trustworthy of the historical sources for Black students.

Epstein's findings are thought provoking in that they suggest both Black and White students construct their own interpretation of history regardless of the approach the teacher takes. Furthermore, it suggests African American students are more likely to view history from a critical framework when allowed to discuss their perspectives towards the narrative. Epstein recommends discussing with students how the competing narratives are intertwined and complimentary rather than focusing on separate narratives (Epstein, 2001).

Urrieta (2004) studied reflections of K-12 social studies educators concerning their experiences studying American history. Urrieta used grounded theory to analyze the semistructured interview responses of 24 Chicanos in the field of education or about to enter the field of education. However, the focus of the research was the experience of each of the participants in his or her precollegiate, public school studies. Urrieta's main research question was: In your experience, was there anything in the K-12 curriculum that represented Mexican or Chicano identity? Urrieta probed the participants throughout their response to elicit detailed accounts of their experiences in schools.

The findings revealed a social studies curriculum that largely represented a White European American view of U.S. history. Very few of the participants were able to see themselves in the history that was represented during their educational experiences. Mainstream social studies curriculum was seen as confrontational to the identity of the vast majority of participants. The findings clearly show a need for curriculum that incorporates the views of underrepresented populations.

Dillworth (2004) used case study methodology to document the curriculum and pedagogy of two teachers as they integrated multicultural content while teaching historical narratives associated with citizenship. The purpose of the study was to seek corroborating evidence that teachers' stated reasons for integrating multicultural content were congruent with their practice and their students' perceptions of what they learned with multicultural content (Dillworth). The first participant was an African American male who teaches high school and the second

was a White male who teaches middle school. Both teachers had more than 18 years experience as social studies teachers. Dillworth used classroom observations, field notes, and semistructured interviews with the teachers and 6 students. Both teachers relied primarily on the textbook but used their personal knowledge of the issues to help students understand the complexities of diversity and democracy. Both teachers emphasized citizenship through a multicultural lens.

Although the focus of Dillworth's (2004) research was corroborating the evidence between teachers' stated reasons for integrating multicultural content and their pedagogy, her findings also extend to issues surrounding adding multicultural content to the historical narrative. Dillworth's conclusions were that successful multicultural social studies instruction is dependent on the attitudes and beliefs of the teachers and their commitment to classrooms which establish a safe zone from which to conduct complex discourses. It is difficult to integrate or add multicultural content to the narrative without such a commitment from the teacher. Both teachers valued the comments of their students, thereby allowing student experiences to be shared. Both teachers involved students in role playing and in projects that facilitated extended discussion that went beyond the traditional narrative. In addition, the teachers in this study used feedback from students and parents to develop relevant lessons. Because both teachers' pedagogy and appreciation of cultural knowledge matched their instructional goals, both teachers in Dillworth's study successfully connected their teaching to the culture of the students. Thus, open classroom climates and student teacher interactions, in which discussion of

student experiences were facilitated, were seen as imperative to enhancing the understanding of citizenship.

Summary

In this section I discussed the relationship of historical narrative and cultural knowledge. It is important to understand what the research says about the historical processing of texts in order to understand student think aloud responses. The research points out that students reading historical narrative are likely to view the text through personification, simplification, or objectification. It can therefore be assumed that some of the student think alouds will reflect such statements. The section concluded with a discussion of three research studies connecting cultural knowledge to narrative history. Unfortunately, not many studies focus on the interpretation of historical narratives by Latino students.

Think Aloud Methodology

This study uses think aloud methodology in order to uncover the use of Latino students' cultural knowledge while reading culturally relevant texts. Although think aloud methodology is an accepted methodology in reading and social studies research, it has not (to the best of my knowledge) been used in connection with multicultural background knowledge. However, think alouds, also known as verbal reports or verbal protocols, are a good fit for uncovering such background knowledge. Afflerbach (2002) states that some of the advantages to using think alouds are that they provide access to the constructive and responsive

process that comprise reading, including background knowledge, and allow the researcher to examine the influence of contextual variables, such as reader ability and text.

A large portion of the study depends on the use of think alouds. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a description of what the research says about conducting think alouds. The following discussion will address and answer concerns related to think aloud research.

Historical and Modern Criticism of Think Aloud Research

The earliest criticism of think aloud research was its connection to research using introspection and retrospection conducted during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Early psychologists used introspection to guide their queries into the mind. Such research was vehemently protested by behaviorists and led to a diminishing of verbal protocols centered on this form of psychological probing. Although modern think alouds and other verbal reports are distanced from this type of research, much of the early work with think alouds went towards dispelling the idea that verbal protocols were just another form of introspection and retrospection (Kucan & Beck, 1997).

A modern general criticism directed at think aloud research claims it is uncharacteristic of “normal” reading and interrupts the thinking processes of the student (Whitney & Budd, 1996). While recent research suggests the interaction between reader and text is affected to some degree by think alouds, it is not to a

degree which would invalidate the findings (Afflerbach, 2002; Ericsson & Simon, 1993). Therefore, think alouds are an accepted methodology for understanding the interaction between reader and text, which is pivotal to this study.

The validity of think alouds as a method for assessing what readers understand about what they have just read far outweighs the potential problems (Genest & Turk, 1981; Trabasso & Magliano, 1996). Trabasso and Magliano make the argument that researchers should not eliminate verbal protocols just because there are potential pitfalls while conducting the research. Genest and Turk point out that even overt behaviors and physiological responses can be falsified or provide inaccurate data. Once the recommendations in the literature have been implemented, the think aloud becomes a solid data-gathering tool for uncovering the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students while reading culturally relevant historical texts.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this descriptive case study was to uncover the various forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino freshman university students as they read culturally relevant historical texts to determine if reading levels and demographics affected student use of cultural knowledge and to determine if the participants became aware of such cultural knowledge. The reading levels of the participants varied from low to high reading levels. The study used two data sources: think alouds of four different texts and individual interviews. The data were analyzed using open, axial, and elaborative coding methods.

The Qualitative Research Tradition

Qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the experiences of the people (Berg, 2001; Creswell, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Qualitative research is pragmatic in that it uses multiple measures in naturalistic settings. This study followed the pragmatic tradition of qualitative research by asking students to engage texts similar to those used in high school social studies classes and by identifying cultural knowledge from students' home communities.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) make the case that all research is “guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (p. 33). Consequently, all research traditions are interpretive. However, qualitative research is flexible in that it allows for patterns and themes to emerge from the data. Although the experiences and questions designed for the participants were aligned with current research and theory, there was always a chance the findings may have countered initial speculations. Had this happened, the rich detail associated with qualitative methodology could have provided explanations for such findings through the analysis of discrepant data.

Qualitative research is grounded in the experiences of people. The data sources used for this study were designed to reveal the experiences of Latino students as they encountered historical texts (or reveal disconnect between the experiences of Latino students and their processing of historical texts). The theoretical frameworks for this study, schema theory and situated cognition, recognized the contributions of culture towards individual cognition.

Rossmann and Rallis (1998) offer additional characteristics of qualitative research. First, they suggest the humanity of individuals be respected. Cultural knowledge research challenges the idea of cultural deficits for people of color and replaces it with the dignified view that all cultures have a wealth of experiences of value to society and, more specifically, to the classroom. Second, qualitative research should be emergent and evolving. Coding methods associated with qualitative inquiry allow the researcher to identify emerging themes and develop

alternative categories. Third, Rossman and Rallis suggest qualitative researchers view the world as holistic and seamless. One of the reasons for using situated cognition as a theoretical framework was its recognition of the interplay between individual cognition and sociocultural influences. Finally, Rossman and Rallis suggest that researchers engage in systematic reflection on their own roles in the research. The researcher's reflections are discussed in the research as instrument and trustworthiness sections near the end of the dissertation.

Theoretical Expectations

A theoretical model allows the researcher to predict what might be expected of a particular reader encountering a specific type of text (Magliano & Graesser, 1993). Utilizing schema theory and situated cognition as theoretical models generated a framework of analysis in which traditional cultural knowledge, as identified in the multicultural literature (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Yosso, 2006), was analyzed. Culturally relevant texts elicited several forms of traditional cultural background knowledge from Latino students when analyzed through schema theory and situated cognition theory.

Had no forms of cultural knowledge been activated by participants as they engaged culturally relevant historical texts, then the results might have pointed to one, or a combination, of the following scenarios: (a) a lack of traditional cultural background knowledge by each of the Latino students, (b) lack of interest and engagement with the texts, (c) a lack of understanding about the value of cultural background knowledge in school-related curriculum, or (d) an indication that

cultural background knowledge is so inert (situated to the environment of origin) that it cannot be activated, even when texts are used that are strongly focused towards the elicitation of such knowledge.

Research Questions

The dissertation used case study design to answer the main research question: What forms of cultural knowledge are used by Latino students while reading culturally relevant historical texts? The findings of the research were also used to draw conclusions about the other guiding questions proposed in Chapter 1: How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts? As they encounter cultural historical texts, do students become aware that they have cultural knowledge?

Qualitative Case Study Design

A qualitative case study allows for individual and collective analysis of the data (Berg, 2001; Creswell, 2006; Stake, 1994). Case studies use multiple sources of data, are bound by place and time, allow for variety of coding methods, and often form the foundation of future research (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Berg; Creswell). The origin of the case study research method can be traced to the social sciences. Such origins explain the dependence of case studies on multiple sources of data collection (Berg; Creswell). This descriptive case study used two forms of data: think alouds and individual interviews.

A case study investigates individuals, groups, or institutions (Creswell, 2006; Stake, 1994) within a “bounded” system. Data were analyzed to interpret individual and cross-case use of cultural knowledge based on reading level and demographic data. Interview data were also used to compare student background and attitudes towards cultural knowledge. Additionally, each participant was bound by his or her engagement with the historical texts. Participants were allowed to revisit the think alouds through participant review and interview, but the focus of the case study was what occurred during the actual reading of the culturally relevant historical texts.

Case study design is flexible enough to allow theory to influence the coding of the data (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). The reason for choosing culturally relevant texts was the increased likelihood that such texts would create opportunities for students to use their cultural knowledge. Should the findings of this study be promising, future studies should use nonculturally relevant texts as a source of comparison.

Recruitment of Participants

The participants were 9 freshmen (men and women) attending a 4-year state university in the Intermountain West. Purposeful sampling was used in order to obtain a representation of low-, middle-, and high-ability Latino English readers for the study. The intent of gathering such data was to better understand the relationship between the forms of cultural knowledge used by participants and participant reading ability in order to provide a more holistic response to the first

and second research questions: What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter cultural relevant texts? How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts?

Within Latino culture, it is often advisable to contact a member of the community through an individual who has the *confianza* (trust) of those involved. The university multicultural center has two assistant directors who specialize in working with Latino students and have the *confianza* of the Latino students they mentor. Both assistant directors offered their support for this project. The assistant directors worked as gatekeepers until I came to know the students individually. Using the assistant directors facilitated the identification of different levels of readers because of the strong connection that existed between the assistant directors and the Latino students attending the university. A strong feeling of mutual respect based on the brokering of the trust through a gatekeeper helped the students understand that the nature of the project was discovery and not criticism.

All new students at the state university were required to have a recent ACT score, or an in-house COMPASS reading and writing score, to enroll in university courses. The state university is an open admissions university with a large variance in the reading levels of the student population. Such variance allowed the study to compare the use of cultural knowledge between students of different reading abilities. A third of the participants in this study had an ACT and COMPASS reading scores from the lowest third of the general Latino student population at the

state university (a score of 15 or below on the ACT reading exam and below 75 on the COMPASS reading test), the next group of participants represented the middle third of the general Latino student population at the state university (a score between 16 and 20 on the ACT and between 76 and 86 on the COMPASS reading exam), and the final group of participants had a score from the top third of all Latino students entering the state university (a reading score of 21 or above on the reading portion of the ACT or a COMPASS reading score at or above 87). The recommended participants were asked to sign a waiver allowing for verification of their ACT and/or COMPASS exam scores. Potential bias in student selection was monitored by using the multicultural directors and keeping reading levels data blind to me.

The university is a traditional 4-year state university. At the time of the study, the university had a student population of over 23,000 students of which 4% were identified as Hispanic. The state, as a whole, had a public school population in which 12% of the students were identified as Hispanic (Aleman & Rorrer, 2006). At the time of the study, the state university did not require a diversity component in its general education requirements. In addition, very few public schools in the state offered any kind of formal multicultural experiences beyond voluntary student clubs. It was therefore unlikely that students attending the state university would have gained cultural knowledge outside of their home culture or personal acquaintances since the state public education program did not require multicultural education programs and there was little multicultural emphasis

throughout the state's core curriculums. This assumption was verified through the demographic interview form each participant was asked to complete.

Information gathered by the questionnaire included first language, place of birth, childhood, and high school attendance. Each participant was also asked about career and educational plans. Education attained by mother and father was also listed. Finally, each participant was asked to give information as to whether he or she had ever taken a multicultural/ethnic studies class or participated in activities sponsored by the multicultural center. The purpose of the last question was to determine whether attendance in such activities impacted background knowledge or awareness concerning Latino cultural background knowledge. Each of the participants was given a pseudonym and allowed to remove information he or she did not want to be included in the study once the think alouds and individual interviews were transcribed.

The data collection began once I had the opportunity to meet the participants and secured consent letters. The participants were informed that they could terminate their participation in the study at any time. In order to continue in the study, each participant needed to bring back the consent letter with one copy being filed for the Institutional Review Board and another in audit trail for this study. Interviews and think aloud protocols were conducted on campus.

Participants

The study used cross-case analysis to determine if reading levels or demographic data impacted the forms of cultural knowledge used by participants.

Therefore, the following section introduces the participants according to reading levels. In addition, short descriptions will be given for each of the participants to help the reader become acquainted with participant background.

Participants in the Lower-Third Reading Group

Anita. Anita's first language is Spanish. She was born and raised in Mexico City where she attended high school. Her plans are to finish an associate's degree in early childhood education. Her father is a college graduate and mother completed technical school training. Anita had not participated in any activities sponsored by the multicultural center of the university nor had she taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes in high school or in college.

Emma. Emma's first language is Spanish. She was born in Mexico but came to the United States when she was 11 years old. She lived in Los Angeles for 2 years before moving to the Intermountain region. She attended high school in the United States. Her plans are to become an elementary school teacher and continue her education to the doctorate level. Her father and mother did not finish high school. Emma had not participated in any activities sponsored by the multicultural center nor had she taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes in high school or in college.

Valeria. Valeria's first language is Spanish. She was born in Mexico but came to the Intermountain West area at 9 years of age. From that time, she had lived and attended high school in the local area. Her educational plans include finishing a master's degree so she can become a school administrator. Her father

finished college in Mexico and her mother did not complete high school. Valeria was involved in the multicultural club at her high school and had taken one class which dealt with Latino issues. She plans on being involved to a large degree with the multicultural center at the University.

Participants in the Middle-Third Reading Group

Cassandra. Cassandra listed her first language as Spanish. She was born in the Intermountain West but raised in Mexico and the Intermountain West. She attended high school in the local area. Her career options include finishing a bachelor's degree so she can become an elementary school teacher. Her father completed high school and her mother completed the eighth grade. Cassandra had not taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes and had not yet participated in any multicultural center activities, though she is excited about taking part in such activities.

Jay T. Jay T's first language was listed as Spanish. He was born and raised primarily in southern California but completed his secondary education in the Intermountain West. His aspiration is to become a professional dancer but plans on finishing a doctoral degree. His father completed a middle school education and his mother completed a college education. Jay T had not taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes nor had he participated in activities sponsored by the multicultural center. Jay T, however, has danced with a classical folkloric dance troupe.

Letty. Letty's first language is Spanish. She was born and raised in the Dominican Republic and attended high school in the Dominican Republic. She is a

business major with plans on finishing her bachelor's degree in the Intermountain area. Both her father and mother completed an eighth-grade education. Letty had never taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes nor had she participated in activities sponsored by the multicultural center.

Participants in the Upper-Third Reading Group

Robby. Robby listed both English and Spanish as his first languages. He was born in southern California but was raised and attended high school in the Intermountain West. His major is sports law and plans a career as either a sports lawyer or in real estate. Both his parents completed high school and some college. Robby had not taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes nor had he participated in any activities sponsored by the multicultural center.

Dolores. Dolores' first language is Spanish. She was born in California but spent a few years in Mexico. However, her elementary and junior high education were in southern California, and she attended high school in the Intermountain West. Her major is zoology and her career plans include "something that has to do with animals." She plans on completing a master's degree. Both her mother and father did not complete high school. Although she had not taken any multicultural/ethnic studies classes, she has participated in the *Latinos Unidos* program at the university. *Latinos Unidos* is a program that uses Latino university students as mentors in the public schools.

Rafael. Rafael's first language is Spanish. He was born in Bolivia but came to the United States during elementary school. He spent some time during high

school in Bolivia but completed his schooling locally. He is a business major with plans on completing his bachelor's degree and returning to Bolivia to open a import/export business. Rafael chose not to list his parents' educational background on his questionnaire. Rafael had not taken any formal multicultural/ethnic studies classes but studies such subjects on his own. He has also been involved with *Latinos Unidos* and other activities sponsored by the multicultural center.

There was much variety among the participants. It became difficult to find many freshman males willing to devote the time necessary for the study, so 6 females and only 3 males were used for the study. Although all the participants were bilingual, 5 were born in the United States and 4 were born outside of the United States. Of those participants born outside the United States, 2 were from Mexico with Bolivia and the Dominican Republic each represented by a single participant. The average number of years in the United States for participants born outside the United States was 7 years. Only 2 of the participants attended high school outside the United States. Most participants did not respond or were unaware of their high school grade point average but of the 3 who answered, the average grade point average was 3.4 out of a 4-point scale. The major area of study was distributed as follows: 3 education majors, 2 business majors, 1 administration major, 1 science major, 1 dance major, and 1 sports law major. The majority of participants either did not know the family income level, claimed it to be very low, or marked it to be under \$20,000 a year. Only 1 of the participants marked over \$60,000 a year. The average schooling of mothers and fathers was a

junior high level. Occupations were listed as various, and at times it became confusing because the participants would list one area of occupation but would talk about a different occupation for their parents in their home country. Religious preference was also varied. Three of the participants stated they were Catholic (1 of these participants stated he or she was raised Catholic but was not currently a practicing Catholic). Four of the participants claimed to be of a Christian denomination. Two of the participants did not give an answer to the religious preference question. Finally, only 2 of the participants had participated in a high school multicultural club. Of the 9 participants, only 1 had taken a class that focused on multicultural or ethnic issues, though the emphasis of the class was not multiculturalism. A summary of the demographic data is found in Table 1.

Design Methodology

Multiple data sources allow the researcher to study the subject in depth, give breadth to the research, and allow for richness in reporting (Morrow, 2005). The multiple data sources used in this study were think alouds and individual interviews. Each data source was audiotaped and transcribed.

Think Aloud Protocols

The first source of data was the think aloud protocol (Ericsson & Simon, 1993; Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995; Wade, 1990). Most of the potential hazards of think alouds surround the involvement of the researcher. Think alouds are viewed with increased suspicion if there is a lack of attention to the details of the research

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Demographic indicators	Participants
Gender	6 females, 3 males
Place of birth	United States = 5 Mexico = 2 Bolivia = 1 Dominican Republic = 1
First language	The first language of all participants was Spanish; 1 participant declared both English and Spanish as first language.
Average number of years in the United States (if born outside the United States)	7 years
High school attendance	Outside of the United States = 2 Primarily in the Intermountain region = 7
Average high school grade point average	Six of the respondents did not know or did not document. The average grade point average for the remaining 3 participants was 3.4.
Majors	Education = 3 Business = 2 Administration = 1 Science (zoology) = 1 Dance = 1 Sports law = 1
Family income level	Eight of the respondents either did not know or marked below \$20,000 a year. One respondent marked over \$60,000 a year.
Average schooling of father	Junior high school
Average schooling of mother	Junior high school

Table 1 (*continued*)

Demographic indicators	Participants
Occupations of father and mother	Various (difficult to identify because professions in home country of parents are often different from professions in the United States)
Religious preference	Catholic = 3 (although 1 of the participants refers to being raised but not practicing) Other Christian faiths = 4 No answer given = 2
Participation in multicultural center activities or multicultural/ethnic studies classes	Two of the participants participated in high school multicultural clubs. Only 1 of the participants had taken a multicultural or ethnic studies class.

(Afflerbach, 2002). Pressley and Afflerbach recommend researchers be careful to discuss all the details of the methodology, including describing the types of texts that are to be used (Pressley & Afflerbach) in order to offset suspicion over procedures. Each of these recommendations is addressed within this chapter.

The research does not present any agreed upon length for think aloud passages. Larger segments have the potential for more reporting errors and smaller segments allow for more discrimination from the observers and therefore lead to issues with validity (Genest & Turk, 1981). In order to overcome problems with working memory, think alouds are usually conducted one sentence at a time or with very short passages. Longer passages may be chunked into smaller sections. Three thousand words is considered lengthy for an overall passage (Wade, Buxton, & Kelly, 1999). In order to get the best data possible with think alouds, the types of passages should be varied. Great care should be taken not only to use the right length of passage but also to make sure the passages are varied enough to generate the type of data expected from the theoretical framework. Therefore, participants were given segmented hard copies of four historical texts, none longer than 1600 words (see Appendix A).

During a preliminary pilot study, participants indicated they would have preferred writing down some of their connections and the opportunity to revisit many of their initial statements in written form. They also said they preferred text containing cues to remind them to pause and think aloud. Therefore, participants were presented with each of the texts typed in a format that allowed space for

connections and reflections to be made on the document itself. Having participants write on the text and reflect on their notes was consistent with what college students do as they normally read texts. In addition, the breaks between passages also served as think aloud cues for the participants. Modifying the think aloud passages to ease participant use was consistent with think aloud research (Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995).

The reading level of a text can impact comprehension and consequently the think alouds. Texts that are too difficult bottle up the working memory of students, leading to verbal reports restricted by decoding and comprehension issues (Whitney & Budd, 1996). In think alouds students are asked to add verbalization to what may be a taxed working memory, leading to cognitive overload and perhaps resulting in report failure (Afflerbach & Johnston, 1984). I dealt with such issues by carefully selecting and cuing the text. I conducted a Fry (1968) reading-level inventory on each of the texts in order to make sure texts were manageable (Wade et al., 1999).

Cultural differences in reporting and using language may affect the quality of the think aloud responses (Smagorinsky, 1998). The relationship between the participant and the researcher may influence the nature of the reporting. Many times students from underrepresented populations will limit what they say out of deference or as a show of respect to the researcher (Smagorinsky). Individual language differences may influence the eliciting, giving, and subsequent analysis of verbal reports (Afflerbach, 2002). There may also be problems with the level of

interest that students have in the topics themselves which would limit their engagement and subsequent reports (Wade et al., 1999). I took each of these concerns seriously during the research. By allowing the recruiting to take place under the guidance of the multicultural center, there was an element of *confianza* (trust) between the researcher and participants. Being Latino and bilingual also helped remove barriers that may have existed due to cultural and linguistic differences. The issue of interest was addressed to a certain degree by choosing texts that were culturally relevant.

Interviews

A second source of data was the informal semistructured conversational interviews held with each of the participants. The main purpose of the interview was to help the researcher gather data about participants' understanding and attitudes towards experiential cultural knowledge and to obtain insights into issues related to metacognition. Some available thoughts, like metacognition, may not be reported in think alouds because the reader cannot find the means to express them in oral language. It may be readers may not be able to communicate a thought process because they are not metacognitively aware they are using a specific process (Garner, 1987; Trabasso & Magliano, 1996). In addition, students who are more novice at metacognition may generate reports that underestimate their abilities (Garner) or they may choose not to express a thought based on what they may believe to be proper oral expression of thoughts (Trabasso & Magliano).

This type of interview fits well with the recommendations presented by Rubin and Rubin (2005) which encourage friendly dialogue with participants in order to better understand the perspective of the participants. An informal conversational interview limits the authoritative role of the researcher and encourages trust (Rubin & Rubin). Due to the emergent nature of qualitative research, I redirected the interview questions to solicit specific examples or a more in-depth explanation of a particular phenomenon. Such questions stayed within the parameters of the broader research questions.

The interview took place after the think alouds. During the interview, I asked the following questions aimed at soliciting information concerning the think alouds and participants' perceptions and awareness of cultural knowledge. The interview questions were as follows:

1. What do you remember from the think alouds you participated in?
2. Do you think the think aloud accurately depicted your thought processes while you were reading historical texts? Why or why not?
3. Have you thought of any other connections or questions you wish you might have made during the think aloud or reflections?
4. Would reading documents similar to what you read for this study have increased your interest in school? If yes, how? If not, why not?
5. How do you self-identify culturally? Why?
6. What positive things are associated with the culture you self-identify with?

7. Are there any negatives you associate with your culture that you would not mind sharing?
8. How was your culture regarded by the high school you attended?
9. How do the readings connect to the types of things you learned at home or from your family members, even extended family members?
10. Were you given opportunities to use the knowledge/attitudes you learned from your neighbors or family members in the school setting? What about in your history classes?
11. Do you think the types of things you learned while growing up in your culture are of value to your education? Why or why not?
12. Are there any last thoughts you want to share with me about any part of this process?
13. Are there any questions I can answer for you about any aspect of this research?

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted with 4 state university students in order to (a) determine if the texts were adequate for the study, (b) fine tune the think aloud process, and (c) determine the viability of the research questions. Changes in design methodology occurred throughout the pilot study. The findings of the pilot study influenced the design methodology and procedure of the dissertation study.

Participants for the Pilot Study

I used convenient sampling for the pilot study. I had taught or was presently teaching each of the students involved in the pilot study as part of our preservice teacher education program. I identified the 4 Latina students based on classroom conversations about ethnicity. There were no Latino males in our education program on campus during the time of the pilot study. The main reason for using these participants was convenience, but the familiarity of the participants added a layer of trust which enabled me to be more informal and ask for suggestions on the part of the participants.

The 1st participant was raised in an English-only household on the East coast. A 2nd participant spoke primarily English with Spanish/English spoken at home but was raised in Texas. The 3rd participant was raised in the Intermountain West and spoke primarily English with English/Spanish in the home. All 3 primarily English speakers received ACT English scores between 18-20 the first time they took the test (the East Coast participant had her SAT score recalculated for an ACT score). The 4th participant was a nontraditional student who had only been in the United States for the past 5 years and had only been speaking English for that amount of time. Her COMPASS reading exam score was an 84, which was above average for the Latinos taking the COMPASS exam at the state university. She did not take the ACT exam.

None of the participants had any formal training associated with Latino cultural background knowledge. Three of the participants were juniors in our

program who had not yet taken our required multicultural education class. The other participant was a senior who had taken the multicultural class the previous semester but did not recall discussing the issue of cultural background knowledge. Therefore, it was safe to assume participant responses were not influenced by training in multicultural background knowledge.

Design Methodology for the Pilot Study

Initially, the pilot study only focused on the think aloud process. No formal coding of the data was conducted. Only personal notes and an informal tally were kept during the think alouds and informal conversations. Such informal data gathering was sufficient to meet the purpose of the pilot study.

Procedure and Changes in the Pilot Study

During the pilot study, I made changes to the number of texts and developed interview questions. I began by using the four texts that I used for the dissertation along with two additional texts (a high school history text embedded with primary sources and an additional chapter from the César E. Chávez California model curriculum biography for junior high students). I soon found the high school text had too many text features, which distracted the reader and made it difficult to follow the think aloud. I also found that the participants began to get tired of reading so many texts. As a result, I only used the four texts identified later in this chapter for the dissertation study.

The informal interview questions evolved into more focused questions concerning Latino cultural background knowledge. The questions that were used during the dissertation interview originated in the pilot study. Each of the participants, at one time or another during the informal conversations, referred to his or her self-identification, home culture, school culture, and the relationship between culture and education. Therefore, all of these topics were reflected in the interview questions.

Findings of the Pilot Study

The pilot study showed the need for altering the number of texts, the need for cues and larger text spacing, and the need for a semistructured interview. The pilot study also demonstrated that the research questions were viable for a larger study. The first finding concerned the number of texts. Although there were initially too many texts, each of the passages associated with the study was deemed to be of an appropriate length by the participants. The last 2 participants confirmed that four texts were sufficient for one sitting. Each of the participants thought the length of the passages was adequate for a think aloud. The passages allowed students to make at least two connections, per text, to some of the forms of cultural background knowledge identified by Yosso (2006).

Second, the need for explicit prompting during the think aloud became apparent during the pilot study. Pilot study participants suggested I provide think aloud cues and ample spacing for note taking during future think alouds. Therefore, the study used the same four text passages as the pilot study but with

pauses built into the reading to help cue participants to stop and think aloud (though participants could think aloud at any point in the reading). The think aloud texts also had ample spacing to allow students to write notes to themselves during the think alouds. Participants were explicitly informed about the opportunity for participant review in which they could review the transcriptions of their think alouds and interview.

Third, the pilot study exposed the need for interview questions that targeted multiple types of experiences associated with cultural knowledge. During the pilot study of think alouds, it became obvious participants were connecting experiences that took place with family and friends but not with school experiences or larger cultural experiences. Therefore, many of the interview questions for the dissertation study directly targeted the issue of school culture and the larger community culture in order to determine if such concepts were part of a student's background knowledge.

Fourth, the pilot study confirmed the research questions for the dissertations were viable. Participants made connections to the culturally relevant elements of texts. Each participant made connections to the stories (*cuentos*) told to them by their mothers and grandmothers. Such connections are consistent with the linguistic and familial forms of capital identified by Yosso (2006). A connection to Yosso's form of resistant capital was made by the participant who had spent most of her life in Latin America. She made a connection to the larger historical concepts of oppression and resistance (resistant capital) through a connection to farm workers

in her native country. In addition, each of the participants was able to make a connection from within their own family about a male who either exhibited *machismo* (traditional Hispanic male superiority) or in the case of 1 participant, who explained that her father was the exact opposite of other Hispanic men who exhibited *machismo*. Although male chauvinism is found in many cultures, the concept of *machismo* often goes beyond male chauvinism and more towards male dominance. Furthermore, all participants discussed interest in the historical era during our informal conversations and mentioned they wanted to learn more about the people and events because they became interested in the topics during the reading.

Awareness of cultural knowledge was brought up by 2 of the participants, both of which had limited exposure to a traditional Latino culture. They both lamented about the lack of cultural knowledge they had about some of the customs and cultural background knowledge they were missing. One said: “I should know something about this stuff, but I wasn’t raised this way.” The participant from Texas also said: “My friends I grew up with would have known a lot about this stuff.” Participants believed they should know more about César E. Chávez and Dolores Huerta and regretted not knowing who they were or what they accomplished. Participants seemed to have an intuition that they should know more about these historical figures because of their (the participants’) ethnic background. The same two participants explicitly mentioned that as Hispanics they should know many more of the terms found in the readings. It is unclear if the participants of

the pilot study who were raised in more traditional Latino environments were cognizant of the cultural wealth they brought to the readings.

Limitations of the Pilot Study

The obvious limitation of the pilot study was that it was not conducted in the same form with all participants. The procedure was refined after the first two studies so only the last 2 participants focused on the four texts. None of the participants participated in a formal interview nor were they asked all interview questions mentioned in the design methodology. Additionally, there was no coding of the data, but informal tallies and researcher reflection showed the research questions were viable for a larger study. The limitations of the pilot study were to be expected when my purpose was to refine content and methodology associated with a study. However, the findings were promising in that they confirmed the use of the texts, showed the data gathering process to be promising, and confirmed the viability of a larger study using the same research questions.

Procedure

There were four phases to the dissertation research. In Phase 1, I introduced myself to the participants and gave a general description of each of the phases. I also secured a consent letter and explained the provisions of the consent letter and expected time commitments. Follow up appointments were made at this time. Phase 1 took approximately 15 minutes.

Phase 2 consisted of the think alouds. At the beginning of Phase 2, I briefly modeled a think aloud using a passages from a junior high science textbook so as not to directly influence their social science connections. I modeled the process in the same manner to each of the participants by writing out my connections and questions ahead of time (see Appendix B). Participants were then asked to conduct a think aloud with the four historical texts. Phase 2 took approximately 1 hour. All think alouds were audiorecorded and transcribed.

Phase 3 consisted of participant interviews. The interviews were audiorecorded and transcribed. Phase 3 took approximately 30 minutes.

Phase 4 consisted of participant reviews. Once the think alouds and interviews were transcribed, I invited each of the participants to review the transcripts. They were reminded they could delete any portion of the data. Only 1 of the participants chose to delete sections of her interview.

Materials

The study used think alouds with four different historical texts dealing either directly or indirectly with César E. Chávez and the United Farm Workers movement of the 20th century. The texts were chosen for their accessibility, connection to the United Farm Workers movement, readability, and potential connection to traditional Latino cultural knowledge. César E. Chávez and the United Farm Workers movement were chosen because they signify one of the few eras in which Latinos are generally mentioned within mainstream historical instruction in the secondary schools. Most classrooms will touch upon this subject

when studying the modern era. Furthermore, the time period is covered in all contemporary history textbooks. Each of the texts is consistent with the types of texts used in secondary classrooms. The primary sources are representative of the types of primary sources that may be found in a secondary classroom that aims to promote historical disciplinary knowledge. According to the Fry Readability Scale (Fry, 1968), each of the texts falls between the sixth- and ninth-grade reading level. The readability of the texts is important because of the wide variety of reading levels. It was also important that the reading level not be at the frustration level to limit the amount of working memory devoted to decoding and comprehension. Furthermore, each of the materials was selected with the following criteria in mind:

1. Does the historical text help a student understand the era or people associated with the concept?
2. Is this a public document that can be readily accessed?
3. Does the text fall between the sixth and ninth grades on the Fry Readability Scale (Fry, 1968).
4. As I (the researcher) engage with this document, can I personally make at least five potential connections to traditional Latino cultural knowledge as defined in the multicultural research?

Texts Used in This Study

Text 1: Chapter 1 of the junior high biography promoted by the California State Office of Education for its César E. Chávez model curriculum. This chapter

deals with the influence of César's family on his life. This text is at the ninth-grade level on the Fry Readability Scale (Fry, 1968). The biography can be accessed on the Internet at the following Web address: <http://chavez.cde.ca.gov/ModelCurriculum/Intro.aspx>

Text 2: *Plan of Delano* presented by César E. Chávez as a representative of the United Farm Workers during the Delano Grape Strike. The *Plan of Delano* is recommended by the California State Office of Education for its César E. Chávez model curriculum. This text is at the ninth-grade level on the Fry Readability Scale (Fry, 1968). (Source: César E. Chávez model curriculum for the California State Office of Education.) *The Plan of Delano* can be accessed at the following Web address: <http://chavez.cde.ca.gov/researchCenter/default.aspx>

Text 3: A section from a popular secondary history textbook, Prentice Hall's *The American Nation* (Davidson & Stoff, 2003). The specific section is part of a chapter labeled "The Crusade for Equal Rights." The section gives an overview of the modern Latino presence in United States history and discusses César E. Chávez and the United Farm Workers. This text is at the ninth-grade level on the Fry Readability Scale (Fry, 1968).

Text 4: A 1990 interview with Dolores Huerta archived at the César E. Chávez research site. The oral history focuses on the role of women in leadership positions within the United Farm Workers and Latino culture in general. This text is at the sixth-grade level on the Fry Readability Scale. (Source: Walter Reuther Collections.) The Walter Reuther Collections are linked to the César E. Chávez

model curriculum. The Walter Reuther Collections can be accessed on the Internet at the following Web address: <http://chavez.cde.ca.gov/researchCenter/default.aspx>

Trustworthiness of Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative research focuses on issues of “trustworthiness,” more so than issues of triangulation. For those who may not frequently read qualitative research it may be useful to think of trustworthiness as a form of rigor, though the comparison is far more complex due to the differences between quantitative and qualitative studies (Morrow, 2005). The validity, or trustworthiness, of a study is often seen as one of the strengths of qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2008). The research recommends using multiple processes to insure the trustworthiness (Morrow, 2005). This study used several procedures suggested by Creswell to check the accuracy of the findings: (a) peer debriefing, (b) participant review, (c) clarifying the bias of the researcher, (d) presenting negative or discrepant information, and (e) external auditors.

The peer debriefing took place with the aid of a research-dialogue team (peer-review team). Research-dialogue teams serve the purpose of helping the researcher reflect on his or her methods of inquiry and analysis along with discussing potential bias. Research-dialogue teams serve as a mirror for the researcher and may at times play the role of devil’s advocate (Morrow, 2005). Research-dialogue teams help a researcher by asking him or her to explain or defend his or her statements. This form of analysis and reflection leads to higher levels of trustworthiness.

The research-dialogue team was comprised of three higher education faculty members. Each of the faculty members has an advanced degree in multicultural education and has been trained in qualitative methods. They served as an additional check on bias as I shared my thoughts, coding progressions, and various drafts of my writing.

Participant review is used to check the consistency of the data by the participants. Participants had the opportunity to review the transcripts of the interviews and think alouds. Each participant was allowed to omit any findings he or she did not want published. Although this may have deleted important information, the amount of interview and observational data compensated for brief deletions of material. Participant review is consistent with qualitative research methods (Creswell, 2008).

I used a reflective journal throughout the study to check for bias. My background and training have led to some assumptions about the nature of this study that will need to be explored in the reflective journal. Specifically, I assumed students bring different forms of cultural knowledge to the social studies classroom. It is because of this assumption that a reflective process was necessary throughout the scope of the study. The journal helped me identify bias as I went through the collection and analysis of data. By constantly analyzing the process through a reflective journal, I better understood how my own experiences and understandings affected the research process (Morrow, 2005). Writing in the journal forced me to articulate the success/problems in such a way that my

subjectivity became more clear. For example, early on in the coding process I realized that I tended to ignore meaning units that did not directly align with Yosso's (2006) cultural wealth theory. By reminding myself that I needed to let the data speak for itself, I was later able to realize that there were many items that did not clearly fit Yosso's model. It was this discovery that led to my conclusions about cultural knowledge discussed in Chapter 5 of this study.

Discussing discrepant information adds to the credibility of an account for a reader and is therefore associated with the trustworthiness of a qualitative study (Creswell, 2008). The discrepant data that arose during the elaborative coding showed a need for a synthesized understanding of cultural knowledge. Showing that the data did not fit nearly with a preconceived model allows the reader to see that this study lets the data speak themselves and are therefore trustworthy.

Finally, external auditors are sometimes used in qualitative research in association with trustworthiness (Creswell, 2008). External auditors are distinct from a peer reviewer. They are new to the project and provide a distanced evaluation of the research. In my position as a faculty member I was in a unique position to ask several faculty members, not associated with social studies or multicultural research, to audit and give an independent view of the study. Two such colleagues reviewed the entire proposal and finished study and expressed confidence in the trustworthiness of the study. A social studies colleague from another state university also reviewed my entire study and deemed it to be trustworthy.

Data Management and Privacy Precautions

There were two sources of data for this research study: think alouds from four historical texts and participant interview data. Audiotapes were housed at a separate location from the transcripts. All transcripts were backed up digitally. The research journal and notes from the research-dialogue team were saved digitally and backed up periodically. All data for this study were collected by me. Conversations with the research-dialogue team maintained confidentiality. All participants were allowed to choose a pseudonym for the entirety of the project and allowed to eliminate any comments for any reason.

Taking Leave

Most college students are used to working with individuals for short periods so the brief interaction did not upset their usual college routines nor affect the students negatively. In all, participants spent less than 3 combined hours for this study. After thanking each of the participants for his or her help, I offered my continued services for dialogue about cultural issues brought out by the study to each of the participants.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the mass of collected data (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The participants' think alouds went through three levels of analysis. The first stage of data analysis was the initial open coding of transcripts which segmented the data into meaning units

(short quotes, phrases, or summaries of longer phrases that can be understood apart from each other). By systematically labeling these meaning units, the data were readily retrieved and examined (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The open coding level was used to provide data for the cross-case analysis based on reading level which corresponded to Research Question 2: How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latinos as they encounter culturally relevant texts? The audit trail for the open coding is found in Appendix C.

The second level of analysis was the axial coding. The meaning units established during open coding were further categorized. Patterns were determined and relationships between categories were examined. The analysis of data during axial coding also involved asking questions of the data in order to determine patterns and relationships between meaning units and categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The axial level of coding was used to provide data for Research Questions 1 and 2: What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant texts? How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts? The audit trail for the axial coding is found in Appendix D.

The third stage of individual data analysis was elaborative (a priori) coding (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Rubin & Rubin, 2005) of the think alouds. Only data that fit into relevant a priori categories based on cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006), or other “emerging categories” associated with traditional Latino

cultural background knowledge were considered during the third stage of coding. The a priori categories connected to cultural wealth theory were aspirational, linguistic, navigational, social, familial, and resistant forms of cultural capital (Yosso). The elaborative coding level was used to help answer Research Question 1: What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant texts? The audit trail for the elaborative coding is found in Appendix E.

Due to the subjective nature of qualitative analysis and the inter-relatedness of the a priori categories dealing with cultural wealth theory, I established a coding rubric to properly categorize participant responses. Because it was possible that certain forms of cultural knowledge, such as content knowledge, may not have fit perfectly into the cultural wealth categories established by Yosso (2006), I included a category for “other” emerging categories of cultural knowledge. Such categories are consistent with qualitative inquiry.

The coding rubric summarized topics found within Yosso’s (2006) cultural wealth theory. Starting with the axial coding, I looked for phrases that most closely resembled the topics in the coding rubric. At times there were exact matches and at other times the phrases matched the context of Yosso’s categories sufficiently to be included into the category. If the phrase did not fit neatly under the coding rubric it was classified as “other.” Most of the phrases that did not fit neatly into the cultural wealth categories dealt with content area knowledge or trivial information. The coding rubric is found in Table 2.

Table 2

Cultural Wealth Rubric: Cultural Wealth Attribute List for Elaborative Coding

Forms of capital	Attributes
Social capital: networks of people and community resources (social networks)	<p>Social and community resources used to navigate complex world (finding housing, employment, or scholarships)</p> <p>Focus on resources, not the skills used to navigate</p> <p>Groups that give/gather information or offer emotional support</p> <p>Sports groups</p> <p>Religious organizations</p>
Navigational capital: refers to the skills of maneuvering through social institutions	<p>The individual agency and/or skills used by underrepresented groups to navigate a complex world</p> <p>Resilience, hope, and social competency</p> <p>Transportation schedules, money exchange</p> <p>Critical thinking</p> <p>Social justice</p>
Aspirational capital: the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future even in the face of barriers	<p>The shared hopes and dreams passed to future generations that become a source of inspiration, even without the means to achieve those dreams</p> <p><i>Consejos</i> (advice)</p> <p>Encouragement</p> <p>Setting high goals</p> <p>The effort, as seen by the children, of parents' work to make dreams come true</p>
Familial capital: cultural knowledge nurtured among <i>familia</i> (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition (what it means to be part of the kin)	<p>Family lessons on caring, coping, providing, and moral guidance (can also be modeled within sports, school, religious gatherings, and other social community settings)</p> <p>A sense of <i>familia</i></p> <p><i>Educacion, educado</i></p> <p>Teaching about hard work and integrity</p>

Table 2 (continued)

Forms of capital	Attributes
Linguistic capital: those intellectual and social skills learned through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style	Code switching/bilingualism Storytelling traditions/ <i>cuentos</i> (includes memorization and dramatic pauses) Oral histories <i>Dichos</i> (proverbs), parables Communicate via visual art, music, jokes, or poetry Tutoring skills for younger siblings—the changing of presentation style to fit age Translating, for adults and to adults, skills leads to social maturity and appropriation of vocabulary
Resistant capital: knowledge and skills cultivated through behavior that challenges inequality. The message that they are people of worth, despite the messages being sent by society (issues of human rights)	Challenges inequality in the mainstream Asserting oneself as being intelligent, beautiful, strong, and worthy of respect Questioning society's distorted messages about beauty, success, love, and integrity Valuing oneself in spite of social and stereotypical pressures Resisting racial and social injustice could be negative such as “trying to fit in” or “dropping out” Being critical to transform society Social activism
Other	Cultural content knowledge: knowledge that ties into mainstream academic content area knowledge None: information that is trivial in nature and not of use in academic or community settings

I used a peer-review team made up of multicultural educators from the state university to review my coding and analysis. The peer-review team was given a hard copy of the open coding, axial coding, and elaborative coding audit trails (along with the coding rubric) so they could follow my coding sequences. Each peer-review team member also received a hard copy of the results section so they could check the results against the audit trail.

Participant interviews were initially analyzed to provide context for the think aloud data. Since the interviews came after the think aloud portion of the research, the interview responses could not reflect the forms of knowledge used while participants engaged the historical texts. Consequently, the interview data could not be used to answer Research Questions 1 or 2, only to help put them into context. However, the interviews provided additional data that could be used to support the findings related to Research Question 3: As they encounter culturally relevant historical texts, do students become aware they have cultural knowledge? The interview questions initially asked the participant to reflect on his or her think alouds, thereby offering an opportunity to reflect about cultural knowledge related to the think alouds. The latter questions focused directly on participant views of cultural knowledge and the potential connection to school leading to interesting results concerning stages of cultural awareness among the participants. Those results are shared in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Overview of the Study

This study focused on the think aloud responses of 9 Latino freshmen at a public university in the Intermountain West. Each of the participants was asked to think aloud while reading culturally relevant historical texts focusing on César E. Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and the United Farm Workers movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Individual interviews were conducted with each of the participants and demographic questionnaires were filled out at the conclusion of the think alouds. Open, axial, and elaborative codings of the think alouds (see Appendices C, D, and E) were used to categorize and retrieve the data. Cross-case analysis was used to determine if reading levels or demographic background had an impact on the forms of cultural knowledge used during the think alouds. Individual interviews were used as an additional data source for the third question.

The three research questions for this study were as follows:

1. What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant texts?
2. How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts?

3. As they encounter culturally relevant historical texts, do students become aware that they have cultural knowledge?

Research Question 1: What Forms of Cultural Knowledge
Are Used by Latinos as They Encounter Culturally
Relevant Historical Texts?

Cultural knowledge is background knowledge that is oriented by the culture of the student. Culturally relevant historical texts (readings which relate to a student's cultural heritage) were chosen because they had the most potential of bringing out connections to traditional Latino cultural knowledge. Although the students came from different lands and environments, there were many similar forms of cultural knowledge accessed by the participants.

The first part of this section discusses the forms of cultural knowledge accessed by all participants. The second part will discuss the cultural knowledge accessed by a majority of participants. The forms of cultural knowledge accessed by the participants became evident during the axial coding stage. For example, the meaning units that discussed customs, traditions, and practices were all categorized as "cultural mores." Other meaning units offered by the participants focused more on facts and issues related to Latin America. Such categorization will be discussed throughout this section. I will conclude this section with a discussion of the research question.

Forms of Cultural Knowledge Accessed by All Participants

The forms of cultural knowledge accessed by all participants were categorized into two major categories: (a) cultural mores and (b) knowledge of facts and issues related to Latin America. Among the background knowledge associated with cultural mores were (a) strong family bonds, (b) respect for elders, (c) knowledge of traditional Latino religious views, (d) Spanish language proficiency, and (e) knowledge of *machismo*. Among the background knowledge associated with facts and issues related to Latin America were (a) travel/migration, (b) unity, and (c) knowledge of Latin American politics. Each of these forms of cultural knowledge was activated by all 9 participants in the study, even though the participants varied by country of origin, time spent in the United States, and educational opportunities.

Strong family bonds. Strong family bonds were evident for each of the participants. The biographical sketch of César E. Chávez and the oral interview with Dolores Huerta both touched on issues of family, so it was a natural connection for most participants during the think alouds. The forms of background knowledge activated by the participants focused on relationships and values taught by family members. For example: Jay T recalled his brother trying to teach him through his own experiences and trying to save him from learning the hard way. Rafael noted the respect that his uncles had for his father because “he helped raise them.” Emma discussed the closeness and support within her family, as did Robby and Anita. Valeria noted that parents were role models who taught the type of

values that get “in your blood.” Valeria went on to discuss the sacrifices that parents were willing to make for their children because of the strong family bonds that exist among Latinos:

But mostly in Latino culture, that’s the first thing they think of their children, with the hope that they will not suffer. . . . I think that’s why my parents moved over here so we could have a better education. Because over there, besides the fact that we really didn’t earn a lot of money, they didn’t think we could get a good education. And then we’re here, like we’re here. We don’t have papers. We are here illegally. We came here legally. But everything expired, I guess you can say. So, now that we are higher up and I’m in college and everything, they are really proud, that everything they did was worth it. Because they’ve gone through a lot, my parents have gone through so much. And I’m really trying to make this work because I want everything they did to be worth it. So, that’s something very important to me and them. I know it. So, I’m going to try and get really high up there because I don’t know how long they can stay here. I don’t think they can stay here very long, probably going to have to move and go back to Mexico soon. But I have very little opportunities, but I’m not going to give up, no matter what. I know there is hope out there, and I will just continue until I get a good education. Hopefully be a teacher sometime in the future.

Cassandra also discussed the suffering that Latino parents are willing to endure for their children:

It would be hard to know that your family members or people from your race had to suffer so much or work so hard. And it’s not for them, . . . and the only reason that they would be doing it is because they have their families to help. . . . I think it’s so nice to hear that they care about their children and that’s why they’re suffering and that’s why they, they choose to stand up. It’s because of their children, and, and because they don’t want their children to suffer the same things. And I think about my home, family, and how much my parents have suffered. And it’s because they just want a better life for me.

Respect for elders. Beyond connections to family members, the think alouds revealed a profound respect by all the participants towards family elders, especially grandmothers. The reading on César E. Chávez mentioned César's love and respect for his own grandmother, *Mama Tella*. Connections among the participants were as basic as Jay T discussing his own *Mama Lucita* and as poignant as Emma's recollection of helping her own grandparents by giving them 20 to 30 *pesos* so they would have enough to eat. Letty was incensed that some children from today's generation would treat an elder as an equal:

Oh, that true. Its unbelievable how people here do not take care of their grandpas. We, when we come here, we tend to get some of the culture stuff and we get that, too. And now she is talking about our children are getting that so they don't want to take care of their grandparents. They discriminate them. They don't respect them. And I, that is really really hard when you see a kid talking to his father or mother or grandfather like they are equal. You know, it is sad. It is part of my culture. And I truly think that that is right. You have to have respect for the older people. You don't talk to them like you talk to your friend. You don't yell to them because they are older and I think that is how it should be. But here it is like who cares.

Rafael's respect and love for his grandmother clearly came out in the following statement:

I loved my *abuelita* so much and she's indigenous. She barely speaks Spanish. She speaks *Aymara*, and so I can kind of relate. I'm sure I love my grandma and the way she lives and the way she thinks. I think that kind of touched me a lot, too. Helped me think that I changed over there, so I guess I can kind of relate. I'm sure he kind of saw how maybe she suffered or maybe the changes that they had to make with the farmers.

Knowledge of traditional Latino religious views. Although the participants varied in their affiliation to organized religion and aligned with varying faiths, they

all made connections to the excerpts associated with the traditional Catholic Church, and especially with *La Virgen de Guadalupe* (who is closely identified with traditional Catholicism to Mexicans and Mexican Americans). Cassandra noted that even though she is not Catholic: “there is like a peace that *La Virgen de Guadalupe* brings to people.” Anita, Letty, and Robby, who are also not Catholic, noted the importance of *La Virgen* to Catholics. Anita states: “Yeah, this is true. The Virgin of Guadalupe is very important to the Mexican Catholics especially.” Letty, who is also not Catholic, noted that devotion to *La Virgen* is not as strong in her home country, the Dominican Republic, as devotion to *La Virgen* is in Mexico.

Spanish language proficiency. The use of Spanish was extensive for each of the participants. The participants easily interpreted words in Spanish. Sometimes they expressed their thoughts aloud in Spanish in order to better express their thoughts. Other times they would code-switch in the middle of a sentence, using the English and Spanish terms that best conveyed what they were trying to say.

The connection to issues related with the Spanish language was also evident. In Letty’s think aloud she agreed with the text’s view that Spanish unifies Latinos but felt incensed that modern Latinos did not value having two cultures and two languages. Anita discussed the abundance of bilingual people in the United States, and Robby made the connection between his bilingual abilities and job opportunities. Rafael discussed the issue of English as an official language. Rafael said:

America is not like all the other countries. Like Bolivia, the official language is Spanish. I’ve heard so many arguments when I’ve talked

to Americans. Well, I'm American, too. But when I talk to some people that feel it should be just English, they tell me, "Well, if I go to Mexico, you know, I have to abide by their culture, I have to learn Spanish." And that's true, but you can't really compare Mexico to America. You can't. I mean, it's completely different. And obviously the immigrants come here. They do learn English.

However, he also saw the other side of the argument in terms of the need for Latinos to learn English:

Oh man, that is a huge thing. I hate it. So many Latino parents, most of all, look so bad. I do volunteer work at Sunset View on Tuesday and Thursdays for at least 2 hours. Its for *Latinos Unidos*, basically. I hate it how so many of these parents do not know their children. They are not involved. First of all, step 1, you want to be involved, you learn English. I'm sorry, but that's just, you just gotta do it. Look, if you care, you just have to learn English. There are so many places where you can learn English for free. And sometimes it gets me how these parents that are not involved.

Emma and Cassandra discussed the importance of having materials printed in Spanish for the benefit of their non-English-reading family members.

Cassandra's think aloud response was:

What I think about this is it reminds me of when I was in elementary school. And the teacher would write the information down on the paper on one side and it was in English. And on the other side it was in Spanish. I thought it was helpful for my parents who speak more Spanish than English. And I think it's just, I guess little things that would help more people be informed. And if it's just writing it down in Spanish as well as English, why can't we do that; it's not that hard.

Knowledge of *machismo*. Traditional Latino views of *machismo* were evident in the think alouds of all participants. Although not all the participants discussed both men and women, they all drew upon their personal experiences with what may be considered traditional Latino views of gender. Whether it was Valeria

commenting that “men do play games with women” or Letty stating that “men take advantage of women” or Jay T explaining that in the past “men . . . have been the ones to take over but now there are steps toward new changes,” participants who described men seemed to be pointing towards the issue of *machismo* that is often attributed to men in Latin American culture. Letty discussed Latin American *machismo* in her home country: “in our country, there is a lot of discrimination against women because of the culture, they have to clean the house, they have to cook, they have to be at home now. That is changing; we just want to do what we want to do, why not?”

Rafael approached the issue directly when he stated: “Latinos, we are *machistas*. My dad is always a *machista*, . . . as a man, or as a leader, you are not allowed to break down. . . . Being a *machista* is just a part of Latin culture. We have always been *machistas*.” When making a disparaging remark towards women, Rafael was willing to acknowledge that it was “probably just my *machista* side talking.”

The think alouds may have provided more comments dealing with traditional Latino *machismo*, but the readings did not directly use the word *machismo*. Instead, the readings discuss dispositions associated with *machismo* but used the word “chauvinism.” Anita admitted understanding the concept of *machismo* during her interview but admitted that she did not comprehend the word “chauvinism” as it was used in the readings, which limited her connections. However, Cassandra offered a personal connection to chauvinism as she discussed

her first direct experience with male chauvinism:

I remember one time, like, people would talk about chauvinism or about things like that. And I wouldn't really see it, I guess, or it hadn't really happened to me. Like, no one had talked to me or said something directly to me. And I remember, like, the first time that it happened I was so, I didn't expect it. And I didn't know what to do, and it made me so sad. But I guess it's what she said right here that you can't let it paralyze you because you have to move on. You have to learn how to deal with it and then try to change it.

Travel/migration. It seemed that participants in this study made connections to different areas of Latin America because they either came from those regions, moved into those regions for a short time, or had visited different geographical regions within Latin America (or areas containing a high population of Latin Americans). Like many immigrants, the participants or their families had moved several times (and may not be done moving) to areas of potential opportunity. As a result, participants in this study accessed information about the southwestern United States and Latin American countries.

Many of the participants had moved several times, as is often the case with the children of first generation immigrants. In connection with a textbook passage that discussed migration, Jay T commented:

This reminds me of my family, too. They settled before I was born. I have stepbrothers; they came here and they did move a lot. My brother is 25. He didn't really get to stay in one elementary school and keep the friends there. He was always changing and changing from different schools. Even middle school he changed to like four schools. And then elementary, I think it was at least six different schools. . . . His parents were always moving, looking for something better paying. That's true. I know my parents did that.

Unity. The concept of unity was a common concept for all participants. Jay T made consistent connections to the need for unity among Latinos throughout all four of the readings. The other participants also brought forth background knowledge about the unity that is either presently found within Latino communities or reflected on a unity that may have existed in the past but is no longer as strong as it used to be. Cassandra seemed to appreciate the readings bringing out positive notes about Latino history and pride. She stressed that “not forgetting where you came from . . . is so important.” Dolores pointed out that at times Latinos “forget what unity is all about.” Emma brings up the idea that Latinos need to unify and support each other because of common bonds. She stated: “We may all have the same types of problems.” On the other hand, Robby’s background knowledge concerning Latino unity was in a negative light. He stressed that there were only “two kinds in the Latin community; either they stick together or they look at you dirty and won’t talk to you for 20 years. . . . Latins are really, really united.” In Robby’s case, Latino unity was something that was an obstacle for him outside of the closeness and unity he shared with his family.

Rafael used his awareness of the immigration debate to bring up a connection concerning unity:

Like I said, I really like how they reach out to more people, how he uses the whole United States. United we shall stand. The whole unity theme was very good. Juan Hernandez came a couple of weeks ago and he was the advisor to the Mexican President Fox back when he was President. And we had lunch with him, and I told him that my favorite line that I saw and that he told Lou Dobbs on Fox. . . . Lou Dobbs wants to close the borders. He wants to like basically shut us down and not let anybody in, except for legally and

everything. He wants to build walls and he wants, . . . but um. . . . So, Juan Hernandez told him, if we build a wall and close ourselves up, then the terrorists win. And that's like a line that like the conservatives use a lot, that they always say, "If we don't do that, then the terrorists win." Everything is like, if we don't do something, the terrorists win. Juan Hernandez, being an advocate for immigrants and everything using that line against him, was genius. I feel this is kind of the same where he is using the United States, the "united we shall stand," you know, and he kind of uses that for his cause.

Knowledge of Latin American politics. A familiarity of political situations within Latin America was also expressed during the think alouds by all participants. Although in some cases, as in comments about Fidel Castro, it would be difficult to separate cultural knowledge from background knowledge gained from other mediums, it is clear that political subjects associated with Latin America are being stressed in the homes and communities of the participants. Although Anita has lived outside of Mexico for some time, she is aware that "there is still corruption, looters, on the frontier right now." Valeria brought up age discrimination in Mexico because her father, who was in Mexico at the time of the study, was having much difficulty finding a job in Mexico because of his age (even though he had a high level of college and technical training). Robby and Jay T seemed to have the most knowledge of political situations within Latin America and therefore brought up issues of socialism and revolution as well as the reasons for which Che Gueverra should be someone who is highly regarded. Consequently, Rafael was quick to bring up how the rich and educated have hurt his home country, Bolivia. He said: "It reminds me, there's always been educated people, doctors, lawyers, and *ingenieros* and everything, and look where the country is

now, you know it is ruined; why not give peasants a chance?”

Forms of Cultural Knowledge Accessed by a Majority of Participants

Although there was consensus on many of the forms of cultural knowledge, some forms of cultural knowledge were used by the majority, but not all the participants. This included (a) knowledge about immigration, (b) racial/ethnic discrimination, (c) poverty and class consciousness, (d) social activism, and (e) *dichos* (proverbs).

Knowledge about immigration. Most of the participants seemed to have background knowledge about immigration, which is not surprising since all the participants were either first- or second-generation immigrants to the United States. Other than Robby, all the participants made close, personal connections to immigrants and equated immigration with economic necessity and political circumstances. The idea that immigrants come here for a better economic life was mentioned by all the participants.

At times participants made direct connection to the passage by using the pronoun “we” or “us” to connect to the text. When reading the textbook passage dealing with immigration, Dolores made the comment that there were more Mexican immigrants in the United States because “we can just cross the border.” Valeria declared: “The Americans really need us. We suffer more than others.” Rafael summed up his feelings towards immigration in general with a quote: “We didn’t cross the border; the border crossed us.” When speaking of immigration

Anita stated: “We can’t find better jobs because we are not Americans. We are Mexicans and this is not our country. We are just here because of the necessity or having a better life, and it is not what happens. . . .” When the textbook discussed Puerto Ricans, Letty was able to speak from her personal experiences with immigration as contrast:

Puerto Rico is kind of part for the United States. So, they have more privilege now, kind of, not like an American, but they don’t really need to do all the things that we have to do to come to this country because Puerto Rico is part of the United States now.

Jay T’s think aloud concerning a textbook passage of immigration showed the empathy that many of the participants have for immigrants in this country:

It made me think of all the Latinos that did come. There are a lot of Hispanics here in the United States. You know, we don’t really know how many people there are, came over here illegal but wanted to work. Just comes to my mind. So many people coming here to do good. They just want to better their families, better everything. They want to better everything in their lives. They don’t want to disrupt anything; they just want to make everything better for what they are doing I guess. People think they come here just to take jobs; that’s not true, They are coming here to make our lives better.

Rafael was also cognizant of the struggles that illegal immigrants sometimes face in terms of wages and benefits:

I always keep on thinking about how illegal immigrants are paid under, they are underpaid. Basically, and a lot of them don’t get any benefits. . . . It is sad how a lot of the people, they are just not aware about this second class, basically, of people that are being exploited. And without them, there wouldn’t be a lot of these things that we have, these luxuries. I mean, when you think about it, . . . how many landscapers, construction workers, grapepickers, and waitresses are illegal?

Emma is also aware of some of the problems illegal immigrants face in the United States:

This makes me think about immigration and what is occurring today. Many people take advantage of people that don't have papers, and they pay them little or they don't accept them in some places. And also students that don't have papers. I'm not sure, but there is a move to not give people an education if they don't have papers. I don't agree with that at all.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. Background knowledge associated with racial/ethnic discrimination was evident in each of the think alouds, though not from similar viewpoints. Anita noted that “a lot of immigrants still feel oppressed. They feel that they can't have good jobs.” Anita also stated: “It is difficult not to feel the racism because you see it every day, but you have to learn to live and with lots of people and do like it says, ‘don't let it paralyze you.’” Valeria, who is very light skinned, drew from her personal experiences in the local schools; she recalled: “They won't even pick on you because you are Mexican. I was White; their attitude changed about me when they found out I was Mexican. . . . There are people that haven't been there for me because I am Latino.” Valeria also stated:

Although they say we have the same opportunities and everything, I really, really don't think so because some of us are just put lower because we're Latinos; it's just the way society does things. So, we just have to work like twice as hard, three times as hard to get what we want. . . . We are treated as the lowest of the low.

Letty brought up that “Americans look at us as a lower race, . . . Americans do not feel we are equal to them, we are an inferior race”; she also brought up issues of racial discrimination found within Latino communities: “Racism is everywhere,

. . . racism is between Mexicans, Dominicans, people from Peru, everywhere. . . . We also hate each other.” Emma viewed some of the passages dealing with discrimination from a historical distance. She stated:

I also know that when I hear about the bad things, about the bad ways they treated the Mexicans, because part of me is from Mexico and that makes me feel sad. But I also try and not have that affect me because it is in the past and I need to worry about what is happening to me today.

In a different passage, she again distanced herself from discrimination: “I know there is discrimination but, well, I haven’t really experienced a lot of it.”

Poverty and class consciousness. Background knowledge concerning poverty and class consciousness was found in the majority of think alouds. Some of the comments came about as a result of reading about Chávez’s compassion towards the poor. Dolores agreed with Chávez when she said: “poor people are the ones that live a moral life; they do all the work.” Cassandra also agreed that “poor people appreciate things more.” Emma explained that the poor “have strong experiences and that makes them better than those that don’t have those kinds of experiences.” Valeria’s reaction to a passage about class division was very heated:

When you are poor, you have to work to get things, and you learn a lot more than if you’re rich. You get everything. Then you really don’t understand how people work so hard and the feelings that they have towards everything. When you are rich, you get everything you want, and you really don’t care. You don’t realize what people go through to get what you want.

Valeria then related how in her own life, she has gone from being well off financially to being very poor but that being poor has taught her to really value everything she has. She later stated that her comments were not true of all rich

people. Valeria also believed the poor were superior and that they “learn a lot more about life . . . value what they have more.” Emma explained that “because they come from ranches, they are used to working hard. . . . They know more things about villages or farms. . . . Farm people have more experiences than people from the city.”

Since Jay T and Rafael often brought up revolution and socialism, they were very much aware of class issues throughout the readings and discussed exploitation of the poor and the inability of the poor to move up the economic ladder. Jay T recalled that he and his siblings “were not always given everything. . . . You appreciate and are raised with what little you have.” Jay T’s understanding of social class was also viewed from the context of debates his family has about this subject. He stated that his family

always argue about how there is always the poor class and the rich class, and the rich class is always getting richer because it’s always exploiting the poor and that’s just not right. There has to be some kind of fairness, some kind of change and how they exploit the workers, too. We all are equal.

Rafael stated: “It is interesting how they are always happy with dances, a little bit of food, their family. I feel like the more you have the more problems you get, so I think he has a very good point.” Rafael also relayed a story told by his uncles about his own father. As the story goes, Rafael’s father was primarily responsible for raising his brothers. One day, one of the brothers had complained about not having shoes by saying: “It’s not fair, its not fair, I don’t have shoes.” Rafael’s father replied: “You are crying because you don’t have shoes and that boy is

crying because he doesn't have feet."

Conversely, Anita, Robby, and Letty also commented on class/poverty issues but mainly in disagreement with César E. Chávez. They seemed to disagree with Chávez's comment about the morality of the poor but instead made the point that it may be true for some but definitely not all. They also stated that morality was not confined to the poor. However, Letty also explained that exploitation of the poor was also happening outside of Mexico, "was happening, in different ways, but also was happening in other countries besides Mexico." Later in the text she also stated that such exploitation was still happening today by big businesses in her home country, the Dominican Republic. Opposite from the reaction of most of the participants were Robby's think alouds. When thinking aloud about Chávez's morality quote Robby thought aloud about his experiences in Mexico and Guatemala: "There are poor people that were really cool. They were really moral. At the same time, there are poor people that are having a lot of problems; they were poor not because anyone made them to but because they were lazy and didn't want to do anything about it." In response to a different passage concerning the unfairness of the plight of some immigrants in the United States Robby stated:

I don't know for whatever reason and they would always tell me how life was unfair, how it was always the White rich people that were exploiting them, and it just makes me laugh because I never had to live anything like that. And so, right here, César's family tells him about the unfairness in life and that to me, it just pops into my mind, is just how a lot of them make that excuse like something doesn't go their way. Something is unfair. That's the unfairness in life, I think that's bull.

Social activism. Connections to social activism through unity were also found in the think alouds. Valeria noted that if “we unify, we can make a huge difference, a huge difference beyond our communities; . . . get up and fight and give everything.” Emma stated: “I get involved when I feel I can do something about it or influence people.” Jay T and Rafael were well versed in social activism, citing Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr, John Lennon, and Che Gueverra. Letty added that the United Farm Workers was fighting for “basic human rights.” Cassandra called these rights “God-given rights” and referred to her knowledge of Martin Luther King, Jr. by recalling King’s powerful statement: “In the end we will remember not the words of our enemies but the silence of our friends.” She stressed that she wants to be known as someone who stands up and does not keep silent. In one way or another, most of the participants saw the need for some kind of social activism on the part of underrepresented populations.

Dichos. Although not unique to Latin America, proverbs (or sayings) are passed along by Latin American families as *dichos* (Yosso, 2006). During the think alouds, participants either offered up their own *dichos* or reflected on *dichos* passed on to them by family members. Dolores commented that she heard the quote: “*El respeto al derecho ajeno es la pas*” (the respect of others’ rights is peace) all the time from her mother. Cassandra noted that her mother taught her similar lessons, especially telling her to love everyone. Valeria stressed that her family taught her to be “*humilde, tienes que ser humilde*” (be humble, you need to be humble). Five of the participants commented on the need to “practice what you

preach.” Robby recalled his grandmother always telling him stories to shape him up. Robby also quoted *dichos* that he learned while living in the Mexico/Guatemala region.

Discussion of Research Question 1

Once the forms of cultural knowledge were categorized, it became apparent that participants used many forms of cultural knowledge as they encountered culturally relevant historical texts. Had no cultural knowledge been accessed during the unprompted think alouds, it would have pointed to background knowledge so inert that even culturally relevant texts could not bring out the activation of cultural knowledge. It also may have pointed to a lack of cultural knowledge on the part of the Latino participants. Fortunately, there were many forms of cultural knowledge used during the reading of the texts. There were at least 13 identified forms of cultural knowledge used during the think alouds drawn from only four culturally relevant texts. The forms of cultural knowledge varied from facts and issues related to Latin American to cultural mores associated with Latinos.

Research Question 2: How Do Reading Levels and Demographics Affect the Forms of Cultural Knowledge Used by Latinos as They Encounter Culturally Relevant Texts?

This section discusses the think alouds based on reading levels and demographic data. The first analysis compared the reading levels to the number of connections made by the participants, as reflected in the initial open coding. The second analysis compared the types of connections made by participants based on

gender, language, migration, nationality, economic indicators, education, religious preference, and previous experience with multicultural/ethnic studies activities.

Cross-Case Analysis Based on Reading Levels

Participants were grouped according to low, middle, and upper levels based on ACT and/or COMPASS reading scores. Anita, Emma, and Valeria's scores corresponded to the lowest third of Latino students attending the state university. Cassandra, Jay T, and Letty correlated to the middle third; Robby, Dolores, and Rafael to the upper third.

The think alouds were analyzed to determine how reading level impacted the number of connections to cultural background knowledge. A deficit view of Latino background knowledge would suggest that Latinos with lower reading levels would most likely make fewer connections to any text (including culturally relevant texts). Therefore, frequency counts were conducted using the original connections in the initial open coding. Table 3 organizes the participants by reading level. Each of the columns corresponded to the texts that were used for the study in the order they were used. A total for each participant is included.

It was not clear from the table that higher reading levels led participants to more connections. Based on frequency counts of the raw data, there did not appear to be differences in the number of connections made during the think alouds between participant reading levels. Emma (lower third group) made the smallest number of connections during think alouds. However, after her, the smallest number of connections came from Dolores and Robby, who were in the highest

Table 3

Frequency Counts

	Chapter 1	Delano	Textbook	<i>Huerta</i>	Total
Lower third reading group					
Anita	7	7	8	13	35
Emma	16	8	7	36	67
Valeria	46	18	6	14	86
Middle third reading group					
Cassandra	12	15	7	23	57
Jay T	43	32	11	40	130
Letty	27	12	9	39	87
Upper third reading group					
Robby	16	13	6	11	46
Dolores	9	8	4	18	39
Rafael	39	44	38	78	199

reading group. Cassandra and Jay T (middle group) made more connections than Robby and Dolores, who are in the upper third in reading scores. Thus, among the participants in the study using these texts, reading levels did not seem to make a difference in the number of connections made during the think alouds.

Discrepant Data Related to Number of Connections

Qualitative data allow for the analysis of discrepant data. An important area of discrepancy surrounded the connections made by Dolores in her think alouds. Throughout the think alouds, Dolores nodded in agreement, said something that

showed she was agreeing with the text, or restated the text in a way that would make one think she was agreeing with the text. Dolores was in the highest reading group but when compared to other participants in all reading levels, she made a low number of connections during the think alouds. Yet, it may be that she made many more text connections but that such connections were in agreement with the text and, as a result, were not verbalized like those of other participants. As a researcher, I did not notice this enough during my think aloud with Dolores. However, something said by Valeria at the very end of her fourth think aloud made me think that agreement and restatement within the think alouds may be a form of connection. Valeria made the following statement after a long period of silence during her reading of the Huerta text: “The reason I am so quiet is actually, it’s just like about a bunch of opinions and talks about like that and stuff she thinks and I agree. So, I mean, I don’t really have very much to say; I just agree with what this is.” That led me to think that perhaps Dolores, who was interviewed near the beginning of the study, might be doing the same thing. I then proceeded to analyze Dolores’ comments from this perspective.

The following are examples of comments made by Dolores during the reading of the Huerta oral interview. Although her “agreements” were not counted among the connections for this study, they may add additional insights into the way some students may make connections between cultural knowledge and historical texts. The Dolores Huerta text is in italics, and Dolores’ (the participant) corresponding think aloud statements are in regular text.

You have to make decisions, and it's sometimes difficult, but you do it anyway. You have to know in advance that you will make mistakes and not be afraid. Men make a lot of mistakes, but they cover them up. And women don't realize it. They think men are always right.

“You see right here,” she says, “You have to know in advance that you will make mistakes and not be afraid.” Men make a lot of mistakes, but they cover them up and women don't realize. They think men are always right.

We just have to be able to argue our position, and that's hard. Men would automatically put down a woman's idea and adopt it for themselves. You have to get your ideas out and fight. Women are not willing to fight.

I like what she says right here, you have to get your ideas up and fight. Women are not willing to fight. That makes it so amazing is that everything she says is the truth. She is honest.

The diets of Hispanics are atrocious; they have diabetes.

The diets of Hispanics are atrocious. They have diabetes.

The whole area of parenting needs work. They no longer have relationships with the grandparents. This other culture doesn't appreciate them and discriminates against them.

The whole area of parenting works. They no longer have relationships with their and parents. This other culture doesn't appreciate them and discriminates against them. That's true; that's what I see all the time now.

Every time I talk to women's organizations, I tell them to read Betty Jean Harragan's book, Games Mother Never Taught You. I think that should be the bible for women because men play all kinds of games on you, and not just men in power. One needs to learn, not to play those games, but to recognize them when they're being played on you.

It's true. I'm going to have to read that book. Things Mother never taught me. You have to do what you like to do, not what someone else wants you to do. No matter what it is. That's what she says. That's true.

If the discrepant data were to be used, it would change the connection totals for many of the participants. However, this study was not designed to interpret such statements. In addition, it is difficult to ascertain if other participants were making similar connections but did not gesture or comment about such connections. Therefore, when analyzing the number of meaning units across cases, it was best to rely on statements that were quoted, but not inferred or based on “agreements” or nonverbal expressions.

Conclusions About Reading Level and Cultural Knowledge

The think alouds demonstrated the vast numbers of connections to cultural knowledge made across reading levels with culturally relevant historical texts, regardless of reading level. The discrepant data noted in this section do not hurt this finding; instead, it possibly strengthens it as additional connections could be counted for each of the participants. The large number of connections made by all participants during the readings suggests that all the readers were engaged by the culturally relevant texts and were actively reading the texts, regardless of reading level.

Cross-Case Analysis Based on Demographics

This section compares the think aloud responses of participants based on data attained from the Demographic Questionnaire (see Appendix F) and from student self-disclosed information during the think alouds and interviews.

Comparisons were made with regard to gender, language and nationality, economic

indicators, educational background, religious preference, and participation in multicultural activities/ethnic study classes.

Comparisons Involving Gender

The first demographic area compared was gender. Although most of the think aloud statements found no difference in relation to gender, there were two areas in which the responses of the participants were distinguished by gender. The first area was participant views towards the Catholic Church. The second area was in relation to statements about women.

Views toward the Catholic Church. The comments made about the Catholic Church varied between men and women. The men tended to be more critical of the Catholic Church, and women tended to be more respectful in their comments about Catholicism. Both Jay T and Rafael were distrustful of organized religion and both said it was a “two-sided sword.” However, Jay T had a closer identification with traditional Catholicism and spoke of *La Virgen* with tenderness: “What comes to me now is I do always love *La Virgen*. For some reason I know she is love and anybody that shows or teaches love to others is a good person.” On the other hand, Robby did not have a problem with organized religion, but he had many attacking comments about the Roman Catholic Church. For example, Robby stated: “I remember one time he really got me upset and I told him that the Virgin wasn’t really anybody special and stuff, and here I am reading about the Virgin.” The female participants’ think alouds concerning Catholicism were either distanced but respectful or supportive of the Catholic Church. Dolores states with regard to

César's Catholicism: "I didn't even know that he was Catholic. He was very, how do you say, um, strong in his faith, in the Catholic Church. That's very good."

Views toward Latinas. Traditional views of Latinas were brought up during the think alouds. The César E. Chávez biography brought up many connections to grandmothers because of the text's emphasis on the teachings of César's grandmother, *Mama Tella*. The Dolores Huerta Oral interview also spawned a great deal of comments about women, especially in relation to some of the feminist remarks embedded within the text. The comments of the female participants tended to view Latinas as either passive or passive in the past, whereas the comments made by male participants about contemporary Latinas ran from being partly feminist to completely *machista* (made by someone who exemplifies *machismo*). The following statements were made by female participants: Dolores said: "Some women think men are always right" and "women do let our emotions get in the way." Anita and Dolores said: "Some women are not willing to fight." Emma expressed that she has a problem with "women that don't do anything" because she believed that women should value themselves. Valeria said: "It says 'one needs to learn how to play those games, how to recognize when they are being played on you about men.' Amen to that!" The following are statements about Latinas made by male participants (statements regarding grandmothers have been omitted since they are similar to the statements about grandmothers made by the female participants): Jay T stated: "Some women are stronger than others; some women just want to be mothers. I guess it's pretty even," but he did state that "all women

and men should be equal.” Yet, in a different section, he stated that he was “kind of scared of how a woman will run this country. . . . They have a different way, different days with emotional problems.” Rafael was excited to see the feminist coming out in the Dolores Huerta interview and made statements in support of equality towards women, yet he placed women as being “emotional by nature; . . . women tend to lean too much on their emotions.” He believed that “women need to get rid of that emotion” and that “women should be independent and look beyond just being married and raising children.” Robby’s comments about women also tended to be disparaging. He stated that his brothers and he joked around but that they “are pretty much serious how we don’t want to marry a Latin girl because their emotions are like that; their emotions are what they run on.”

Comparisons Involving Language, Migration, and Nationality

There was no noticeable distinction when comparing participants based on issues related to language and nationality. The demographic data concerning years living in the United States, if the participants were English language learners, number of cities in which they have lived, and first language were compared by using the axial coding categories. None of these categories showed a difference in responses based on demographics. Anita, Emma, and Valeria, who were all born in Mexico, showed a closeness to their home country; similar feelings were shown towards Mexico by Dolores and Jay T, who were not born in Mexico but whose parents were from Mexico. The parents of all the participants, except Letty and Rafael, were born in Mexico, so it was not possible to compare think alouds based

on parent ethnicity. The only noticeable difference related to nationality could be shown by the connection that both Letty and Rafael felt for their home countries (respectively the Dominican Republic and Bolivia). The commonality between the 2 is that they have both lived in their home countries during the past few years and were not ethnically Mexican.

Comparisons Involving Economic Indicators

Based on the demographic responses of the participants, it is unclear if economic indicators such as family income level or parents' occupations affected the number or quality of the think alouds. Most of the participants did not know or did not answer the question about the financial level of their parents. When asked, most admitted they did not know family income level. Of those that responded, only 1 participant, Robby, claimed financial levels to be above minimum wage and had parents in occupations which could be deemed as other than blue collar. Interestingly, Robby's comments tended to be the most derogatory towards women, Latinos, and the Catholic Church. However, without additional information, it is difficult to tell if such economic indicators influenced his remarks or those of other participants.

Comparisons Involving Education

Education or professional goals did not show any difference between the participants. High school grade point average (not known or not answered by many of the participants), educational goals, and parent educational levels did not seem

to show a difference. Another area of comparison was educational experience, such as high school attendance. Only Letty and Anita did not attend high school in the United States. Instead, they attended high school in their home countries. Other than Letty's references to the Dominican Republic instead of Mexico, there were no differences in responses in comparison to those participants who attended high school in the United States.

Comparisons Involving Religious Preference

Religious preference did make some difference in respect to participant reaction to the passages associated with the Catholic Church and specifically with *La Virgen de Guadalupe*. Participants from Mexico and who were practicing Catholics had an intimate respect for both the Catholic Church and *La Virgen*. Participants who were only culturally Catholic (nonpracticing) and from Mexico had a respect for *La Virgen* but were willing to be critical of organized religion in general. Letty, who was neither Catholic nor from Mexico, did not have a relationship with *La Virgen* but understood that *La Virgen* holds a special place for Catholic Mexicans. Robby, who was neither born nor raised in Mexico and who has never been Catholic, had a general disrespect for all things Catholic.

Comparisons Involving Previous Experience With Multicultural/Ethnic Studies Activities

Only 3 of the participants had participated in multicultural clubs and of the 3, only 1 had an experience with critical theory (Valeria), though she was unaware of such an experience at the time of the study. Rafael was involved with the

multicultural club at the university. Dolores and Valeria were both involved with multicultural clubs at their high schools. Even though Rafael had vast amounts of knowledge about his home country, it was apparent that his academic cultural knowledge came from his experiences in Bolivia, his family, and individual readings rather than his association in a multicultural club. The same can be said for Dolores, although she had not done the type of outside reading that Rafael had. Although Valeria was in a high school multicultural club and has a strong connection to Mexico, she also had some experience to critical theory as part of her first introductory experience at the state university, so any findings associated with her think alouds must be interpreted with caution. Therefore, according to this sample, involvement with multicultural clubs did not seem to make a difference in the responses of participants. However, the type of critical multicultural studies that Valeria experienced during a short period of time may have impacted her responses, though it cannot be concluded due to sample size and the nature of the study. The content of Valeria's response will be addressed in the next section.

Discussion of Research Question 2

Only three demographic areas showed distinct differences: gender, religious background, and experience with critical multicultural studies. A fourth category, economic indicators, could not be analyzed due to lack of information. Of these differences, none seemed to hinder or promote the use of cultural knowledge or affect the quality of the responses. However, future studies that lend themselves to empirical study are needed to conclude the influence of either reading levels or

demographic data towards the use of cultural knowledge.

Research Question 3: As They Encounter Culturally Relevant
Historical Texts, Do Latino Students Become Aware
That They Have Cultural Knowledge?

The study was constructed to reveal if students were metacognitively aware of cultural background knowledge. Metacognitive awareness helps readers (a) monitor the level of knowledge which we hold and judge if we have enough knowledge to deal effectively with a particular situation; (b) consciously monitor our ability to use such knowledge in the right conditions; and (c) consciously oversee our use of such knowledge (Hacker, 1998). Identifying the level of metacognitive awareness shown by Latino students while reading texts designed to stimulate activation of cultural knowledge and while discussing interview questions may help teachers and researchers understand the necessary interventions that need to take place to help Latino students become more aware of their cultural knowledge. Such awareness may help students view culture as a source of cultural and academic wealth that they can draw from rather than as something that does not have any connection to school.

There were very few instances in which participant think alouds showed an awareness of cultural knowledge. From the responses of the participants in this study it was evident that any awareness of cultural knowledge was appreciated by the participants but was not viewed as helpful in content area learning, though it was sometimes perceived by some to be valuable in terms of discipline and dispositions within the school system. Thus, the first section will provide the only

examples of explicit cultural awareness shown by the participants during the think alouds. It will show Anita's awareness of someone else's cultural knowledge, Rafael's understanding that he has a dual way of thinking about certain subjects because of his background, and Valeria's identification of cultural mores during her think alouds. The second section will discuss the apparent stages of cultural awareness shown by participants during the interviews and the potential connection of such stages to academic achievement. The four stages of cultural awareness suggested by participant interviews were (a) mainstream views of culture, (b) traditional Latino views of culture, (c) emerging awareness of the utility of cultural knowledge, and (d) awareness of cultural knowledge as a source of cultural and academic wealth.

Anita's Awareness of "Other" Cultural Knowledge During the Think Alouds

Awareness that there is knowledge, related to culture, outside of what one possesses would seem to signify an awareness of cultural knowledge. During the pilot study, 2 of the 4 students asked to think aloud lamented about their lack of cultural knowledge about Latino history. Anita did not lament not having such knowledge during any of the think alouds, but she did seem to be aware of cultural knowledge she could have possessed under different circumstances. Specifically, Anita responded to a section of the Huerta interview in which Huerta stated: "My vision is for the farm workers to have the same rights, protection, wages that other workers in the country have." In response, Anita thought aloud: "Surely she

worked in the farm. That is why she understands the situation. Since I don't work on the farm, that is why I don't know what it is like to live with that kind of oppression." That is the extent of Anita's statement that may be interpreted as an awareness of cultural knowledge. Such a statement suggests that Anita understands that Dolores Huerta possesses knowledge about Latino farm culture that Anita does not have.

Rafael's Awareness of a Duality of Cultural Knowledge During the Think Alouds

Rafael acknowledged the duality of his thinking when he commented about his "*machista* side." His understanding of this became apparent throughout his think alouds. In several places he discussed the different sides of his family. Apparently, his father's family is more aligned with his "Indian" side and his mother is more aligned with her "*gringa*" side. In response to a section of the Dolores Huerta interview in which she had finished discussing the state of women and the need to "do what you like to do, not what someone else wants you to do—no matter what it is," Rafael commented: "That's really great; I don't know if like the whole part of 'you have to do what you like to do, not what someone else wants you to do' but then again that's just probably just my *machista* side talking." Although Rafael had many profeminist statements in his think alouds, it is clear that he was aware of duality of thoughts inside him as in shown in this response and by other comments that he made concerning *machismo* and Latino males. Although Huerta discussed her "Spanish side" and "Indian side" during the oral

interview, Rafael's discussion of his *machista* side comes much later in the text, so Rafael's comment was most likely not a direct response to Huerta's earlier statement, though it may have been influenced by her earlier comments.

Valeria's Awareness of Distinct Latino Mores During the Think Alouds

During Valeria's think aloud of the César E. Chávez biography, she made many connections that would seem to portray an awareness of Latino cultural knowledge. It was obvious that Valeria was aware of living in two cultures and that each culture had a different set of practices. It was interesting that she labeled them as such during a think aloud. This may be because she has been exposed to multicultural readings and had read Yosso's (2006) article on cultural wealth, whereas the other participants had not been exposed to such readings.² However, it may also have been that Valeria was the most aware of being in two cultures because she could "pass" as White. She was the most light-skinned participant and she even mentioned being mistaken as White during one of her think alouds. It could also be that Valeria is very aware of two cultures because her family was split during the time of the study. Valeria lives in the Intermountain region with her mother and sisters while her father was forced to work in Mexico. In addition,

²Valeria was a last minute replacement for another participant. Valeria was chosen because she met the reading level of the replaced participant and because of proximity. At the time of the think aloud and interviews she had spent 2 class hours in an introduction to education class taught by me. During those 2 class hours, Valeria had read the Yosso (2006) article and had a class discussion on different forms of Latino cultural capital.

Valeria's mother and sisters were in the process of relocating back to Mexico, which literally put Valeria between two nations. I present the following quotes as examples of Valeria's awareness of cultural knowledge during the reading of the Chávez biography. Some of her statements included the following: "He was named after his grandfather cause that just happens in Latino culture. Everybody is just named the same whether it be your father, your grandfather, your mom." "Okay, it talks about morals; that's definitely something that goes on." "Okay, it talks about religion; yeah, that helps us make decisions. It helps us get through life. The faith we have helps us get through life a lot. Religion is a big part of our culture." Other comments based by Valeria that can be associated with cultural knowledge were:

I think all of our parents are like role models and they help us get through life. In some way you need them there and they're always there, especially in the Latino culture because if they're having trouble as a couple, most of the time they will stay together just because of the kids.

Like I said, it's like a role model and they teach you, you just learn it from them because it's in your blood, it's in the culture, and he learned that he could not just tell others how they were supposed to live their lives.

It is difficult to suggest any relationship between cultural awareness and the think aloud responses of these 3 participants. However, when combined with pilot study responses, it seems possible that some cultural awareness may be found during readings with culturally relevant texts. Such awareness may be limited to being aware that cultural content knowledge is missing or that there are different ways to view readings, based on cultural background (Valeria's think aloud comments are

not included because of her previous exposure to critical theory). Results like these imply a need for caution when using culturally relevant texts so as not to assume that culturally relevant texts will automatically tap into cultural awareness.

However, data gathered during the interviews suggest that participants may be at stages of cultural awareness beyond those displayed during the think alouds. This phenomenon will be discussed in the next section.

Stages of Cultural Awareness During the Interviews

The questions asked during the last part of the interview that may have led participants towards revealing their awareness of cultural knowledge were Question 9: How do the readings connect to the types of things you learned at home or from your family members, even extended family members? Question 10: Were you given opportunities to use the cultural knowledge/attitudes you learned from your neighbors or family members in the school setting? What about in your history classes? Question 11: Do you think the types of things you learned while growing up in your culture are of value to your education? Why or why not?

Although most participants discussed cultural knowledge during the interviews and were able to see such knowledge as beneficial for them as individuals, not all participants were able to see a connection between culture and academic achievement. Only participants who went beyond mainstream and traditional views of culture were able to see the possible benefits of cultural knowledge in academic settings. In order to do so, it became important for participants in the advanced stages of cultural awareness to overcome the

situatedness of their perception of cultural knowledge. Of the 9, only 1 was able to see the potential academic benefits of cultural knowledge on her own.

The stages of awareness, as I identify them for this study, do not come from any model or theory.³ Instead, they come from my personal experiences. As I have reflected on the multicultural literature I have encountered, I find that my own cultural awareness can be viewed by different stages. Early in my life I viewed Latino culture as only parties and celebrations. As I matured, I viewed “being Latino” as extracting only what the White mainstream might view as positive and striving to be a proper and positive Latino role model, *un Latino educado*. However, as I continued to ponder multicultural literature I found myself valuing all my experiences within Latino culture as sources of wealth. Unfortunately, this did not happen until the last few years of graduate school. Therefore, the stages that I identify in the interviews are reflective of what I believe to be stages of cultural awareness leading towards a view of Latino culture and communities as sources of academic and cultural wealth: (a) mainstream views of culture (b) traditional views of Latino culture, (c) emerging awareness of the utility of cultural knowledge, and (d) awareness of cultural knowledge as a source of cultural and academic wealth.

³During the study, I referenced Academic Search Premier, Google Scholar, peer-review team, the *Handbook of Educational Psychology* (Alexander & Winne, 2006), and a colleague whose dissertation was on Latino identity for studies dealing with stages of Latino cultural awareness. Based on those queries, I do not believe there are any published articles dealing with this specific issue.

Mainstream views of culture. At times, there is a tendency to dismiss Latino culture, “a grab bag of *tamales*, *quinceaneras*, and *cinco de mayo* celebrations” (Gonzalez et al., 2005, p. 99). Such tendencies were evident in the responses of 2 of the participants. Although brief, they are consistent with the view of culture as something that can only be demonstrated in relation with festivities. Dolores equated culture and cultural knowledge as dancing. In response to a question about whether she was allowed to use any kind of knowledge learned from home at school or in class, she stated: “Yeah, like knowledge, you mean like . . . dancing and all those different dances. I don’t know.” Although pressed for more information, dancing was the only cultural connection made by Dolores. Similarly, Anita equated Latino culture with festivals such as “*las posadas*” or festival activities like “*las pinatas*.” Although Anita acknowledged that running a business was “in her blood,” she did not see any benefit from such knowledge unless she were to some day start her own business. In addition, Anita does not see any use for Latino history since it did not help her in her present life. During a think aloud, Anita stated that she had never heard of César E. Chávez or Dolores Huerta, which would make sense since she went to high school in Mexico (Chávez and Huerta are Mexican American leaders and are not valued in the same way within Mexico). Thus, the participants who viewed Latino culture similarly to how the mainstream views Latino culture were not able to connect such culture to any form of academic achievement. Culture, in the mainstream sense, is seen as a novelty by Dolores and Anita (at least during this specific interview) and therefore

had little merit outside of festivities.

Traditional views of Latino culture. The majority of participants' viewed culture as something more in line with what the research says is important to Latinos when it comes to culture—the importance of *educacion* (Yosso, 2006). According to the multicultural literature, traditional Latino families strive to have sons and daughters *que son* (who are) *educados* (Yosso). Participants in this study acknowledged the teaching of traditional values and work ethic associated with being *educados*, but they did not make the connection to its usefulness in academic settings. For example, Emma stated that her parents have not “helped me in school but given me advice and have been role models.” Jay T discussed the importance of being a good person throughout the readings and gives credit to his family for helping him learn how to really live. Rafael acknowledged the wisdom and humanitarianism of his grandmother and the family values that were passed on by his family, as well as his love of business, but he does not see any of those as cultural knowledge. Robby seemed to equate his kinship with the values surrounding his family's faith system. It would seem that to be *educado* in Robby's family, one has to solidly live the religious tenets of the faith. Dolores discussed her mother passing on her fighting spirit, her aspirations, *dichos*, but never equated those items with knowledge. Participants who viewed culture from a traditional Latino view had a deep respect for what they were taught by their families and communities but could not see any direct connection to academics. During the interview, it was evident that 3 participants valued the merits of being *educado* and

its worth outside the school system but could not escape the situatedness of those experiences.

Emerging awareness of the utility of cultural knowledge. Other than Valeria, Emma and Cassandra came the closest of any of the participants to acknowledging cultural knowledge during the interviews, but their cultural awareness was still emerging. When speaking of her relationship with families of different cultures, Emma seemed to acknowledge that she can view things using her Mexican cultural knowledge when she stated:

Oh, yes, I am Mexican, but there are things that I know I view . . . from a Mexican viewpoint because I have had close friends in the culture. But I've noticed that I'm different because I didn't really spend a lot of time in Mexican culture which makes me different.

Later in the interview she acknowledged that the values taught to her by her culture may play a part in her education because they remind her to stay focused and be respectful to her teachers by listening. In Emma's words, "the value of listening, a teacher might be talking about a theme or a war or something you don't want to hear about but I know I should be listening." When connected to her previous comments, it was obvious that Emma equated good listening, even when a teacher is unengaging, as a value that was instilled inside of her.

Finally, when asked about whether what she learned at home could be of use in a history class, Emma responded: "I have some examples like the Indians or slaves that had to work hard; I can understand that a little because I've met people that work hard like that and, yes, I could speak up and explain that a little in the class." This statement catches Emma's understanding of the value of cultural

knowledge emerging from one in which she previously viewed cultural knowledge as part of being *educada* to something that could perhaps be of use in understanding historical topics. Although she was making that connection, she was not yet aware of the value and strength of what she was really saying; thus, her awareness of cultural knowledge and its potential benefit were still emerging.

Cassandra also saw value in what was taught by her family and started to see a connection to school but did not completely acknowledge that such teachings are a viable form of knowledge in the schools. Cassandra seemed to be saying that her family taught her how to be a critical thinker by seeing things from multiple sides but did not concede that these skills have value in a history class. The section, in which this discussion takes place, is as follows:

Interviewer: You know, it sounds like your family taught you a lot, and I'm sure your friends did, too, and other people. Were you given any opportunity to use some of that knowledge that you were taught by your family in schools.

Cassandra: Um.

Interviewer: . . . or that your culture teaches you? Were you able to use any of that knowledge or any of those attitudes in school?

Cassandra: Well, I wanna say, yes, but, uh, no. My parents, my family members, they taught me more about how to be, how the world is, I don't know, let me think. Kind of, they're more of, what do you call it, they were, uh, I don't remember the words. Just. . . .

Interviewer: Just describe it; it's ok.

Cassandra: Um, they taught me things that are more like, how you're suppose to treat people or how things should be, um, and how, how to make the best out of life. And I guess I could, ya, I did, um, use it in high school, like, you know, treat people kindly and everything, but it was more, more structured, I guess, more of,

um, "here's a worksheet, do it." And since I told you, you know, you know, my mom, she didn't, um, finish a lot of schooling, so, it, it, she really couldn't really help me with that, so she taught me more of things that were ideas, I guess, and so it wasn't structured stuff, so I kinda had to do that at school, or, so it was kind of two separate lessons, two different kinds of things that I was learning.

Interviewer: That makes sense. So, were you able to use any of those kinds of knowledge in your history classes?

Cassandra: Um, no, you know, I didn't really talk a lot in my history classes, I just kind of listened, so I would say no.

Interviewer: Okay, no problem, do you think that the kinds of things you learned while growing up in your culture are a value to your education?

Cassandra: Um, yes I do.

Interviewer: How?

Cassandra: Um, well, just, maybe, like, well what kind of, things do you mean, like, what kind of. . . .

Interviewer: Well, I don't want to put words in your mouth, but you said, ideas that your mom taught you and lessons that your uncle and father have taught you. Do any of those, could those have value in your education?

Cassandra: Okay, well, I definitely think they do because, uh, one of the main things is always, you know, um, talk about your ideas, or, um, I think the way I look at it like that, is that, they were trying to teach me to, whatever I learned, to, uh, learn from that book, but also make it into my own. Like, take a book and read it, and take the information in, but also realize what might be right and what might be wrong, and, I think that's really helped me, because, you know someone can teach you whatever they want, but you're the one that's gonna have to say, "This is important, this is important, I don't, I don't know if this is right, I think I have my own idea," and that's all about being your own person, about having your own ideas, and, and I think that's, that's very important that they taught me that, and I think a lot of parents teach their children that, but, it was always so, you know, they were always saying that, "you're always stuck with me," so I really think that I, I did, um,

make it into my own, make, take the things, and [inaudible] into my life.

Cassandra is describing critical thinking during the interview and sees it as valuable, but is not quite ready to say that what she was taught by her family can be directly applied to curriculum. Thus, like Emma, Cassandra is at the emerging stage and cannot yet escape the situatedness of her cultural learning. Cassandra is almost apologetic as to the benefits of her knowledge and what it might mean to her schooling. It would seem that both participants would need very little explaining and discussion to see the value of what they are identifying and its connection to academic achievement.

Awareness of cultural knowledge as a source of cultural and academic wealth. At the time of the study, Valeria was taking an introduction to education course in which much of the early curriculum centered around critical multicultural pedagogy, including discussions about cultural capital and Yosso's theory of cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006). At the time of the think alouds, Valeria had been out of high school for 2 weeks and had received 2 hours of instruction dealing with education and critical multicultural issues. Although Valeria would not have known that the class was being taught differently from most "introduction to education classes," to her, the critical curriculum seemed to generate an awareness of traditional Latino cultural knowledge which is acknowledged during the end of her interview. Valeria's statement offers promise for the explicit teaching of traditional Latino cultural knowledge. She was the only 1 of the participants who had any training or readings in critical theory and is the only participant that made such a

direct connection between traditional Latino cultural knowledge and academic settings. That segment of the interview went as follows:

Interviewer: Do you think the kinds of things you learned while growing up in your culture are of value to your education?

Valeria: Yes and I didn't realize it until now, because of what the teachers-professors have made me realize but I think if I would have known that in high school it would have made my learning experience much better for me. Like how, they'll tell us, like the thing we did up on the board where we wrote under every category, things that we can connect, things of our culture we can connect to that. That made me realize we can use that towards our education and our learning. Yes, I feel more okay. I would have learned better like that. I would have understood everything much better than trying to learn in the American way I guess you can say. The way teachers were trying to teach me without letting me bring out what I had in me.

In contrast to Emma and Cassandra, Valeria acknowledges the connection between cultural knowledge and academic achievement. This suggests the possibility that a student can view cultural knowledge as something that can provide both content area knowledge (funds of knowledge) and valuable ways of learning (cultural wealth). However, it is important to remember that Valeria's think aloud took place soon after her exposure to cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006), so it is difficult to judge whether this experience shows long-term changes.

Discussion of Research Question 3

The think alouds revealed few instances of awareness of cultural knowledge. Anita understood that there were concepts for which she did not have the right kind of cultural background knowledge, Rafael exhibited an understanding of the duality of his cultural knowledge, and Valeria kept referring to what is

traditionally accepted and done among Latinos. Although Valeria makes several statements regarding traditional Latino cultural knowledge, it is important to note that Valeria's think aloud may have been influenced by readings and class discussions dealing with cultural wealth. Consequently, there is little evidence that there was an awareness of cultural knowledge from the participants during the think alouds, even though there is much evidence that they were using various forms of cultural knowledge while engaging with culturally relevant historical texts.

Interestingly, the interviews suggested several possible stages of awareness of cultural knowledge. In the first stage, 2 of the participants echoed the mainstream views of culture. In the second stage, participants mirrored the traditional Latino views of culture as a vehicle for being *educados*. In the third stage, Cassandra and Emma became aware of the potential of Latino culture as a form of cultural capital but did not completely view it as a form of capital or wealth. It is evident that all three initial stages point to awareness of cultural knowledge as situated. Therefore, it would most likely take discussion and modeling of such cultural knowledge for the participants to embrace cultural knowledge as something of value in schools. Surprisingly, Valeria came to a point in the interview where she made the connection between her cultural knowledge and its usefulness in academic settings. Valeria appeared to be aware that Latino cultural knowledge is a potential source of both cultural and academic wealth.

Although this study did not set out to identify stages of cultural awareness from the interview data, it is an interesting result that may merit further research. For the purposes of this study, it is important to take from these results the possibility that some forms of metacognitive cultural awareness may be possible when using culturally relevant historical texts and that through modeling and discussion cultural awareness may be displayed in a manner that supports funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005), critical race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006), and cultural wealth theory (Yosso).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Overview of the Study

The three research questions of this study were as follows: What forms of cultural knowledge do Latino students use as they encounter culturally relevant texts? How do reading levels and demographics affect the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latino students as they encounter culturally relevant texts? As they encounter culturally relevant historical texts, do students become aware that they have cultural knowledge? In answer to the first question, the results suggested that Latino participants used various forms of cultural knowledge during think alouds with culturally relevant texts. The results of the second question suggested that reading levels and demographic indicators did not hinder or promote the use of cultural knowledge or affect the quality of the responses. The results of the third question suggested that participants showed little cultural awareness during the readings.

It was necessary to use both schema theory and situated cognition as theoretical models for this study. The use of schema theory allowed for the independent thoughts of participants to be evaluated outside of their environmental and textual influences, as is sometimes called for in theories associated with cultural environments. On the other hand, situated cognition allowed for the

participants' environments to be considered while still respecting individual construction of meaning. Together, the theoretical models used for this study suggested that a new model for traditional Latino cultural knowledge is needed to better utilize multicultural research and theory dealing with cultural knowledge.

I will first begin this section by discussing the relation of the results to the multicultural literature dealing with cultural knowledge. In the second section I will propose the need for a synthesized view of cultural knowledge by discussing the difficulties I encountered when trying to answer the main research question. The third section will discuss implications for teachers and teacher education departments in terms of cultural background knowledge, culturally relevant texts, cultural awareness, and the connection between cultural knowledge and student reading levels. The fourth section will discuss limitations of the study. I will conclude with a discussion of possible areas of future research and a final discussion of the study.

Relation to Multicultural Theories Associated With Cultural Knowledge

Funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005), critical race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006), and cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) comprise the largest body of research and theory regarding cultural background knowledge. Each group of studies offers insight into the experiential knowledge available in Latino communities. The findings of this study offer support for increased use of cultural knowledge research and theory in

the area of social studies.

Funds of Knowledge

Funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) refers to the content area knowledge brought to the classroom by Mexican American students. Specifically, funds of knowledge research identified many rich sources of cultural content knowledge that connected to various academic areas among students in Tucson, Arizona. Findings associated with social studies content knowledge included knowledge of history and geography for local regions, demographics, business information, folktales, family anecdotes, and various writing examples (Gonzalez et al.; Moll et al.).

Many findings in this study support funds of knowledge research. The social studies content knowledge produced during the think alouds that most closely correlated with funds of knowledge research included knowledge of Latino population centers, the Catholic Church, *machismo*, immigration, discrimination, poverty, and class consciousness. All the above topics represented potential content area background knowledge held by Latino participants. Thus, the findings of this study support funds of knowledge research by supplying a different community outside the Southwest region of the United States in which Latino funds of knowledge can be identified. In addition, this study reports the types of funds of knowledge that are present in other Latino communities outside the traditional Mexican American households from which funds of knowledge research originates.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory sets out to provide a framework for understanding the intersection of race, ethnicity, and gender from a critical viewpoint (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006). The findings of this study support the critical race theory premise that the lived experiences of underrepresented populations unveil racism and subordination when given the opportunity to be presented (Delgado Bernal; Villenas & Deyhle; Yosso). Most participants' think alouds revealed that males and females associated with this study have either experienced or witnessed racism, denigration of immigrants, and some form of classism or have been told of such experiences by close family members. Such comments were elicited during the think aloud and interview portions of the study. Letty's comment about race revealed how strong issues of racism were viewed by some participants: "Americans look at us as a lower race. . . . Americans do not feel we are equal to them; we are an inferior race."

The think alouds and interviews revealed that though participants generally viewed America as a land of opportunity, it was not a land of equal opportunity. Anita noted that "a lot of immigrants still feel oppressed. They feel they can't have good jobs." Valeria was more direct about the subordination experienced by Latinos: "As Latinos we do not have the same opportunities. We work twice or three times as hard than others have to. . . . We are treated as the lowest of the low."

The findings support the claims of racism and subordination made by critical race theorists because such experiences were present during the unprompted think alouds of the participants. Had no such comments been made during the think alouds, the claims of critical race theory may have come into question. However, the think alouds demonstrated that cultural background knowledge for most participants included knowledge of racism and inequality towards Latinos. The findings suggest that critical race theory has use as a framework for challenging mainstream research, but it is still too theoretical to have utility for content area learning. However, cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) moves from the theoretical arguments of critical race theory towards a practical understanding of the experience of Latinos.

Cultural Wealth Theory

Cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) generalizes the various forms of cultural capital found in Latino communities. According to cultural wealth theory, Latino cultural wealth includes aspirational, social, familial, linguistic, navigational, and resistant capital. The think aloud statements revealed all the forms of cultural capital suggested by Yosso's cultural wealth theory. Connections between the findings of this study during the think alouds and Yosso's forms of cultural capital are described in the following sections.

Aspirational capital. Aspirational capital is the ability to keep alive the hopes and dreams of individuals and communities despite the many barriers that face ethnic minorities (Yosso, 2006). In addition, aspirational hopes and dreams

can be a source of inspiration for Latinos. Think alouds connecting to aspirational capital were mostly associated with the suffering of the farm workers, such as when Cassandra stated:

I think it's so . . . nice to hear that they care about their children and that's why they're suffering and that's why they choose to stand up. It's because of their children and because they don't want their children to suffer the same things. . . . I think about my own family and how much my parents have suffered and it's because they just want a better life for me.

Linguistic capital. Linguistic capital may include exposures to storytelling (*cuentos*), oral histories, poems, parables, and proverbs (*dichos*) (Yosso, 2006).

The use of two languages is also part of linguistic capital. The think alouds showed evidence of families using many *dichos* and parables. Most of the participants recalled the *dichos* in the Spanish language. In addition, the majority of participants code switched throughout the think alouds and interviews. There were only two connections made to family story telling though many of the participants related words of wisdom and encouragement from family members.

Navigational capital. Navigational capital refers to the skills used by individuals to “make it” in a mainstream world. Navigational capital also fosters resilience. Navigational capital is demonstrated when Valeria’s father tells her to “*stay humilde*” (stay humble or genuine). Valeria states that when she is making decisions that are not thinking of others her father counsels her: “*tienes que ser humilde*” (you need to stay humble or you need to stay genuine). Another example of navigational capital is displayed when Emma counsels other women to do what is best for themselves rather than trying to please family members.

Social capital. Social capital is a combination of the networks of people and community resources that help underrepresented populations navigate a mainstream world. Although the readings constantly referred to the programs and benefits associated with United Farm Workers membership, none of the participants made a connection to the type of social capital offered by the United Farm Workers. There are also other examples of networks of people and community resources in the readings that were not brought up by participants. In contrast, all participants made various connections to the social capital provided by family members. The lack of connections to other possible forms of social capital may be a result of the closeness that participants, at this age, felt to their immediate families. Had the participants been older and living outside the home, they might have connected more to other networks or community resources as forms of social capital.

Familial capital. Familial capital includes the cultural knowledge passed on between families as to what is important and what it means to be part of a kinship. Sports, school, religious gatherings also foster kinship ties (Yosso, 2006). Familial capital is also found in the family's sense of community and history and their sense of what it means to be *educado* (Yosso). A child who is *educado* possesses the cultural mores that are valued within traditional Latino culture such as respect for elders, remaining true to one's upbringing, unity, being "upright," hardworking, and so on.

Many connections to familial capital were found in the think alouds. Connections to strong family bonds were plentiful. The Catholic Church, and

specifically *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, presented opportunities for reflecting on aspects of kinship. *Dichos* and parables also helped participants stay grounded and *educado* and could therefore be seen as valuable cultural capital.

Resistant capital. Resistant capital is comprised of the verbal and nonverbal actions that are passed along to underrepresented populations that help them maintain a sense of whom they are (Yosso, 2006). Most participants made some kind of connection towards the unity they felt within the Latino community, which can be seen as a form of resistant capital. The statements made towards social justice are also manifestations of resistant capital. However, the most activist example of resistant capital is Jay T's emphasis that "*Latinos unidos jamas seran vencidos*" (United, Latinos will never be defeated).

The forms of cultural knowledge used by Latinos as they encountered culturally relevant texts corresponds well with the expectations suggested by funds of knowledge research (Moll et al., 1992), critical race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002, 1999; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006) and cultural wealth theory (Yosso). The multicultural research and theory point towards a variety of experiences that may be of value. The results of this study support such claims. Although critical race theory serves as an important framework for such research, only funds of knowledge research and cultural wealth theory try to categorize the forms of cultural knowledge used by Latinos. However, it is important to note that findings from both bodies of research are needed to encompass the various forms of cultural knowledge exhibited by the participants. This point will be elaborated in

the next section.

Difficulties Encountered With Current Models of Cultural Background Knowledge

Funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992), critical race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006), and cultural wealth theory (Yosso) offer insight into the experiential knowledge available in Latino communities. However, each was found to have limitations for understanding the forms of cultural knowledge Latino students used as they encountered culturally relevant texts as part of this study. This section will focus on the difficulties I encountered while trying to apply each body of research to this study.

Difficulties With Funds of Knowledge

Funds of knowledge most closely correlated to the following think aloud topics: (a) Latino population centers, (b) the Catholic Church, (c) *machismo*, (d) immigration, (e) discrimination, (f) poverty, and (g) class consciousness. However, other areas of Latino cultural background knowledge stated during the think alouds were difficult to connect to funds of knowledge research because the content of the think alouds went outside what has commonly been referred to as funds of knowledge.⁴ For example, when Letty stated her displeasure that today's

⁴Funds of knowledge research never sets out to generalize the findings of the teacher researchers. It is forthcoming about its research being anthropological and regional, and the findings are meant for the teacher's individual elementary classrooms. However, in practice, teachers and researchers often refer to

generation of children do not show the same traditional respect to older generations, she was making a connection to a cultural more that was of value to her because of her cultural upbringing. Although her respect for elders was a source of cultural knowledge, it would not be easily identified as knowledge within funds of knowledge research because it does not connect well with mainstream content area curriculum, as identified by Gonzalez et al. (2005). To further illustrate the point, most forms of cultural capital identified by Yosso (aspirational, navigational, and so on) and illustrated by Valeria's phrase "ways of knowing" would be difficult to categorize as funds of knowledge.

Difficulties With Critical Race Theory

Most participants' think alouds revealed that males and females associated with this study have either experienced or witnessed racism, denigration of immigrants, and some form of classism or have been told of such experiences by close family members. Such comments were elicited during the think aloud and interview portions of the study. Letty's comment about race reveals how strong issues of racism were viewed by some participants: "Americans look at us as a lower race. . . . Americans do not feel we are equal to them; we are an inferior race." The results support the claims of racism and subordination made by critical race theorists because such experiences were present during the unprompted think alouds of the participants. Had no such comments been made during the think

generalized cultural content area background knowledge as "funds of knowledge."

alouds, critical race theory claims of experienced racism and subordination may have come into question. However, once I completed classifying experiences dealing with race and subordination, critical race theory was not helpful in classifying or categorizing the wealth of other experiences brought up by the participants.

Critical race theory is difficult to apply to content area pedagogy for it offers no guidelines for implementation beyond ways to teach about race and racism or creating classrooms in which critical issues may be confronted. Critical race theory is more of a paradigm or conceptual framework from which to critically analyze educational institutions, curriculum, and instruction. As such, it is not meant as a conceptual model for content area knowledge; rather it serves mainly as a critical framework from which independent judgment, on the part of educators, must follow.

Difficulties With Cultural Wealth Theory

Although examples of all the categories of cultural capital were found within the think alouds, cultural forms of content area knowledge were difficult to place within the categories of cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006). Where would Rafael's knowledge about Bolivian politics or Anita's knowledge about the Mexican frontier fit into Yosso's model? Such content area knowledge might be integrated into Yosso's category of "social capital," but it is not a clear fit because it is not something that is used to help or serve others. It might also be connected to "linguistic capital," if it was appropriated during translation, but once again it is

not a direct connection. Yosso's categorizations seem to be aimed more at the resources and support available for people of color than as knowledge to be used in content area classrooms. As a result, the cultural content knowledge held by the participants in this study does not appear to fit neatly into Yosso's cultural wealth theory.

The Need for a Synthesis of Funds of Knowledge and Cultural Wealth Theories

Although many multicultural theorists (including critical race theory) have discussed background knowledge, only funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) and cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) have tried to categorize the forms of cultural background knowledge possessed by Latinos.⁵ Unfortunately, cultural wealth theory and funds of knowledge research focus on different aspects of cultural background knowledge which makes categorization of the forms of knowledge in the think alouds difficult. Some of the data matched the type of content area knowledge (facts and issues) associated with funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al.; Moll et al.) whereas other statements more closely identified with the cultural mores addressed within cultural wealth theory (Yosso). The difference between the two bodies of knowledge (funds of knowledge and cultural wealth theory) makes it difficult to utilize either framework in relation

⁵As previously mentioned, CRT is not directly connected to content area pedagogy beyond establishing classrooms in which critical issues are discussed and under-represented voices are heard. CRT is also not directly concerned with the categorization of forms of cultural knowledge. Consequently, CRT will no longer be part of this chapter's discussion.

to historical texts because Latino cultural knowledge in the think alouds seemed to manifest itself as a combination of content knowledge and Latino mores. Thus, neither theory completely explained the data but a combination of the two would have accommodated the results of this study.

Cultural Knowledge as a New Model

A synthesis model of “cultural knowledge” would encompass the content area knowledge and mores found in traditional Latino culture. With this synthesis model teachers and researchers would not have to differentiate between content-related cultural background knowledge and knowledge related to cultural mores (as I had to in this study). Such a synthesis makes the abstract concept of “cultural knowledge” holistic and easier to apply to the type of data participants produced in connection with this study. In this new model of cultural knowledge, cultural content area knowledge (typically viewed as funds of knowledge) is connected to the cultural capital associated with cultural wealth theory to create a new synthesized category of cultural knowledge. With such a synthesis it is easier to see the interconnectedness of both sources of capital; Funds of knowledge connects to community cultural wealth and community cultural wealth helps supply funds of knowledge (see the Figure). With a synthesized category, social studies researchers and teachers can simultaneously draw on the findings of funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006), and this study, when working with issues related to traditional Latino cultural knowledge.

Cultural Content Area Knowledge

Associated with funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005)

- Social Studies
- Language Arts
- Math
- Science
- Fine Arts
- Etc.

Cultural Knowledge

Cultural Capital

Associated with cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2005, 2006)

- Familial Capital
- Social Capital
- Navigational Capital
- Resistant Capital
- Linguistic Capital
- Aspirational Capital

Cultural knowledge synthesis model.

Implications for History Teachers and Teacher Training Programs

This study has many implications for history teachers and teacher training programs. The first implication is the need to view participation in Latino culture as a source of wealth which influences connections to social studies texts. A second implication regards the advantages of using culturally relevant texts in social studies classrooms. The third implication surrounds the different stages of cultural awareness of the participants and suggests the need for teachers to address cultural awareness with caution. The final implication of the study regards the use of cultural background knowledge by Latino students with different reading levels and varying demographics.

Although deficit views connected to Latino culture have been refuted by the research (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Yosso, 2006), there have been few studies directly measuring the impact of cultural knowledge to secondary social studies classrooms. A teacher who takes the time to uncover the background knowledge of his or her Latino students will find many forms of cultural knowledge that may potentially influence student construction of knowledge. Such discovery is the strength of funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005) and cultural wealth theory (Yosso). These two areas of study emphasize the need for getting to know the backgrounds of students, regardless of one's own background. Being a member of an underrepresented population is not enough to make a person an expert in the community. Even Latino teachers who have "made it" through the school system, and are now

working with Latinos in school settings, may not fully understand what is being experienced by Latino students (Urrieta, 2004). Thus, it becomes important for all teachers of Latino students to understand the background and experience of the Latino students in their classrooms. The findings suggest that teacher training programs should prepare teachers to expect and uncover such forms of cultural knowledge from their Latino students through informal conversations or formal assignments that target such information.

The results of this study also point to the advantages of using culturally relevant texts with Latino students. Participants in the study used cultural knowledge to make a large number of varied and deep connections to culturally relevant texts. Thus, the findings suggest that other culturally relevant texts may bring forth the use of traditional Latino cultural knowledge in social studies classrooms. This finding builds on the work of multicultural researchers who used culturally relevant texts to increase student comprehension of social studies concepts (Bell & Clark, 1998; Brozo et al., 1996; Jimenez & Gamez, 1998; Tyson, 2002). Teacher training programs can better prepare their preservice teachers by acquainting all teachers (including secondary education candidates) with high interest, culturally relevant texts that can potentially help Latino students use their cultural knowledge while learning social studies content.

The results also suggest that students will be at different levels of cultural awareness, which implies caution on the part of teachers in assuming homogenous levels of Latino cultural awareness. Teachers need to be aware that being Latino

does not guarantee an advanced level of cultural awareness. However, the identification of different stages of cultural awareness in the interviews also suggests the possibility of helping students become aware of the cultural knowledge they already possess through discussion and reflection. Consequently, the possibility arises that teachers may serve as facilitators of cultural knowledge by helping Latino students reflect on what they are already thinking and saying (as was evident in the interviews with Emma and Cassandra) and by identifying texts or concepts where such knowledge may be of use.

Helping students become aware of their cultural knowledge may provide many positive benefits for Latino students, among them a new or stronger awareness of their ethnic identity. Research suggests that bicultural efficacy, the belief that students can achieve academically in a mainstream environment while holding on to their ethnic identity, is a strong indicator of academic achievement for multiple ethnic groups (Okagaki, 2006). Aiding cultural awareness may also help students become metacognitively aware while reading or discussing social studies issues, thereby giving Latino students another source of knowledge from which to draw on during readings and discussions. These areas need to be explored further before classroom or teacher education recommendations can be made. However, the need for caution when dealing with issues of cultural awareness remains an implications of this study.

The final implication of this study is that social studies teachers may be able to utilize the benefits of traditional Latino cultural knowledge with a variety of

learners. It may be possible to use students' cultural knowledge in a classroom with wide levels of reading abilities, as well as classrooms with little variance. Even students who do not read at the grade level of the documents (even when translated into Spanish) may be able to use their cultural knowledge to participate in class discussions about the material or engage with the material as it is read to them. These implications will of course need additional research to determine their effectiveness, but the findings of this study do raise the possibility of such uses for cultural knowledge. Regardless, the findings suggest that teacher training programs must do a better job of preparing teacher candidates to activate the background knowledge (including cultural knowledge) of all students, regardless of reading levels.

Limitations

Several limitations to this study need to be mentioned. First, the study examined only 9 participants from one particular university in the Intermountain region. As such, correlations to other Latino students at other universities cannot be made from this study. A greater number of participants chosen at random from other regions of the country and with greater demographic variance would need to be observed in order to form any kinds of generalizations about the nature of traditional Latino cultural knowledge and its use with culturally relevant texts.

A second limitation I would like to address is what was actually studied. The term traditional Latino cultural knowledge cannot be absolutely defined. Therefore, the concept of traditional Latino cultural knowledge used in this study

was a blend of funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) and cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2006) and the forms of knowledge unveiled in this study. It may be that others within and outside Latino communities do not see the examples I have chosen as forms of cultural knowledge or as generally reflecting the richness of traditional Latino culture.

A third limitation concerns the grouping of students along reading levels defined by norm-referenced tests. The criteria for grouping participants according to reading levels was individual scores on the reading portion of the ACT exam and/or the COMPASS exam. However, intuitively, I questioned the validity of some of those scores being true reflections of participant English reading ability based on what I witnessed during the think alouds. Valeria was designated to be among the lowest level reading group. Yet, from her responses and interview it is clear that she had a strong command of academic English, more so than some of the students in higher reading groups. I therefore question whether using one standardized test (or standardized subtest) is the best way to measure reading effectiveness among students with strong cultural and linguistic connections to their home country. Although there is no agreed upon solution for this situation, it is important enough to be thought of as a limitation to this and future studies dealing with culturally and linguistically diverse participants and the reading of texts.

A fourth limitation concerns the participants of this study. All the participants were college freshman. Although the reading levels varied greatly, the fact that they were presently enrolled in college means that the findings for this

study may not apply to a cross section of high school students, many who, if the statistics remain constant, will most likely not go to college. However, the study is a good starting point for discussion into the forms of cultural knowledge held by all Latino students.

Future Research

This study suggests numerous avenues of future research related to traditional Latino cultural knowledge. First is the issue related to the breadth of cultural knowledge among Latinos. What other forms of cultural knowledge exist within Latino students? Does cultural knowledge extend throughout different nationalities within Latin America? Does cultural knowledge extend throughout different generations of immigrants? In other words, do first-generation Latinos exhibit the same kind of cultural knowledge as second- or third-generation Latinos?

A second area of research might address age and geographic boundaries. Are similar forms of knowledge found with students in the secondary schools? Is cultural knowledge represented in the thoughts and actions of elementary-age students? Does cultural knowledge among Latino communities change with geographical boundaries? In other words, does the cultural knowledge among Mexican Americans change if they are living in New Jersey, rather than the Intermountain West?

A third area of research might be conducted using different types of texts. Are the findings similar when using different types of culturally relevant texts? Do expository texts or narrative texts affect the activation of culturally relevant

knowledge to different degrees? Within historical texts, do primary sources or secondary sources influence the activation of cultural knowledge? Does cultural background knowledge become activated with mainstream historical texts that stress concepts/themes found in this study? What is the effect of cultural universals (Brophy & Alleman, 2005) embedded within texts? Would a similar study with Mexican American participants offer up similar findings if the texts focused on Puerto Rican narratives? Does the proximity of historical era make a difference in the types of cultural connections made by students?

A fourth area of research may include comparisons to mainstream culture. Is it possible to measure mainstream cultural knowledge? What kind of findings may appear using mainstream historical texts? How do mainstream student think alouds compare with Latino think alouds using culturally relevant texts, mainstream texts, and mainstream narrative and expository texts embedded with cultural universals? (Brophy & Alleman, 2005).

Other studies may choose to focus on the awareness of cultural knowledge of participants. Can awareness of cultural knowledge be explicitly taught to students? Can students be taught to become metacognitively aware of the uses of their cultural knowledge? What are the benefits of being metacognitively aware of one's cultural knowledge? Would this same study have different results after explicitly teaching cultural knowledge? Is some cultural knowledge inert? If some cultural knowledge is inert, can it be overcome? Is self-awareness of cultural knowledge dependent on the age of students?

Conclusions

One of the aims of the study was to offer support for the application of Yosso's (2006) cultural wealth theory in general and content area classes. Additionally, the study set out to determine if cultural wealth theory was a viable model for social studies classrooms. Although the study ended up being too specific to determine if cultural wealth theory has application in general and other content area classes, the findings are very supportive of its use within social studies classrooms. However, the findings suggest that cultural wealth theory might be better utilized if combined with funds of knowledge research (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992) and the findings of this study in order to create a new model-cultural knowledge.

In closing, I will refer to the two initial scenarios that led to my inquiry concerning Latino background knowledge within social studies classrooms. The first is my personal experience growing up in which I believed Latino culture had nothing positive to offer me. This is one case in which I am extremely glad I was completely wrong. The think alouds demonstrated that traditional Latino culture has much to offer, not only to other Latinos, but to anyone who has the good fortune to become immersed in such a vibrant, respectful, beautiful culture. The second scenario involved my inability to offer an educated response to my preservice teachers about the forms of background knowledge available in Latino communities. When such a question is posed again, my preservice teachers will

come away with a wealth of knowledge about cultural knowledge and hopefully the desire that their Latino students will not only be educated but also *educados*.

APPENDIX A

CULTURALLY RELEVANT HISTORICAL TEXTS

César E. Chávez: Middle School Biography

César E. Chávez said: “Preservation of one’s own culture does not require contempt or disrespect for other cultures” (California Department of Education, 2002, n.p.).

Stories can play a vital role in the telling of history. It is the stories, advice and proverbs of his youth that set César E. Chávez on the course to be the spokesman for thousands and role model for millions. César Estrada Chávez was born March 31, 1927, near Yuma, Arizona. His early influences shaped and firmly grounded César in a rich Mexican American tradition. His later life would open him up to new influences that he would use to unite people of many nationalities and beliefs.

César always had a strong connection to his family. He was named after his grandfather, who came to the United States in the 1880s. César’s grandfather was a peasant tied to the land through debt peonage on a Mexican ranch who escaped to the United States in order to secure a better life. César’s grandparents lived on a homestead of more than a hundred acres in Arizona with their fourteen children. One of their children, Librado (which means “freed one” in Spanish) grew up to be César’s father. Librado married Juana Estrada and together they had six children of whom César was the second oldest.

Librado worked on the family farm until his 30s. He owned a few small businesses but was rarely able to make much money because they lived in an isolated area and Librado used a lot of his own money to help others. Later, Librado lost his land and the Chávez family moved in with César’s *abuelita* (grandmother). *Mama Tella*, as she was called, was to have a profound influence on César.

César’s mother and grandmother taught him a lot about sincerity and charity through their actions. His mother, Juana, set an example of the importance of helping others regardless of their background. Chávez remembered that she “had made a pledge never to turn away anyone who came for food, and there were a lot of ordinary people who would come and a lot of hobos, at any time of the day or night. Most of them were White.” Her kind example modeled for César the charity that many only talk about.

His grandmother, *Mama Tella*, modeled her kindness by sharing her wisdom. She made a point to teach the Chávez children the importance of being a moral person. She did this through stories, advice, and proverbs that always had a moral point. Later on in his life, César remembered his *abuelita* as someone wise. He said: “I didn’t realize the wisdom in her words, but it has been proven to me so many times since.”

Throughout his life, César folded his grandmother's teachings into his actions and mirrored his mother's kindness to others. He also reflected their values of 'practicing what you preach.' César learned that he could not just tell others how they were supposed to live their lives; he had to do it through his example.

Mama Tella made sure that César had a strong religious upbringing. All of the children learned what it meant to be a strong Roman Catholic. She taught them to appreciate the ceremonies and teachings of the Catholic Church. César became a man who relied on his faith to give him strength and direction. He understood that religion unified and strengthened people. One example of a unifying symbol is the Virgin of Guadalupe. For Mexican Catholics, the Virgin represents a unique relationship between the people of Mexico and the Roman Catholic Church.

Many Mexican Catholics (and other *Latino* Catholics) believe that the Virgin appeared to the people of the Americas as a Native American maiden in order to ease and bless their conversion to Christianity. Therefore, for many Mexican Americans, *la Virgen de Guadalupe* has always been a unifying force. César was always true to his spiritual beliefs; they guided his everyday life as well as his political action.

César heard stories about life in Mexico and about life in the United States after the Mexican Revolution. These stories made an impact on how he would see the world in which he would grow up. César's family told stories about the unfairness of life in Mexico. They described how *hacienda* landowners would exploit their workers. He knew that the landowners expected nonstop labor in exchange for the privilege of earning a meager salary. He heard of the easy life that the rich had at the expense of the poor workers.

These stories of exploitation of the poor by the rich set the stage for his strong belief in the importance of fairness and justice. Very early, César started believing that the poor were morally superior. He came to the conclusion because he felt that it was the poor that did the majority of the hard physical work. It was the poor that took care of one another when they barely had enough for themselves. To César the poor were the ones who lived a moral life.

The stories of injustice did not end at the border. His grandfather told stories about the corruption of politics in El Paso, Texas. Librado would tell stories about his family's efforts to gain political power in Arizona by voting as a united block of people. César's father became a leader in the Mexican American community of Arizona. César saw firsthand the power that could come from uniting people (California Department of Education, 2002, n.p.).

The Plan of Delano

PLAN for the liberation of the Farm Workers associated with the Delano Grape Strike in the State of California, seeking social justice in farm labor with those reforms that they believe necessary for their well-being as workers in these United States.

We the undersigned, gathered in Pilgrimage to the capital of the State in Sacramento in penance for all the failings of Farm Workers, as free and sovereign men, do solemnly declare before the civilized world which judges our actions, and before the nation to which we belong, the propositions we have formulated to end the injustice that oppresses us.

We are conscious of the historical significance of our Pilgrimage. It is clearly evident that our path travels through a valley well known to all Mexican farm workers. We know all of these towns of Delano, Madera, Fresno, Modesto, Stockton and Sacramento, because along this very same road, in this very same valley, the Mexican race has sacrificed itself for the last hundred years. Our sweat and our blood have fallen on this land to make other men rich. This Pilgrimage is a witness to the suffering we have seen for generations.

The Penance we accept symbolizes the suffering we shall have in order to bring justice to these same towns, to this same valley. The Pilgrimage we make symbolizes the long historical road we have traveled in this valley alone, and the long road we have yet to travel, with much Penance, in order to bring about the Revolution we need, and for which we present the propositions in the following PLAN:

1. This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not in pronouncements. We seek our basic, God-given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered—and are not afraid to suffer—in order to survive. We are ready to give up everything, even our lives in our fight for social justice. We shall do it without violence because that is our destiny. To the ranchers, and to all those who oppose us, we say, in the words of Benito Juarez: “EL RESPETO AL DERECHO AJENO ES LA PAZ.”

2. We seek the support of all political groups and protection of the government, which is also our government, in our struggle. For too many years we have been treated like the lowest of the low. Our wages and working conditions have been determined from above, because irresponsible legislators who could have helped us, have supported the rancher’s argument that the plight of the Farm Worker was a “special case.” They saw the obvious effects of an unjust system, starvation wages, contractors, day hauls, forced migration, sickness, illiteracy, irremediable causes. The Farm Worker has been abandoned to his own

fate—without representation, without power—subject to mercy and caprice of the rancher. We are tired of words, of betrayals, of indifference. To the politicians we say that the years are gone when the farm worker said nothing and did nothing to help himself. From this movement shall spring leaders who shall understand us, lead us, be faithful to us, and we shall elect them to represent us. **WE SHALL BE HEARD.**

3. We seek, and have, the support of the Church in what we do. At the head of the Pilgrimage we carry **LA VIRGEN DE LA GUADALUPE** (the Virgin of Guadalupe) because she is ours, all ours, Patroness of the Mexican people. We also carry the Sacred Cross and Star of David because we are not sectarians, and because we ask the help and prayers of all religions. All men are brothers—sons of the same God; that is why we say to all men of good will, in the words of Pope Leo XIII: “Everyone’s first duty is to protect the workers from the greed of speculators who use human beings as instruments to provide themselves with money. It is neither just nor human to oppress men with excessive work to the point where their minds become enfeebled and their bodies worn out.” **GOD SHALL NOT ABANDON U.S.**

4. We are suffering. We have suffered, and we are not afraid to suffer in order to win our cause. We have suffered unnumbered ills and, crimes in the name of the law of the land. Our men, women, and children have suffered not only the basic brutality of stoop labor, and the most obvious injustices of the system; they have also suffered the desperation of knowing that that system caters to the greed of callous men and not to our needs. Now we will suffer for the purpose of ending the poverty, the misery, and the injustice, with the hope that our children will not be exploited as we have been. They have imposed hungers on us, and now we hunger for justice. We draw our strength from the very despair in which we have been forced to live. **WE SHALL ENDURE.**

5. We shall unite. We have learned the meaning of **UNITY**. We know why these United States are just that—united. The strength of the poor is also in union. We know that the poverty of the Mexican or Filipino worker in California is the same as that of all farm workers across the country, the Negroes and poor Whites, the Puerto Ricans, Japanese, and Arabians; in short, all of the races that comprise the oppressed minorities of the United States. The majority of the people on our Pilgrimage are of Mexican descent, but the triumph of our race depends on a national association of all farm workers. The ranchers want to keep us divided in order to keep us weak. Many of us have signed individual “work contracts” with the ranchers or contractors, contracts in, which they had all the power. These contracts were farces, one more cynical joke at our impotence. That is why we must get together and bargain collectively. We must use the only strength that we have, the force of our numbers. The ranchers are few; we are many. **UNITED WE SHALL STAND.**

6. We will strike. We shall pursue the REVOLUTION we have proposed. We are sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice. Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve; we want a new social order. We are poor, we are humble, and our only choice is to strike in those ranches where we are not treated with the respect we deserve as working men, where our rights as free and sovereign men are not recognized. We do not want the paternalism of the rancher, we do not want the contractor; we do not want charity at the price of our dignity. We want to be equal with all the working men in the nation; we want a just wage, better working conditions, a decent future for our children. To those who oppose us, be they ranchers, police, politicians, or speculators, we say that we are going to continue fighting until we die, or we win. WE SHALL OVERCOME. Across the San Joaquin Valley; across California, across the entire Southwest of the United States, wherever there are Mexican people, Wherever there are farm workers, our movement is spreading like flames across a dry plain. Our PILGRIMAGE is the MATCH that will light our cause for all farm workers to see what is happening here, so that they may do as we have done. The time has come for the liberation of the poor farm workers.

History is on our side.

MAY THE STRIKE GO ON! *VIVA LA CAUSA!* (California Department of Education, 2002, pp. 63-68).

The Latino Drive for Equality

By the end of the 1970s, more than 10 million Latinos lived in the United States. Like African Americans, women, and other minorities, Latinos worked for equal rights.

Mexican Americans

Mexican Americans are the largest group of Latinos living in the United States. From 1960 to 1980, the greatest number of immigrants to the United States came from Mexico. Many Mexican Americans lived and worked in cities. Many more labored as migrant workers who traveled from farm to farm looking for work. Low wages and harsh working conditions made life difficult for them. Discrimination made things worse.

Mexican Americans were often barred from better-paying jobs and from better neighborhoods. Few schools offered programs for those whose first language was Spanish. Migrants moved so often that it was hard for their children to attend school regularly.

Puerto Rican Americans

Latinos in the eastern United States often came from Puerto Rico. In the 1950s, thousands left Puerto Rico in search of work in the United States. Many took jobs in the factories of New York City, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Some went to Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. Puerto Ricans also faced discrimination in housing and jobs wherever they settled.

Cuban Americans

A third group of Latinos came in two waves from Cuba. Between 1959 and 1962, some 200,000 people fled to southern Florida when Fidel Castro set up a communist government in Cuba. These immigrants were often middle class and well educated. They adapted quickly to their new home. A second wave of immigrants came in 1980 after Castro allowed thousands of people to leave the island. Most of the new refugees were unskilled. They had a hard time making a living.

As their numbers grew, Cuban Americans became a force in southern Florida. Miami took on a new look. Shop windows displayed signs in Spanish. Cuban restaurants and shops opened. Cubans published Spanish-language newspapers and operated radio and television stations. Cuban American politicians were soon elected.

Latinos Organize

In the 1960s, new Latino organizations sought change. César Chávez formed a union of migrant workers, the United Farm Workers. When farm owners refused to talk to the union, Chávez called for a nationwide boycott of farm products. In the end, the owners recognized the union, and workers won higher wages. By the mid-1960s, Latinos began to publicly take pride in their history and culture. Mexican Americans called themselves Chicanos, a name that comes from the Spanish word *Mexicano*.

Latino groups also registered voters and made sure that voting laws were enforced. These new voters helped to elect more Latino officials to represent their interests. One result of these efforts was the Voting Rights Act of 1975. It required areas with many non-English-speaking citizens to hold bilingual elections. *Bilingual* means in two languages. In a bilingual election, information is provided in more than one language. With a ballot that was written in Spanish, it was easier for Latinos to vote.

The Bilingual Education Acts of 1968 and 1973 promoted bilingual programs in public schools with Spanish-speaking and Asian students (Davidson & Stoff, 2003, pp. 867-869).

Dolores Huerta Interview

Most of my ideas about how to bring up my children came from my mother. She did not oppress us. To me, a child's mind is even more sacred than the body. It's more important to have a free mind than shoes. It's important to explain the injustices, especially now with television. They get brainwashed.

I believe experiences are more important than things. Let them be in demonstrations, marches, picket lines. I want them to be around ethnic groups. Not to feel the stigma of racism while they are growing up. I expect them to follow their dreams, to change the world, to make the world a better place. Not to follow other people, not to be materialistic.

When I think about Hispanics, I like the fact that the term unites everyone who speaks Spanish. I like that. I don't like what some people in the administration in Washington have done. Maybe we need another word to identify us, since the word Hispanic sounds so colonial. I think it's very important for us to be united because we all have the same problems.

"Hispanic" has a lot of connotations: positive (reunification), negative (colonialization)—the fact that we are speaking a language which is not native to all of us, we are *los indios* (Indians). We speak a colonial language. That is the Indian side of me speaking. The Spanish side of me says I should be thankful to be here. I wasn't in a mass genocide like the Native Americans because the Spaniards were there, and they intermarried, and the race still exists.

When I think about Hispanic leadership, I think of a person who makes sacrifices, has ability, has perseverance, the desire to do things. Someone that people will follow. That's important because you have a lot of self-appointed leaders. You get a lot of government money to manage, and they call themselves leaders. There are a lot of those—especially in Washington, DC.

I no longer have problems with being a leader. In the union, in the strike, I organized picket lines, tried to keep people from getting killed. I organized the first grape boycott which was very successful both on the East coast, from Chicago to New York, and here in the West. César was very sick for a year—in bed—during that time. After we won the boycott, I came back, and I negotiated all the contracts for the Union. I had written contracts before. I used to do all the arbitrations for the union.

I did a lot of political work in Sacramento, Washington passing legislation for farm workers. Then, I went back and did the second boycott in New York. More recently—I did a lot of things—like our new organizational structure. We have a 2% dues structure. That was my idea. We have a retirement village for the farm workers. That was my idea. We have a child care center. We have what we call an Economic Development Fund (now called the Martin Luther King Fund). That was my idea.

I'm an elected official. Being a co-founder in the union made election easier. About 20,000 workers elected me to my present position. So, my authority comes from them. Internally, you know something has to be done, and you do it. You have to make decisions, and it's sometimes difficult, but you do it anyway. You have to know in advance that you will make mistakes and not be afraid.

Men make a lot of mistakes, but they cover them up. And women don't realize it. They think men are always right. We just have to be able to argue our position, and that's hard. Men would automatically put down a woman's idea and adopt it for themselves. You have to get your ideas out and fight. Women are not willing to fight.

My vision is for the farm workers to have the same rights, protection, wages that other workers in this country have. My mission has crept into my life. I want to see women treated equally in the union. After we fought hard, I found some women were discriminated against. I realized, in about 1978, it was almost like a conspiracy. It's interesting that the men who did that are all gone now.

There are so many opportunities for leadership in our communities because there are so many areas where work has to be done: first, the area of child development; second, the effort to keep people out of prisons; third, the area of health and nutrition. The diets of Hispanics are atrocious—they have diabetes.

The whole area of parenting needs work. They no longer have relationships with the grandparents. This other culture doesn't appreciate them and discriminates against them. They don't have the social and moral defenses. There is a really big need for the community organization. The church is doing some work in this area but doesn't want to make it political, and you have to make it political. The church has almost been against the people.

Hispanic leaders need to get over the idea of having money. As long as money is the goal, people won't have leadership. Because the money isn't there. They have to get along on the basics. They have to live at their level. We have leaders who go to school, get educated, and go to work for the corporations—for the bureaucrats. As long as that happens we are never going to have leaders develop.

A Hispanic leader is one that lives life to do the work that was to be done, knowing that it's going to be difficult, willing to take the pressure and harassment that come from doing it. I think if you deal directly with people, they'll tell you where they have to go. You don't have to look for the answers. Unless, when you get to the place where materialism gets in the way, then, you know that's not the right place to go; when people start to say: "No. We want this for ourselves."

Once you get into [leadership], an avenue opens up for you. God helps you if you help yourself. I paid my dues. One of my daughters wants to be an actress. Last summer Jane Fonda flew her to Canada. . . . My kids are going to college, and they've gotten grants, scholarships, because of my work in the movement.

To me, racism, chauvinism is part of the air you breathe, the water you drink. It surrounds you, so you have to learn how to fight it, deal with it, work in spite of it. You can't let it get you down or paralyze you. You have to do all you can to change it.

I've taken one vacation in 25 years. I was assaulted by a police officer, and I spent a week in New York, but I was in a lot of pain. You have to expect persecution.

There are some wonderful people doing what you are trying to do. The greatest thing is seeing what you've accomplished. Working for the Union, we've put millions of dollars in people's pockets. The laws we've passed, the contracts we've signed! The inspiration of things like the student movement and all that. When we first started the Union, the only Hispanic organizations were the mutual benefit type. Now there are professional organizations, too. People say: "if the farm workers can organize, why can't we?"

In terms of negative experiences—going to jail, getting beaten up, having my children suffer—they are harsh things to live with. And not spending as much time with them as I would like to. The things you can't catch up with—graduations, confirmations.

When you are organizing people, you get a sense of power because you know you are having a hand in helping them change their lives. Although that's very tricky. You have to do it in a way that they will not become dependent on you. You have to make them responsible. If you don't do that, you're just a charity organization. You make people helpless and defenseless, and that's a sin. The worst thing you can do to poor people is to make them helpless and defenseless.

This is one of the things with the poverty program—when they started to get organized, they had their funds cut off. Because we have an education, we

want to be paternalistic like the churches and treat the people like children. That's poison! We even have to say to our volunteers: "You have to make them the leaders, not make you the leaders." Sometimes, they don't want the workers, themselves, to be strong.

Hispanic women in leadership have no problems empowering others. We do have a tendency to let our emotions get in the way. That's something that women have to be taught—that you can hate somebody, but if you're working on the same project with them, you have to learn to tolerate it.

Every time I talk to women's organizations, I tell them to read Betty Jean Harragan's book, *Games Mother Never Taught You*. I think that should be the bible for women because men play all kinds of games on you, and not just men in power. One needs to learn, not to play those games, but to recognize them when they're being played on you.

Work is important; it's creative. It's a creative part of you. You have to do what you like to do, not what someone else wants you to do—no matter what it is. Sometimes women are afraid to ask for help. I always ask for help. Of all the things I've learned, I always ask for help and people love to give advice. Nobody has the gift of knowing everything (California Department of Education, 2002, pp. 255-267).

APPENDIX B

MODEL THINK ALOUD

Instructions and Think Aloud Model

I am going to ask you to “think aloud” while you read 4 different texts. A think aloud is exactly what it sounds like: you tell me out loud what you are thinking about while you read. There are no right or wrong things to say during a think aloud. Everything you say will have value to me as a researcher, so just tell me what pops into your head after you read each paragraph. It is o.k. to ask questions or explain what you know about something during a think aloud or to connect what you are reading to other experiences. It is also o.k. to not have anything pop into your mind while you read a specific paragraph. Do not try and say the right thing, just be as normal as you can while you read. I know it will be hard to be normal while you have a microphone near you but remember that you will have an opportunity to delete anything you want, so no one else will read what you say during a think aloud without your permission.

I am going to give you an example of a think aloud. This is from a science textbook. The material you will be reading will come from different kinds of history texts. I chose a science textbook so that I do not influence your think aloud. The following information came from a middle school science textbook and is about minerals found in the soil.

Minerals and Soil

Textbook

Minerals make up the solid matter in earth’s crust. Many minerals form when magma cools and hardens into a solid beneath the surface of earth. Some minerals, such as diamonds, form deep within earth, where the carbon that diamond is made of is under intense heat and pressure. Minerals include common table salt, gypsum, quartz and gold. Most minerals are difficult to obtain and expensive to remove from the ground. Minerals are nonrenewable resources. (Hackett et al., 2008, p. 341)

I thought the earth’s crust was just made out of dirt. I didn’t know minerals were part of the earth’s crust. I thought minerals were found in the earth. I remember learning about this stuff in school but I don’t remember too much about it.

When I think of minerals I think of vitamins and minerals. I always make sure I take a vitamin with the right kinds of minerals even though I have no idea what the right kind are and why minerals are important. I just buy the stuff that says it has the most vitamins and minerals just to be sure.

Rocks that contain useful substances, such as minerals, are known as ores. People mine for ores because of their value. Minerals have a wide range of uses, from construction materials to jewelry. Gems are minerals that are rare and beautiful. Diamonds, emeralds, sapphires, and rubies are a few well-known gems. (Hackett et al., 2008, p. 341)

Ores reminds me of the word, oro, which means gold in Spanish. I think gold is found all over the world so I wonder why it is so valuable.

I have an uncle that works in construction but I don't remember him ever mentioning using minerals.

I love emeralds because they are my birthstone.

APPENDIX C

OPEN CODING: MEANING UNITS AND OPEN CODING, INITIAL CATEGORIZATION⁶

⁶The methodology of open coding, axial coding, and elaborative coding allows for the use of fragmented direct quotes in order to use and categorize the meaning units more effectively. No words or punctuation were added to the quotes in order to preserve the wording of the participants.

Anita, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

My abuelita influenced me a lot, too.
I try and teach my kids good.
Good memory of my grandmother.
The Virgin is very important in Mexican culture.
Everybody needs everybody, not just the rich need the poor.
I think everyone can have a moral life based on good principles, not just the poor.
There is still corruption, looters, on the frontier right now.

Delano

A lot of immigrants still feel oppressed.
They feel that they can't have good jobs.
That they must do hard work and not go to school because they are immigrants.
Migrant workers feel like they are being exploited.
Perhaps they take advantage of them because they need the work.
You can feel the social problems in 1968.
I want to know what happened, how long did it last, did it really work, how many people were supporting Chávez.

Textbook

Sadly Mexicans are still looking for those kind of jobs.
Like I said, they feel inferior, that's all their aspirations, they are sad because they can't get better jobs.
They feel that this is not their country, they are only here out of necessity.
Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also trying to find their place in society.
When I think of Miami I think Cubans, Los Angeles equals Mexicans.
Bilingual people are everywhere, at the bank Walmart.
Wherever you go there are Spanish speaking people.
I agree with bilingual education.

Huerta

Kids in the U.S. don't feel that kind of necessity so it is difficult for them to empathize.
My kids play with other diverse kids so they don't feel different.
I don't think I can be like her.

Women are not willing to fight.
My personality wouldn't be about lifting everyone up.
She worked on the farm so she understands the situation. Since I don't work on the farm I don't know what it is like.
I don't think diabetes is caused because people are Hispanic.
If they don't go back to the country they do lose their relationship to that country.
It is difficult because they feel the racism because they see it everyday.
Don't let it paralyze you.
I don't like make people feel helpless and defenseless.
There is always someone to help, whether it is you or someone else.

Anita, Open Coding: Categorization

Navigation

Don't let it paralyze you.

Helping Others

I don't like to make people feel hopeless and defenseless. There is always someone to help, whether it is you or someone else.

Grandma

My abuelita influenced me, too. Good memory of my grandmother.

Religion

The Virgin is very important in Mexican culture.

Class

Everybody needs everybody, not just the rich need the poor. I think everyone can have a moral life based on good principles, not just the poor.

Life in Mexico

There is still corruption, looters, on the frontier right now.

Oppression

A lot of immigrants still feel oppressed. They feel that they can't have good jobs. That they must do hard work and not go to school because they are immigrants. Migrant workers feel like they are being exploited. Perhaps they take advantage of them because they need the work. It is difficult because they feel the racism because they see it everyday. You can feel the social problems in 1968.

Immigrants

Sadly, Mexicans are still looking for those kind of jobs. Like I said, they feel inferior, that's all their aspirations, they are sad because they can't get better jobs. They feel that this is not their country, they are only here out of necessity.

Other Latinos

Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also trying to find their place in society. When I think of Miami I think Cubans, Los Angeles equals Mexicans.

Language

Bilingual people are everywhere, at the bank, Walmart. Wherever you go there are Spanish people. I agree with bilingual education.

Children

Kids in the U.S. don't feel that kind of necessity so it is difficult for them to empathize. My kids play with other diverse kids so they don't feel different. I try and teach my kids good.

Women

Women are not willing to fight.

Self

I don't think I can be like her. My personality wouldn't be about lifting everyone up. She worked on the farm so she understands the situation. Since I don't work on the farm, I don't know what it is like.

Diets

I don't think diabetes is caused because people are Hispanic.
Generations: if they don't go back to the country, they do lose their relationship to that country.

Interest

I want to know what happened, how long did it last, did it really work, how many people were supporting Chávez.

Emma, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

My family and I are very close.
My father came to the US to have a better life. That is why we are here.
I'd help my grandfather with his corn and I would help him sell them so he'd have some money.
Sometimes give money to my grandmother.
Hard to see grandparents without enough to eat.
I'd give her 20-30 pesos so they would have enough to eat.
I also helped my grandfather and aunt.
My grandmother is Catholic.
But grandmother is supporting her.
It is cute the way she expresses herself in her religion.
Virgen, I'm not sure she appeared to people, I don't know.
I heard something like this of the revolution in Mexico but I don't really remember much.
A part of me is from Mexico.
Yes, those that have the least are also the ones that have at the same time more from their experiences.
They have strong experiences and that makes them better than those that don't have those kinds of experiences.
Yes those that have the least are also the ones that have at the same time more

from their experiences.

Plan of Delano

They have sacrificed much to do that job.

No I really don't understand what they are saying about the Virgen of Guadalupe.

In my history class were talking about the Depression.

It's okay to get support that you are Hispanics, or for people to support each other.

People take advantage of people that don't have papers and pay them less.

Or they don't accept them in some place.

Also students that don't have papers, there is even a move to not give an education to students that don't have papers.

I'm not sure if it is possible to be without poor people.

Textbook

Discrimination is really hard for those from the other side that don't have legal documents.

LA there are a lot of stores where there is not Spanish, it feels like we are not in the United States.

They work real hard and get paid very little.

Even a raise makes them and me feel happy because they are working so hard and deserve a raise.

Being bilingual is very important.

Mom wants to read about the election in Spanish to help her make up her mind.

I am starting to make connections to other things I have been reading in this session.

Huerta

I agree you can get brainwashed.

My experiences have been very valuable to me.

It also makes me think of the importance of not following other people.

We may all have the same types of problems.

I find it interesting.

She is a brave woman that is willing to fight.

I like to fight.

I get involved when I feel I can do something about it or influence people.

I have a problem with women that don't do anything about.

Women don't get valued.

I will talk to them to get them to understand they have value.

People haven't treated me poorly.
 There are issues between men and women that you can't compare.
 I think a woman needs to value herself.
 I'm not sure if she is talking about the Catholic church in the U.S.
 I know there is discrimination but I haven't really experience a lot of it.
 Hispanics sometimes don't save their money, they spend it on who knows what.
 Hispanics, Latinos they work harder than other people.
 Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard.
 They know more things about villages or farms.
 Farm people have more experiences than people from the city.
 Yes, they are very hard workers.
 I am the only person in my family in college.
 Family supports me.
 I am glad I am serving as a role model for my family.
 They work so hard they are killing themselves to make a living wage.
 At times, they can't be at important family functions because they are working so hard.
 When a family member asks for help, I am there for them.
 I want to make sure they don't end up depending on me.
 Do what is best for them.
 I don't just want to help my people.
 I could do it as a lawyer but it is not in my heart.
 When you are working with people you don't like you have to accept them anyway.
 As a woman, I've been counseled to listen to people but especially men.
 I counsel people to do what is best for them and not just try and please their family.
 I will go against what my mom counsels if it is not what is best for me.

Emma, Open Coding: Categorization

Family

My family and I are very close. I'd help my grandfather with his corn and I would help him sell them so he'd have some money. Sometimes give money to my grandmother. I'd also helped my grandfather and aunt. Family supports me. When a family member asks for help, I am there for them. Hard to see my grandparents without enough to eat. I'd give her 20-30 pesos so they would have enough to eat.

Role Model

I am glad I am serving as a role model for my family.

Religion

My grandmother is Catholic, but her grandmother is supporting her. It's cute the way grandmother expresses here religion. The Virgen, I'm not sure she appeared to people, I don't know. No I really don't understand what they are saying about the Virgen de Guadalupe. I'm not sure if she is talking about the Catholic church in the U.S.

History

I heard something like this of the revolution in Mexico but I don't really remember much. A part of me is from Mexico. In my U.S. history class they were talking about the Depression.

Poor

They have strong experiences and that makes them better than those that don't have those kinds of experiences. I'm not sure if it is possible to be without poor people. I want to make sure they don't end up depending on me. Do what is best for them. Yes, those that have the least are also the ones that have at the same time more from their experiences.

Immigrant Workers

They have sacrificed much to do that job. My father came here to the U.S. for a better life. That is why we are here. Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. Yes, they are very hard workers. They work so hard they are killing themselves to make a living wage. At times, they can't be at important family functions because they are working so hard. Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. They know more things about villages or farms. Farm people have more experiences than people from the city.

Race/Ethnicity

It's okay to get support that you Hispanic or for people to support each other. We may all have the same types of problems. Hispanics, Latinos they work harder than other people.

Undocumented Workers

People take advantage of people that don't have papers and pay them less. Or they don't accept them in some place. Discrimination is really hard for those from the other side that don't have legal documents.

Travel

LA, there are a lot stores where there is only Spanish, it feels like we are not in the United States.

Current Politics/Law

Also, students that don't have papers, there is even a move to not give an education to students that don't have papers.

Economics

Wages makes me think of my family. They work real hard and get paid very little. Even a raise makes them and me feel happy because they are working so hard and deserves a raise. Hispanics sometimes don't save their money, they spend it on who knows what.

Language

Being bilingual is very important. My mom wants to read about the election in Spanish to help her make up her mind.

Connections/Interest

I am starting to make connections to other things I have been reading in this section. I find it interesting.

Media

I agree you can get brainwashed. It also makes me think of the importance of not following other people.

College/Aspiration

I am the only person in my family in college.

Women

She is a brave woman that is willing to fight. I have a problem with women that don't do anything about. Women don't get valued. There are issues between men and women that you can't compare. I think the woman needs to value herself. As a woman, I've been counseled to listen to people, but especially men.

Interactions With Others

I like to fight. I will go against what my mom counsels if it is not what is best for me.

Activism

I get involved when I feel I can do something about it or influence people. I will talk to them to get them to understand they have value. I don't just want to help my people. I could do it as a lawyer but it is not in my heart. I counsel people to do what is best for them and not just try and please their family.

Experiences

My experiences have been very valuable to me.

Discrimination

People haven't treated me poorly. I know there is discrimination but I haven't really experienced it.

Navigational

When you are working with people you don't like you have to accept them anyway.

Valeria, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

In Latino culture everyone is named after everyone else.
Helped others.
Good to help others.
Mother set an example for him.
Help others regardless of background.
Not by the color of their skin.
They won't even pick you because they know you are Mexican.
I was White.
Their attitude changed towards me.
Treat them all the same.
Grandparents a role model.
Parents are role models.
Parents help us get through it.
Practice what you preach.
You learn it from them because it is in your blood.
You learn your culture from family.
Model how to live your lives.
Their examples.
You can do good regardless of your background.
Religion helps us make the right decisions.
Religion is a big part of our culture.
Catholic myself.
Unfairness of life in Mexico.
Come over here because more opportunities.
Hypocrisy and unfairness in Mexico.
Our hypocrisy or unfairness does not help the community.
Just makes things worse.
In the U.S. you have more opportunities but it depends on what situation you are in.
Age discrimination in Mexico.
Even with a high education can't do much in Mexico.
Father in Mexico while she is in U.S.
Poor are superior.
Poor work to get things.
Poor learn a lot more about life.
Rich people are privileged and don't appreciate what they have.
Poor people value what they have more.
Unite the people.
Mexican race has suffered.
The really need us.

Mexicans do jobs others won't.
 Mexicans value their work.
 They will work for their families to fulfill needs.
 American culture.
 Rich people are also in Mexico.
 Not true of all rich people.
 Here in America, mostly spoiled.

Plan of Delano

We suffer more than other.
 We do not have the same opportunities as Latinos.
 We work twice or three times as hard than others have, too.
 If we unify we can make a huge difference.
 A huge difference beyond our communities.
 Get up and fight and give everything.
 It would take a lot of us.
 We are treated like the lowest of the low.
 This motivates me to read more.
 Virgin de Guadalupe, another thing with Mexicans.
 We have been exploited.
 My success has made it worth it for them.
 My success makes everything they have gone through worth it.
 My parents have gone through so much.
 My parents will have to go back to Mexico soon.
 We are united.
 What they are fighting for is reasonable so they will accomplish it.
 It is strong.

Textbook

They think all of us are down there.
 School programs for Spanish speakers.
 Other people won't take jobs, that's why they get hired.
 Nobody likes Fidel Castro for obvious reasons.
 Diversity is better.
 People that like diversity are open-minded.

Huerta

A clean mind better than having a perfect body.
 There are people that haven't been there just because I am Latino.
 I want to treat others like I want to be treated.
 We all have the same problems.
 Same.
 It's not about giving me anything, I will work for it.
 Teachers are leaders and role models.
 Women willing to fight.
 I didn't know about Hispanics and diabetes.
 If you are a big leader people will support you.
 Men do play games with women.
 I can see why she is a leader.
 "I just agree with this."

Valeria, Open Coding: CategorizationCulture

I have opinions about culture. In Latino culture everyone is named after everyone else.

Giving

Helping others. Helping others regardless of background, I will treat them all the same.

Race

Not by the color of their skin. They won't even pick on you because you are Mexican. I was White. Their attitude changed about me when they found out I was Mexican. You can do good regardless of your background. Mexican race has suffered. The Americans really need US. Mexicans do jobs others won't. Mexicans value their work. They will work for their families to fulfill needs. We suffer more than others. As Latinos we do not have the same opportunities. We work twice or three times as hard than others have to. We are treated as the lowest of the low. *Mas humilde*. They think all of us are down there. Diversity is better. People that like diversity are open-minded. There are people that haven't been there just because I am Latino. The Spanish side of me says I should be thankful to be here.

Social Classes

Rich. Rich people are privileged and don't appreciate what they have. Rich people are also in Mexico. Not true of all rich people. Here in America, mostly spoiled.

Poor. The poor are superior. Poor work to get things. Poor learn a lot more about life. Poor people value what they have more.

Work Ethic

It's not about giving me anything: I will work for it.

Role Models

Teachers are leaders and role models. If you are a big leader people will support you.

Men

Men do play games with women.

Fulfillment of Aspirations

My success has made it worth it for them. My success makes everything they have gone through worth it.

Travel

My parents will have to go back to Mexico soon.

Activism

This motivates me to read more. What they are fighting for is reasonable so they will accomplish it. We have been exploited. Unite the people. If we unify we can make a huge difference. A huge difference BEYOND our communities. Get up and fight and give everything. It would take a lot of us. We are united.

Rhetoric

It is strong.

Religion

Religion helps us make the right decisions. Religion is a big part of our culture. Catholic myself. Virgen of Guadalupe, another thing with Mexicans.

Mexico

Unfairness in Mexico. Age discrimination in Mexico. Even with a high education can't do much in Mexico. Father in Mexico while she is in the U.S.

Fairness

Our hypocrisy and our unfairness does not help the community. Just makes things worse.

Opportunities

In the U.S. you have more opportunities but it depends on what situation you are in.

Family Examples

Mother set an example for him. Grandparents a role model. Parents are role models. Parents help us get through it. You learn it because it is in your blood. You learn your culture from your family. Model how to live your lives. Their examples.

Dichos

Practice what you preach. *Ser humilde.*

Politics

Nobody likes Fidel Castro for obvious reasons.

Cassandra, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

Come because they want a better life.
 You know you can count on your relatives.
 Glad Librado wanted to use his money to help other people.
 Not a lot of people teach about charity anymore.
 Not a lot of people stop and help.
 Grandmother as a role model.
 Listening to grandmother and mother a wise thing to do.
 Appreciate god in your life and what he does for you.
 Even though I am not a Catholic, there is like a peace that la Virgen de Guadalupe brings to people.
 Reading about their struggles makes me want to work harder.
 Poor people do appreciate things more.
 I would hope that the rich have morals.

Delano

Wants to change something that is unjust.
 People from your race.
 They have their families to help.
 God-given rights.
 We will sacrifice, fight, for justice.
 We want someone we can trust that will represent you.
 Religion is so powerful.
 God is so important in my life.
 They choose to stand up.
 I'm glad others care about their children.
 My family and how much my parents have suffered.
 The weak, I guess there's more of us.
 Remember that united WE can do so much.
 Everyone wants to be treated equally.
 It is so nice to read that people still talk like this.

Textbook

People getting low wages has been going on for so long.

It is WORSE for people to discriminate because of the way people talk, or language.

I am proud of who I am and where I came from.

It is nice to hear when Latinos began to take pride and their history. I think it is so important.

Teachers could do little things, as were done for my parents, as in Spanish and English. It is not that hard.

It is good not to forget where you come from.

Don't try and erase people's language and culture from them.

Huerta

I think of my mother telling us to love everyone.

She did teach us those lessons.

I hope I'm not materialistic.

I don't know if it has a lot to do with race.

She obviously made a difference.

It's kind a woman thing that people used to think we couldn't do a lot of things.

It's good to hear a woman say all these things.

There are connections between the past and today in terms of becoming a leader and making mistakes.

As a woman I can say that sometimes I am afraid to be out there and to be like in a leadership position.

Discrimination is always wrong.

Quotes MLK Jr. about standing up.

Always have an opportunity to do something.

It may be the present culture but we should try and be more united as families.

No money in elementary education.

I want to make a difference in a leadership position so it's not about the money.

I am against materialism.

Your efforts are going to affect your kids.

You have to move on past the negative experiences but they do catch you off guard.

You are not the only person out there trying to make changes.

Teach a man a fish parable.

Retracts from a teacher being in a leadership position.

You can't let people you don't like get in the way of your job.

Now you have two people trying to improve conditions.

Cassandra, Open Coding: Categorization

Interest

This sounds interesting.

Immigrants

Come because they want a better life.

Family

You know you can count on your relatives. They have their families to help.

Grandmother as a Role Model

Listening to grandmother and mother is a wise thing to do. I'm glad others care about their children. Your efforts are going to affect your kids.

Dichos

Appreciate God in your life and what he does for you. I think of my mother telling us to love everyone. She did teach those lessons.

Religion/Morals/Values

Even though I am not a Catholic, there is a like a peace that La Virgen de Guadalupe brings to people. Religion is so powerful God is so important in my life. I would hope that the rich have morals. Glad Librado wanted to use his money to help other people.

Appreciation (Aspirations)

Reading about their struggles makes me want to work harder. Poor people do appreciate things more. My family and how much my parents have suffered.

Weak/Personal Connection

I guess there's more of US. Remember that united WE can do so much.

Social Justice

César wants to change something is unjust, God-given rights. We will sacrifice, fight, for justice. They choose to stand up. Everyone wants to be treated equally. Quotes MLK Jr. about always standing up. Always have an opportunity to do something. People getting low wages has been going on for so long. It is WORSE for people to discriminate because of the way people talk, or language. Discrimination is always wrong. Fish parable.

Pride

It is nice to hear when Latinos began to take pride and their history. I think it is so important. It is good not to forget where you came from. Don't try and erase people's language and culture from them. Not a lot of people teach about charity anymore. Not a lot of people stop and help. It is so nice to read that people still talk like this. It may be the present culture but we should try and be more united as families. People from your race.

Materialistic

I hope I'm not materialistic. I am against materialism.

Navigational

You have to move on past the negative experiences but they do catch you off guard. You can't let people you don't like get in the way of your job.

Education

Teachers could do little things, as were done for my parents, as in Spanish and English. I was told there is no money in elementary education. Retracts from a teacher being in a leadership position.

Leadership

I want to make a difference in a leadership position so it is not about the money. There are connections between the past and today in terms of becoming a leader and making mistakes. We want someone we can trust, that will represent us. You are not the only person out there trying to make changes. Now you have two people trying to improve conditions. I don't know if being a leader has to do with race.

Women

It's kind of a woman thing that people used to think we couldn't do a lot of things. It's good to hear a woman say all these things. As a woman I can say that sometimes I am afraid to be out there and to be like in a leadership position. Huerta has obviously made a great difference.

Jay T. Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

Love for his people.
 Better us as one.
 We're always separated.
 Unification.
 Che Guevarra.
 He's real strong.
 He thought out everything well.
 My grandma too was a big influence.
 Mama Lucita and not *Mama Tella*.
 Mama Lucita had a grand influence on my life.
 Helping others regardless of their background.
 We are all in the same boat.
 Separation of social classes.
 Never turned away anyone that came for food.
 Everybody deserves to eat, to have something.
 Socialist views.
 Abuelita, just the love she had.
 She took care of us a lot, it meant more than words.
 Act out what you say = practice what you preach.
 Love others and show it.
 I was raised Catholic.
 Everybody in Mexico is Catholic.

Unification but also a double-sided sword.
 Love just love.
 Religion is two sided.
 Always love La Virgen for some reason, I know she is love.
 She is a good person.
 Gandhi, Virgen, Mother Theresa = good person.
 Love for kids, no pay = close to God, good person.
 In our family we argue.
 Poor class, and rich class.
 Exploitation of poor.
 Exploitation of the worker.
 Not right, should have some kind of fairness.
 Exploit the workers, too.
 We are all equal.
 He's a very good man, he knows what he is saying, he's a good guy.
 The poor do work hard.
 Work hard their whole lives and never go up.
Recompensa.
 Good way of thinking.
 Best for all of us to unify.
 When united we are stronger.

Plan of Delano

Something that will do good.
 Lift us from what we are doing.
 Real good thing.
 Mayas had their intelligence.
 Unification, the Mayas must have become one.
 Revolution.
 Change.
 Revolution is for the betterment of humanity.
 Che.
 Everyone wants to fight for social justice.
 God-given rights as human being.
 Workers are working like slaves for little money.
 I love this country from the bottom of my heart. I think the others are also showing an appreciation for this country or at least a view that this country has a lot of positive things to offer.
 I was born here.
 I would fight to protect this country but only if it was being invaded.
 People in other countries feel that we are invading them and that is why they fight.
 I am colorblind, I wouldn't vote for someone because of their color.

For including all religions.
 Not just stuck on Catholic, open-minded.
 There is so much division in the world.
 Valeria seemed to say the same for Huerta.
 Unified people can't be stopped especially if they have something to fight for.
 I just keep agreeing with everything he says.
 Makes me want to do something, makes me want to get involved and do better
 stuff.
 César is in the right path.
 Underground rapper.
 Half *hondureno* and half *boliviano*.
 Same principles and message.
 I have troubles expressing myself, need to practice my public speaking.
 He is a good guy.
 We all need to share and be equal.

Huerta

Don't let others tell you what is right.
 Parents taught us.
 Taught us not to be materialistic.
 To live and let live.
 We were not always given everything, you appreciate and are raised with what
 little you have.
 It's a colonial phrase, I'm not sure about that.
 Spaniards knew how to take over.
 I'm proud, in a way, that I'm speaking Spanish.
 What if the natives had known how to combat the Spanish.
 Aztlan or something.
 Leaders that don't know how to lead correctly.
 Like César I'll overcome sickness and still do what I need to do.
 Making mistakes is learning.
 My brother tried to teach me to learn from his mistakes but I didn't.
 I didn't want to learn from his lesson.
 It is good to learn from others' mistakes.
 Some women are stronger than others.
 Some women just want to be mothers.
 I guess it is pretty even.
 Men in the past have been the ones to take over but now there are steps toward
 new changes.
 All women and men should be equal.
 Connection to Hispanics getting diabetes.
 Religions is like a business.

It has brought some good here.
 It is hard to leave, it is almost impossible.
 I wanted to be rich.
 Money changes people.
 Money brings greed, possession, and that's just bad.
 Doesn't care about having a lot of money just wants to be happy and love.
 Materialism takes control of us a lot.
 God helps you if you help yourself, if you take action.
 Some sacrifice.
 Fishing parable.
 Of a business or people that try to exploit while seemingly trying to help.
 I'm kind of scared of how a woman will run this country.
 I don't think women are the same as men, they have a different way, different days
 with emotional problems.
 Live and learn.
 I'm not asking questions within a classroom setting.
 I want to be directed the right way.

Textbook

I like that it says Latinos work for equal rights.
 People coming here illegally.
 They come here to do good, to make lives better.
 They are not coming here to disrupt anything.
 Discuss constant movement of his family.
 Parents always looking for something better paying.
 We are all Latinos.
 Fidel Castro had the right way of thinking.
 Socialist way.
 Poor calls said.
 I never knew it was from the word Mexicano.

Jay T, Open Coding: Categorization

Unity

Better as one. We're always separated; unification. We are all in the same boat.
 Best for all of us to unify. When united we are stronger. For including all
 religions. Not just stuck on Catholic, open-minded. There is so much division in
 the world. Unified people can't be stopped especially if they have something to
 fight for. We all need to share and be equal. We are all Latinos. We are all equal.
 Love, just love. Love for kids, no pay equals someone close to God, a good

person. Love for his people.

Social Classes Consciousness

Separation of social classes. Poor class, and rich class.

Exploitation

Exploitation of poor, the worker. We should have some kind of fairness. Workers are working like slaves for little money. Of a business or people that try to exploit while seemingly trying to help.

Patriotism

I love this country from the bottom of my heart. I would fight to protect this country but only if it was being invaded.

Race/Ethnicity

I am color blind, I wouldn't vote for someone because of their color. I never knew it was from the word *Mexicano*.

Family

Parents taught us. My brother tried to teach me to learn from his mistakes but I didn't. I didn't want to learn from his lesson. It is good to learn from others' mistakes. My grandma, too, was a big influence. Mama Lucita had a grand influence on my life. Abuelita, just the love she had. She took care of us a lot, it meant more than words. Debate as a family. Mama Lucita, not *Mama Tella*.

Gender

Some women are stronger than others. Some women just want to be mothers. I guess it's pretty even. All women and men should be equal. I'm kind of scared of how a woman will run this country. I don't think women are the same as men, they have a different way, different days with emotional problems. Men in the past have been the ones to take over but now there are steps toward new changes.

Materialism

Taught us not to be materialistic. I wanted, in the past, to be rich. Money changes people. Money brings greed, possession, and that's just bad. Doesn't care about having a lot of money, just wants to be happy and love. Materialism takes control of us a lot.

Colonization

It's a colonial phrase, I'm not sure about that. Spaniards knew how to take over. I'm proud in a way that I'm speaking Spanish. What if the native had known how to combat the Spanish.

Politics

Leaders that don't know how to lead correctly.

Dicho

To live and let live. Act out what you say = practice what you preach. Love others and show it. Live and learn.

Activism

Che Gueverra; socialist views; underground rapper. Rapper and César have the same principles and messages. *Revolucion*, change. Revolution is for the betterment of humanity, Che. Everyone want to fight for social justice. God-given rights as a human being. People in other countries feel that we are invading them and that is why they fight. I like that the textbook says Latinos work for equal rights. Aztlán or something. *Recompensa*. Some sacrifice. He is real strong. Don't let others tell you what is right. He thought out everything well. I just keep agreeing with everything he says. Makes me want to do something. Makes me want to get involved and do better stuff. Like César I'll overcome sickness and still do what I need to do.

La Patria/Nationalism

Half *Hondureño*, half *Boliviano*.

Religion

I was raised Catholic. Everybody in Mexico is Catholic. Church unifies but it also is a double-sided sword. Religion is a two-sided sword. Always loved La Virgen for some reason. I know she is love. Religion is like a business. It has brought some good here. It is hard to leave, it is almost impossible. God helps you if you help yourself, if you take action.

Navigational

Discusses obstacles, knowing how to do them and live with some of them.

Good/Bad Dichotomy

She is a good person. Gandhi, Virgen, Mother Theresa are good people. He's a very good man, he knows what he is saying, he's a good guy. Good way of thinking. The Plan of Delano is something that will do good. Real good thing. César is in the right path. He is a good guy.

Ancestors

The Mayas had their intelligence. The Mayas must have become one.

Immigration

People coming here illegally. They come here to do good, to make lives better. They are not coming here to disrupt anything.

Moving

Discusses constant movement of his family. Parents always looking for something better paying.

Giving

Helping others regardless of their background. Never turned away anyone that came for food. Fishing parable.

Self-Perception

I have troubles expressing myself, need to practice my public speaking. Making mistakes is learning. I'm not asking questions within a classroom setting. I want to be directed the right way.

Letty, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsLetty

Rich people.
 Knowledge of immigration.
 Librado was a good man.
 Grandmother.
 Helping others.
 "Supposed to be."
 Great women.
 Follows the example.
 Practicing what you preach.
 Good example.
 "It's part of their belief."
 WAS *catolica*.
 Really strong.
 "For us it's not that strong."
 "Virgin, THEY became unified and stronger."
 "Other countries besides Mexico."
 "Was caring about his people."
 Poor people.
 "Moral life, I don't agree with that."
 "Immoral sometimes."
 "Poor people can be corrupt, too."
 Pretty good man.
 Things benefit US.
 Take advantage of poor people
 Give people jobs and that's a good thing.
 Pay them better.
 Could make their lives better.

Delano

"If they came to work here then I don't know what is the problem."
 Were people here not giving them their rights?

Complaining to the government.
 Don't get paid what Americans get.
 Want to change things, fix the problem.
 Our children.
 If you are united.
 Basic human rights.
 Shouldn't be less than anyone else.
 They were oppressed.
 Better future for their children.
 Better future for themselves.

Textbook

Discrimination against Mexicans.
 Discrimination against all Latin American people.
 Puerto Ricans have privileges.
 Puerto Ricans don't have to do the things we have to do.
 Like middle class.
 If you have the numbers, things can change.
 Signs are in Spanish.
 Businesses make changes first.
 Chicano and Mexicano.

Huerta

We just believe what is up there.
 We need to be careful in who we follow.
 Language unifies us.
 Being Hispanic is a lot of work.
 It is not easy being a minority.
 Have all these issues.
 Should be grateful.
 Being Latino is not bad.
 Happy to have two cultures and two languages.
 Fight for what is right.
 One person can make a difference.
 It is not true anymore that women are not willing to fight.
 In our country there is a lot of discrimination against women.
 Is changing.
 Are forced to change their lifestyle to this country.
 For a better life, better education.
 More Mexican markets, Bolivian markets.

Even Americans go and shop there.
 Culture is kind of integrating now.
 Americans look at us as a lower race.
 Americans do not feel we are equal to them; we are an inferior race.
 This generation do not take care of their grandpas.
 Talking to grandfather or treating a parent as an equal.
 "But here it is like, who cares."
 When money is your first goal it is hard to fight for what is right.
 Reason people come here is basically about money.
 Better tv.
 What are you doing to support your community?
 What will you have left.
 Racism is still here.
 Racism is still everywhere.
 We also hate each other.
 We need to be careful how we help the poor.
 I served a mission.
 Will take advantage of the system.
 Men take advantage of women.
 Money can force people to do bad things like sell drugs.

Letty, Open Coding: Categorization

Status

Rich people.

Race

Discrimination against Mexicans. Discrimination against all Latin American people. Racism is still here. Racism is everywhere. Racism is between Mexicans, Dominicans, people from Peru, everywhere. Chicano and Mexicanos

Generational Conflicts

This generation does not take care of their grandpas.
 Talking to grandfather or treating a parent as an equal.
 But here it is like, who cares.

Cultural Conflicts

This generation of Latinos does not want to be part of the culture or speak Spanish. Should be grateful. Being Latino is not bad—happy to have two cultures and two languages. Immigrants are forced to change their lifestyle to this country.

Integration

Even Americans go and shop there. Culture is kind of integrating now. Americans look at us as a lower race. Americans do not feel we are equal to them; we are an inferior race.

Immigration

Knowledge of immigration. They come for a better life, better education. If they came to work, then I don't know what is the problem? Don't get paid what Americans get.

Good/Bad

Librado was a good man. Supposed to be. Good example. César was a pretty good man.

Religion

The Virgin is part of their belief. I was Catolica. César is real strong. Under the virgin, THEY became more unified and stronger. I served a mission.

Comparisons Between Latinos

For us, the Virgin is not that strong.

Other Countries Besides Mexico

Puerto Ricans have privileges. Puerto Ricans don't have to do the things we have to do. Cubans middle class. Language unifies us. More Mexican markets, Bolivian markets. We also hate each other.

Minorities

Being Hispanic is a lot of work. It is not easy being a minority. Minorities have all these issues they must contend with.

Money

When money is your first goal, it is hard to fight for what is right. Reason people come here is basically about money. Better tv. What are you going to do to support your community. What will you have left. Money can force people to do bad things like sell drugs.

Caring/Unity

César was caring about his people.

Poor People

I don't agree that only the poor lead moral lives. Poor people can be corrupt, too. People's minds can be corrupted. We have to be careful how we help the poor. Will take advantage of the system.

Business

Things benefit the US. Take advantage of poor people. Business give people jobs and that's a good thing. They pay poor people better. Could make poor people's lives better.

Signs are in Spanish

If you have the numbers, things can change. Businesses make changes first.

Helping

Helping others.

Men

Men take advantage of women.

Dichos

Practice what you preach.

Activism

Want to change things, fix the problem. Fight for what is right. One person can make a difference. Our children. Better future for their children. Better future for themselves.

Women

It is not true anymore that women are not willing to fight. In our country there is a lot of discrimination against women. Women going along with such discrimination is changing. Great women, follow their example.

Identification With Minority Group

We just believe what is up there. WE need to be careful who we follow.

United

If you are united.

Social Justice

Basic human rights, shouldn't be less than anyone else. They were oppressed.

Discrimination

History. We're people here not giving them their rights. Complaining to the government.

Robby, Open Coding: Meaning Units

Chapter 1

César E. Chávez the fighter. Dad a big fan of boxing. Rich Mexican tradition.
 Dad owns a lot businesses.
 My dad really close to his grandma. Lots of memories of his great grandma.
 My great grandma always making a point about her experiences.
 Telling stories to shape me up.
 Practice what you preach.
 Negatives about Catholic Church's theology.
 Negative about church theology an La Virgen.
 I was the kid Latins didn't like.
 I called them purebred.
 They didn't like me because I didn't hang out with them.
 I wasn't gangster like them.
 Always talking about how life was unfair.
 I was with the rich White people.
 They are making excuses; it's bull.
 Some poor people live a moral life but others are there because they are lazy.
 Seeing both sides.

Delano

LDS Church connections.
 Went to Fresno.
 My uncle's name is Modesto.
 Every time I would go down there I had to learn about Benito Juarez.
 They even talk about Benito in Guatemala.
 You have to make a stand against be treated unfairly.
 When I think of forced migration I think of the Native American Trail of Tears.
 More differing theology.
 Latins are really, really united.
 Only two kinds in the Latin community, either together or they look at you dirty
 and won't talk to you for 20 years.
 My mom's family they are not united like my dad's family.
 Fight for what's right is good but it is better to strive for win win.
 Connection to what he learned in history class.

Textbook

I was blessed to be born at a later time.
 I never had to witness any discrimination.
 I laugh at the word *immigrant* when it is a proven fact that this was Mexico.
 Cuba equals Castro and everyone is waiting for him to die.
 I never knew what Chicano meant.
 Being bilingual was appreciated by others and helped me get a job.

Huerta

My mom would say that she got it from her mama.
 Experience is the best teacher.
 I work for my dad.
 Parenting needs work today.
 Church is double sided.
 The whole world has to get over the idea of having money. Everybody it's like their pride and joy.
 Dad's experience of DWL but his dad had influential contacts.
 Challenging is good.
 Negative experiences towards his religious views.
 We joke around but we are pretty much serious how we don't want to marry a Latin girl because their emotions are like that, their emotions are what they run on.
 Mom told me to do what I love to do.

Robby, Open Coding: CategorizationFamily

My dad really close to his grandma. Lot of memories of his great grandma. My great grandma always making a point about her experiences. My mom would say that she got it from her mama. Parenting needs work today.

Dichos

Grandma always telling me stories to shape me up. Practice what you preach.
 Experience is the best teacher.

Religion

Negative about Catholic churches theology. Negatives about theology, including La Virgen. Many connections to LDS Church. More differing technology. I was blessed to be born at a later time. Church is double sided. Negative experiences towards his religious views.

Women

We joke around but we are pretty much serious how we don't want to marry a Latin girl because their emotions are like that, their emotions are what they run on.

Travel

Went to Fresno, also Mexico and Guatemala. Every time I would go down there I had to learn about Benito Juarez.

Social Justice

You have to make a stand against being treated unfairly. Fight for what is right is good but it is better to strive for win, win. Challenging is good. Always talking about how life was unfair. They are making excuses; that's bull.

Race/Ethnicity

I was the kid Latins didn't like. I called them purebred. They didn't like me because I didn't hang out with them. I was gangster like them. I was with the rich White people. Only two kinds in the Latin community, either together or they look at your dirty and won't talk to you for 20 years. César E. Chávez is a fighter. My Dad is a big fan of boxing. Rich Mexican tradition. Latins are really really united. My mom's family, they are not united like my dad's family. They even talk about Benito in Guatemala. When I think of forced migration I think of the Native American Trail of Tears. Connection to what he learned in history class.

Poor

Some poor people live a moral life but others are there because they are lazy. I never knew what Chicano meant. Being bilingual was appreciated by others and helped me get a job.

Immigration

I laugh at the word immigrant when it is a proven fact that this was Mexico.

Cuba

Cuba equals Castro and everyone is waiting for him to die.

Discrimination

Dad's experience of DWL, but his dad had influential contacts. I never had to witness any discrimination.

Economics

Dad owns a lot of businesses. I work for my dad. The whole world has to get over the idea of having money. Everybody, it's like their pride and joy. Mom told me to do what I love to do.

Dolores, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

Librado means free in Spanish.
 Offering food to even those that are not Mexican.
 Wisdom in the grandmother's words.
 César is strong in his faith.
Mama Tella is like a mom to him.
 I didn't know he lived in Mexico.
 Poor people are the ones who live a moral life.
 They do all the work.
 They work all day and sweat all day.

Delano

He was a pacifist.
 I hear the quote "*El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz*" all the time from my mom.
 I'm Catholic so I came on strong in my religion.
 I just like how he always refers to the Virgin all the time.

I admire him for including the prayers of all religions.
 He is very spiritual.
 I think we forget what unity is about.
 I never saw it s the ranchers trying to keep us weak.

Textbook

We can just cross over the border.
 I feel sorry for people with Fidel Castro.
 Florida is like another Cuba.
 I'm glad for the workers getting higher wages.

Huerta

It is weird how some people are always asking the question about what we should call ourselves.
 I admire because she is a woman and she did all that. It is just amazing.
 I would be scared, I am not like that.
 Some women think men are always right.
 Some women are not willing to fight.
 Huerta is right about what she says about women.
 Relationships within families are breaking down.
 The diets are atrocious.
 The established generation does not have the respect it used to.
 As Latinos there is too much of a focus on money.
 All her work paid off.
 She is a hard working mom.
 We don't want to make people defenseless.
 Women do let our emotions get in the way.
 In hard working situations you just forget about everything, just work. That's what you have to do.
 Sometimes were are afraid to ask for help.
 Fear of hearing the word no.
 I like that she promotes asking others for help.

Dolores, Open Coding: Categorization

Naming

Librado means freed one.

Giving

Offering food to others.

Elders

Wisdom in grandmother's words. *Mama Tella* is like a mom to him.

Religion

César is strong in his faith. I'm Catholic so I came on strong in my religion. I just like how he always refers to the Virgin all the time. I admire him for including the prayers of all religions. He is very spiritual.

Dichos

I hear the quote "*El respect al dereco ajeno es la paz*" all the time from my mom.

Personal Connections

La patria. I didn't know he lived in Mexico. We can just cross over the border.

Latinos

It's weird how some people are always asking the question about what we should call OURSELVES.

Poor

Poor people are the ones that live a moral life. They do all the work. They do all the work and sweat all day. I'm glad for the workers getting higher wages.

Class Struggles

I never saw it's the ranchers trying to keep us weak.

Identification With the Poor

I never saw it's the ranchers trying to keep US weak.

Identification With Immigrants

We can just cross over the border.

Need for Unity

I think we forget what unity is about.

Connections to Gender

Women. I admire her because she is a woman and she did all that. It is just amazing. I would be so scared. I am not like that. Some women think men are always right. Some women are not willing to fight. Huerta is right about what she says about women. All her work has paid off. She is a hard working mom. Women do let our emotions get in the way.

Families, Comparison of Families

Relationships within families are breaking down. The established generation does not have the respect it used to.

Money

As Latinos, there is too much of a focus on money.

Food Diets

Diets are atrocious.

Navigation

In hard-working situations, you just forget about everything, just work. That's what you have to do.

Rejection

Sometimes we are afraid to ask for help. I'm glad that she promotes asking others for help. Fear of hearing the word *no*.

Knowledge of Spanish

Librado means freed one.

Knowledge of Other Latin American Countries

I feel sorry for people with Fidel Castro.

Helping People

We don't want to make people feel defenseless. Florida is like another Cuba.

Rafael, Open Coding: Meaning UnitsChapter 1

Latino MLK.

Get's Librado as a cool name.

Juan Hernandez.

She speaks indigenous language.

I can kind of relate because of my grandmother.

The way she lives, thinks, has touched me.

She has suffered.

It takes a lot of guts to never turn away somebody.

They don't even have the word airplane.

Common sense things.

She knew so much.

Ghandi.

Practice what you preach.

I don't think religion unites people.

A speech like this would unify the farmers.

I don't believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe.

I think divides the world.

Hated how the Spaniards killed so many Indians.

Spaniards forced them to have this religion.

Praying to a Catholic religion that is not theirs.
 Some of the Indians never mixed.
 So much blood spilled for Christ and the Virgin.
 Unfairness and exploitation happens in Bolivia, too.
 Hugo Chávez is controversial but he has done good for the poor.
 The rich and educated have ruled Bolivia poorly.
 Why not give peasants a chance to rule themselves.
 I'm sure life is the same in Mexico.
 A lot of the poor people are actually more happy.
 Happy with dances, a little bit of food, and their family.
 I think he has a good point about the poor.
 A lot of the poor are more moral than the rich.
 My father is kind of similar and vocal.
 My father didn't finish college.
 He has a passion about politics and speaking up.
 English is hard for him.
 I get my passion from my father.
 His grandfather told stories.
 Grandfather, and my father, and I are connected through stories.
 I'm doing a lot that my dad wasn't able to do so that's interesting.

Plan of Delano

This is a speech.
 He is probably raised speaking English.
 I went to Sacramento once.
 We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us.
 King's speeches.
 The power in his speeches is really cool.
 Reminds me of revolution.
 Che Gueverra.
 Fidel.
 Some are communists they just don't want to admit it.
 I know the name Benito Juarez.
 They fought for their race.
 Immigration reform is ignored.
 The Dream act could have done much good.
 Problems with accessing student loans.
 Minority students should be treated better.
 Are afraid to call the police.
 I told my White friend.
 Everybody hates the other Chávez so we need another.
 He really reaches out to others religion.

Wrong to think that God punishes you.
 Praying not going to do anything.
 He says God will not abandon us.
 Immigrants are made to feel like terrorists.
 If there is a God, we are all from God.
 I don't believe in one religion actually.
 Religion shouldn't oppress.
 I think no one should be above any other religion.
 They are underpaid.
 Don't get any benefits.
 Second class basically.
 Without them others wouldn't have luxuries.
 Grapepickers, construction workers, landscapers, waitresses illegal.
 My American grandparents.
 César reaches out to all different people.
 The farmers were his people.
 But he was also speaking to the media.
 I'm not saying immigrants wouldn't understand.
 Unity theme.
 He uses other people's phrases to support his cause, turns the phrases on them.
 When I was in Bolivia.
 Another state in Bolivia, Cochalama.
 We will keep on fighting.

Textbook

WE are more than African Americans.
 Americans don't have a sense of culture.
 An American life.
 They can't say back in my country in Africa.
 It's Latinos who actually have so much culture.
 We are the ones changing things; we are mixing it even more.
 How many Latinos fought for equal rights.
 We're the most cultural if they are anything.
 Cheech and Chong song.
 Most of the brown people think I'm from Mexico.
 I don't get mad about that like others do.
 Being called a Mexican is not an insult.
 I'm from Bolivia, oh, what part of Mexico is that in.
 They will say they are from Mexico because their parents are from Mexico.
 Against affirmative action.
 Affirmative action is a way of being easy on us.
 Wanted to gather other multicultural students into student council.

I have so much experience, I do stuff for free, it ticks me off.
 They don't want these immigrants, multicultural people.
 I respect eh Cubans, Puerto Ricans.
 Puerto Ricans are playing the victims.
 I hate the Regeton form of dancing, it demeans and hurts women.
 Such dance is making our young women just terrible.
 I equate Puerto Rico with that type of music even though I know they have a
 beautiful culture.
 When I think of Cubans I think baseball.
 Florida is a mix between Las Vegas and San Diego.
 I've been to Florida.
 I think the United Farm Workers still exists.
 One English really ticks me off.
 Bilingual is the right thing to do.
 America was started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being.
 It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language.
 America is not like other countries.
 You can't compare Mexico to America.
 I hate it when immigrant parents are not involved in their kids' lives.
 The kids learn English and a lot of them forget Spanish.
 When I came I didn't know English.
 We were the worst kids in ESL.
 ESL is good. The kids learn English and they get out fast.
 I like what we do with ESL.

Huerta

I went to Bolivia.
 My family respects my dad.
 He was the oldest so he would take care of the rest.
 Didn't have shoes.
 Father teaches story about boys with no foot.
 We always want more things.
 Big issue with materialism.
 Grow up to be communist.
 I was wondering why Hispanic.
 I'm *Mestizo*, too.
 My mother is more proud of her Spanish side.
 My father's side is basically all Indian.
 A lot of times we are being treated by the way we look or where we are from.
 I hate blaming the government.
 You have power over how you feel.
 I kind of feel she is powerful.

Feel powerful when you are an activist but what happens later in life.
My grandmother always stood up for the poor.
She has her own store.
She gives money to the poor ladies in her town.
What Huerta is doing is a great part of history.
It is important to leave a legacy.
People who are activists are often criticized.
Some women just want to grow up to get married, have kids, and that is it.
Such thinking is not really taking women anywhere.
Latinos, we are *machistas*.
My dad is always a *machista*.
My mom didn't let anyone bring her down so that's why they got divorced.
I was hoping would bring up the feminist perspective.
I think that all women are mistreated a lot.
A lot of our Latino women are discriminated against.
The music and music videos are degrading us.
The music is sending a message that we should all be promiscuous.
Latinos have a really bad diet.
Mexico is close to the United States so they adopt a lot of the lazy tendencies as cars go there so easily.
Latino diets are atrocious.
Parents not being involved in their kids' education is a huge thing.
Some parents do not even know their children.
They are not involved.
They must learn English, they can learn English for free.
Latinos, we look like bad people, we fill the stereotypes, as in all we do is be lazy and listen to loud music.
I do respect the LDS and they are doing some good things for Latinos.
Our Bolivian leaders have sold us out.
Leaders are too far away from the people.
I want to create a corporation, I don't want to work for someone else.
The 20th century was full of isms, this has made me reflect on that.
Reminds me of my aunt.
Even with the new leaders in Bolivia you can get political favors.
You can find a lot on YouTube.
I went to the marches here in this state. They were powerful.
We organized.
The local private university wouldn't march because they didn't have any immigrants there.
Those that protest do lose a little bit of life.
I want to go to Bolivia as soon as I'm done with my school.
I want to go to where the core of the problem is.
I know I will be poor.
I want to be involved in exportation.

I know as an activist I will suffer a lot.
 I'm not attracted to the suffering but I am to the sacrifice.
 Helping the poor is double sided.
 Leaders help people believe in themselves.
 Reminds me of Braveheart, too.
 You know you have a good relationship if you are making the other person stronger.
 Hillary Clinton didn't cry on tv.
 Women are emotional by nature.
 Women tend to lean too much on their emotions.
 I'm a girl, I can cry.
 Bill 241 of the House.
 Doubting the school system and the ability to get into college.
 I know she is a girl and she has the right to cry.
 As a man, or as a leader, you are not allowed to break down.
 We keep trying even when things are impossible.
 Women need to get rid of that emotion I guess.
 I agree that men don't know a lot about women.
 Being a *machista* is just a part of Latin culture.
 We have always been *machistas*.
 Probably just my *machista* side talking.
 Women should be independent and look beyond just getting married and raising children.
 A lot of women want to pursue the dream of raising children.

Rafael, Open Coding: Categorization

Comparisons of Leaders

Latino MLK, Juan Hernandez, Gandhi. Everybody hates the other Chávez so we need another. A speech like this would unify the farmers. This is a speech. He is probably raised speaking English. Comparison to King's speeches. The power in his speeches is really cool. But he was speaking to the media. I'm not saying immigrants wouldn't understand. He uses other people's phrases to support his cause—turns the phrases on them. The farmers were his people. Leaders are too far away from the people. Even with the new leaders in Bolivia you can get political favors. Leaders help people believe in themselves. Reminds me of Braveheart, too. You know you have a good relationship if you are making the other person stronger. We keep trying even when things are impossible. Unity: César reaches out to all different people.

Unity Theme

Wanted to gather other multicultural students into student council. I think the United Farm Workers still exists. It is important to leave a legacy.

Dichos

Practice what you preach.

Religion

I don't think religion united people. I don't believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe. So much blood spilled for Christ and the Virgin. He really reaches out to other's religion. Wrong to think God punishes you. Praying is not going to do anything. He says God will not abandon us. If there is a God, we are all from God. I don't believe in one religion actually. Religion shouldn't oppress. I think no one should be above any other religion. I do respect the LDS and they are doing some good things for Latinos.

Other Latin American Connections

I know the name Benito Juarez. I respect Cuban, Puerto Ricans. When I think of Cubans I think baseball.

Race/Ethnicity

They fought for their race. I told my White friend. My American grandparents. We will keep on fighting. We are more than African Americans. American's don't have a sense of culture. An American life. They can't say back in my country in Africa. It's Latinos who actually have so much culture. We are the ones changing things; we are mixing it even more. How many Latinos fought for equal rights. We're the most cultural if they are anything. Most of the brown people think I'm from Mexico. I don't get mad about that like others do. Being called a Mexican is not an insult. I'm from Bolivia, oh, what part of Mexico is that in. They will say they are from Mexico because their parents are from Mexico. They don't want these immigrants, multicultural people. A lot of times we are being treated by the way e look or where we are from. I always wondered why "Hispanic."

Problems Caused by Latinos

Cheech and Chong. Against affirmative action. It is a way of being easy on us. Puerto Ricans are playing the victims. I hate *Regeton* form of dancing. It demeans and hurts women. Such dance is making our young women just terrible. I equate Puerto Rico with that type of music even though I know they have a beautiful culture. I hate it when immigrant parents are not involved in their kid's lives. I hate blaming the government. You have the power over how you feel. The music and music videos are degrading us. The music is sending a message that we should all be promiscuous. Latinos have a really bad diet. Latino diets are atrocious. Mexico is close to the United States so they adopt a lot of the lazy tendencies as cars go there so easily. Latinos, we look like bad people, we fill the stereotypes, as in all we do is be lazy and listened to loud music.

Travel

I went to Sacramento once. When I was in Bolivia. I've been to Florida. Florida is a mix between Las Vegas and San Diego. I went to Bolivia.

Family

My family respects my dad. He was the oldest so he would take care of the rest. This reminds me of my aunt. My father is kind of similar and vocal. My father didn't finish college. He has a passion about politics and speaking up. English is hard for him. I get my passion from my father. I'm doing a lot that my dad wasn't able to and that is interesting. I can relate because of my grandmother. The way she lives, thinks, has touched me. She has suffered. Common sense things. She knew so much. Parents not being involved in their kids' education is a huge thing. Some Latino parents don't even know their own children. They are not involved. His grandfather told stories. Grandfather, and my father, and I are connected through stories.

Immigrants/Immigration

We didn't cross the border; the border crossed us. Immigration reform is ignored. The Dream Act could have done much good. They are afraid to call the police. Immigrants are made to feel like terrorists. They are underpaid. Don't get any benefits. Second class basically. Without them others wouldn't have luxuries. Grapepickers, construction workers, landscapers, waitresses. Only English ticks me off. Bilingual is the right thing to do. America started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being. It is a country of immigrants so you can't have

an official language.

American Politics

America was started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being. It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language. America is not like other countries. You can't compare Mexico to America. Bill 241 on the House

Education

Problems with accessing student loans. Dream Act. Minority students should be treated better. The kids learn English and a lot of them forget Spanish. When I came here I didn't know English. ESL is good. The kids learn English and they get out fast. I like what WE do with ESL. Gets Librado as a cool name. They must learn English, they can learn English for free. We were the worst kids in ESL. Doubting the school system and the ability to get into college

Exploitation/*La Patria*

Unfairness and exploitation happens in Bolivia, too. Hugo Chávez is controversial, but he has done good for the poor. The rich and educated have ruled Bolivia poorly. I'm sure life is the same in Mexico. Another state in Bolivia, Cochalama. They don't even have the word airplane. Hated how the Spaniards killed so many Indians. Spanish forced them to have this religion. Praying to this Catholic religion that is not theirs. Some of the Indians never mixed. I'm *Mestizo*, too. My mother is more proud of her Spanish side. My father's side is basically all Indian. She speaks indigenous language. Our Bolivian leaders have sold us out. I want to go to Bolivia as soon as I'm done with my school.

Economics

I want to create a corporation, I don't want to work for someone else. She has her own store. I know I will be poor. I want to be involved in exportation. Helping the poor is double sided. We always want more things. Big issues with materialism. Grow up to be communist. Didn't have shoes. Father teaches story about boy with no foot. It takes a lot of guts to never turn away somebody. She gives money to the poor. The 20th century was full of isms, this has made me reflect on that.

Gender

I kind of feel she is powerful. What Huerta is doing is a great part of history. Some women just want to grow up to get married, have kids, and that is it. Such thinking is not really taking women anywhere. I was hoping would bring up the feminist perspective. I think all women are mistreated a lot. A lot of our Latino women are discriminated against. Hillary Clinton didn't cry on t.v.; women are emotional by nature. Women tend to lean too much on their emotions. I'm a girl, I can cry. I know she is a girl and she has the right to cry. Women need to get rid of that emotion I guess. I agree that men don't know a lot about women. Women should be independent and look beyond just getting married and raising children. A lot of women want to pursue the dream of raising children. Latinos, we are *machistas*. My dad is always a *machista*. My mom didn't let anyone bring her down so that's why they got divorced. As a man, or as a leader, you are not allowed to break down. Being a *machista* is just a part of Latin culture. We have always been *machistas*. Probably just my *machista* side talking.

Activism

Feel powerful when you are an activist but what happens later in life. My grandmother always stood up for the poor. People who are activists are often criticized. You can find a lot on youtube. I went to the marches here in this state. They were powerful. We organize. The local private university wouldn't march because they didn't have any immigrants there. Those that protest do lose a little bit of life. I want to go to where the core of the problem is. I know as an activist I will suffer a lot. I'm not attracted to the suffering but I am to the sacrifice. Reminds me of revolution. Che Gueverra. Fidel. Some people are communists; they just don't want to admit it.

APPENDIX D

AXIAL CODING⁷

⁷The methodology of open coding, axial coding, and elaborative coding allows for the use of fragmented direct quotes in order to use and categorize the meaning units more effectively. No words or punctuation were added to the quotes in order to preserve the wording of the participants.

Anita: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. Kids in the U.S. don't feel that kind of necessity so it is difficult for them to empathize. My kids play with other diverse kids so they don't feel different. I try and teach my kids good. My *abuelita* influenced me, too. Good memory of my grandmother.

Generational respect. If they don't go back to the country, they do lose their relationship to that country.

Religion. The Virgin is very important in Mexican culture.

Language. Bilingual people are everywhere, at the bank, Walmart. Wherever you go there are Spanish people. I agree with bilingual education.

Women. Women are not willing to fight.

Food. I don't think diabetes is caused because people are Hispanic.

Humanitarian. I don't like to make people feel hopeless and defenseless. There is always someone to help, whether it is you or someone else.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

Self-identification/perception. I don't think I can be like her. My personality wouldn't be about lifting everyone up. She worked on the farm so she understands the situation. Since I don't work on the farm, I don't know what it is like.

Personal connection. I want to know what happened, how long did it last, did it really work, how many people were supporting Chávez. I don't think diabetes is because people are Hispanic.

Navigational knowledge/capital. Don't let it paralyze you.

Immigration. Sadly, Mexicans are still looking for those kind of jobs. Like I said, they feel inferior, that's all their aspirations, they are sad because they can't get better jobs. They feel that this is not their country; they are only here out of necessity.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also trying to find their place in society. When I

think of Miami I think Cubans; Los Angeles equals Mexicans. There is still corruption, looters, on the frontier right now.

Class discrimination/distinctions. Everybody needs everybody, not just the rich need the poor. I think everyone can have a moral life based on good principles, not just the poor.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. A lot of immigrants still feel oppressed. They feel that they can't have good jobs. That they must do hard work and not go to school because they are immigrants. Migrant workers feel like they are being exploited. Perhaps they take advantage of them because they need the work. It is difficult because they feel the racism because they see it everyday. You can feel the social problems in 1968.

Emma: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. My family and I are very close. I'd help my grandfather with his corn and I would help him sell them so he'd have some money. Sometimes give money to my grandmother. I'd also helped my grandfather and aunt. Hard to see my grandparents without enough to eat. I'd give her 20-30 pesos so they would have enough to eat. Family supports me. When a family member asks for help, I am there for them.

Religion. My grandmother is Catholic, but her grandmother is supporting her. It's cute the way grandmother expresses her religion. The Virgen, I'm not sure she appeared to people, I don't know. No I really don't understand what they are saying about the Virgen de Guadalupe. I'm not sure if she is talking about the Catholic church in the U.S.

Language. Being bilingual is very important. My mom wants to read about the election in Spanish to help her make up her mind.

Women. She is a brave woman that is willing to fight. I have a problem with women that don't do anything about. Women don't get valued. There are issues between men and women that you can't compare. I think the woman needs to value herself. As a woman, I've been counseled to listen to people, but especially men.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

Self-identification/perception. I like to fight. I will go against what my mom counsels if it is not what is best for me.

Personal connection. I am starting to make connections to other things I have been reading in this section. I find it interesting. A part of me is from Mexico.

Navigational knowledge/capital. When you are working with people you don't like you have to accept them anyway.

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. I am the only person in my family in college. I am glad I am serving as a role model for my family.

Travel/moving/experiences. My experiences have been very valuable to me. LA, there are a lot stores where there is only Spanish; it feels like we are not in the United States.

Leadership. I agree you can get brainwashed. It also makes me think of the importance of not following other people.

Immigration. They have sacrificed much to do that job. My father came here to the U.S. for a better life. That is why we are here. Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. Yes, they are very hard workers. They work so hard they are killing themselves to make a living wage. At times, they can't be at important family functions because they are working so hard. Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. They know more things about villages or farms. Farm people have more experiences than people from the city.

Undocumented workers. People take advantage of people that don't have papers and pay them less. Or they don't accept them in some place. Discrimination is really hard for those from the other side that don't have legal documents.

Poor. They have strong experiences and that makes them better than those that don't have those kinds of experiences. I'm not sure if it is possible to be without poor people. I want to make sure they don't end up depending on me. Do what is best for them. Yes, those that have the least are also the ones that have at the same time more from their experiences.

Work ethic. Wages make me think of my family. They work real hard and get paid very little. Even a raise makes them and me feel happy because they are working so hard and deserves a raise.

Unification/identification as Latinos. It's okay to get support when you're Hispanic or for people to support each other. We may all have the same types of problems. Hispanics, Latinos they work harder than other people.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I heard something like this of the revolution in Mexico but I don't really remember much.

Stereotype/microaggressions. Hispanics sometimes don't save their money; they spend it on who knows what.

Questioning discrimination. People haven't treated me poorly. I know there is discrimination but I haven't really experienced it.

Social justice/activism. I get involved when I feel I can do something about it or influence people. I will talk to them to get them to understand they have value. I don't just want to help my people. I could do it as a lawyer but it is not in my heart. I counsel people to do what is best for them and not just try and please their family.

Knowledge of American history/politics. Also, students that don't have papers, there is even a move to not give an education to students that don't have papers. In my U.S. history class they were talking about the Depression.

Valeria: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. Mother set an example for him. Grandparents a role model. Parents are role models. Parents help us get through it. You learn it because it is in your blood. You learn your culture from your family. Model how to live your lives. Their examples. I have opinions about culture. In Latino culture everyone is named after everyone else. They will work for their families to fulfill needs.

Religion. Religion helps us make the right decisions. Religion is a big part of our culture. Catholic myself. Virgen of Guadalupe, another thing with Mexicans.

Dichos. Practice what you preach. Ser humilde, tienes que ser humilde.

Men. Men do play games with women.

Charity/relation with the poor. Helping others. Helping others regardless of background, I will treat them all the same

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

Personal connection. Teachers are leaders and role models. This motivates me to read more.

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. My success has made it worth it for them. My success makes everything they have gone through worth it.

Travel/moving experiences. My parents will have to go back to Mexico soon.

Leadership. If you are a big leader people will support you. It is strong.

Disappointment with Latinos. Our hypocrisy and our unfairness does not help the community. Just makes things worse.

Immigration. The Americans really need US. WE suffer more than others.

Undocumented workers. Father in Mexico while she is in the U.S.

Poor. The poor are superior. Poor work to get things. Poor learn a lot more about life. Poor people value what they have more.

Work ethic. It's not about giving me anything: I will work for it. You can do good regardless of your background. Mexicans do jobs others won't. Mexicans value their work.

Unification/identification as Latinos. We have been exploited.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Nobody likes Fidel Castro for obvious reasons. Age discrimination in Mexico. Even with a high education can't do much in Mexico. Unfairness in Mexico.

Class discrimination. Rich people are privileged and don't appreciate what they have. Rich people are also in Mexico. Not true of all rich people. Here in America, mostly spoiled.

Race/ethnic discrimination. Not by the color of their skin. They won't even pick on you because you are Mexican. I was White. Their attitude changed about me when they found out I was Mexican. Mexican race has suffered. As Latinos we

do not have the same opportunities. We work twice or three times as hard than others have to. We are treated as the lowest of the low. They think all of us are down there. Diversity is better. People that like diversity are open-minded. There are people that haven't been there for me just because I am Latino.

Social justice/activism. What they are fighting for is reasonable so they will accomplish it. Unite the people. If we unify we can make a huge difference. A huge difference BEYOND our communities. Get up and fight and give everything. It would take a lot of us. We are united.

Land of opportunity/American ideal. In the U.S. you have more opportunities but it depends on what situation you are in. The Spanish side of me says I should be thankful to be here.

Cassandra: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. You know you can count on your relatives. They have their families to help. Grandmother as a role model. Listening to grandmother and mother is a wise thing to do. I'm glad others care about their children. Your efforts are going to affect your kids.

Religion. Even though I am not a Catholic, there is alike a peace that La Virgen de Guadalupe brings to people. Religion is so powerful. God is so important in my life. I would hope that the rich have morals.

Dichos. Appreciate God in your life and what he does for you. I think of my mother telling us to love everyone. She did teach those lessons. Fish parable.

Women. It's kind of a woman thing that people used to think we couldn't do a lot of things. It's good to hear a woman say all these things. As a woman I can say that sometimes I am afraid to be out there and to be like in a leadership position. Huerta has obviously made a great difference.

Humanitarian. Glad Librado wanted to use his money to help other people. Not a lot of people stop and help. It is so nice to read that people still talk like this. Not a lot of people teach about charity anymore.

Emotional/Personal Connections

Self-identification/perception. I guess there's more of US. Remember that united WE can do so much.

Personal connection. This sounds interesting.

Navigational knowledge/capital. You have to move on past the negative experiences but they do catch you off guard. You can't let people you don't like get in the way of your job.

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. Reading about their struggles makes me want to work harder. My family and how much my parents have suffered.

Leadership. I want to make a difference in a leadership position so it is not about the money. There are connections between the past and today in terms of becoming a leader and making mistakes. We want someone we can trust, that will represent us. I don't know if being a leader has to do with race.

Materialism. I hope I'm not materialistic. I am against materialism.

Inter-/Intra-Latin American Knowledge/Connections

Immigration. Come because they want a better life.

Poor. Poor people do appreciate things more.

Discrimination

Racial/ethnic discrimination. It is nice to hear when Latinos began to take pride and their history. I think it is so important. It is good not to forget where you came from. Don't try and erase people's language and culture from them. People from your race. People getting low wages has been going on for so long. It is WORSE for people to discriminate because of the way people talk, or language. Discrimination is always wrong.

Social justice/activism. César wants to change something is unjust. God-given rights. We will sacrifice, fight, for justice. They choose to stand up. Everyone wants to be treated equally. Quotes MLK Jr. about always standing up. Always have an opportunity to do something. You are not the only person out there trying to make changes. Now you have two people trying to improve conditions.

Americanization

Generational conflicts. It may be the present culture but we should try and be more united as families.

Education. Teachers could do little things, as were done for my parents, as in Spanish and English. I was told there is no money in elementary education. Retracts from a teacher being in a leadership position.

Jay T: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. Parents taught us. My brother tried to teach me to learn from his mistakes but I didn't. I didn't want to learn from his lesson. It is good to learn from others' mistakes. My grandma too was a big influence. Mama Lucita had a grand influence on my life. Abuelita, just the love she had. She took care of us a lot, it meant more than words. Debate as a family. Mama Lucita, not *Mama Tella*.

Religion. I was raised Catholic. Everybody in Mexico is Catholic. Church unifies but it also is a double-sided sword. Religion is a two-sided sword. Always loved La Virgen for some reason, I know she is love. Religion is like a business. It has brought some good here. It is hard to leave, it is almost impossible. God helps you if you help yourself, if you take action. For including all religions. Not just stuck on Catholic, open-minded.

Language. I'm proud in a way that I'm speaking Spanish.

Dichos. To live and let live. Act out what you say. Practice what you preach. Love others and show it. Live and learn. Fishing parable.

Men. Men in the past have been the ones to take over but now there are steps toward new changes.

Women. Some women are stronger than others. Some women just want to be mothers. I guess it's pretty even. All women and men should be equal. I'm kind of scared of how a woman will run this country. I don't think women are the same as men; they have a different way, different days with emotional problems

Humanitarian. Helping others regardless of their background. Never turned away anyone that came for food.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

La patria/colonization. The Mayas had their intelligence. The Mayas must have become one. Spaniards knew how to take over. What if the native had known how to combat the Spanish.

Self-identification/perception. I have troubles expressing myself, need to practice my public speaking. Making mistakes is learning. I'm not asking questions within a classroom setting. I want to be directed the right way. It's a colonial phrase, I'm not sure about that.

Personal connection. To Hispanics getting diabetes. I just keep agreeing with everything he says. Makes me want to do something. Makes me want to get involved and do better stuff. Like César I'll overcome sickness and still do what I need to do.

Navigational knowledge/capital. Discusses obstacles, knowing how to do them and live with some of them.

Travel/moving experiences. Discusses constant movement of his family. Parents always looking for something better paying.

Leadership. Leaders that don't know how to lead correctly. He thought out everything well. She is a good person. Gandhi, Virgen, Mother Theresa are good people. He's a very good man, he knows what he is saying, he's a good guy. Good way of thinking. The Plan of Delano is something that will do good. Real good thing. César is in the right path. He is a good guy. A good person. Love for his people

Materialism. Taught us not to be materialistic. I wanted, in the past, to be rich. Money changes people. Money brings greed, possession, and that's just bad. Doesn't care about having a lot of money, just wants to be happy and love. Materialism takes control of us a lot. No pay equals someone close to God. We were not always given everything; you appreciate and are raised with what little you have.

Immigration. Half *Hondureno*, half *Boliviano*.

Undocumented workers. People coming here illegally. They come here to do good, to make lives better. They are not coming here to disrupt anything.

Unification/identification as Latinos. Better as one. We're always separated; unification. We are all in the same boat. Best for all of us to unify. When united we are stronger. There is so much division in the world. We all need to share and

be equal. We are all Latinos. We are all equal. Love, just love. Love for kids.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies.
Fidel Castro had the right way of thinking. Socialist way.

Class discrimination or distinction. Separation of social classes. Poor class, and rich class. Everybody deserves to eat, to have something. The poor do work hard. The poor work hard their whole lives and never go up. Will lift us from what we are doing.

Exploitation. Exploitation of poor, the worker, we should have some kind of fairness. workers are working like slaves for little money.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. I am color blind, I wouldn't vote for someone because of their color. I never knew it was from the word Mexicano.

Social justice/activism. Che Gueverra; socialist views; underground rapper; Rapper and César have the same principles and messages. *Revolucion*, change, Revolution is for the betterment of humanity. Everyone want to fight for social justice. God-given rights as a human being. I like that the textbook says Latinos work for equal rights. Aztlán or something. *Recompensa*. Some sacrifice. He is real strong. Don't let others tell you what is right. Unified people can't be stopped especially if they have something to fight for.

Land of opportunity/American ideal. I love this country from the bottom of my heart. I would fight to protect this country but only if it was being invaded.

Knowledge of American history/politics. People in other countries feel that we are invading them and that is why they fight.

Letty: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Generational respect. This generation does not take care of their grandpas. Talking to grandfather or treating a parent as an equal. "But here it is like, who cares."

Religion. The Virgin is part of their belief. I was Catolica. César is real strong. Under the virgin, THEY became more unified and stronger. I served a mission. For us the Virgin is not that strong.

Language. Language unifies us. Should be grateful. Being Latino is not bad—happy to have two cultures and two languages.

Dichos. Practice what you preach.

Men. Men take advantage of women.

Women. It is not true anymore that women are not willing to fight. In our country there is a lot of discrimination against women. Women going along with such discrimination is changing. Great women, follow their example.

Humanitarian. Helping others. César E. Chávez was caring about his people.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

Travel/moving experiences. More Mexican markets, Bolivian markets.

Leadership. When money is your first goal, it is hard to fight for what is right. Librado was a good man. Supposed to be. Good example. César was a pretty good man.

Materialism. Reason people come here is basically about money. Better tv. What are you going to do to support your community? What will you have left? Money can force people to do bad things like sell drugs.

Immigration. They come for a better life, better education. If they came to work, then I don't know what is the problem? Don't get paid what Americans get.

Poor. I don't agree that only the poor lead moral lives. Poor people can be corrupt, too. People's minds can be corrupted. We have to be careful how we help the poor. Will take advantage of the system.

Unification/identification as Latinos. If you are united. We just believe what is up there. WE need to be careful who we follow.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Things benefit the U.S. Take advantage of poor people. Business gives people jobs and that's a good thing. They pay poor people better. Could make poor people's lives better. Puerto Ricans have privileges. Puerto Ricans don't have to do the things we have to do.

Race/ethnic discrimination. Discrimination against Mexicans.

Discrimination against all Latin American people. Racism is still here. Americans look at us as a lower race. Americans do not feel we are equal to them; we are an inferior race. Being Hispanic is a lot of work. It is not easy being a minority. Minorities have all these issues they must contend with. Racism is everywhere. Racism is between Mexicans, Dominicans, people from Peru, everywhere. We also hate each other Immigrants are forced to change their lifestyle to this country.

Questioning discrimination. Were people here not giving them their rights? Complaining to the government.

Social justice/activism. Want to change things, fix the problem. Fight for what is right. One person can make a difference. Our children. Better future for their children. Better future for themselves. Basic human rights, shouldn't be less than anyone else. They were oppressed.

Generational conflicts. This generation does not take care of their grandpas. Talking to grandfather or treating a parent as an equal. "But here it is like, who cares." This generation of Latinos does not want to be part of the culture or speak Spanish.

Land of opportunity/American ideal. Even Americans go and shop there. Culture is kind of integrating now. Signs are in Spanish. If you have the numbers things can change. Businesses make changes first.

Robby: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. My dad really close to his grandma. Lot of memories of his great grandma. My great grandma always making a point about her experiences. My mom would say that she got it from her mama. Parenting needs work today.

Religion. Negative about Catholic church theology, including the Virgin. Many connections to LDS church. I was blessed to be born at a later time. The Catholic Church is double sided.

Language. Being bilingual was appreciated by others and helped me get a job.

Dichos. Grandma always telling me stories to shape me up. Practice what you preach. Experiences is the best teacher.

Women. We joke around but we are pretty much serious how we don't want to marry a Latin girl because their emotions are like that, their emotions are what they run on.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

Personal connection. César Julio Chávez is a fighter. My dad is a big fan of boxing. Rich Mexican tradition.

Disappointment with Latinos. They are making excuses; that's bull.

Materialism. Dad owns a lot of businesses. I work for my dad. The whole world has to get over the idea of having money. Everybody, it's like their pride and joy. Mom told me to do what I love to do.

Unification/identification as Latinos. Only two kinds in the Latin community. Either stick together or they look at you dirty and won't talk to you for 20 years. Latins are really really united. My mom's family, they are not united like my dad's family.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Cuba equals Castro and everyone is waiting for him to die. They even talk about Benito in Guatemala.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. Told of his dad's experience of getting stopped for driving DWL but he states it as is no big deal because his dad had influential contacts on the city council. I was the kid Latins didn't like. I called them purebred. They didn't like me because I didn't hang out with them. I wasn't gangster like them. I was with the rich White people.

Questioning discrimination. I never had to witness any discrimination.

Social justice/activism. You have to make a stand against being treated unfairly. Fight for what is right is good but it is better to strive for win, win. Challenging is good. Always talking about how life was unfair.

Knowledge of American history/politics. When I think of forced migration I think of the Native American Trail of Tears.

Dolores: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Generational respect. Wisdom in grandmother's words. *Mama Tella* is like a mom to him. Relationships within families are breaking down. The established generation does not have the respect it used to.

Religion. César is strong in his faith. I'm Catholic so I came on strong in my religion, I just like how he always refers to the Virgin all the time. I admire him for including the prayers of all religions. He is very spiritual.

Language. *Librado* means freed one.

Dichos. I hear the quote: "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz" all the time from my mom.

Women. I admire her because she is a woman and she did all that. It is just amazing. I would be so scared. I am not like that. Some women think men are always right. Some women are not willing to fight. Huerta is right about what she says about women. All her work has paid off. She is a hard working mom. Women do let our emotions get in the way.

Humanitarian. Offering food to others. We don't want to make people feel defenseless.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

La patria/colonization. I didn't know he lived in Mexico.

Self-identification/perception. It's weird how some people are always asking the question about what we should call OURSELVES.

Personal connection. Sometimes we are afraid to ask for help. I'm glad that she promotes asking others for help. Fear of hearing the word, "no." Diets are atrocious.

Navigational knowledge/capital. In hard working situations you just forget about everything, just work. That's what you have to do.

Materialism. As Latinos there is too much of a focus on money.

Immigration. We can just cross over the border.

Poor. Poor people are the ones that live a moral life. They do all the work. They do all the work and sweat all day. I'm glad for the workers getting higher wages. I never saw it's the ranchers trying to keep US weak.

Unification/identification as Latinos. I think we forget what unity is about.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I feel sorry for people with Fidel Castro. Florida is like another Cuba.

Class discrimination. I never saw it's the ranchers trying to keep us weak.

Rafael: Axial Coding

Cultural Mores

Families. My family respects my dad. He was the oldest so he would take care of the rest. This reminds me of my aunt. I'm doing a lot that my dad wasn't able to and that is interesting. I can relate because of my grandmother. She knew so much. Parents not being involved in their kids' education is a huge thing. His father told stories. Grandfather, and my father, and I are connected through stories. My mother is more proud of her Spanish side. My father's side is basically all Indian."

Generational respect. The way she lives, thinks, common sense things, she has touched me. She has suffered. She speaks indigenous language.

Religion. I don't think religion united people. I don't believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe. So much blood spilled for Christ and the Virgin. César really reaches out to others' religion. Wrong to think God punishes you. Praying is not going to do anything. César says God will not abandon us. If there is a God, we are all from God. I don't believe in one religion actually. Religion shouldn't oppress. I think no one should be above any other religion. I do respect the LDS and they are doing some good things for Latinos.

Language.: English is hard for him. He is probably raised speaking English. Only English ticks me off. Bilingual is the right thing to do. It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language. Librado as a cool name.

Dichos. Practice what you preach. Fish parable.

Men. I agree that men don't know a lot about women. Latinos, we are *machistas*. My dad is always a *machista*. As a man, or as a leader, you are not

allowed to break down. Being a *machista* is just a part of Latin culture. We have always been *machistas*. Probably just my *machista* side talking.

Women. I kind of feel she is powerful. What Huerta is doing is a great part of history. Some women just want to grow up to get married, have kids, and that is it. Such thinking is not really taking women anywhere. I was hoping would bring up the feminist perspective. I think all women are mistreated a lot. A lot of our Latino women are discriminated against. Hillary Clinton didn't cry on t.v. Women are emotional by nature. Women tend to lean too much on their emotions. I'm a girl, I can cry. I know she is a girl and she has the right to cry. Women need to get rid of that emotion I guess. Women should be independent and look beyond just getting married and raising children. A lot of women want to pursue the dream of raising children. My mom didn't let anyone bring her down so that's why they got divorced.

Humanitarian. She has her own store. She gives money to the poor. It takes a lot of guts to never turn away somebody.

Knowledge of Fact and Issues Related to Latin America

La patria/colonization. Unfairness and exploitation happens in Bolivia, too. Hugo Chávez is controversial, but he has done good for the poor. The rich and educated have ruled Bolivia poorly. I'm sure life is the same in Mexico. Our Bolivian leaders have sold us out. I want to go to Bolivia as soon as I'm done with my school.

Self-identification/perception. I'm *Mestizo*, too. I always wondered why "Hispanic."

Personal connection. The 20th century was full of isms; this has made me reflect on that. I want to create a corporation; I don't want to work for someone else. I want to be involved in exportation.

Travel/moving experiences. I went to Sacramento once. When I was in Bolivia. I've been to Florida. Florida is a mix between Las Vegas and San Diego. I went to Bolivia.

Leadership. Latino MLK, Juan Hernandez, Gandhi. Everybody hates the other Chávez so we need another. Leaders are too far away from the people. Even with the new leaders in Bolivia you can get political favors. Leaders help people believe in themselves. Reminds me of Braveheart, too. You know you have a good relationship if you are making the other person stronger. We keep trying even when things are impossible.

Rhetoric. A speech like this would unify the farmers. Comparison to King's speeches. The power in his speeches is really cool. But he was speaking to the media. I'm not saying immigrants wouldn't understand. He uses other people's phrases to support his cause—turns the phrases on them. The farmers were his people.

Disappointment with Latinos. Puerto Ricans are playing the victims. I hate *Regeton* form of dancing. It demeans and hurts women. Such dance is making our young women just terrible. I equate Puerto Rico with that type of music even though I know they have a beautiful culture. I hate it when immigrant parents are not involved in their kid's lives. I hate blaming the government. You have the power over how you feel. The music and music videos are degrading us. The music is sending a message that we should all be promiscuous. Latinos have a really bad diet. Latino diets are atrocious. Mexico is close to the United States so they adopt a lot of the lazy tendencies as cars go there so easily. Latinos, we look like bad people, we fill the stereotypes, as in all we do is be lazy and listened to loud music. Some Latino parents don't even know their own children. They are not involved.

Materialism. We always want more things. Big issues with materialism. Didn't have shoes. Father teaches story about boy with no foot.

Immigration. We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us.

Undocumented workers. They are afraid to call the police. Immigrants are made to feel like terrorists. They are underpaid. Don't get any benefits. Second class basically. Without them others wouldn't have luxuries. Grapepickers, construction workers, landscapers, waitresses.

Unification/identification as Latinos. César reaches out to all different people. Wanted to gather other multicultural students into student council.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I know the name Benito Juarez. I respect Cuban, Puerto Ricans. When I think of Cubans I think baseball. Helping the poor is double-sided. Another state in Bolivia, Cochalama. They don't even have the word airplane. Hated how the Spaniards killed so many Indians. Spanish forced them to have this religion. Praying to this Catholic religion that is not theirs. Some of the Indians never mixed.

Discrimination

Racial/ethnic discrimination. They fought for their race. I told my White friend. My American grandparents. We will keep on fighting. We are more than

African Americans. American's don't have a sense of culture. An American life. They can't say back in my country in Africa. It's Latinos who actually have so much culture. We are the ones changing things; we are mixing it even more. How many Latinos fought for equal rights. We're the most cultural if they are anything. Most of the brown people think I'm from Mexico. I don't get mad about that like others do. Being called a Mexican is not an insult. I'm from Bolivia. Oh, what part of Mexico is that in. They will say they are from Mexico because their parents are from Mexico. They don't want these immigrants, multicultural people. A lot of times we are being treated by the way we look or where we are from.

Stereotypes/microabrasions. Cheech and Chong.

Social justice/activism. Feel powerful when you are an activist but what happens later in life. My grandmother always stood up for the poor. People who are activists are often criticized. I went to the marches here in this state. They were powerful. We organized. The local private university wouldn't march because they didn't have any immigrants there. Those that protest do lose a little bit of life. I want to go to where the core of the problem is. I know as an activist I will suffer a lot. I'm not attracted to the suffering but I am to the sacrifice. Reminds me of revolution. Che Gueverra. Fidel. Some people are communists; they just don't want to admit it. My father is kind of similar and vocal. My father didn't finish college. He has a passion about politics and speaking up. I get my passion from my father. I think the United Farm Workers still exists. It is important to leave a legacy. I know I will be poor. Grow up to be communist.

Knowledge of American history/politics. America was started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being. It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language. America is not like other countries. You can't compare Mexico to America. Bill 241 on the House. Against affirmative action—it is a way of being easy on us. Immigration reform is ignored. The Dream Act could have done much good.

Education. Problems with accessing student loans. Dream Act. Minority students should be treated better. The kids learn English and a lot of them forget Spanish. When I came here I didn't know English. ESL is good. The kids learn English and they get out fast. I like what WE do with ESL. They must learn English; they can learn English for free. We were the worst kids in ESL. Doubting the school system and the ability to get into college.

APPENDIX E

ELABORATIVE CODING⁸

⁸The methodology of open coding, axial coding, and elaborative coding allows for the use of fragmented direct quotes in order to use and categorize the meaning units more effectively. No words or punctuation were added to the quotes in order to preserve the wording of the participants.

Anita: Elaborative Coding

Social

Humanitarian. I don't like to make people feel hopeless and defenseless. There is always someone to help, whether it is you or someone else. Everybody needs everybody, not just the rich need the poor

Navigational

Don't let it paralyze you.

Aspirational

Immigration. Sadly, Mexicans are still looking for those kind of jobs. Like I said, they feel inferior, that's all their aspirations, they are sad because they can't get better jobs. They feel that this is not their country; they are only here out of necessity.

Familial

Class discrimination/distinctions. I think everyone can have a moral life based on good principles, not just the poor.

Families. Kids in the U.S. don't feel that kind of necessity so it is difficult for them to empathize. My kids play with other diverse kids so they don't feel different. I try and teach my kids good. My abuelita influenced me, too. Good memory of my grandmother.

Linguistic

Language. Bilingual people are everywhere, at the bank, Walmart. Wherever you go there are Spanish people. I agree with bilingual education.

Resistant

Women. Women are not willing to fight.

Other/Content

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also trying to find their place in society. When I think of Miami I think Cubans, Los Angeles equals Mexicans. There is still corruption, looters, on the frontier right now.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. A lot of immigrants still feel oppressed. They feel that they can't have good jobs. That they must do hard work and not go to school because they are immigrants. Migrant workers feel like they are being exploited. Perhaps they take advantage of them because they need the work. It is difficult because they feel the racism because they see it everyday. You can feel the social problems in 1968. She worked on the farm so she understands the situation. Since I don't work on the farm, I don't know what it is like.

Religion. The Virgin is very important in Mexican culture.

Emma: Elaborative CodingSocial

Unification/identification as Latinos. It's okay to get support when you're Hispanic or for people to support each other. We may all have the same types of problems.

Navigational

Women. I have a problem with women that don't do anything about. Women don't get valued. I think the woman needs to value herself. As a woman, I've been counseled to listen to people, but especially men.

Navigational knowledge/capital. When you are working with people you don't like you have to accept them anyway.

Leadership. I agree you can get brainwashed. It also makes me think of the importance of not following other people.

Aspirational

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. I am the only person in my family in college. I am glad I am serving as a role model for my family.

Immigration. They have sacrificed much to do that job. My father came here to the U.S. for a better life. That is why we are here.

Familial

Families. My family and I are very close. I'd help my grandfather with his corn and I would help him sell them so he'd have some money. Sometimes give money to my grandmother. I'd also helped my grandfather and aunt. Hard to see my grandparents without enough to eat. I'd give her 20-30 pesos so they would have enough to eat. Family supports me. When a family member asks for help, I am there for them.

Religion. My grandmother is Catholic. It's cute the way grandmother expresses her religion. Hispanics, Latinos they work harder than other people.

Poor. They have strong experiences and that makes them better than those that don't have those kinds of experiences. I'm not sure if it is possible to be without poor people. I want to make sure they don't end up depending on me. Do what is best for them. Yes, those that have the least are also the ones that have at the same time more from their experiences.

Linguistic

Language. Being bilingual is very important. My mom wants to read about the election in Spanish to help her make up her mind. LA, there are a lot stores where there is only Spanish, it feels like we are not in the United States.

Resistant

Self-identification/perception. I like to fight. I will go against what my mom counsels if it is not what is best for me.

Social justice/activism. I get involved when I feel I can do something about it or influence people. I will talk to them to get them to understand they have value. I don't just want to help my people. I could do it as a lawyer but it is not in my heart. I counsel people to do what is best for them and not just try and please their family.

Other/Content

Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. Yes, they are very hard workers. They work so hard they are killing themselves to make a living wage. At times, they can't be at important family functions because they are working so hard. Because they come from ranches they are used to working hard. They know more things about villages or farms. Farm people have more experiences than people from the city.

Undocumented workers. People take advantage of people that don't have papers and pay them less. Or they don't accept them in some place. Discrimination is really hard for those from the other side that don't have legal documents.

Work ethic. Wages makes me think of my family. They work real hard and get paid very little. Even a raise makes them and me feel happy because they are working so hard and deserves a raise.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I heard something like this of the revolution in Mexico but I don't really remember much.

Knowledge of American history/politics. Also, students that don't have papers, there is even a move to not give an education to students that don't have papers. In my U.S. history class they were talking about the Depression.

Questioning discrimination. People haven't treated me poorly. I know there is discrimination but I haven't really experienced it.

Valeria: Elaborative CodingSocial

Charity/relation with the poor. Helping others. Helping others regardless of background, I will treat them all the same.

Navigational

Work ethic. It's not about giving me anything: I will work for it. You can do good regardless of your background. Mexicans do jobs others won't. Mexicans value their work.

Social justice/activism. What they are fighting for is reasonable so they will accomplish it.

Aspirational

Personal connection. Teachers are leaders and role models. This motivates me to read more.

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. My success has made it worth it for them. My success makes everything they have gone through worth it.

Travel/moving experiences. My parents will have to go back to Mexico soon.

Land of opportunity/American ideal. In the U.S. you have more opportunities but it depends on what situation you are in. The Spanish side of me says I should be thankful to be here

Poor. The poor are superior. Poor work to get things. Poor learn a lot more about life. Poor people value what they have more.

Familial

Families. Mother set an example for him. Grandparents a role model. Parents are role models. Parents help us get through it. You learn it because it is in your blood. You learn your culture from your family. Model how to live your lives. Their examples. I have opinions about culture. In Latino culture everyone is named after everyone else. They will work for their families to fulfill needs.

Religion. Religion helps us make the right decisions. Religion is a big part of our culture. Catholic myself.

Linguistic

Dichos. Practice what you preach. Ser humilde, tienes que ser humilde.

Resistance

If we unify, we can make a huge difference. A huge difference beyond our communities. Get up and fight and give everything. It would take a lot of us.

Content/Other

Men. Men do play games with women.

Leadership. If you are a big leader people will support you. It is strong.

Immigration. The Americans really need US. WE suffer more than others.

Undocumented workers. Father in Mexico while she is in the U.S.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies.
Nobody likes Fidel Castro for obvious reasons. Age discrimination in Mexico.
Even with a high education can't do much in Mexico. Unfairness in Mexico.

Unification/identification as Latinos. We have been exploited.

Class discrimination. Rich people are privileged and don't appreciate what they have. Rich people are also in Mexico. Not true of all rich people. Here in America, mostly spoiled.

Race/ethnic discrimination. Not by the color of their skin. They won't even pick on you because you are Mexican. I was White. Their attitude changed about me when they found out I was Mexican. Mexican race has suffered. As Latinos we do not have the same opportunities. We work twice or three times as hard than others have to. We are treated as the lowest of the low. They think all of us are down there. Diversity is better. People that like diversity are open minded. There are people that haven't been there for me just because I am Latino.

Disappointment with Latinos. Our hypocrisy and our unfairness does not help the community. Just makes things worse.

Virgen of Guadalupe, another thing with Mexicans.

Cassandra: Elaborative CodingSocial

Humanitarian. Glad Librado wanted to use his money to help other people. Not a lot of people stop and help Not a lot of people teach about charity anymore.

Navigational

Racial/ethnic discrimination. It is nice to hear when Latinos began to take pride and their history. I think it is so important. It is good not to forget where you came from. Don't try and erase people's language and culture from them.

Navigational knowledge/capital. You have to move on past the negative experiences but they do catch you off guard. You can't let people you don't like get in the way of your job.

Self-identification/perception. I guess there's more of US. Remember that united WE can do so much.

Leadership. I want to make a difference in a leadership position so it is not about the money. There are connections between the past and today in terms of becoming a leader and making mistakes. We want someone we can trust, that will represent us. I don't know if being a leader has to do with race.

Aspirational

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. Reading about their struggles makes me want to work harder. My family and how much my parents have suffered.

Familial

Generational conflicts. It may be the present culture but we should try and be more united as families.

Families. You know you can count on your relatives. They have their families to help. Grandmother as a role model. Listening to grandmother and mother is a wise thing to do. I'm glad others care about their children. Your efforts are going to affect your kids.

Religion. Even though I am not a Catholic, there is a like a peace that La Virgen de Guadalupe brings to people. Religion is so powerful. God is so important in my life.

Linguistic

Dichos. Appreciate God in your life and what he does for you. I think of my mother telling us to love everyone. She did teach those lessons. Fish parable.

Education. Teachers could do little things, as were done for my parents, as in Spanish and English.

Resistant

Social justice/activism. César wants to change something is unjust. God-given rights. We will sacrifice, fight, for justice. They choose to stand up. Everyone wants to be treated equally. Quotes MLK Jr. about always standing up. Always have an opportunity to do something. You are not the only person out there trying to make changes. Now you have two people trying to improve conditions.

Other/Content

People getting low wages has been going on for so long.

It's kind of a woman thing that people used to think we couldn't do a lot of things.

Jay T: Elaborative Coding

Social Capital

Religion. I was raised Catholic. Church unifies but it also is a double-sided sword. Religion is a two-sided sword. Always loved La Virgen for some reason, I know she is love.

Humanitarian. Helping others regardless of their background. Never turned away anyone that came for food.

Navigational Capital

Navigational knowledge/capital. Makes me want to do something. Makes me want to get involved and do better stuff. Like César I'll overcome sickness and still do what I need to do. Discusses obstacles, knowing how to do them and live with some of them.

Unification/identification as Latinos. Better as one. We're always separated; unification. We are all in the same boat. Best for all of us to unify. When united we are stronger. There is so much division in the world. We all need to share and

be equal. We are all Latinos. We are all equal. Love, just love. Love for kids. God helps you if you help yourself, if you take action.

Aspirational Capital

Travel/moving experiences. Discusses constant movement of his family. Parents always looking for something better paying.

Land of opportunity/American ideal. I love this country from the bottom of my heart. I would fight to protect this country but only if it was being invaded.

Familial Capital

Families. Parents taught us. My brother tried to teach me to learn from his mistakes but I didn't. I didn't want to learn from his lesson. It is good to learn from others' mistakes. My grandma too was a big influence. Mama Lucita had a grand influence on my life. Abuelita, just the love she had. She took care of us a lot, it meant more than words. Debate as a family.

Materialism. Taught us not to be materialistic. I wanted, in the past, to be rich. Money changes people. Money brings greed, possession, and that's just bad. Doesn't care about having a lot of money, just wants to be happy and love. Materialism takes control of us a lot. No pay equals someone close to God. We were not always given everything, you appreciate and are raised with what little you have.

Linguistic Capital

Language. I'm proud in a way that I'm speaking Spanish.

Dichos. To live and let live. Act out what you say. Practice what you preach. Love others and show it. Live and learn. Fishing parable.

Resistant Capital

Racial/ethnic discrimination. I am color blind; I wouldn't vote for someone because of their color.

Social justice/activities. Che Gueverra; socialist views; underground rapper. Rapper and César have the same principles and messages. *Revolucion*, change,

Revolution is for the betterment of humanity. Everyone want to fight for social justice. God-given rights as a human being. I like that the textbook says Latinos work for equal rights. Aztlan or something. Recompensa. Some sacrifice. He is real strong. Don't let others tell you what is right Unified people can't be stopped especially if they have something to fight for. Exploitation of poor, the worker, we should have some kind of fairness. Workers are working like slaves for little money.

Cultural Content Area Knowledge

Men. Men in the past have been the ones to take over but now there are steps toward new changes.

Women. Some women are stronger than others. Some women just want to be mothers. I guess it's pretty even. All women and men should be equal. I'm kind of scared of how a woman will run this country. I don't think women are the same as men; they have a different way, different days with emotional problems.

La patria/colonization. The Mayas had their intelligence. The Mayas must have become one. Spaniards knew how to take over. What if the native had known how to combat the Spanish.

Immigration. Half *Hondureno*, half *Boliviano*.

Undocumented workers. People coming here illegally. They come here to do good, to make lives better. They are not coming here to disrupt anything.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Fidel Castro had the right way of thinking. Socialist way.

Class discrimination or distinction. Separation of social classes. Poor class, and rich class. The poor work hard their whole lives and never go up.

Knowledge of American history/politics. People in other countries feel that we are invading them and that is why they fight.

Knowledge of traditional Latino religious views. Everybody in Mexico is Catholic.

Letty: Elaborative CodingNavigational

WE need to be careful who we follow.

Great women, follow their example.

Aspirational

Better future for their children. Better future for themselves.

Familial

Generational respect. This generation does not take care of their grandpas. Talking to grandfather or treating a parent as an equal. “But here it is like, who cares.”

Linguistic

Language: Language unifies us. Should be grateful: being Latino is not bad—happy to have two cultures and two languages.

Dichos. Practice what you preach. This generation of Latinos does not want to be part of the culture or speak Spanish.

Resistant

Social justice/activism. Want to change things, fix the problem. Fight for what is right. One person can make a difference. Our children. Basic human rights, shouldn't be less than anyone else. They were oppressed.

When money is your first goal, it is hard to fight for what is right.

Other/Content

Religion. The Virgin is part of their belief. For us the Virgin is not that strong.

Men. Men take advantage of women.

Women. It is not true anymore that women are not willing to fight. In our country there is a lot of discrimination against women. Women going along with such discrimination is changing.

Travel/moving experiences. More Mexican markets, Bolivian markets. Money can force people to do bad things like sell drugs.

Immigration. They come for a better life, better education.

Poor. I don't agree that only the poor lead moral lives. Poor people can be corrupt, too. People's minds can be corrupted. We have to be careful how we help the poor. Will take advantage of the system.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Things benefit the U.S. Take advantage of poor people. Business gives people jobs and that's a good thing. They pay poor people better. Could make poor people's lives better. Puerto Ricans have privileges. Puerto Ricans don't have to do the things we have to do.

Race/ethnic discrimination. Discrimination against Mexicans. Discrimination against all Latin American people. Racism is still here. Americans look at us as a lower race. Americans do not feel we are equal to them, we are an inferior race. Being Hispanic is a lot of work. It is not easy being a minority. Minorities have all these issues they must contend with. Racism is everywhere. Racism is between Mexicans, Dominicans, people from Peru, everywhere. We also hate each other Immigrants are forced to change their lifestyle to this country.

Robby: Elaborative Coding

Navigational

Social justice/activism. You have to make a stand against being treated unfairly. Fight for what is right is good but it is better to strive for win, win. Challenging is good. Always talking about how life was unfair.

Disappointment with Latinos. They are making excuses; that's bull.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. Told of his dad's experience of getting stopped for driving DWL but he states it is no big deal because his dad had influential contacts on the city council.

Aspirational

Materialism. The whole world has to get over the idea of having money. Everybody, it's like their pride and joy. Mom told me to do what I love to do.

Familial

Families. My dad really close to his grandma. Lot of memories of his great grandma. My great grandma always making a point about her experiences. My mom would say that she got it from her mama. Parenting needs work today. Latins are really really united. My mom's family, they are not united like my dad's family.

Linguistic

Language. Being bilingual was appreciated by others and helped me get a job.

Dichos. Grandma always telling me stories to shape me up. Practice what you preach. Experiences is the best teacher.

Resistant

Self-identification/perception. I was the kid Latins didn't like. I called them purebred. They didn't like me because I didn't hang out with them. I wasn't gangster like them. I was with the rich White people.

Other/Cultural Content Knowledge

Knowledge of American history/politics. When I think of forced migration I think of the Native American Trail of Tears.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. Cuba equals Castro and everyone is waiting for him to die. They even talk about Benito in Guatemala. Dad owns a lot of businesses. I work for my dad.

Personal connection. César Julio Chávez is a fighter. My dad is a big fan of boxing. Rich Mexican tradition.

Dolores: Elaborative Coding

Social

Humanitarian. Offering food to others. We don't want to make people feel defenseless.

Navigational

Women. Some women think men are always right. Some women are not willing to fight. Huerta is right about what she says about women. Women do let our emotions get in the way.

Self-identification/perception. It's weird how some people are always asking the question about what we should call OURSELVES.

Personal connection. Sometimes we are afraid to ask for help. I'm glad that she promotes asking others for help.

Navigational knowledge/capital. In hard working situations you just forget about everything, just work. That's what you have to do.

Unification/identification as Latinos. I think we forget what unity is about.

Aspirational

Fulfillment of family's aspirations. As Latinos there is too much of a focus on money.

Familial

Generational respect. Wisdom in grandmother's words; *Mama Tella* is like a mom to him. Relationships within families are breaking down. The established generation does not have the respect it used to.

Religion. I'm Catholic so I came on strong in my religion. I just like how he always refers to the Virgin all the time.

Poor. Poor people are the ones that live a moral life; they do all the work; they do all the work and sweat all day; I'm glad for the workers getting higher wages.

Linguistic

Language. Librado means freed one.

Dichos. I hear the quote: “El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz” all the time from my mom.

Content/Other

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I feel sorry for people with Fidel Castro. Florida is like another Cuba.

Rafael: Elaborative CodingSocial Capital

Humanitarian. She has her own store. She gives money to the poor. It takes a lot of guts to never turn away somebody.

Leadership. Leaders are too far away from the people. Even with the new leaders in Bolivia you can get political favors. Leaders help people believe in themselves. Reminds me of Braveheart, too. Wanted to gather other multicultural students into student council.

Navigational Capital

Stereotypes/microabrasions. Cheech and Chong.

Aspirational Capital

Education. Problems with accessing student loans. Dream Act. The kids learn English and a lot of them forget Spanish. ESL is good. The kids learn English and they get out fast. I like what WE do with ESL. They must learn English; they can learn English for free.

Doubting the school system and the ability to get into college.

You have the power over how you feel.

The music and music videos are degrading us.

I want to create a corporation, I don't want to work for someone else. I want to be involved in exportation.

Against affirmative action; it is a way of being easy on us.

Familial Capital

Families. My family respects my dad; he was the oldest so he would take care of the rest. This reminds me of my aunt. I'm doing a lot that my dad wasn't able to and that is interesting. I can relate because of my grandmother. She knew so much. Parents not being involved in their kids' education is a huge thing. His father told stories. Grandfather, and my father, and I are connected through stories. My mother is more proud of her Spanish side. My father's side is basically all Indian.

Generational respect. The way she lives, thinks, common sense things, she has touched me. She has suffered. She speaks indigenous language.

Materialism. Didn't have shoes. Father teaches story about boy with no foot.

I'm *Mestizo*, too.

Linguistic Capital

Language. Librado as a cool name.

Dichos. Practice what you preach. Fish parable.

Resistant Capital

Social justice/activities. Some women just want to grow up to get married, have kids, and that is it. Such thinking is not really taking women anywhere. Women should be independent and look beyond just getting married and raising children. A lot of women want to pursue the dream of raising children. My mom didn't let anyone bring her down so that's why they got divorced.

Disappointment with Latinos. Puerto Ricans are playing the victims. I hate *Regeton* form of dancing. It demeans and hurts women. Such dance is making our young women just terrible. I hate it when immigrant parents are not involved in their kids' lives. The music is sending a message that we should all be

promiscuous. Some Latino parents don't even know their own children. They are not involved.

Social justice/activism. Feel powerful when you are an activist but what happens later in life. My grandmother always stood up for the poor. People who are activists are often criticized. I went to the marches here in this state. They were powerful. We organized. The local private university wouldn't march because they didn't have any immigrants there. Those that protest do lose a little bit of life. I want to go to where the core of the problem is. I know as an activist I will suffer a lot. I'm not attracted to the suffering but I am to the sacrifice. Reminds me of revolution. Che Guevara. Fidel. Some people are communists, they just don't want to admit it. My father is kind of similar and vocal. My father didn't finish college. He has a passion about politics and speaking up. I get my passion from my father. I think the United Farm Workers still exists. It is important to leave a legacy. I know I will be poor. Grow up to be communist.

Religion. I don't think religion united people. So much blood spilled for Christ and the Virgin. César really reaches out to others' religion. Wrong to think God punishes you. Praying is not going to do anything. César says God will not abandon us. If there is a God, we are all from God. I don't believe in one religion actually. Religion shouldn't oppress. I think no one should be above any other religion. We keep trying even when things are impossible.

Content

Men. I agree that men don't know a lot about women. Latinos, we are *machistas*. My dad is always a *machista*. As a man, or as a leader, you are not allowed to break down. Being a *machista* is just a part of Latin culture. We have always been *machistas*. Probably just my *machista* side talking.

La patria/colonization. Unfairness and exploitation happens in Bolivia, too. Hugo Chávez is controversial, but he has done good for the poor. The rich and educated have ruled Bolivia poorly. I'm sure life is the same in Mexico. Our Bolivian leaders have sold us out. I want to go to Bolivia as soon as I'm done with my school.

Travel/moving experiences. I went to Sacramento once. I've been to Florida. Florida is a mix between Las Vegas and San Diego. I went to Bolivia.

Rhetoric. A speech like this would unify the farmers. Comparison to King's speeches. The power in his speeches is really cool. But he was speaking to the media. I'm not saying immigrants wouldn't understand. He uses other people's phrases to support his cause—turns the phrases on them. The farmers were his

people.

Undocumented workers. They are afraid to call the police. Immigrants are made to feel like terrorists. They are underpaid. Don't get any benefits. Second class basically. Without them others wouldn't have luxuries. Grapepickers, construction workers, landscapers, waitresses.

Knowledge of other Latin American people/culture/politics/economies. I know the name Benito Juarez. I respect Cuban, Puerto Ricans. When I think of Cubans I think baseball. Helping the poor is double sided. Another state in Bolivia, Cochalama. They don't even have the word airplane. Hated how the Spaniards killed so many Indians. Spanish forced them to have this religion. Praying to this Catholic religion that is not theirs. Some of the Indians never mixed.

Racial/ethnic discrimination. They fought for their race. We will keep on fighting. We are more than African Americans. Americans don't have a sense of culture. It's Latinos who actually have so much culture. We are the ones changing things; we are mixing it even more. How many Latinos fought for equal rights. We're the most cultural if they are anything. They will say they are from Mexico because their parents are from Mexico. A lot of times we are being treated by the way we look or where we are from.

Knowledge of American history/politics. America was started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being. It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language. America is not like other countries. You can't compare Mexico to America. Bill 241 on the House. Immigration reform is ignored. The Dream Act could have done much good. America started as a Protestant country but that is not what it ended up being.

I don't believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe.

I do respect the LDS and they are doing some good things for Latinos.

Latino MLK, Juan Hernandez, Gandhi. Everybody hates the other Chávez so we need another.

Reminds me of revolution. Che Gueverra. Fidel.

I think the United Farm Workers still exists

It is a country of immigrants so you can't have an official language.

Only English ticks me off. Bilingual is the right thing to do.

I was hoping would bring up the feminist perspective.

I think all women are mistreated a lot. A lot of our Latino women are discriminated against. Hillary Clinton didn't cry on t.v.

I equate Puerto Rico with that type of music even though I know they have a beautiful culture.

Immigration. We didn't cross the border; the border crossed us.

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____
 Ethnicity: _____
 Place of birth: _____
 Age: _____

If you were born outside the United States, please indicate the number of years you have lived in the United States.

Where were you raised? (Please list all the cities that are applicable.)

Where did you go to high school? (Please list all schools and locations.)

How did you end up living in _____?

First language:

Second language (if applicable):

Grade level at? _____

What was your high school grade point average? _____

What is your major (undecided is acceptable)?

In what profession do you think you'll spend most of your life?

How much education do you expect to attain in your lifetime? (Please circle all that apply.)

Finish associate's degree

Finish bachelor of arts degree

1 or 2 years of professional study or master's degree

Doctoral degree

How many people are in your family?

Is your family supportive of you going to college?

How many years of schooling has your father completed?

How many years of schooling has your mother completed?

What is or was the occupation of your father?

What is or was the occupation of your mother?

What is or was your family's income level? (Please circle one.)

- Less than \$10,000 a year
- Between \$10,000 and \$20,000
- Between \$20,000 and \$30,000
- Between \$30,000 and \$40,000
- Between \$40,000 and \$50,000
- Between \$50,000 and \$60,000
- Above \$60,000

On average, how many hours do you work per week?

How do you get to school every day? How long is the commute?

Have you ever taken any multicultural or ethnic studies classes? If yes, please identify.

Have you in the past participated in activities sponsored by the Multicultural Center?

- Yes
- No
- If yes, please explain.

Religious preference (This question is asked to determine if your religious background knowledge has connections to the readings.)

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