Negotiating Access and Participation in K-12 Schools: The Experience of Latinx Im/migrant Families

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Abstract

In this qualitative study, I aim to understand and document how Latinx im/migrant students and families participate and negotiate access to school success in rural Idaho. I employ autoethnographic and ethnographic tools and strategies to study the educational experience of Latinx students and families in rural areas as part of the New Latinx Diaspora (NLD). Using a Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) and Gutierrez and Rogoff's (2003) Repertoire's of Practice framework, I highlight the rich and nuanced ways Latinx students and families participate and experience educational spaces. I draw from Chicana Feminist Epistemologies (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Anzaldua, 1987) in all stages of the research process and ground my cultural intuition. Participants in this study are members of my community- families and students I have known and been in relation with for many years. Findings in this study illuminate how parents and students of Spanish-speaking im/migrant Mexican-heritage backgrounds employ Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005), practice intent community participation (Rogoff et al., 2003; Urrieta, 2013; López et al., 2005), and other forms of knowledge to participate, and negotiate access to school success in K-12 schools in rural Idaho. This study documents the complexity and nuances of the Latinx im/migrant experience, highlighting complex barriers im/migrant students and families confront as they negotiate school success, including limited opportunities to employ linguistic, and aspirational capital and instances of racialized aggression. Insights gained from this analysis have important implications for local, state, and national education policies, including culturally responsive curriculum, teacher training, and language services to improve educational outcomes for nondominant students.

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Dedication

Dedico esta disertación a mi comunidad y a las tierras de Nocupétaro, Villa Madero y Tacámbaro, Michoacán, así como a las comunidades, pueblos, ranchos y tierras de las familias que comparten sus testimonios en este documento.

Table of Contents

Definition of Key Terms

The definitions provided below are intended to be working definitions, as they are not exhaustive of the interdisciplinary literature relevant to these topics.

Educación- Auerbach (2006) described educación as encompassing being moral, responsible, respectful, and well-behaved.

Familía- Includes the nuclear family and recognizes extended kin, often acknowledged as parientes (relatives) beyond grandparents, aunts, uncles, and first cousins (Urrieta, 2013)

Im/migrant- Arzubiaga et al. (2009) describe the term im/migrant to represent those labeled im/migrant, migrant, and refugee, including the undocumented. Arzubiaga et al. (2009) explain how these identities are not always mutually exclusive or permanent, while their distinction is critical because it carries legal implications.

Latinx- The U.S. Census Bureau uses the terms "Hispanic and "Latino" to identify persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, Dominican, and Spanish Descent: they may be of any race. In this dissertation, the terms Latino and Hispanic are employed to denote the data source used in the source material. Chávez and Pérez (2022) describe Latinx as an opportunity for reflection and ongoing dialogues of the contours of Latinidad. The "x" is a reminder of both refusal and exclusion, and the term is inherently imprecise, contested, and will shift and evolve (Chávez and Pérez, 2022).

Racialized communities- The term recognizes that race is a socially constructed concept and that certain communities have been historically and systematically marginalized and discriminated against based on their perceived race or ethnicity (Stovall, 2006).

K-12 School Success for Latinx Im/migrant Students and Families- Through a Latinx Critical Race Theory lens (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Solórzano, 1998), K-12 school success is understood as full access to educational equity, addressing systemic barriers and employing pedagogy that fully accepts and respects the unique experiences and perspectives of Latinx im/migrant students and families. In this study, the definition of K-12 school success is dependent on the beliefs, values, and experiences that are culturally and contextually relevant to the students and families participating in this study (Gutierrez and Rogoff, 2003).

Prologue: Home Nocupétaro, Michoacán and Idaho

For me, home is the metaphorical space between rural southwest Idaho, on the unceded land of the Newe (Shoshone), the Bannaqwate (Bannock), and the Numa (Northern Paiute), and Michoacán, México, the unceded land of the Purepecha. In this research, I place myself in shifting positions of time and space, reflecting from/through the multiple intersections from which members of myself and my family live/d and move/d. I identify as a Mamá, Mexican American, Chicana, bilingual speaker, Brown woman, and Latina. I was born, grew up, and attended elementary, middle, and high school and college within a thirty-mile radius in southwestern Idaho.

My father was born to Maria Teresa (Mami) and Natividad at La Mesa de Aparandán. My mother was born to Celso and Maria de Los Angeles (Mamá Angéles) in El Carrizal, Villa Madero, Michoacán. My father's family were campesinos, planting maize, frijol, and other vegetables to nourish our family. My mother's father, Celso, was a resinero. Papá Celso collected and sold pine resin from the local pine forests. Mami and Máma Angeles nurtured their children, sustaining and nurturing their household and leading various family economic activities.

As a child, my father accompanied his familía in traveling to and working in urban areas throughout Manzanillo and Michoacán. Then as a young man, my father joined a network of familía working in the US Northwest, planting pine trees with a contractor for the forest service. Growing up in the same area, with an extended network of familía, he met my mother, and they were married in the region of Nocupetaro. They immigrated from rural Michoacán to Oregon, USA, with three young children in the late 1980s, manifesting a future where their children would succeed and obtain an *educación.*

In the late 1990s, my family traveled to Michoacán to visit family. My siblings describe packing for a brief trip, leaving school with homework and permission from their teachers. We remained in México for a year and nine months, living hours away from the nearest schoolhouse in a house skillfully constructed with stringed bamboo sticks and plastered mud. In rural Michoacán, my siblings and I engaged in what López et al. (2005) described as learning through intent community participation, a cultural tradition of learning where children observe and take part in community activities, contributing when they become ready, prevalent in Indigenous communities in North and Central America. My

siblings and I continue to practice intent community participation (Rogoff et al., 2003; Urrieta, 2013) in all areas of our lives, including parenthood. In México, every evening, my father called the family together to pray the rosary around the blazing ocote. We drank Aguita de Canela and listened and participated in cuentos, family stories, and stories of El Otro Lado. We listed and participated in pláticas, receiving and passing on our family's cultural knowledge (Fierros & Delgado Bernal, 2016). My family lived in Michoacán for almost two years. From a young age, I understood our move back to Idaho as purposeful. We were here to obtain an educación. Memories of our childhood have been a source of aspirational history for my siblings and me through childhood and into adulthood.

In Idaho, my family has traced the land in innumerable ways. For example, as a child, I accompanied my family to work in the fields and orchards in and around Rural Town, where I observed, listened in, and participated with initiative. My siblings and I walked the rows of vegetable fields carrying water, soda, and other sweets for my older siblings and parents who worked weeding the fields. During the afternoon of some school days and on weekends, I sat in a large wooden apple box with my younger siblings listening to my father holler, sing, and tell stories as he and my mother carried the ladder through the apple field. My father knew most members of the apple-picking crew as he had been working with them for years, or they were friends of extended family members who had moved to Idaho from the area in Michoacán. As a result, I internalized essential life lessons as I listened to corridors, legends, cuentos, family stories, dichos, and chismes. I heard my parents and other workers mirror their memories of attending school in México with their experiences living in rural Idaho.

From an early age, I recognized my community as families who im/migrated to rural Idaho to work and nurture their families in a safer and financially sustaining place. In many ways, I internalized the hopes and dreams of the im/migrant parents in my community. My journey to the doctoral degree was possible because of their upliftment through cuentos, dichos, the six forms of capital Yosso (2005) described, and the Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) cultivated within rural Idaho.

The summer I enrolled in kindergarten, my siblings and I prepared for school independently. My parents fought seasonal wildland fires and could not accompany us to registration or orientation events. Instead, my older siblings and uncle filled in. On the first

day of kindergarten, I waited impatiently for the school bus, my younger brother beside me. I was six years old, about to turn seven. The bus driver greeted us by asking for our names and saying "hello" in English. I responded, "he does not speak English". In my first memory of K-12 schooling in Idaho, I navigated educational institutions using the linguistic repertoire crafted at home with my older bilingual siblings. I am using those skills to access school with my younger brother by my side. I am drawing on my Community's Cultural Wealth.

As the sixth born in a family of nine siblings, I was ushered into public service and teaching early. My first formal volunteer experience was as a third-grade student, helping children prepare for kindergarten in summer school. I had not been invited to attend summer school, but my older sisters, who were in high school, were getting paid to work in the library, and my parents were working in the fields. So, my younger siblings and I could not stay home alone. The school staff knew part of our family's experience and invited me into a kindergarten classroom where I interpreted for Spanish-speaking children, among other tasks. From a young age, my role at the school district where I now choose to research went beyond being a student. As evidence, Sofia Ramos, a study participant, stated the following,

> "Bueno, como ustedes siempre han participado para la comunidad, eran las que más se prestaban, las que ayudaban en la escuela con los niños que no hablaban bien, perfecto inglés. Que él era uno de ellos porque no hablaba inglés como yo y siempre pues estuvieron ahí con él" (Sofia, Interview, March 2022).
>
> "Well, since you have always participated for the community, you were the ones who lent themselves the most, the ones who helped in school with the children who did not speak well- perfect English. He was one of them because he did not speak English like me, and you were always there with him" (Sofia, Interview, March 2022).

My relationship with participants in this study plays a central role in the trajectory of this research project and my journey to a doctoral degree. On account of my family and community, I gained a multi-dimensional lens into how public institutions serve or fail to serve nondominant students. Consequently, I have a unique perspective on how im/migrant, Spanish-speaking families participate in school settings.

My journey to the conceptual framework for my dissertation study is a cornerstone of this autoethnographic and ethnographic work. My major professor and Mentor, Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens recommended I read Yosso (2005) as I completed the final product of my

master's degree. Reading Yosso (2005) as I pursued secondary teaching certification in natural science and biology was transformative. It provided me with tangible tools to use in the high school classroom. While I came to graduate school with a background in community work, my K-12 and undergraduate journey had not exposed me to important tools and literature I needed to transform the science curriculum in a secondary setting. After completing my master's studies, I pursued a doctoral degree, knowing I wanted to continue an exploration of K-12 schools in Idaho, making sense of my experiences and working to change the spaces in which I lived and worked. From the early phases of my doctoral journey, I was supported to draw on my lived experiences and my family's ways of knowing.

Drawing from the Scholars in Critical Indigenous Research Methodologies (CIRM) (Brayboy et al., 2012), I understood my doctoral journey as profoundly relational. Sustaining communities in rural Idaho requires K-12 institutions to make space/transform for students' and families' knowledge and lived experiences. Now, as I write my dissertation, I am, as Chavez (2012) writes, "unable and unwilling to create the traditional 'academic distance' between the papers I produce and the voices of my educational experiences" (p. 334). Drawing on Yosso's (2005) framework of community cultural wealth, I document my own, my family's, and my community's lived experiences through a cultural capital lens. My family's educational journeys are testaments to the varied ways Latinx people experience education in the Latinx diaspora. I am a mamá, a Ph.D. Candidate, a public servant, una hija, a sister to nine siblings, and I tell my story as a counter-story, a testimonio.

In this study, I employ ethnographic and autoethnographic tools to understand the experience of four students, four parents (including my mother and father) and eight of my siblings. In line with the qualitative agenda, this study prioritizes critical reflexivity as part of the design and process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 20). Conducting research from home while privileging relations and knowledge is a political and ethical stance (Villareal, 2022). As a mamá, tia, and neighbor, I have a deep and abiding interest in the future of the communities participating in this research. I draw from Chicana Feminist Epistemologies to engage in what Monzo (2015) described as ethnography en familía. In this process, I bring my identity as a Mexican, Mexican American, bilingual/bi-literate, and transnational person to every stage of the research. Participants in this study are members of my community and families I have known and been in relation with for almost two decades. I document

testimonios de paso a paso (steps), in a narrative form, beginning with my experience, then stepping into my family's experience, and then the experience of parent(s), and students at a school district in rural Southwest Idaho.

I draw from a lineage of Black, Indigenous, and Scholars of Color who have yielded and shaped research methodologies negotiated their roles as 'insider-outsider' and actively engaged in the cultural and political movements within their communities (Villareal, 2022). I employed ethnographic tools to align with an anti-racist, activist agenda, starting at the intersection of my own and my family's experience and branching outward into the "histories of actors, resources, scenes, or settings across time and place – first to see how actions are constituted and into the future toward shaping future actions" (Scollon & Scollon, 2007, p. 619).

Chapter I: National and Local Discussions on Latinx Im/migrant Students and Families

Nationally, Latinx students make up a large and growing share of the K-12 student population. Latinx students represented 28% of all students in public schools, up from 22% in the fall of 2009 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021). The racial and ethnic disparities that affect the educational achievement and attainment of Latinx students are a serious concern, especially considering the growing importance of high school graduation and postsecondary education for success in the current economy (Gándara & Mordechay, 2017). Standard measures of academic success and achievement continue to reveal educational disparities experienced by Latinx students throughout their academic journey, from elementary school to post-secondary studies (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021). For example, in 2020, the 6-year graduation rate for bachelor's degree-seeking Latinx students was 59%, compared to 67% for White students; furthermore, foreign-born Latinx students continue to have lower rates of completion in associate and bachelor's degree programs compared to their U.S.-born counterparts (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021).

Education is nested within systems of exclusion and poverty, which shape the school experiences of children from nondominant backgrounds. These structures result from historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions by people in power that have created inequities in the education of children of nondominant backgrounds (Ladson-Billings, 2006). While there is evidence of the gains in early learning and social development opportunities Latinx children (Readrdon & Portilla, 2016), Latinx im/migrant children continue to face racial and economic segregation as they enter K-12 school settings (Fuller et al., 2019). In 2016, the percentage of Hispanic and Latinx children under 18 with impoverished families was 26%, compared to 10 percent of their White counterparts (De Brey et al., 2019). Further, the COVID-19 Pandemic impacted Black, Indigenous, and Students of Color more significantly, evidenced by the decline in reading and math scores in elementary grades (Lewis & Kuhfeld, 2021). Given that Latinx students are more likely to attend high-poverty schools, Latinx students faced additional challenges during the COVID- 19 pandemic, such as lack of internet access, longer school closures, and less instructional time (García & Weiss, 2020).

Valenzuela (1999) highlighted the need for teachers and administrators to be better represented in schools to improve the K-12 schooling outcomes of Latinx students. Latinx families are underrepresented within educational institutions, including but not limited to the teaching workforce. The national teacher shortage is mirrored in areas with shifting demographics, and there is a significant shortage of bilingual and Latinx teachers (Gándara & Mordechay, 2017). For example, across the country, Latinx students comprise nearly a quarter of the student population, while only about nine percent of teachers identify as Hispanic or Latinx, with most Latinx teachers serving urban areas (Taie & Lewis, 2022).

Preparing preservice teachers to address the needs of Latinx students in rural areas is particularly crucial for advancing educational equity, given that rural communities are often portrayed as homogeneous, White, and lacking in diversity (Anthony-Stevens & Langford, 2019). Latinx im/migrant families will continue to shape the country's cultural, economic, and geographic landscape in many areas across the US. For example, based on Census Bureau projections from 2017, Hispanic and Latinx people are expected to constitute 27% of the overall U.S. population by 2060 (Vespa et al., 2018). As a result, it is imperative to produce research that about effective approaches and practical strategies to support im/migrant and students and additional areas of investment into resources and support. Further, the changing demographics of areas with limited infrastructure to support the educational needs of Latinx students necessitate novel solutions that prioritize and leverage the resources of the local community (Gándara & Mordechay, 2017).

While rural communities across the United States exhibit high inter-diversity due to their vast geographic areas, sparse populations, and considerable distances that separate them, studies have documented how rural schools are becoming more racially diverse (Kinkley & Yun, 2019). Latinx students in rural areas face unique challenges and barriers to academic success and well-being. Such challenges include a lack of school funding, teacher recruitment and retention of certified teachers, and subtractive K-12 schooling practices that erase students' language, culture, and identity (Oudghiri, 2022). Findings from this study have practical implications for educators, policymakers, and other stakeholders who work with Latinx im/migrant youth and families in rural Idaho.

The Idaho Context

Idaho sits on the unceded land of seven Indigenous peoples, Ktunaxa (Kootenai), the

Qlispé (Kalispel), the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene), the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce), the Newe (Shoshone), the Bannaqwate (Bannock), and the Numa (Northern Paiute). The history of Latinx people in Idaho is deeply intertwined with Indigenous cultures, mestizaje, and the broader histories of Latinx communities throughout the Americas (Blackwell et al., 2017; Powell & Carrillo, 2019). Many years before the arrival of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805, Spanish-derived horses arrived in Idaho through a longstanding network of Indigenous people moving, communicating, and trading that spanned across the continent and had been in existence. Colonial expansion brought with it a series of deadly epidemics of smallpox, diphtheria, and other diseases between 1770 and 1850, that devastated the peoples of Idaho (Jones, 2014). Since before the founding of the state, Idaho has a pronounced history of hostility and violence towards its Indigenous communities and Black and People of Color who have im/migrated. Idaho's settler-colonial history is marked by im/migrants who have shaped the state's cultural and social fabric and made the state home (Mercier, 2014).

Since the founding of the state, im/migrant groups have powered Idaho's economy and major industries, including agriculture, mining, timber, and railroads, they have been met with adversity, discrimination, and racism (Mercier, 2014). During the great migration, from 1870 to 1950, Chinese and Japanese im/migrants and African American migrants living in Idaho were met with hostile legislation, racial harassment, and discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations (Mercier, 2014). In 1942, Idaho interned around 10,000 American citizens with Japanese roots and Japanese im/migrants.

Mexican and Mexican American presence has been documented in Idaho since the 1860s (Jones, 2014). Mexican im/migrants worked as mule packers, ranchers, cowboys, miners, and laborers, and some came to the state as soldiers in the U.S. Army. Following the labor shortage of World War I, Mexican im/migrants powdered sugar and railroad companies while facing abuse in wages, living conditions, and attire (Jones, 2014; Godfrey, 2020). In the following decades, Mexican and other im/migrants faced similar patterns of racism and discrimination as their counterparts in other areas of the U.S.

In the past quarter-century, Idaho has experienced a demographic shift with increased Latinx im/migrants. In 2000, Hispanic or Latinx people comprised 7.9% of the population with 6.1% identifying as Mexican (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). In the last ten years, Idaho's Latinx population rose 24% compared to a 14% rise in the general population due to high

birth rates and im/migration in the last ten years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). About 18.5% of students in Idaho identify as Latinx or Hispanic (Idaho State Department of Education, n.d.). Furthermore, changes in food processing, dairy, and agriculture played a significant role in the im/migration of Latinx people to Idaho. Latinx people play vital roles in Idaho, including in the fields of medicine, teaching, law, public administration, and engineering. In national conversations Idaho is commonly characterized as politically conservative, rural, and white. However, Idaho is a richly diverse and vigorous cultural landscape.

Rural Education and Latinx Students

Changes in rural Latinx diaspora communities have wide-reaching impacts on socio-cultural, historical, and political structures. Im/migrant populations have revitalized rural areas, including regions in Idaho that can be classified as part of the New Latino Diaspora (NLD). Biddle & Azano (2016) documented how im/migrants in rural Idaho have had a significant impact on the success of local economies and counteract population decline in rural areas.

First, the New Latino Diaspora (NLD) was defined in Murillo and Villenas (1997) to describe an area with an increasing number of Latinx people without a historically Latinx presence. Hamman & Harklau (2010) defined NLD to capture the diverse experience of Latinx people, im/migrants, and temporary and permanent residents in areas that were not traditionally home (Hamann & Harklau, 2010). As Latinx communities expand or form within new geographic areas, Latinx students "may find themselves confronting unique opportunities and challenges in establishing spaces of "home", navigating racialized divisions and distributions of resources and opportunity, and finding voice while situated within a pre-existing framework of racial and cultural social inequity, exclusion, and oppression" (Powell & Carrillo, 2019).

Hamann et al. (2015) formalized two hypotheses for the educational outcomes of Latinx youth in the NLD. The first hypothesis postulates that institutional improvisation leads to better educational outcomes for Latinx youth than areas with a history of anti-Latinx institutionalized racism. The second hypothesis proposes that racialized patterns entrenched in educational institutions are carried over to new settings, creating the same or worse educational outcomes for Latinx students. K-12 schools are critical in shaping the outcome of Latinx children's well-being in areas of NLD. By examining the experiences of Latinx

people through an NLD lens, researchers can better understand the cultural, linguistic, and institutional barriers that Latinx families and youth may face in areas with shifting demographics.

The NLD framework recognizes the unique opportunities for schools and other social institutions to be creative and innovative in serving Latinx students and families (Hamman et al., 2015). Despite the growing body of literature on the experience of Latinx students and families in diaspora areas, Idaho remains on the periphery. Nonetheless, it is essential to investigate the K-12 schooling experiences of Latinx youth in NLD regions of Idaho, as schools are a vital institution in shaping their lives. Much of the existing literature frames the experiences of students and families from a deficit perspective, describing an achievement gap, and linguistic and cultural barriers and framing the population as a challenge.

Given that 8% of Idaho residents between the ages of five to seventeen speak Spanish, it is important to consider the intersection between language and K-12 schooling to better understand the Latinx student experience (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Significantly, about five percent of students are enrolled in an English Learner Program, meaning the student's primary language is not English, and the student has not yet tested proficient in English in the state-adopted summative assessment (Dearien, 2018). While there is extensive published literature on the education of ELL students across the USA, there is limited research on the education of ELLs in a rural context (Coady, 2020). The changing demographics in Idaho's K-12 schools' merit further study on ways to serve and meet the needs of diverse students.

Im/migrant, and bi/multi-lingual students have faced school systems unresponsive to their needs. Over the years, Idaho schools have faced numerous complaints and charges for failing to fulfill state and federal mandates to meet the needs of bi/multilingual students (Jones, 2014). In effect, Latinx bi/multilingual students in Idaho have lower graduation rates, higher dropout rates, and lower scores on standardized tests than their White English-speaking peers.

While the literature on the experience of Latinx students in Idaho is scarce, published literature documents how K-12 schools fail to meet the needs of nondominant and minoritized youth. Working in K-12 settings in rural Idaho, Call-Cummings (2012) documented how overt and covert silencing was used at the school to prevent the disruption

of dominant voices, in this case, white administrators (Call-Cummings, 2017). In a book, Hondo et al. (2008) documented how a lack of cultural responsiveness in the school curriculum, instruction, policies, and practices are the cause of Latinx students dropping out of high school and should be addressed (Hondo et al., 2008). Significantly, Gallegos Buitron and Anthony-Stevens (forthcoming) have analyzed how Latinx parents yield their Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) (Yosso, 2005) to navigating institutional setting, however it is little if ever recognized an asset to educational achievement.

This qualitative study purposefully deviates from deficit-based frameworks to better understand how Latinx students and families participate and negotiate access and familial well-being in spaces with prominent histories of exclusionary practices. This study illuminates how Latinx im/migrant students and families navigate K-12 schools and negotiate academic success, well-being, and belonging in rural areas of the NLD. Through an intergenerational lens, participants in this study are parent-guardians and children who are enrolled or have been enrolled in at RSD in Idaho. Through a purposeful qualitative research design, this study employs autoethnographic and ethnographic tools and strategies to study the educational experience of Latinx students and families in rural areas as part of the NLD, using a Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) lens. These approaches highlight the rich and nuanced ways Latinx students and families negotiate access to schools and school success in K-12 schools in rural Idaho.

Research Questions

I explore the following research questions in this study:

1. How do Latinx im/migrant students and families participate and negotiate access to school success in rural Idaho?

    a. How do Latinx im/migrant students and families employ cultural and linguistic knowledge, skills, and resources to negotiate school success in rural Idaho?

    b. What are the barriers to school access and success faced by Latinx im/migrant students and families?

Theoretical Framework: Yielding Critical Race Theory to Understanding Latinx Student Success in Schools

To understand how Latinx students and families participate and negotiate access and to succeed in schools, I employ frameworks derived from Critical Race Theory (CRT), including Latinx Critical Race Theory, Chicana Feminist Epistemologies (Delgado Bernal, 1998), Repertories of Practices (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003), and CCW (Yosso, 2005). I work from a legacy of Black, Indigenous, and Scholars of Color who have nurtured an intellectual community that refuses normative expectations and disrupts the classic ethnographic encounter of research, instead calling for critical self-reflexivity (Chávez & Pérez, 2022). By utilizing this conceptual framework, I can leverage autoethnographic and ethnographic methods to spotlight my community's knowledge, resilience, and strengths while exposing everyday systemic practices perpetuating inequity. This work depends on longstanding relationships that are centered to hear stories and counterstories (Brayboy, 2005). In the following sections, I provide a detailed discussion of the theoretical underpinnings guiding this research.

Critical Race Theory and Latinx Critical Race Theory

CRT draws from an extensive literature base in law, sociology, history, ethnic studies, and women's studies (Yosso, 2005). CRT seeks to understand and challenge how race and racism are embedded and perpetuated in legal and social structures and institutions by examining power and privilege. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) described five central themes for CRT in education. First, race and racism intersect with other forms of oppression and subordination, including gender and class. Second, CRT upends the educational system's claims toward objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity. Third, scholars employing CRT are committed to social justice and eliminating racism, sexism, poverty, and the empowerment of minoritized groups. Fourth, CRT gives space for the lived experience of racialized people as central to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racialized inequities. Fifth, CRT is transdisciplinary, adaptable, and relevant to studying contemporary race and racism in education.

In the field of education, CRT examines "how educational theory, policy, and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups" (Solórzano, 1998, p. 122). Educational researchers have used CRT to challenge the ways race and racism impact

educational structures, practices, and discourses and to uncover the empowering potential of the cultures of racialized communities (Yosso, 2006). Scholars working from the CRT framework have studied issues of school discipline and hierarchy, tracking, affirmative action, high-stakes testing, curriculum and history controversies, alternative K-12 schooling practices, and charter schools (Stefancic & Delgado, 2023). Emerging from CRT, other strands of Critical Race Theory, including Asian Critical Race, Tribal Critical Race Theory, and Latinx Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), challenge a Black/White binary, highlighting the unique histories of racialized communities that have been shaped by racism and other forms of subordination and oppression (Yosso, 2005).

LatCrit sheds light on how educational structures, processes, and discourses impact racialized communities, with a particular emphasis on the Latinx and Chicanx populations. LatCrit brings attention to language and immigration in ways other CRT frameworks do not while recognizing how these issues intersect with race, class, and gender. For example, (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001) highlighted how the LatCrit framework moves beyond the intersection of race, class, and gender to unpack layers of subordination based on language, immigration status, accent, and phenotype. In effect, resistance, transformation, and equity are understood through language rights, cultural rights, and the influence of immigration status. Finally, the LatCrit framework is powerful in uncovering and critiquing a wider system of oppression faced by Latinx people and other non-dominant groups.

Scholars using the LatCrit framework in the field of education aim to elevate the voices and experiences of research participants by disrupting the power dynamics inherent in traditional researcher-practitioner-participant relationships. For example, Solórzano and Yosso (2002) write, "LatCrit scholars in education acknowledge that educational institutions operate in contradictory ways with their potential to oppress and marginalize co-existing with their potential to emancipate and empower" (p. 479). Further, LatCrit draws from the historical legacy of Chicanx and Latinx students and communities to resist oppressive schooling practices and fight for equal access to quality education (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Chicana Feminist Epistemologies (Delgado, Bernal 1998)

In the groundbreaking book, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* Anzaldua (1987) captured the lived experiences of those who must navigate multiple identities in the

borderlands or margins, defining mestizaje. In conceptualizing Nepantla, El Mundo Zurdo, and Coyolxauhqui, Anzaldúa (1987) enacts decolonizing methodologies that challenge dominant narratives of the identity, language, culture, and power of those who live on the metaphorical and physical borderlands of the United States and México. Anzaldúa (1987) has profoundly impacted feminist theory, queer theory, and Chicanx studies.

Delgado Bernal (1998) conceptualized a Chicana feminist epistemological framework (CFE) in resistance to epistemological racism in the field of education. Black feminist scholars and other scholars working through various strands of CRT, including Gloria Anzaldúa (1997), informed CFE. Through CFE, the researcher centers on immigration, migration, generational status, bilingualism, limited English proficiency, and the contradictions of other colonial bearings, including Catholicism. A CFE framework enables, researchers, to center their cultural intuition to inform the research questions and the political and ethical issues involved in the research process as a testimonio. Researchers who use CFE recognize participants as co-creators of knowledge and active agents in interpreting, documenting, and reporting "data" (Delgado Bernal, 1998).

As a framework, Borderlands, "centers the epistemology and ways of knowing of communities that are often directly related to historic and systemic conditions that are violent and require varied acts of dismemberment, political action and theorizing, and urgency in the name of nurturing all humanity" (Powell & Carrillo, 2019). Given the prominence of Anzaldua's (1987) Borderland's framework and its ability to capture the hybridity and complexities of living in between, it is a powerful tool for scholars working in rural spaces. For example, Pacheco (2014) used Anzaldua's (2002) Nepantla framework to shed light on how Latinx students in the NLD live "betwixt and between languages and cultures worlds shaping and being shaped by the sociocultural, sociopolitical contexts where they experience divergent forms of acceptance, accommodation, and inclusion as well as marginalization, exclusion, and positioning" (p. 118). Pacheco (2014) described the Latina participant in her ethnographic study as *Nepantlera*s who proclaimed trans-border and transcultural identities while trans-versing distinct social and linguistic worlds.

As a theoretical framework, CFE validates centering Chicanx and Latinx research identities and experiences in the research process, making it a powerful tool for illuminating the experiences of Latinx students in the areas of increasing cultural and linguistic diversity.

For example, using ethnographic methodologies, Fitts & McClure (2015) weaved CFE with other Chicana and Latina feminist ways of knowing to study how Latina im/migrants in rural NLD leveraged informal educational, *mujerista*, spaces to develop relationships of trust that helped them navigate cultural, economic, and political realities. In a similar strand, Villenas (2001) used a race-based feminist perspective to elucidate how Latina mothers contested deficit narratives of their families and reclaimed "educated" identities. Villenas et al. (2006) highlighted a dearth of the experience of Latina youth, young adults, and mothers who live in rural areas.

Delgado Bernal et al. (2012) outline how scholars working through CFE frameworks have employed testimonios to align with "a strong *feminista* tradition of theorizing from the brown female body, breaking silences, and bearing witness to both injustice and social change" (p. 364). Testimonios are a powerful tool for illuminating the experience of Latinx students, families, and communities. Testimonios have deep roots in oral cultures and Latin American human rights struggles, serving as a pedagogical, methodological, and activist approach to research that exposes brutality, disrupts silence, and builds solidarity (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012). Voicing an individual's experience within a system of oppression, testimonios evoke a collective history of resistance. Further, testimonios are employed as methods of redemption (Blackmer & Rodríguez, 2012). In contrast to other qualitative tools with a focus on narrative, testimonios embrace the politics of spoken word, as they work toward justice, centering hidden histories, or making a call to action through a discourse of solidarity (Blackmer & Rodríguez, 2012). Moreover, testimonios involve a critical reflection on experiences, identity formation, and silences calling the listener to be in solidarity with the speaker (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012). In the field of education, testimonios have been a methodological tool to address educational inequities and systemic oppression.

Fierros and Delgado Bernal (2016) defined and described a genealogy of pláticas, a Chicana Feminist Methodology employed by Chicana/Latina feminists from the 1970s and 1980s through the present. The authors' definition of pláticas as both a data collection strategy and a research methodology reflect its value as an extension of the researcher's personal, familial, and cultural knowledge. Compared to traditional surveys and ethnographies, pláticas offer a more culturally responsive approach that mirrors the conversational styles found in Latinx communities and can take place as on-on-one or group

spaces. Fierros and Delgado Bernal (2016) emphasized the importance of everyday small talk as a source of knowledge and intellectual theorizing of experiences that are highly relevant to the research inquiry.

The previously described frameworks, LatCrit and CFE are an important contribution to the conceptual framework because they center on the experiences and knowledge of Latinx im/migrants, instead of frameworks that impose external or mainstream perspectives on the analysis. Further, these frameworks recognize the complex and intersectional nature of oppressive systems, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the educational persistence of Latinx im/migrant communities in negotiating educational access. In the next section, I describe how Yosso's (2005) framework of CCW adds to the existing theoretical framework and is consistent with theories centering the experiences of Latinx im/migrant communities.

Community Cultural Wealth, Yosso (2005)

Yosso (2005) intentionally and critically deviates from traditional approaches used by social science researchers, which frame the experiences of racialized communities in deficit terminologies. Significantly, the framework advances narratives of the strengths and resistance of racialized individuals and communities while uncovering marginalization processes in education systems. Yosso (2005) challenges Pierre Bourdieu's framework of individual ownership of education and cultural knowledge, instead emphasizing CCW's shared and collective nature and highlighting community agency and sustenance. By defining an array of nondominant communities' knowledge, skills, abilities, and networks, CCW is a potent tool for transforming discourse and policy to include assets already abundant in the im/migrant communities and preserve community memory (Yosso & Burciaga, 2016). Yosso (2005) defines six forms of capital nourished by cultural wealth: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant. Table 1. outlines each form of cultural capital conceptualized by Yosso (2005).

Table 1

Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005)

Aspirational Capital	The capacity to develop and maintain goals, hopes, and dreams despite barriers and objective means to achieve such outcomes.
Navigational Capital	The skills developed by maneuvering through social institutions that exclude and fail to draw on the experiences of Communities of Color
Social Capital	Networks of people and community resources
Linguistic Capital	The intellectual and social skills developed by using bi/multilingual repertoires and mediums
Familial Capital	The cultural pieces of knowledge that are nurtured among *famil*y (kin) and contain community history, memory, and cultural intuition.
Resistant Capital	Skills and knowledges developed as individuals enact oppositional behavior to challenge inequality.

Yosso (2005) stated, "the main objective of identifying and documenting cultural wealth is to transform education and empower People of Color to utilize assets already abundant in their communities" (p. 82). Using Yosso (2005) as the theoretical framework enacts my commitment to serve the struggle toward social and racial justice through the process of research, teaching, and informing curriculum. Scholars have widely employed Yosso (2005) to understand how nondominant students and families participate in and navigate schools from early childhood education to post-graduate studies field (Espino, 2014; Denton et al., 2020).

In an elementary school setting, DeNicolo et al., (2015) explored how third-grade students wrote testimonios that reflected their CCW. The authors highlighted how elementary students could draw from their repertoires of knowledge while naming and sharing their CCW through testimonio in an English language arts classroom. Tolbert et al., (2022) highlight pre-college engineering pathway for Black youth supported by familial support.

The authors highlighted how parents and siblings invested and engaged in student's interests related to engineering. Wilson et al. (2016) studied the experience of high school engineering students drew from their familial, community, and recreational practices, describing a Third Space for learning and knowing. The authors highlighted how engineering instruction for Latinx students should draw on student's everyday familial, community, and recreational practices.

Manzo (2015) employed a CCW framework to document the experience of farm-working im/migrant mothers with local schools in a rural community in California. Manzo (2015) highlighted how parents participated actively in their children's education by providing homework help, *consejos,* and parental coaching. In Idaho, Peralta (2013) described how Mexican im/migrant and first-generation Mexican students in rural settings used their CCW to mitigate their negative school experiences. Marlow-McCowin et al. (2020) used the CCW framework to understand the experience of Latinx people with multiple marginalized identities in a rural setting. The authors provided an asset-based narrative of Latinx and rural Latinx students entering post-secondary settings and advocated for educational institutions to invest in enhancing students' social capital.

In an undergraduate setting, Pérez Huber (2009) described how undocumented Chicana undergraduate students drew from CCW to survive, resist, and navigate higher education. Significantly, in defining spiritual capital Pérez Huber (2009) stated,

> "as a set of resources and skills rooted in a spiritual connection to a reality greater than oneself. Spiritual capital can encompass religious, indigenous, and ancestral beliefs and forms, can provide a sense of hope and faith" (p. 721).

Further, Pérez Huber (2009) described how spiritual capital is a source of strength for campesina (rural women). The author highlighted how Chicana students employ their CCW in a fluid and overlapping way**.**

Relevant to science, technology, and engineering (STEM) fields, Denton, Borrego, and Boklage (2020) conducted a systematic review of the literature to understand how CCW has been employed within education research to understand students' experiences in STEM education. In their systematic review of published literature, the authors found more studies focusing on higher education settings and science, technology, and engineering (STEM) fields. Moreover, most studies use qualitative data, with student interviews as the primary

data source. The authors (Denton et al., 2020) highlighted how future research should be done to center the experiences of family members, faculty, advisors, administrators, and program managers as they are vital contributors or have been identified as forms of CCW.

In a graduate setting, Espino (2014) described how Mexican American with PhDs employed navigational capital, resistant capital, social capital, and aspirational capital to persevere in graduate school. Espino (2014) highlighted how students find strength and motivation from the knowledge, skills, and abilities nurtured within their families and communities as they face hegemonic and oppressive institutions. Espino (2014) argued that to increase graduate attainment in Mexican American communities, it is necessary to move beyond the possession of cultural capital and instead integrate it with assets from home, family, and community.

Beyond the field of education, Yosso (2005) has been employed in sociology, anthropology, ethnic studies, and cultural studies (Yosso & García, 2007). In ethnic and cultural studies, CCW has been used to challenge dominant power narratives while highlighting cultural resilience and community resistance. For example, Yosso and García (2007) described how Mexican American women playwriters employed CCW to "reclaim a history of resistance against oppression" (p. 147). In the play Chavez Ravine, the Mexican American writers used the bilingual voices of Mexican American families displaced from their neighborhood in Los Angeles. As an interdisciplinary work, Yosso and García (2007) illuminate how CCW is documented through ethnography, history, fiction, and art. While the CCW framework has been valuable in describing the high aspirations of Latinx youth and families, immediate and extended family support, and the influence of networks on student post-secondary success, research within rural settings has been minimal (Marlow-McCowin et al., 2020).

Repertoires of Practice, Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003)

Using a cultural-historical approach, Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) conceptualized the Repertoires of Practice framework, which focuses on individuals' and groups' complex and dynamic histories of engagement in cultural practice, instead of stereotyping. Significantly, Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) define communities as versatile and dynamic groups with shared histories and shared experiences. Histories of engagement can be transmitted through participating in groups based on ethnicity, race, and language. However, such descriptors

play varied roles, and individuals make autonomous choices and decisions about how they engage in cultural communities. Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) prompted researchers to refrain from speaking about individual traits possessed by research participants, students, and communities, instead focusing on individual and group experiences in activities. Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) illuminated the different forms of knowledge students, families, and communities possess from participating in different activities. Such knowledge re-frames how academic indicators, including standardized test scores and graduation rates, are interpreted, where the focus shifts to a wider cultural-historical context.

In understanding Latinx im/migrant family's participation in their children's education, Gutierrez and Rogoff's (2003) framework poses that Latinx parents participate in nuanced and dynamic ways. For example, López et al. (2010) described how families in Indigenous and Indigenous heritage communities in North and Central America practice learning through intent community participation where families and communities include children "in the community's range of activities and expected to observe and to contribute as they become ready" (p. 593).

Working within the NLD, Gallo and Wortham (2012) used a Repertoire of Practice framework to illuminate how Mexican im/migrant parents engaged in a participatory action research project. Gallo and Wortham (2012) reframed traditional parent engagement, which assume optimal parent participation involves helping at school or learning to educate students in the ways schools do. Instead, teachers must learn and master new and varied repertoires of communicating and collaborating with parents while building on the repertoires that parents and children possess. Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) framework would be a useful tool to examine how students within the NLD employ their racial, ethnic, language, and cultural repertoires to participate and negotiate access to schools in rural areas. Further, understanding family's repertoires of practices, including children's participation in familial events and activities, would help schools better serve children from diverse backgrounds (López et al., 2010).

In the context of schools, students and parents from im/migrant backgrounds bring with them cultural practices that differ from the dominant practices valued by the school. For example, through Gutierrez and Rogoff's (2003) lens, Poza et al. (2014) described how Latinx im/migrant parents engage, are involved, and participate in schools, through pathways

often unrecognized by teachers or administrators or through pathways bypassing the school. Poza et al. (2014) described three types of behavior categories including "asking questions about school and school processes, attending events at school or outside of school that parents deem supportive of children's learning, and altering/augmenting children's educational trajectories to improve outcomes" (p. 119). Through a Repertoire of Practice framework (Gutierrez & Rogoff. 2003), schools and districts are responsible for acknowledging and placing value on im/migrant parent participation beyond limited expectations and eliminating any barriers that may discourage it.

In conjunction, LatCrit (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), CFE (Delgado Bernal, 1998), CCW (Yosso, 2005) and Repertoire's of Practice (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003) serve as a conceptual model that acknowledges the structural and systemic inequities within educational institutions. Further, the previously highlighted scholarship allows for a nuanced exploration of how Latinx im/migrant students, families, and communities participate in schools. As the theoretical framework for this study, LatCrit, CFE, CCW, and Repertoires of Practice define a highly complex set of skills, knowledges, and strategies Latinx im/migrant students and families possess and draw upon to negotiate access to school success. In the following chapter, I will explore existing research highly relevant to the experiences of Latinx im/migrant students and families and areas where additional research is needed.

Looking Ahead to the Chapters to Follow

In this chapter, I provided the research context by highlighting the national and local discussions on Latinx Im/migrant Students' and Families' experiences. Then, I highlighted barriers to K-12 schooling success including poverty, a lack of school funding, teacher recruitment, and subtractive K-12 schooling practices that devalue Latinx students' language, culture, and identity. In the next section, I discussed the conceptual frameworks that uncover educational inequities by considering the historical, social, and cultural experiences of non-dominant communities.

In Chapter II, I briefly review of the literature on themes, including the achievement gap, English learners, parent engagement, and future opportunities for exploration. In Chapter III, I will provide the context of the study site, Rural Town, Idaho, a short description of research positionality, and an introduction to the three groups of research participants. In Chapter IV, I will analyze the K-12 schooling experiences of five students

from Rural High School (RHS), including two newcomer students, Thelma and Carlos. In Chapter V, I will explore the experiences of five parents, Sofia Ramos, Amelia Rivera, Amá, and Apá (my parents). In Chapter VI, I examine my experience and the experiences of my eight siblings. I draw from interdisciplinary scholarship and blend autoethnographic and ethnographic methods to understand how Latinx students and families participate and negotiate access to school success in Rural Idaho. Finally, in chapter VII, I discuss the implications of the study for local, state, and national discussions on Latinx students' school success and familial engagement.

Chapter II: Documenting and Understanding the Schooling: A Review of Literature Deconstructing the Achievement Gap

Although the concept of school success for Latinx students is multifaceted, numerous research studies have been conducted to explore the achievement gap which most often refers to the disparities in test scores between nondominant and dominant groups, particularly in the case of African Americans and im/migrant Latinx students who are characterized as being low achievers (Arzubiaga et al., 2009). The achievement gap rhetoric is poplar in discussing disparities observed between minoritized students and their White, middle-class peers in standardized test scores, dropout rates, advanced placement, enrollment in honors, and post-secondary retention and attainment (Ladson-Billings, 2006). However, as Ladson-Billings (2006) described, scholars have troubled the achievement gap rhetoric by highlighting how, definitions of intelligence and success in the US are based on white middle class standards used to delegitimize nondominant children's ways of knowing, doing, and being. Further, Yosso (2005) described how minoritized students and families are considered at fault for performance based on the assumption that students do not possess the normative cultural knowledge and skills, and parents do not value or support their children's education. In effect, the achievement gap rhetoric can have the effect of perpetuating negative stereotypes and biases of students of color, leading to greater inequities.

Re-framing deficit narratives of Ladson-Billings (2006) described how the cumulative effect of inequities related to education, health care, and government services creates educational inequities for minoritized students, leading to the perceived achievement gap. In the NLD, Ladson-Billing (2006) has shed light on systematic inequalities related to poverty, migration, immigration. For example, Turner (2015) described how re-framing the achievement gap rhetoric and employing an educational debt lens should prompt district administrators to invest in resources for students, schools, and social equality. In addition, Turner (2015) encouraged schools to create equitable partnerships with families and take a stance on immigration reform. Ladson-Billings' (2006) lens of educational debt is a powerful tool for re-framing the deficit narratives of Latinx students in a rural area. It prompts researchers to consider the historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral context.

Challenging the Problem of English Learners and English as a Barrier

In areas with changing demographics across the country, there is an extensive base of literature portraying non-English speaking children as a "problem" being "poor, struggling students in schools and communities with limited resources" (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006). Literature on the experience of linguistically diverse students focus the following themes, language acquisition, tracking of English language learners (Callahan, 2005), teacher attitudes toward English language learners (Reeves, 2006), multilingualism and translanguaging, teacher training, and testing and assessing English learners.

In K-12 schools in the US, language diversity has historically been characterized as a problem because of an idealization of monolingualism and English language assimilation (Ruiz, 1984). Consequently, schools' language instruction is focused on subtractive teaching and assimilation into the dominant language (Hult & Hornberger, 2016). The language as a problem orientation is evident in high-stakes testing for K-12 institutions where students of bi/multilingual strengths are seen as the culprits for low-performing schools. In response, schools enact temporary modifications to improve test scores without addressing the structural processes and barriers that create inequities for bi/multilingual students, including those from Latinx backgrounds (Escamilla et al., 2003). For example, Valdés (1997) used ethnography to study the experience of four children who immigrated to the United States and their middle school's attempts and failure to meet their needs. As a groundbreaking work, Valdés (1997) addresses how public K-12 schools in the US delegitimize students' language abilities. The author problematizes the nature of programs, methodologies, and pedagogies used to instruct im/migrant and English language learners.

Other scholars have defined language as a right calling attention to the human and civil rights of nondominant groups to use and their preferred language (Hult & Hornberger, 2016). Through the framework, education policy recognizes the relationship between academic programs for bi/multilingual students and equal access to education. The language as a right orientation underscores the disparities between education policy and practice, given that low-income bi/multi-lingual students from racialized backgrounds are often labeled as "English learners" who pose a threat to public schools (Flores & Rosa, 2019).

Recognizing language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) in in K-12 settings, community, familial, and individual expertise is recognized as resources for teaching and learning, rather

than being ignored or eradicated (Coady et al., 2015). Ruiz's (1984) work on language as right and language as a resource has been instrumental to uncovering and transforming underlying ideologies in school, research, and policy settings about Latinx students who speak Spanish or are bi/multilingual. Ruiz (1984) was critical for theorizing and conceptualizing Hornberger's (2005) ideological and implementational spaces, which capture classroom, community, and policy levels where heritage language instruction and promotion occurs. Thus, Hornberger (2005) and Ruiz (1984) can inform how Latinx students, families, and communities open and work in language ideological and implementational spaces to participate and negotiate access to school success while maintaining and nurturing their language in areas of the NLD.

Culturally Responsive Teaching

Valenzuela (1999) articulated how schools employ deficit approaches to teaching where student's cultural and linguistic identities and practices are dissociated to conform to the dominant culture and language of the school. In defining subtractive schooling, Valenzuela (1999) called into question how schools create social, linguistic, and cultural divisions among students and staff that result in unproductive learning environments. As an alternative to subtractive schooling, Valenzuela (1999b) proposed an additive approach that leverages students' bi/multi-cultural experience, language, and ethnic identity as assets to counterbalance the influence of dominant knowledge used in the traditional K-12 curriculum. The effect is authentic caring, which is a "profound respect and love of community as well as enhanced awareness of Mexican Americans' historic struggle for an equal educational opportunity" (Valenzuela, 1999b, p. 271). In addition, authentic caring leads to the activation of community resources that improve home-school relationships.

The work of Angela Valenzuela has had a profound impact on research exploring the disparities faced by Latinx students through K-12 schooling processes. For example, in developing the CCW framework, Yosso (2005) drew on Valenzuela (1999b) to describe how, traditionally, schools operated to 'help' students they perceived as disadvantaged and lacking cultural capital. Camárota and Romero (2006) employed Valenzuela's (1999b) authentic caring to theorize how critical pedagogy can transform the oppression of silencing and become agents of social and structural transformation for Latinx youth. In their discussion, Camárota and Romero (1999) highlighted how Latinx people, the fastest-growing group, are

not represented in positions of power. As Latinx people move to new areas, areas traditionally not home, it will be imperative to study the effect of top-down policy on the student experience.

Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) conceptualized Funds of Knowledge as a qualitative tool for teachers to transform relationships with parents and students and improve learning outcomes for minoritized students. Moll et al. (1992) defined Funds of Knowledge as the "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133). González and Moll (2002) augmented the scope of Funds of Knowledge, framing it as a powerful research tool that allows researchers to document participant competence and knowledge as resources to enact positive pedagogical actions. As a framework, Funds of Knowledge, expands the definition of family to include kinship networks and spotlights the knowledge nurtured among these networks. Furthermore, the Funds of Knowledge framework was critical in highlighting children's participation household maintenance and the vast wealth of knowledge in household functioning (Arzubiaga et al., 2009).

Researchers in education have employed Funds of Knowledge as a lens that re-frames deficit narratives of communities and works to create equal parent/community-teacher partnerships, more equitable learning spaces, and more dynamic and nuanced narratives of Latinx im/migrant communities. For example, in the introductory chapter to a book series on the NLD, Murillo et al. (2002) described how newcomers bring Funds of Knowledge and the habits and experiences of im/migrants who preceded them to the New Latinx Diaspora. Stakeholders identify schools as critical sites where community identity and inclusion are constructed through community support and advocacy for Latinx im/migrant families (Murillo et al., 2002). Kirmaci et al. (2019) used the Funds of Knowledge framework to inform discussions on Latinx familial engagement in rural NLD spaces. Through Funds of Knowledge, schools transform remediation approaches and instead collaborate with families to utilize family's expertise. Kirmaci et al. (2019) validated the call for teacher-family collaborations that create opportunities for content-specific learning that integrates the cultural knowledge of families.

Im/migrant Parent Engagement

The meaning and processes of parental engagement can vary significantly for researchers, practitioners, and parents, teachers, administrators, and policymakers (Pérez Carreón et al., 2005). The parent-school relationship, and parental engagement of nondominant families have historically been framed in terms of deficits, problems, and remedies (Baquedano-López et al., 2013). For example, as the first policy effort to educate and assimilate children away from home, the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 removed Indigenous children under the assumption that family influence was a barrier to the successful assimilation and homogenization (Baquedano-López et al., 2013). More recently, the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) and Every Student Succeeds Act (2015) mandated increased parent engagement for schools that receive funding as a Title I school. Recognizing the potential of familial engagement to improve educational outcomes, these initiatives aimed to improve outreach and engagement for parents from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Baquedano-López et al., 2013).

Parents experience inequities complexed by race, class, gender identities, cultural scripts, and familial histories (Auerbach, 2007). For example, exclusionary practices have contested im/migrant family's role in the education and left the education of their children to the state (Arzubiaga et al., 2009). Much like the Ruiz's (1987) language as a problem framework, im/migrant families were seen as a problem and challenge, children must overcome to attain educational success and familial expertise and students' cultural practices are perceived as unrelated or irrelevant to student disciplinary learning (Ishimaru et al., 2015). In US public schools, traditional modes of parental and familial engagement restrict the roles parents play in participating in their children's K-12 schooling by failing to adequately address race, class, and immigration as key equity issues (Baquedano-López et al., 2013).

Baquedano-López et al. (2013) explained how education research and education policy have perpetuated restrictive tropes of parents from nondominant groups including the tropes of parents as first teachers, parents as learners, parents as partners, and parents as choosers and consumers. These tropes further minoritize nondominant groups and allow greater access to White and middle-class parents. Parent engagement, or parent support efforts should be explored and pursued in terms of familial values and aspirations for their children (Auerbach,

2007). Moreover, future research and policy on parental involvement should move toward familial engagement, re-envisioning the nuclear family model to include extended families and community resources.

Researchers have highlighted the disconnect between school expectations of what im/migrants parents should be involved in, and the ways parents engage- as autonomous individuals who create and accept opportunities to involved (Pérez Carreón et al., 2005). While many studies position im/migrant families as in need of education, other scholars have called on researchers to position Im/migrant families as educators who shape children's educational experiences and knowledge development (Arzubiaga et al., 2009). For example, Pérez Carreón, Drake, and Barton (2005) described how parents' presence in schools, in formal school spaces, and in personal, informal spaces, should inform parent engagement. Significantly, scholars should examine the role of race, language, and immigration status on im/migrant parent inclusion. At the practitioner level, schools should allow parents' life experiences and cultural capital to inform school processes.

Scholars in the New Latino Diaspora: Exploring Areas of Increasing Diversity

The NLD describes area with increasing number of Latinx people without a historically Latinx presence (Murillo et al., 2002). In addition, researchers within the NLD shed light on the Latinx student experience in rural and less-researched areas. Hamann et al., (2015) formalized two hypotheses for the educational outcomes of Latinx youth in the NLD. The first hypothesis postulates that intuitional improvisation leads to better educational outcomes for Latinx youth than areas with a history of anti-Latinx institutionalized racism. The second hypothesis proposes that racialized patterns entrenched in educational intuitions are carried over to new settings, creating the same or worse educational outcomes for Latinx students. While researchers working within the NLD have not rejected or failed to reject either hypothesis, they have documented how various stakeholders interact with policy and practice to shape the Latinx students' experience. Significantly, research in the NLD has expanded the conversation beyond labor and economics to agency of im/migrant families.

Im/migrant families are seen as "agents of cultural continuity, change, improvisation, and contestations as they adapt to difficult, discriminatory practices, and policies" (Arzubiaga et al., 2009). Hamann et al. (2015) called on researchers to amplify voices from within the NLD and consider how such voices might influence policy. The authors called on future

research to examine how educational institutions accommodate arriving students in the NLD. Significantly, the New Latinx Diaspora lens considers the historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral "obligation" educational institutions must ensure the educational success of Latinx students in the NLD (Hamann et al., 2015). Further exploration can shed light on whether administrators effectively leverage the voices of students, families, and communities in developing and implementing education policies or whether they fail to engage with them.

Chapter III: Methods

Context: Rural Town, Idaho

This study takes place in *Rural Town*[1] with a population of approximately 2,000, a rural and agricultural-centric community. *Rural Town* is classified as Rural Distant in the National Center for Education Statistics' classification system. The district is located more than 5 miles but less than or equal to 25 miles from an urbanized area. Most residents in *Rural Town* are employed in manufacturing, agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting.

Furthermore, the town attracts people from other parts of the county as workers in the large onion sheds and farms. *Rural Town* has been home to many Latinx im/migrants for decades. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, more than 25% of the population identified as Hispanic or Latino, with 24% identifying as Mexican or Mexican American. This phrasing uses the official categories and terminology used by the U.S. Census Bureau and clarifies the population identification. Moreover, in 2010, 30% of the population five years and over spoke a language other than English, with 30% speaking Spanish. In 2019, 30% of the population five years and over speak a language other than English, with 25% speaking Spanish.,

Rural School District participates in a Title I- School-wide program and receives additional funding from the federal government because of a high percentage of families from low-income backgrounds. The school district is made up of three schools Rural Elementary (kindergarten- 4th grade), Rural Middle School (5th - 8th grade), and Rural High School (9th- 12th grade). About 30% of the students at RSD identify as Latinx, with 10 % enrolled in an English Learner Program and 30% from Low-Income Families. Moreover, 5% of students are from Migrant backgrounds.

Positionality

In this multi-year study, my positionally evolved in alignment with my personal, professional, and academic trajectory. As described in more detail in the following sections, the data collection for this study occurred in two phases. In the first phase of data collection, March through July 2020, I lived in Michoacán, México, my parent's homelands. While

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[1] The decision not to use U.S. Census data in this research study is intentional and is made to protect the anonymity of the research site and participants. The demographic information presented in this study is derived from various reliable sources, including the U.S. Census, and represents close approximations of the population under analysis.

living in Michoacán, I collaborated with Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens in her research focusing on the experiences of Indigenous educators in México negotiating forms for survivance and decolonial thinking in and around schools (Anthony-Stevens & Gallegos Buitron, 2022). Further, I was also enrolled in courses with Dr. Anthony-Stevens which explored Critical Indigenous Research Methodologies and committed me to grounding my research in respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility to research participants and community (Brayboy et al., 2012).

In Tacámbaro, I taught the English language to elementary students during the week, and adults on Saturdays. Some of my students were born in the US, had school experience in the US, had extended relatives in the US, or had aspirations to move to the US. While I understood the complexity of promoting a hegemonic language in our homelands, I was committed to unpacking transnationalism, the New Latinx Diaspora and educational equity for im/migrant students and families across the US and México border. In the following section, I describe the trajectory of this research project.

In the second phase of data collection, January 2020 through October 2022, I worked for the Office of Federal Programs in *Rural Town*. I served parents and students enrolled in the Migrant and English Learner Program at Rural School District. My role at the district was purposeful. I aimed to use the skills I had acquired as a certified teacher and interdisciplinary emerging scholar to serve the Latinx im/migrant community and have an opportunity to conduct my research. Further, I understood the parent's experiences as my family had lived in México for various years, and I had worked alongside many of the parents in the fields. In addition, I knew the inner workings of the school district as student, volunteer, and then as paid personnel. In this role, I hosted Spanish-language parent advisory committee meetings, interpreted during parent-teacher conferences, and met other immediate needs of Spanish-speaking parents and newcomer students. Furthermore, I facilitated training related to the Migrant and English Learner Programs for teachers and administrators. My community's educational journeys are testaments to the varied ways Latinx im/migrant students experience education in the New Latinx Diaspora.

Procedures

Data collection for this study began in March 2020, as the COVID-19 Pandemic started to change people's lives worldwide. At the time, I was living in Michoacán, México,

and had embarked on my dissertation studies while teaching English to elementary children, 1st through 6th, at an elementary school. In November 2019, I presented at the American Anthropological Association's Annual Meeting in Vancouver, Canada, with my major professor, and mentor, Dr.Anthony-Stevens. Scholar Edmund T. Hamann invited us to submit a chapter to the New Latino Diaspora book series on the experience of students and families in Idaho. Dr. Anthony-Stevens suggested and supported me in leading the chapter submission and becoming the first author. So, I embarked on an autoethnographic journey to understand my own and my family's experience in the New Latinx Diaspora and our experience coming of age in *Rural Town*.

The University of Idaho's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this research through two applications. The first application included research on the experience of my siblings and parents (Amá and Apá) and my experience through an interview of me conducted with Dr. Anthony-Stevens, who was my major professor during my master's degree. The second IRB application approved research on the experience of parents and students enrolled in RSD (January 2022). Consent forms and research questions were provided in English and Spanish, corresponding with the participant's language preferences. As I will explain in the findings section, I had a relationship that spanned many years with all participants. Most participants knew I was pursuing my doctoral studies, and I recruited them by explaining the research topic of research and asking them to participate in interviews.

Participants

Participants in this study are from the same country of origin (México) and the same place of current residence (*Rural Town*, Idaho), but their experiences and school practices are unique (López et al., 2010). Participants in this research were chosen through purposeful convenience sampling as they have expert knowledge of navigating K-12 schools in rural Idaho and were willing to participate. Participants identified as Spanish speaking, Mexican American, Mexican, and/or Latinx, Hispanic, and first and second-generation im/migrants.

All participants in this study have experience as parents or students at RSD during the years 2000-2022, and most participants lived in *Rural Town* at the time of data collection. There were eighteen participants, including me, who were between sixteen and sixty years old. Participants fit into three groups, Familía Gallegos, students at RHS, and parents. Groups are outlined in Figure 1. Furthermore, Table 2 includes descriptive data from each participant.

Table 2

Three Groups of Participants

Familía Gallegos	Parents	Students
Gabriel	Amá	Carlos
Rosalva	Apá	Esperanza
Susana	Sophia Ramos	Thelma Ramos
Carlos	Amalia Rivera	Marta Ramos
Miriam		
Eulalia		
Alvaro		
Clarissa		
Joaquin		

Note. This figure outlines the three groups of participants. Group 1 includes my eight siblings and me. Group 2 includes my mother and father (Apá and Amá), Sofia Ramos, and Amalia Rivera, all parents of children who attended RHS. Finally, Group 3 includes Carlos, Esperanza, Thelma Ramos, and Marta Ramos. All names of participants are pseudonyms.

As shown in Table 2, participants fit into three groups, Familía Gallegos, Parent(s), and Students at RHS. Participants were invited to the research in two phases. The first data collection and analysis phase began in January 2020 with interviews with Familía Gallegos and included Amá and Apá. The second data collection phase began in February 2022 and concluded in October 2022. Data included interviews from Group 3, Amalia Rivera and Sofia Ramos. Participants in Group 3 were enrolled at RHS during the time of data collection.

During all phases of the research process, including conceptualization and writing, I engaged with participants through pláticas (Fierros & Delgado Bernal, 2016). In addition, I engaged in pláticas with participants in various settings and modes, including family gatherings, phone calls, text messages, and more. While the topic of the conversations was not initially relevant to the research, I drew from the pláticas to understand the complexities of our testimonios, our experiences, and the theoretical framework informing the study. Further, while three participants, Rosalva, Susana, and Alvaro, did not participate in recorded

interviews, they shared testimonios during platicás that were essential to the findings.

In honoring participants' testimonio's, I narrated the participant's experiences in the following chapters. Chapter IV includes the analysis of students who are currently enrolled at RSD. Chapter V analyzes parents' experience at RSD, and Chapter IV includes my experience negotiating academic success. In Chapter V and Chapter VI, I draw attention to my sibling's experience. While I aim for a narrative flow, I triangulate findings across the groups, and participant voices are purposefully weaved through the chapters. For example, an analysis of the parent's experiences in Chapter V will include participant voices from Chapters III and Chapter IV.

Table 3

Study Participants and Key Information

Name	Language Preference	Interview Modality	Relationships	Date of Interview
Apá	Spanish	Zoom	Father to La Familía	March 2020
Amá	Spanish	Zoom	Mother to La Familía	March 2020
Sofia Ramos	Spanish	In-Person	Mother to Marta and legal guardian to Thelma	April 2022
Amalia Rivera	Spanish	In-Person	Mother of Familia Rivera	April 2022
Gabriel	English	Zoom	Familía Gallegos	March 2020
Rosalva	English	Not Interviewed	Familía Gallegos	N/A
Susana	English	Not Interviewed	Familía Gallegos	N/A
Carlos	English	Zoom	Familía Gallegos	March 2020
Miriam	English	Zoom	Familía Gallegos	July 2020
Eulalia	English	Zoom	Familía Gallegos	March 2020
Alvaro	English	Not Interviewed	Familía Gallegos	N/A
Clarissa	English	In-Person	Familía Gallegos	July 2020
Joaquin	English	In-Person	Familía Gallegos	July 2020
Carlos	Spanish	In-Person	Student	April 2022
Esperanza	English	In-Person	Student	April 2022

Table 3 (continued)

Marta Ramos	English	In-Person	Daughter of Sofia	April 2022
Thelma	Spanish	In-Person	Sofia's niece	April 2022

Parents who participated in this study, Sofia Ramos, and Amalia Rivera, have been active in school activities, including volunteering with their children at school and attending parent- teacher conferences and other school-sponsored events.

Table 4 summarizes the type and method of data that was collected, as well as a timeline of collection. In this study, I collected data using autoethnographic and ethnographic tools. The purpose of layering data collection methods was to triangulate between the data and enhance the validity of the findings. All data collected was secured and stored in password-secured electronic devices. Interviews and meetings relevant to the research took place in person and over the web conferencing software, Zoom.com. Furthermore, interviews were conducted in the language preferred by each participant, either English or Spanish.

Table 4

Data Collection

Type of Data	Timeline of Collection
Interviews with Familía Gallegos	February 2020 through August 2020
Interview with Amá and Apá	March 2020
Fieldnotes from RSD	February 2022 through April 2022
Interview with Sofia Ramos and Amalia Rivera	April 2022
Interviews of Students at RHS (Group 3)	April 2022
Reflective Journals	February 2022 through February 2023
Analytical Memos of interviews	March 2020 through February 2023

Ethnographic tools comprised field notes taken at the study site and interviews. Fieldnotes included observations at the school, during parent meetings, and interactions with teachers, students, or school administrators. Through these tools, I was observing for instances of parent engagement. Interviews were conducted in person and via Zoom. The duration varied

between twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the participant's availability. I arranged the interview time, location, and duration based on participant requests. Except for Thelma and Carlos' interviews, I conducted all interviews individually.

I opted to conduct interviews with Thelma and Carlos together, as they shared class time with me, and our previous conversations about the study and research topic had been together. Further, a collective conversation would allow for an in-depth exploration of how their experience intersected. Further, as newcomer students who spoke primarily Spanish, they shared many experiences at RSD. Moreover, conversations among the three of us characterized my relationship with Thelma and Carlos. Therefore, I conducted Thelma and Carlos' group interview in Spanish.

All in-person interviews were recorded on my cellphone, which is password protected. Then, I transcribed the English interviews using the Otter.ai application. Finally, I used Sonix.ai to transcribe interviews conducted in Spanish. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. In recognition of the culturally specific knowledge embedded in the language (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012), interviews are presented in the participant's language.

Autoethnographic tools included reflective journaling and analytical memos I collected during the second data collection phase. First, I wrote reflective journals (250+ words) twice weekly during data collection and analysis. Such reflective journals aimed to capture a reflection on the intersections I occupy in the research, emphasizing intellectual, emotional, and political interpretation of the observations and research. In addition, I collected field notes during data collection at the research site and during participant interviews. The field notes documented my interactions with participants, participant interactions with each other, and participant interactions with school personnel. Finally, I used to weave an autoethnographic narrative into data analysis and written products resulting from the research.

Finally, I wrote analytical memos (Saldana, 2016) corresponding to the nine interviews conducted in the project, Lessons from the New Latinx Diaspora in Idaho: Negotiating Access to School Success (NLD-Idaho), with my family members and an interview where Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens interviewed on my experience in the NLD. The interview-field notes aimed to interrogate commonalities and differences described in the published literature on the K-12 experiences of nondominant students, my personal

experiences to the experiences described by my family members, and the published literature. Each fieldnote was prompted by the research questions guiding this study and was more than 250 words long.

Secondary data for the study included public documents such as data published by the State Department of Education, relevant classroom and school documents, photos published by the school or on public social media profiles, and pictures and documents related to the participant's background elicited from research participants.

Data Analysis

Data analysis for this research took place over various phases as an ongoing process initiated during data collection. The analysis began as I collected data and continued as a constant comparative process between my experience, documented through autoethnographic tools, and the experiences of participants, documented through ethnographic tools. First, I analyzed the data through inductive and deductive analysis, as Creswell (2014) described. Then, as an inductive process, I coded the transcription of the interview and the field notes. While I coded, I reflected on how the conceptual framework helped me understand participant experiences. After creating initial codes, I coded data for themes and compared them to the existing literature on community cultural capital and science education (Creswell, 2014).

While analyzing the interviews, I experimented with Quirkos and Atlas.ti. In Quirkos and Atlas.ti software, I followed a similar process. In this analysis, I aimed to capture the voices and perspectives of the participants to highlight the most prominent themes within the study. I began with an initial reading of the interviews. Then, I highlighted significant statements, categorized statements with codes, created groups, and then developed themes. I analyze interviews and field notes individually and then agglomerate data, carefully examining regularities and common themes. For example, after collecting data for the study's first phase, interviews with my siblings and parents, I coded the data using the Quirkos software and categorized themes. Table 5 includes an excerpt from a code summary, demonstrate the evolution of a code to a theme.

Table 5

Sample Codebook

Code	Category	Theme
"las he podido arreglar" "ella misma nos dijo" "Y el pensaba que eran tacos"	Racial Aggression	Parents respond in diverse ways to racial aggressions faced by their children.
"que no le hablan mucho" "hacen eso y es divertido"	Racial Agresssion	Racial aggressions and forms of exclusion experienced by im/migrant students
"I feel like it is possible." "high expectations for me" "that I have a good 'Cabeza'"	Aspirational Capital (Yosso, 2005)	Families nurture aspirational capital.

To improve this study's rigor, I used constant comparison and triangulation. Specifically, I read and re-read the field notes and interview transcription to identify emerging themes in a constant search for convergence (Creswell, 2014).

Ethical Concerns

This study was grounded in relationships, respect, reciprocity, and responsibility (Brayboy et al., 2012). While the Four R's (Brayboy et al., 2012) were conceptualized through Critical Indigenous Research Methodologies (CIRM), I draw from the framework to emphasize the importance of my relationship to participants and the reflexivity involved in the research process. Further, I draw from a lineage of scholars who engage in research in their communities.   Before beginning any form of data collection, I discussed the purpose and procedure for the study and invited participants to participate. Parents were made aware of their children's participation in this study, and I had long-established relationships with all parents of children who participated. Discussions about this research with participants took place in the participant's preferred language (re., Spanish or English). Participant identification is protected via pseudonyms, and participant names were not used in data analysis or presentation. There were minimal risks associated with participating in this study. Participants were informed that participation was entirely voluntary and that their withdrawal from the study would not result in a penalty.

Chapter IV: Familial and Aspirational Capital: Envisioning a Successful Future

In response to the primary research question, this chapter focuses on the diverse and varied ways Latinx im/migrant students in this study participate and negotiate school success. The analysis includes the experience of Marta (daughter of Sofia Ramos), Thelma Ramos (Sofia Ramos' niece), Carlos, and Esperanza. Findings show that participants in this research experienced school in Rural Town in varied and complex ways. As seen in Table 3, all students were of Mexican heritage, either first-generation Mexican American or Mexican im/migrants. Further, all students possessed bilingual repertoires of Spanish and English. Two students, Thelma, and Carlos im/migrated from México in the fall of 2021. While both students were born in the USA, they moved to México as children and have lived most of their lives in México.

Findings in this chapter shed light on how im/migrant students in rural settings wielded their CCW (Yosso, 2005) to participate and negotiate access to school success. The findings revealed how students employed familial and aspirational capital to negotiate school success. Further, an analysis of the student's experiences revealed barriers to school success faced by Latinx im/migrant students and their families, including a lack of school resources to support newcomer students. In addition, their stories illuminate the diverse ways in which parents, communities, and transnational networks support im/migrant children in accessing and participating in schools to achieve academic success. In the following subsections, I break down the diversities of how participants experienced and navigated Rural High School.

Newcomer Students Employing School Success and Wielding Familial Capital

Thelma and Carlos moved to the Rural Town in the fall of 2021, being the newest newcomer students to enroll at RSD. At the time of the study, Thelma and Carlos lived with extended relatives who had lived in the area for more than a decade. Before relocating to Rural Town, the children had limited interaction with the host families and had never visited Rural Town. By sponsoring them to attend school in Rural Town, the children's aunt demonstrated the use of familial capital, defined as a cultural wealth that "engages a commitment to community wellbeing and expands the concept of family to include a more broad understanding of kinship" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Although the two families were unrelated, Thelma and Carlos received sponsorship from their respective aunts, who provided a shared home and took on various parental responsibilities. These included driving them to

school, attending parent meetings, and fulfilling other guardian roles. Sofia Ramos, Thelma's aunt, and Carlos's aunt diligently attended to the children's needs, ensuring they had proper documentation, up-to-date vaccinations, and opportunities to engage in extracurricular activities. Also, their extended family supported their participation in extracurricular activities and their aspirations for school success by volunteering to make food for clubs and offering the children rides to choir concerts or sports.

Further, Thelma and Carlos had few close relatives in Rural Town, and their parents and other immediate family members lived in México. However, they leaned on their relatives for information as they learned to navigate the new setting. For example, years ago, Carlos' older cousin had graduated from RHS, and Carlos' frequently mentioned talking to her about her experience at Rural High and stories he heard from his aunt and uncle.

Similarly, Thelma frequently mentioned her older cousin's experience at RHS. Yosso (2005) defines familial capital as "cultural knowledge nurtured among familía (kin) that carry a sense of community, history, and cultural intuition" (p. 79). While the students were "new" to Rural Town, their families supported them in their participation in school activities. Carlos was born in the United States and moved to Nayarit, México as a child. In Nayarit, his family lived in a town of five-hundred inhabitants and worked in agriculture, harvesting watermelon and other crops. Carlos lived with his aunt, uncle, older sister, and niece in Rural Town. I met Carlos on the first day of his high school registration in October 2021. He sat with his aunt and sister in the main office at RHS. Like my first interaction with Thelma, I was asked to interpret during their registration to RHS and translate the documents the family submitted for registration.

Carlos' sister was nineteen years old and could not enroll at Rural School District (RSD). Instead, she worked with their aunt at a local food processing plant. Years before Carlos' enrollment at RHS, Carlos's aunt had sponsored another nephew to move from México to Rural Town, enroll at RSD, and successfully graduate high school and pursue college. Furthermore, Carlos' cousin had graduated from RHS. So, Carlos's aunt knew most school processes, including what documents would be required for registration, what sports Carlos would be able to participate in, and what was expected of the parent/guardian. Carlos participated in extracurricular activities, including the Lideres club and soccer. His aunt and uncle would provide rides and ensure Carlos had the proper participation.

I worked with Thelma and Carlos daily as a supervisor during a class period. I was asked by administrators at RHS to mentor students by sharing learning opportunities with them, such as Duolingo and Khan Academy, review their grades, offer advice on school, and translate school communications. We met daily for fifty minutes. In addition to the required schoolwork, we shared platicás on various topics, including school experiences in México, family stories, cuentos, and many other topics, always in Spanish. When Amalia Rivera was hired, she was also present at the office and offered her consejos and support with homework and other topics.

Thelma and Carlos's school experience was marked and marinized by their use of language, in this case, the nondominant language, Spanish. Similarly, Peralta (2013) asserted that language is a "central racial marker" that profoundly affects students in rural settings. These students are often placed in lower grades that do not correspond to their developmental age, thereby perpetuating deficit models of their academic potential. Carlos' and Thelma's use of Spanish was seen as a language problem where their experience at RHS was defined by needing more linguistical abilities in the dominant majority language- English (Hult & Hornberger, 2016). As a result, Thelma and Carlos, who were sixteen years old during registration, were enrolled as ninth-grade students with students younger than them. Their courses included choir, Spanish, and digital learning through Idaho Digital Learning Academy (IDLA). Still, they were excluded from courses allowing them to graduate from high school in four years.

While Carlos was eager to learn and be successful at RHS, schools in México still needed to prepare him to learn through a digital format, as was required for some of his courses through IDLA. Furthermore, the COVID-19 Pandemic limited Carlos' progression through grade-level math. México canceled face-to-face classes early in the Pandemic, and rural areas had limited access to digital resources. So, unlike Alma, Carlos could not participate in math class during his first year at RHS. Furthermore, in rural Zacatecas, Carlos was a student at a telesecundaria, a model initiated in 1968. Telesecundaria is a mode in which students participate in fifteen-minute programming transmitted through satellite or the Internet and work with a grade-level teacher for thirty-five minutes (Relaciones Publicas, 2020). This model allows rural teachers and students with limited resources to access the current curriculum. When asked about his school experience in rural Zacatecas, Carlos

stated, "In my town, well, we were all family" (Carlos, Interview, April 2022). While Carlos had family in Rural Town, he did not have relatives enrolled in RSD. Carlos also defined a stark contrast between his relationship between teachers and administrators in rural Zacatecas and teachers at RHS. Carlos stated the following,

> "Aquí, aquí como que no le hablan mucho… mucho los maestros. Así como… o allá, nosotros platicaban mucho con nuestros maestros. Que, "eh, mire que aquí'' cosas así. Platicábamos con, con nuestro director, nos llevábamos bien, nos llevamos bien, todos platicábamos o le decíamos, 'un día vamos al río', decíamos 'es un sábado, un fin de semana', nos íbamos y hacíamos hacíamos carne y todo" (Carlos, Interview, April 2022).

> "Here (RHS), they [the teachers] don't talk too much to us... A lot of teachers. We talked a lot with our teachers as well as... Or there [at home in México]. That, "hey, look at things like that here." We talked to, our director, we got along well, we all talked to him, or we told him, 'one day let's go to the river', we said 'it's a Saturday, a weekend,' we would leave and make meat and everything" (Carlos, Interview, April 2022).

In the statement, Carlos briefly described how his teachers at RHS did not speak much to their students. Using "le as" the indirect person pronoun, Carlos insinuates that teachers were not speaking much- to him or the students with whom he identifies. In contrast, he frequently describes speaking with his teachers in México. For example, saying, "uh, look here," insinuates Carlos could respond to conversations with his teachers with a counterargument. Furthermore, Carlos described having a meal and spending recreational time with his teachers outside of school in rural México. Carlos' experience as a rural student in México, in contrast with his experience in Rural Town, elucidates how im/migrant students feel belonging or exclusion in school settings.

Thelma's school experience in urban México differed from Carlos' experience. I met Thelma the first week of the school year 2021-2022, after her move to Rural Town. Her aunt, Sofia Ramos, had made a trip to California with the family to bring Thelma to Rural Town where she would live with the family. Before moving to Rural Town, Thelma lived with her mother and older brother in Zacatecas, México, in a city of about 111,000 residents. Thelma

enjoyed drawing, reading, and listening to music. Her favorite song at the interview was a Reggaeton song released in 2006.

Thelma enrolled in RHS with her cousin, Marta Ramos. Thelma's participated in many of Marta's activities, including Lideres. In many ways, Thelma excelled at RHS. While communicating predominantly in Spanish, she used her developing English repertoire to facilitate conversations with teachers and students. While she participated in wrestling, choir, and other clubs and maintained high grades in most classes, the extent of her participation depended on the teacher's receptiveness to Thelma's use of the Spanish language and the language support of her peers. For example, Thelma was paired with a peer who would interpret for her in many of her classes. In other cases, Thelma sought out a peer with whom she could speak in Spanish and who would answer Thelma's questions.

In a couple of instances where Thelma's grade slipped below a B, Thelma worked hard to catch up when she fell behind and sought help from a peer or her cousin, Marta. However, her belonging was complex, and she described feeling minoritized across different settings. For example, at the end of the recorded interview, I asked Thelma to share a topic she thought essential to add to my study. Thelma stated the following,

> "Como cuando fuimos a la conferencia [de Lideres]… Como nos reunimos todos. Y como a unos no les gusta realmente porque se sienten… aunque estemos ahí puros latinos, creo que se sienten como minorías, porque a veces así me siento yo también. Aunque haya personas ahí. Entonces siento que a veces me siento como muy Chiquita. Pues, así como… porque no hay muchas personas así y muchas personas que son latinas y que no les gusta tanto ser latinos, que creo que eso sería bueno, hablar sobre cómo se siente a veces, sentir cómo se sienten. Nos sentimos a veces como minorías, como por más poquitas personas…. Como aquí en Rural Town, como que conocemos, porque es familía. Pero no conoces como en realidad. O sea, esta es una mitad, menos de la mitad de los lugares donde estás, mucho menos de la mitad. Hay como uno o dos latinos ahí (Thelma, Interview, April 2022).

> "Like when we went to the [Lideres] conference... As we all gathered. And, since some don't really like it because they feel, even though most of us there are Latinos- I think they feel like minorities because sometimes that's how I feel too. Even though

there are people there. So, I feel like sometimes I feel very small. Because, as well as because…. there aren't a lot of people like that, and a lot of people who are Latina and who don't like being Latino so much. So, I think that would be good, talking about how they sometimes feel, feeling how they feel. Sometimes we feel like minorities, like more than a few people.... Like here in Rural Town, like we know, because it's family. But you don't know in reality. I mean, this is one-half, less than half the places where you are, much less than half. There are one or two Latinos there" (Thelma, Interview, April 2022).

In the statement, Thelma recognized the significance of meeting with high school students with a Latinx background. Thelma further analyzed the experience calling attention to the diversity among other Latinx students and feelings of exclusion. Thelma described the feeling as a minority and "little," even around other Latinx students. In her statement, she alludes to the exclusion by other Latinx students who 'do not want to be Latino". Furthermore, she described the feeling in Rural Towns, where Latinx im/migrant students are the minority.

In the context of Thelma and Carlos' experience as newcomer students, it is important to consider how the ways language differences influenced how they experienced K-12 schooling and extracurricular activities at RHS. For example, in the quote, Thelma alludes to feelings of isolation as "feeling little," even among fellow Latinx im/migrant students. While various factors could have been at play, it is possible that Thelma experienced isolation because of being in a predominantly English language environment. Nondominant children experience isolation and a sense of "cultural starvation" when speaking any language other than English, which is viewed as inappropriate (Yosso et al., 2009, p. 652).

Thelma subsequently narrows her focus to her experience in Rural Town, describing it as a place with minimal demographic diversity, implying that she feels "small" in other settings in Rural Town.

In addition, when discussing her school friends, Thelma said the following,

"No tengo muchos amigos y no hablo con casi no hablo con nadie. Si. Pero. Sí. A veces los otros compañeros que no son latinos intentan hablar conmigo en español y eso es divertido. Si intentan como poner como el traductor y luego no escuchan, solo leen lo que ven y luego me dicen y así es como vive. Es divertido eso. Mi clase de

matemáticas, cuando terminamos las tareas o nos da un día libre, hacen eso y es divertido" (Thelma, Interview, April 2022).

"I don't have many friends and I hardly talk to anyone. Yes. But. Sometimes non-Latino classmates try to speak to me in Spanish, and that's fun. They try to use a translator and then they don't listen, they just read what they see and then tell me, and that's how it goes. It's fun. In my math class, when we finish our assignments or have a free day, we do that and it's fun" (Thelma, Interview, April 2022).

Thelma describes her interactions with other high school students in the statement above. While Thelma described it as "fun," Thelma's description provides a glimpse of the microaggressions faced by nondominant students. In this case, the interaction can be interpreted as token acceptance (Yosso et al., 2009), where a person is valued for their ability to provide diversity or novelty rather than who they are as a person. In addition, the interaction perpetuates power dynamics where peers control the interaction.

The analysis of Thelma and Carlos's experience illuminates how rural schools respond to im/migrant students. Furthermore, Thelma and Carlos' testimonio highlight microaggressions and exclusion. Moreover, a more in-depth analysis reveals how school practices that exclude newcomer students from rigorous academic learning until they have acquired English can have implications for their vocabulary development (Lee & Hawkins, 2016).

Nurturing Familial Capital: The Experience of Marta Ramos

Marta Ramos is the daughter of Sofia Ramos. I knew Martha for many years prior to the beginning of the study. For example, when Marta was a middle school student, I was the afterschool program video productions teacher. Marta enjoyed participating in activities such as basketball, volleyball, and tennis as a student. However, Marta described, "I've kind of been drifting from it because of siblings or work or just other things that I have to do" (Marta, Interview, March 2022). As a tenth-grade student, Marta was involved in various school activities, including being the school president of the Lideres club. Marta also worked as an aid for the RSD's afterschool program. Marta's older brother, Hector, graduated from RHS a couple of years before Marta was enrolled.

Like other participants, Marta shared how family members and siblings inspired and

were involved in their school experiences. In another quote, Esperanza described Hector, her older brother, as "always having big dreams". As a high school student, Hector participated in football, basketball, and wrestling. Further, he participated in the RHS's Career Technical Education (CTE) program and took courses to prepare for a welding career. After high school graduation, Hector secured a job welding at a shop in the nearby town. Marta described how Hector influenced her aspirations in the following quote,

> "Because seeing what Hector always put out there to us, I feel like it is possible. I feel like he's always told us that no matter what like we're going to be able to get to where we want if we put in the work" (Marta, Interview, April 2020).

In the excerpt, Marta described how her older sibling, Hector, inspired her to pursue her dreams, contributing to her aspirational capital. Yosso (2005) described aspirational capital as "the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers" (p.77). Furthermore, Yosso (2005) described how social and familial contexts influence the development of aspirations. In this case, Marta explained how Hector influenced her to believe her dreams were attainable if she worked hard.

For example, throughout my high school and college experience, I had seen her parents actively participate in school-sponsored activities by attending English classes hosted by the Federal Programs Office, parent-teacher conferences, and other parent meetings. Moreover, Esperanza's parents regularly communicated with the Federal Program's office through phone calls.

Esperanza's experience further illuminated how parents formally and informally support children's school success. Furthermore, Esperanza's experience revealed the inextricable relationship between aspirational and familial capital. Esperanza described how her parents talked about their aspirations for her school success to her and her extended family.

> "I feel very supported. I feel like [my parents] have high expectations for me. [My parents] are proud of all the achievements I have made. They always make sure not to brag. But, like, you know, they like to make me feel good. My parents tell all my family that I'm a good student and that I have good grades… They always say that I have a good 'Cabeza' [head] that I'm like, good, that I'm going to go far. And sometimes, they even go to like showing me colleges, ivy league schools, such as

Harvard, and showing me other Mexican students who have passed on that. And I think that's one achievement I would like to make" (Esperanza, Interview, April 2022).

While Esperanza was a ninth-grade student, not at the school level, to apply to Ivy League schools, her aspirations to work toward attending a college degree and attaining school success were supported by her parents. Esperanza described how her parents contributed to her emotional, educational, and occupational consciousness (Yosso, 2005) and shaped her educational aspirations. Further, Esperanza described how her parents made her 'feel good' about her present and future academic success, her parents shaped her aspirational and familial capital. Esperanza's parents explicitly told her she had a "good head", expressing their belief in Esperanza's intellect and suggesting she would excel in school. Notably, Esperanza's parents intentionally exposed her to examples of Mexican-heritage students excelling in schools. Although these students were not personally known to Esperanza's family, her parents tapped into a collective narrative of aspiration for their Latinx im/migrant students that went beyond Rural Town.

Considering Esperanza's testimonio, it is also essential to investigate the curriculum and learning opportunities available to her at RHS. In pursuit of an Ivy League education, Esperanza would benefit from access to high-quality curriculum and learning opportunities. In discussing her favorite class, Esperanza stated the following,

"My favorite classes would have to be science and math. There's just some classes that I've always enjoyed. Math. I don't know why. But like, math is a really easy subject. To me. It's just I think the way that I learned that maybe is why I wasn't in Advanced Math. Because some of my sophomore friends are like sometimes, they do their homework and I watch them do it. And I'm like, 'Oh, I know how to do this'. Because they, they tell me how to do it. I think that's maybe just the barrier between why I can't advance to another math. Just the way that I learn. I like to… You teach me once and then I can get it" (Esperanza, Interview, April 2022).

In the excerpt, Esperanza described the disconnect between a subject she enjoyed, and how she excelled in the subject. Esperanza alludes to a disconnect between the way she learns, and the way math was taught by the teacher. In contrast, Esperanza described how it was more effective to do math with her friends, who were taking a higher-level math course.

In the same conversation, when asked about her least favorite class, Esperanza stated the following,

> "Oh, my least favorite class. I think English just because like sometimes the grammar like all these rules is a bit confusing. Also, as well, since it's my second language like I understand it, but sometimes there's like rules or like different things we have to learn about, such as poetry. I'm not a very poetic person. So, it's kind of difficult for me to get interested in that" (Esperanza, Interview, April 2022).

In describing English as her least favorite class, Esperanza described English as her "second language," alluding to a disconnect between her language repertoires and the curriculum in her English class. Esperanza possessed a rich linguistic repertoire in Spanish, cultivated at home with her parents and extended family members with whom she described a close relationship. As a fluent English speaker who has attended English-speaking schools from kindergarten through ninth grade, Esperanza described being challenged by the grammar rules, alluding to the difference in grammar structures, irregular verbs, and grammatical insertions between the two languages. Such differences would make it difficult for Esperanza to apply her full linguistic repertoire in her English class, where English was the only medium of communication.

The excerpts above give a glimpse of Esperanza's experience with the curricula at RHS. While Esperanza and her parents cultivated aspirational capital by verbally expressing high aspirations for her, the resources available did not support her full use of CCW and other forms of knowing. For example, Esperanza described not being enrolled in the advanced math class, although math was her favorite class, and she felt she understood the content when she observed her friends doing the math. In this instance, it is also important to consider intent community participation, where Esperanza observed her friends solving higher-level math problems. As a result, Esperanza described gaining skills to solve problems independently and advance her skills in math in ways different than in math class.

Participating in Extracurricular Activities: Marta's Experience

All four student participants were involved in Lideres. In the RHS student handbook, Lideres is described as a Hispanic service and leadership organization, and the school emphasizes that all students are welcome to join. The organization was founded by a small group of high school students more than ten years before the start of the study. Today,

various local schools have chapters. The organization describes its commitment to ensuring Latinx youth succeed beyond high school while promoting Latinx cultural pride and civic engagement in its mission statement. High school student members of the organization meet once a month at a local school or college to support the organization's mission. Further, local organizations serving Latinx youth support Lideres by donating to scholarships and being mentors to student members.

Findings highlight how the experiences and mentorship of other Latinx im/migrant students at RHS impacted participants. For example, Marta described being motivated to join Lideres as a young student and questioning her brother about joining. Marta stated,

> "So, for Lideres, I really liked that it's helping the Hispanic culture. Ever since I was little, I remember saying, 'oh, I want to do that'. I want to do that since I was in middle school. I remember 'Hector why aren't you involved in it?' And all my older friends were in it. And I was like, that seems cool. Like, I like what they do. I like how they help. Um, it was always something that I saw myself in. And so, ever since my freshman year, I tried to be as involved as I could. Which led to, 'we need a new president for next year.' [The president] is retiring- graduating from senior year. So, they voted me in. So, I took the president, and I just really like to know that I'm there to help others. I'm here to help myself. And I just like all the opportunities it gives me for college, for scholarships, for my culture. It helps me understand more like this is what we do. This how we are growing. Like right now [Lideres Alum and collge gradute] came in, and he talked about how our work in the fields could even get us somewhere later on. Like, working with, did he say, in a scientific field I think because we know how it is working in that and culture and in the fields" (Marta, Interview, April 2022).

For Marta, her participation in Lideres meant being a part of a community of Latinx students and becoming a leader while helping her community and getting access to school success through scholarships. While Marta's use of the word "growing", needs further clarification, it is possible that Marta references the growing population of Latinx people in Idaho. Alternatively, it is possible for Marta to be referring to personal growth or the attainment of school success, or possibly assimilation. In all cases, Marta's participation in Lideres sheds light on how school activities shape students' identity and perception of access to school

success. In the context of Marta's relationship to other Latinx students at RHS, the definition of social capital, "the network of people and community resources" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79), Marta's description of Lideres sheds light on how Latinx students support each other in achieving school success, where an alum returned to RHS to share his experience as inspiration for other students. Lideres was also an opportunity for Marta to learn about post-secondary possibilities and understand how her experiences could become a part of her academic and professional identity.

Thelma, Marta, and I were active in Lideres throughout our time at RSD. For Thelma, it was an opportunity to connect with other Latinx students, and for Marta provided an opportunity to learn about her culture and contribute to serving her community. Similarly, Lideres allowed me to take on a leadership role as the organization's state president and servant leader in my community. Within this role, I networked with Latinx leaders across the state.

A Summary of Latinx Im/migrant Student Experiences at Rural School District

Student testimonios shed light on how parents and extended family networks participate in schools by supporting children's school success and future. The analysis of student experiences highlights how familial relationships shape students' educational experiences and the formation and nurturing of CCW. For example, participants described how their immediate and extended family influenced different aspects of their experience in a rural public high school and their aspirations for the future. Participants yielded their familial capital and aspirational capital to imagine successful futures.

Carlos' and Thelma's experiences illuminated how extended families and U.S.-México transnational networks play in the transfer and utilization of aspirational and familial capital. For example, by sponsoring children to move to Rural Town and attend RSD, the children's aunt and their families demonstrated a strong commitment to extended family and the community's wellbeing beyond borders. Thelma's and Carlos' testimonio demonstrates how families could support one another and invest in their collective future.

Marta and Esperanza's experience draws attention to some factors that shape students' aspirational capital. Marta highlighted her older sibling, Hector, and older peers inspiring her to participate and become a leader for her peers in pursuit of educational success through scholarships. Esperanza's parents motivated her to achieve her dreams, and they drew from a

broader narrative of Latinx students achieving, including national television. Marta and Esperanza demonstrate how families and peers shape aspirational capital and motivate children to pursue school success. Additionally, the participants illustrate how narratives of K-12 schooling success within families and communities intersect across national boundaries and generations.

By centering the experiences of Latinx im/migrant and bi/multilingual students, this chapter delved into how families influence student participation in schools and access to school success. Focusing on the experiences of four students at Rural High School (RHS), this chapter reimagines the futures of Latinx im/migrant students and families in Idaho. It highlights the need to expand our understanding of collective expertise beyond the nuclear structure to support the success of nondominant students in public schools on a transnational scale.

Chapter V: Exploring Intergenerational Perspectives and Experiences of Community Cultural Wealth

This chapter focuses on an intergenerational lens and provides a multidimensional and more nuanced understanding of how im/migrant families participate in and negotiate access to school success in rural schools in Idaho. Significantly, parents in this study provide an intergenerational lens, expanding two decades, documenting the changes in Rural Town. The parents of three families, Amalia Rivera and Sofia Ramos, and my mother and father, Amá and Apá, described how they employed their CCW and their children's CCW to support their children's educational success. In this chapter, parents highlighted the nurturing of familial, navigational, social, aspirational capital, and resistant capital as counternarratives to deficit ideologies present in education systems. The parents' stories and reflections revealed the various barriers they confronted as they participated in schools and negotiated school success, including limited resources to support their use and their children's use of linguistic capital. Additionally, findings revealed the varied ways Latinx families had shaped the cultural, linguistic, and social fabric of Rural Town.

Familía Ramos

Sofia Ramos is the mother of six children. Table 6 outlines essential information about the Familía Ramos. While I could not interview Sofia's husband, Sofia and Marta described him as an unconditional supporter of the children's school success. Furthermore, he was present during various school activities, including during a celebration of the Day of the Child in April 2022, where Sofia volunteered to cook hamburgers for the Lideres club.

Table 6

Familía Ramos

	Pseudonyms and important information
Sofia	Sofia is the mother of the Familía Ramos. Sofia's preferred language is Spanish, and she draws from English repertoires when an interpreter is unavailable. Sofia attended school in México and has lived in Idaho for about 20 years.
Hector	Hector is in his early twenties. He graduated from RHS and attended a local community college to receive his associate degree. He is bilingual.

Table 6 (continued)

Thelma	As Chapter IV describes, Thelma is Sofia's niece from Sofia's husband's side. Thelma was enrolled as a ninth-grade student. Thelma's preferred language is Spanish, and she is developing her English repertoire in a school setting.
Marta	Marta was a tenth-grade student at the time of the study. Additional information is detailed in Chapter VI. Marta's preferred language is English.
Ricardo	Ricardo is a seventh-grade student at Rural Middle School. Ricardo is bilingual.
Esther	Esther is a first-grade student at Rural Elementary School. Sofia describes Esther as an excellent and self-motivated student. Esther is bilingual.
Elena	Elena is five years old and attends a local migrant and seasonal head start school. Elena is bilingual.

Sofia was employed at a local onion shed a few miles from the RSD. She drove a small forklift, rearranging wood pallets and large wooden boxes at the onion shed. Her work schedule fluctuated with the season, and she worked more than twelve hours a day during the fall harvest season. Still, Sofia made every effort to stay informed and be involved in her children's progress by answering phone calls during her workday and taking the day off to ensure all her children were up to date on doctor and dentist appointments. Various times, Sofia showed up to parent meetings well after the session started dressed in her work clothes, and she attended with a relative or friend from work whom she brought along to the school.

As described in Marta's testimonio in Chapter IV, Sofia's participated both formally and informally in her children's K-12 schooling. In addition to more recognized forms of parental engagement, Sofia was tenacious as she became equipped to handle interactions with teachers and other school personnel by gaining an understanding of the processes in place within the school system that would safeguard her own and her children's individual rights. For example, Sophia described various challenges as a mother of children in the Rural

School District and instances of discrimination. When asked about negative school experiences, Sophia talked about an incident during the presidential election of 2016.

> "Varias también, pero las he podido arreglar. Si he tenido problemas con los maestros. No se si, no es política ni nada. Pero en ese tiempo, cuando entró el presidente, hubo muchos problemas aquí en la escuela. A lo mejor no se han dado cuenta o no, pero hubo varios altercados con estudiantes y muchachos que no estaban en el mismo… Mas los latinos teníamos un pequeño problema. Yo tuve un problema con el maestro de historia de la Middle School. En ese tiempo era Middle School, por lo mismo que mi hijo me lo me lo, me lo ponía mucho y mucho para cómo… Se sentía él lastimado. Se sentía ofendido. Se sentía… Y tuve que venir a hablar a la escuela sobre eso. Y sí, parece que ya sabemos, incluso yo ahorita creo que mi hija es la favorita del maestro" (Sofia, Interview, April 2022).

> "I've had various problems as well, but I have been able to fix them. I have had issues with teachers. It is not political or anything, but at that time, when the president came in, there were many problems here at the school. Maybe you have not noticed or have, but there were several altercations with students and guys who were not on the same page... However, we Latinos had a small problem. I had a problem with the history teacher at the Middle School. At that time, it was Middle School. That is why my son would always bring it up so much... He felt hurt. He felt offended. He felt... And I had to come to the school to talk about it. And yes, it seems that now we know. I even think now that my daughter is the teacher's favorite" (Sofia, Interview, April 2022).

According to Sofia, she was able to "fix" and take action when her children faced discrimination and racism. Specifically, Sofia described an example of discrimination against children in the Rural School District during and after the 2016 U.S. election. Sofia's children heard racist comments from their classmates and teachers, echoing the presidential candidate and later president. Sofia described how the high school history teacher made her son feel hurt and discriminated against, insinuating racist comments from the teacher. Sofia explained how she could "fix" the problem by reporting the issue to a network of Spanish-speaking staff in the Rural School District.

Sofia had relied on the network of school staff throughout the years for matters critical to her children's success. This small network included Federal Program's staff, interpreters, and bilingual teachers in the district. While Sofia expressed confidence that the staff would work to resolve the issue with the teacher, she was prepared to take a discrimination complaint to the district office. In addition, Sofia described measures she took in resistance to the teacher. More specifically, Sofia made it a point to talk to all other teachers and exclude the teacher during parent-teacher conferences. Afterward, he noticed a change in the history teacher and decided to visit him during lectures. Sofia hinted at how her daughter, Marta, also noticed a difference in the teacher, even feeling like the teacher's favorite student. In another case, Sofia described interaction with school staff who she said did not help or support parents, especially in/migrant parents or those who did not speak English, bringing into focus the various instances of micro and macro aggression faced by students and non-migrant parents.

As Thelma's aunt and sponsor, Sofia supported Thelma as a parent and guardian and formed part of Thelma's familial capital. At the beginning of the school year 2021-2022, before data collection for this study began, most of my interaction with Sofia revolved around school-parent communication with Thelma's enrollment, such as administering testing, sending referrals, enrolment in the Migrant Education Program (MEP), and communication between teachers. Attending to Thelma's school enrollment as a newcomer from México was demanding as there were various requirements for enrolling a transnational student. Nevertheless, Sofia supported Thelma's educational success by responding to phone calls, initiating contact with the school, and visiting the Federal Program's office if any new issues arose. Further, in supporting her familía, Sofia's relationship with Thelma warrants further analysis.

During Thelma's enrollment in the fall of 2021, I conversed with local community college representatives, exploring the possibility of Thelma enrolling in a HEP/GED program. Unfortunately, except for the Spanish teacher and a student teacher, all teachers at RHS were monolingual English speakers or needed more ability to communicate in Spanish. Furthermore, the students were considered to have interrupted K-12 schooling and would require much support to be on track to graduation. So, there was a limited possibility for the students to be supported to graduate high school in four years at RHS.

In my role in the Migrant Education Program, I was connected to the representatives of a High School Equivalency Program (HEP) at a local community college, as the representatives had presented during parent meetings, and one was an alumnus of RSD. Thelma high school counselor supported their exploration of enrollment in HEP, which allowed the students to obtain the equivalent of a high school diploma through a local community college while participating in extracurricular activities at RSD. Through the program, Thelma would be eligible to obtain college credits. So, after conversing with Sofia, I scheduled a meeting between the representatives and the students. While the students seemed open to the opportunity, their aunts did not support their enrollment.

Recognizing the obstacles that Thelma might have faced while enrolled at RSD and the obstacles Thelma faced in obtaining her high school diploma within four years, Sofia's definition of school success was nuanced and multi-faceted. For example, considering the significance of college credits in the capitalist U.S. system and the worth of a high school diploma, it is possible that enrolling in HEP would have proven to be a more advantageous choice for Thelma compared to continuing her education at RHS, in the face of the many institutional barriers faced by students and families. I had repeated interactions with Sofia regarding the decision, including a conversation over the phone, and Sofia shared that she would not support Thelma in enrolling in the HEP program. To reinforce her determination to keep Thelma enrolled at RHS, Sofia stated that Thelma was eligible to work at the local onion shed and was the age to get a job.   However, Sofia wanted Thelma to have the school experience. Given the patterns of participation in Sofia's testimonio, it is possible that Sofia's commitment to Thelma's enrollment at RHS stemmed from cultural beliefs about schooling in the U.S. Sofia's commitment to Thelma's registration at RHS could stem from Sofia's value of *educación*, described by Auerbach (2006) as encompassing being moral, responsible, respectful, and well-behaved behavior. Further, it is possible that Sofia believed a high school diploma would hold higher prestige.

In a similar vein, Sofia stated the following during an interview,

"Sí, porque si mis hijos van a ser exitosos, que son mis hijos y mi sobrina que es mi sobrina por parte de mi esposo, quiero que ella también tenga una cuna y es lo que le digo a ella, 'todo lo que trabajo por ti-es por ti, porque tú a mí no me vas a entregar nada para atras. Yo lo hago para ti, para que salgas igual que los demás.' Entonces

eso es lo que yo le meto siempre. 'Sigue adelante. No- no, problemas en la escuela. Evita los problemas, porque todo eso te va a traer consecuencias con el tiempo" (Sofia, entrevista, marzo 2022).

"Yes, because if my children are going to be successful- they are my children and my niece on my husband's side. I want her also to have a cradle, and that is why I tell her, 'Everything I work for is for you because you are not going to give me anything in return. I will do it for you so that you can get ahead the same as the others." So that is what I always tell her 'Keep going. No- no problems at school. Avoid problems because all of that will bring consequences over time" (Sofia, Interview, March 2022).

In this statement, Sofia alludes to the forms of sacrifice families make to ensure their children and community have access to schooling and schooling success. Further, the statement, "por que tu a mi no me vas entregar nada para atras," warrants further interpretation. Sofia emphasizes how her efforts in supporting Thelma are not for personal gain and that she is not expecting anything in return from Thelma. In stating "yo lo hago por ti," [I do it for you], Sofia alludes to an unfair sacrifice she makes to ensure Thelma's access to school success. Moreover, this interaction illuminates how Sofia interprets schooling spaces as spaces that determine access to opportunities for success and advancement in society. As Thelma's sponsor and guardian, Sofia leverages the school's inherent status as a gatekeeper institution to prompt Thelma to think about the outcomes of not participating in schooling. Similarly, Espinoza-Herold (2007) described how mothers navigate unknown school processes by supporting their daughters through *consejos* that children use to overcome challenges at school. Sofia's counsel to Thelma emphasizes recognition of Sofia's unfair sacrifice and Thelma's obligation to fulfill by strictly avoiding 'problems' at school.

In this statement, as part of Thelma's familial capital, Sofia nurtured Thelma's sense of community, history, and cultural intuition (Yosso, 2005), demonstrating how family, beyond immediate family or blood-kin, promotes and supports children's educational success. Sofia's description of a cradle implies a place to be safe and nurtured. Sofia's role in supporting Thelma's success providing the resources so that Thelma could have the same opportunity to achieve educational success as her children and other children in RSD.

Navigating School Settings: Learning From Our Children

Having supported their oldest children through graduation from RSD, the parents in this study had expert knowledge of how schools changed or evolved to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students. Yosso (2005) described navigational capital as the skills developed by navigating through social institutions that exclude or fail to draw on the experiences of Communities of Color. Furthermore, Auerbach (2007) described navigational capital as a "parent's basic understanding of how to navigate institutions- trying to open doors for their children" (p. 269). To this end, navigational capital is shaped through parent experiences at the school. As Thelma's parent/guardian, Sofia and Carlos' aunt had developed navigational capital and knew how to support them through pursuing a high school education.

When asked about the changes she had seen or experienced through the years at RSD, Sofia stated the following,

"He visto cambios positivos porque en aquel tiempo sí había maestras que hablaban español, inglés y bueno… las ayudantes. Me imagino que en aquel tiempo era Miss Rodrigues, era la Señora Martinez. Ella nos ha ayudado mucho. Pero ahorita veo más capacidad. O sea, en aquel tiempo sí tenía también uno muy buen servicio. Pero ahorita, es más como que estan asociadas a más personas, más estudiantes. Incluso tus mismos hijos se sienten más adaptados a la escuela, porque yo he hablado con Marta sobre, 'hay hija mejor...' 'No Amá aquí voy mas... aqui estoy bien, agusto y aquí está la escuela muy cómoda.' Es por eso que yo pienso que se sienten mejor. Tiene mucho que ver en los cambios de todos los principales. Yo creo que ya están adaptados a que habemos hispanos y que habemos latinos y que no nos pueden excluir... pienso" (Sofia, Interview, March 2022).

"I have seen positive changes because, at that time, there were teachers who spoke Spanish, English, and well… the assistants. I imagine it was Miss Rodrigues, Señora Martinez, at that time. She has helped us a lot. However, right now, I see more capacity. That is, at that time, I also had very good service. However, right now, it is more like there is more association between people and more students. Even your children feel more adapted to school because I have talked to Marta about, 'Oh

daughter, let's…' 'No mom, here I am more... I am fine, content here, and this is a very comfortable school.' That is why I think they feel better. It has a lot to do with the changes of all the major ones. I think they are already adapted to the fact that there are Hispanics and that we have Latinos, and that they cannot exclude us... I think" (Sofia, Interview, March 2022).

Significantly, in the statement, Sofia references the power dynamics present at the school. According to Sofia's recollection, there were school personnel fluent in Spanish, with the bilingual staff members serving in supportive roles. Sofia acknowledged the bilingual support staff provided and described having access to more support through an improved capacity. In describing "an association," Sofia implies the interconnected relationships among Spanish-speaking personnel. Alternatively, Sofia may refer to associations of parents, Latinx im/migrant community members, or a combination of both.

Further, in Sofia's description of "associations," Sofia references students, implying that students have more support from bilingual school staff. In the statement, "Oh daughter, let's…." Sofia suggests moving or relocating to Marta, and she rejects the suggestion, emphasizing her feelings of contentment and comfort.

Noticeably, Marta states she "feels better," calling attention to changes in the school administration and shifts to be more inclusive of Latinx im/migrant parents. Moreover, Sofia's words, "they can't exclude us," illuminate Sofia's connection to a community in Rural Town. While Sofia described the community as "Latino," the demographic information from Rural Town outlines a community of Mexican im/migrant families who are planting roots in the area. Concurrently, Sofia appears to allude to a historical pattern of exclusion at RSD. Through the examples of Sofia's participation as a parent at RSD and a tenacious resistor, this statement emphasizes Sofia's recognition of the institutional knowledge she possesses to enact resistance to exclusion. Further, in Sofia's assertion of "us," Sofia alludes to sharing knowledge with the Latinx im/migrant community.

Sofia's testimonio at RSD details the complex ways Latinx im/migrant parents support children to achieve school success. Sofia's experience illuminates how families nurture familial capital and build social capital. Sofia's testimonio supporting Thelma demonstrated the commitment to community well-being beyond borders and blood ties, demonstrating a broader definition of kinship (Yosso, 2005). Sofia outlined specific instances

of resistance, navigating systems of power and authority to achieve her goal of familial school participation and access. For example, Sofia described various instances where she responds to aggressions by taking agency in making her experiences and feelings known and reaching out to a trusted network of school personnel, a definition of social capital (Yosso, 2005). Within the context of the NLD, Sofia's participation in these networks is essential as they nurture and store knowledge Spanish-speaking im/migrant communities rely on to participate in K-12 schools (Poza et al., 2014). Sofia's testimonio sheds light on the sacrifices communities make to participate and access K-12 schools in recognition of the social value of an educación and the roles and responsibilities of extended family members across transnational borders.

From another angle, Sofia's experience exemplifies how im/migrant parents participate in schools, such as attending events within or outside the school premises. However, given the context of a majority White, English-speaking body of school personnel, her contributions may go unrecognized within the larger narrative of im/migrant parent participation as she mostly communicated with Spanish-speaking personnel.

Sustaining CCW Within School Settings: Amalia Rivera

Similarly, the Familía Rivera lived in the same area, miles apart, as my family in Rural Town for over twenty years. It is important to note that Carlos and Thelma had no prior relationship with Amalia before her employment at RSD. Moreover, Amalia Rivera and Sofia Ramos had limited interaction, only briefly encountering each other in passing during school-sponsored activities or events.

Amalia River is the mother of three children. Her oldest child, Eric, was my sister's classmate, Clarissa. I remember watching Amalia wait with Eric outside her house while the school bus approached to take him to school. While it was unspoken, my older siblings watched for Eric, ensuring he was safe from other children on the school bus. Amalia's second oldest, Lea, was an eleventh-grade student at RHS, and her youngest son, Victor, was in first grade. While Amalia's husband was not a research participant, he attended most school-sponsored activities with Amalia when available. In addition, Amalia's husband worked at a local ranch, fulfilling various roles, including tending horses and maintaining pastures. During the data collection, Amalia's youngest child, Eric, was in first grade. Table 7 outlines essential information about Amalia Rivera's family

Table 7

Familía Rivera

	Pseudonyms and important information
Amalia	Amalia Rivera is the mother of the Familía Rivera. Upon earning an equivalent of a high school diploma in Michoacán, México, Amalia provided clerical support to her relatives, skills relevant to her current work at RSD. While Amalia's preferred language is Spanish, Amalia is developing her English language repertoire through her work at RSD and communication with her children.
Jose	Jose Rivera attended primary and secondary school in Michoacán , México. He is employed in the local ranching and agricultural industry. Jose's preferred language is Spanish, and he has developed an English language repertoire through his work and communication with his children.
Eric	Eric is in his early twenties. He graduated from RHS with a CTE certification in mechanics and then attended a local community college to receive his associate degree. Eric is bilingual.
Lea	Lea was an eleventh-grade student at RHS during the time of the study. Lea is bilingual.
Luis	Luis was a first-grade student at the time of the study. Luis regularly attended afterschool-sponsored events with Amalia. Luis is bilingual.

In Fall 2021, Amalia fulfilled most caretaker roles while her husband worked. For example, Amalia dropped off and picked up Eric and Lea at school and was present to have lunch with her husband during his noon break. Furthermore, Amalia responded to school communications and called the Federal Program's office where I worked. For example, she called to report her children's absence or early pickup during scheduled appointments. While Amalia mainly spoke Spanish, her spoken English proficiency was adequate to relay important information and maintain some conversations with school personnel.

The Familía Rivera traveled to México during the winter months of December and

January, being present for their hometown's Christmas and New Year traditions in Michoacán. Each year, the family is advised to withdraw from the school district for their time in México to comply with school norms such as attendance policies and semester testing requirements. Other families who traveled to México through the holidays did the same. Significantly, Amalia and her husband had recently bought and remodeled a home in Michoacán across from Amalia's parent's home.

Upon my request, Amalia was hired at Rural School District (RSD) in February 2022 as the MEP and E.L. Program Support and Home Coordinator and Family Liaison. The Federal Program's office, which housed the MEP and E.L. Program, was transitional after the director retired part-time. Since my role was fluid, Amalia's help would be invaluable in coordinating parent events and facilitating communication with the school. Before she began working, our relationship revolved around school-parent communications, but we became close friends during our time working together five hours per day. Amalia's workday included making phone calls to Spanish-speaking parents when their children were absent, responding to parent phone calls, and communicating with school personnel. Furthermore, she supervised and advised Thelma and Carlos, Spanish-speaking newcomer students, during the third period. Amalia was present to talk to them about their experience at school, offering consejos, relaying information to school personnel, or simply providing a space for them to converse in Spanish.

In January (2022). Like many regional school districts, RSD considered transitioning to a 4-day school week. The four-day school, a concept that has been around for decades, resurfaced in Idaho in response to rural schools' need to reduce operating costs, attract and retain teachers, and provide greater family flexibility (Hill & Heyard, 2015). In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, the pressing need to address teacher attraction and retention prompted RSD to explore the possibility of transitioning to a four-day school week. RSD administrators formed an exploratory committee with parents, teachers, administrators, and school board members.

Amalia invited parents and helped facilitate a meeting with Spanish-speaking parents and families in the MEP and E.L. Programs. Significantly, with a limited number of staff, Amalia's efforts in making phone calls, and sending texts to parents, were important in ensuring parent participation. At the meeting, all conversations with parents were in Spanish.

Parents conveyed their concerns regarding the importance of the afterschool program, the availability of childcare options, and the school's role in providing meals during the school's closure day. While parents described these as important concerns, other parents made counterarguments and Amalia and I took notes to share with school administrators. After an amicable discussion where most parents voiced their opinion, the ten parents who were present voted to transition to a four-day school week. As a result, school administrators felt confident in their decision to move to a four-day school week. In this case, we see Amalia using her role within the school district to negotiate access to other Spanish-speaking parents. For example, Amalia was dedicated to contacting every parent on the list.

> When describing the significance of her role at the school district, Amalia stated, "Del trabajo, lo que me gusta es que podemos ayudar a las familias que pienso los estoy haciendo. Pero pienso que hay muchas inquietudes que a veces yo como mamá, quería acerca mis hijos y todo… y siempre ahí se ocupa alguien de confianza para los papas. Para poder ellos hablar, platicar de sus hijos o hablarnos las inquietudes de sus hijos en la escuela o lo que sus hijos les dicen. 'Está pasando esto', pero tienen [los padres] a veces tienen miedo ir *a hablar* con [maestr@s y administradores] o con o con la oficina o algo. Si ya estando alguien así ahí yo creo que tienen un poco más de confianza" (Amalia, Interview, October 2022).

> "What I like about work is that we can help families; that is what I think I am doing. However, I think there are many concerns that sometimes I, as a mother… I had about my children and everything... and there is always someone needed who can be trusted by the parents. So, they can talk, talk about their children or tell us about their children's concerns at school or what their children tell them. "This is happening," but [the parents] are sometimes afraid *to go talk* to [teachers or administrators] or to [someone at the] office or something. If someone like this is already there, I think they have more confidence" (Amalia, Interview, October 2022).

Amalia acknowledged the significance of her presence at the school district, being someone other im/migrant Spanish-speaking parents could trust, who would listen, answer questions, and relay their concerns or their children's concerns. Moreover, Amalia's statement highlighted what having someone in the office she could trust meant to her as a mother.

For example, in one instance, seven students were truant at RHS. The students had signed out during lunchtime and still needed to return. In this case, Amalia made the phone call home. She could relay the information in a way sensitive to parents' concerns without demeaning, villainizing, or criminalizing the students. In this case, the parents were responsive to Amalia's communication and received the administrator's note. For example, Amalia had been conversing with the parents about other topics. So, one of the mothers immediately called the Federal Program's office back and communicated with Amalia that she would come into the school to meet with the RHS principal. They could communicate important information to Amalia, the information they might have needed to be more comfortable communicating with other school personnel. Working from the inside, Amalia formed part of the parent's social capital, the network of people and community resources (Yosso, 2005). Amalia's presence and participation within the school district became a part of the Spanish-speaking im/migrant community's acquired knowledge or social capital.

I interviewed Amalia six months after I had transitioned to a new role at another institution. In the interview, Amalia described her experience working with RSD administrators and personnel to secure necessities for students enrolled in the MEP program. In this case, Amalia assisted and advocated for a newcomer student enrolled in the MEP program with a disability. Amalia communicated with program administrators about buying a binder with straps that the student could carry as a backpack. Amalia recounted the interaction in the following excerpt,

> "Le dije [a la supervisora] que si le podíamos comparar. Me dijo 'no, eso no le podemos comprar.' Y le dije [a la supervisora] "yo hasta donde yo sé sí se lo podemos comprar porque es algo para ella que ocupa, porque para ella es difícil traer un binder normal". Y dijo [la supervisora], 'hmmm... pues haceme la lista'. Y se la di [la lista]. Pero no me trajo el binder, trajo otros. Le dije [a la supervisora] 'es que este ella no le sirve'. Pero yo le di ese a Leslie. Le compuse todas sus hojas para sus clases y todo. Ahora hace como dos semanas que voy con [Leslie] a la primera clase a ayudarle. Este miro que [Leslie] batalla con su binder que traía, que todo se le tiraba. Ya fui y le dije a [la supervisora] 'Leslie necesita ese tipo de binder con mochila porque ella se le tira a todo y para ella es difícil estar agachándose a levantar todo.' Y dijo 'hmm, deja ver que puedo hacer'. Y yo, hasta dije [a otra maestra], "si hay dinero

porque ella misma nos dijo que ya le habían mandado dinero para todo eso'. Le dije 'y no es mucho lo que le estamos pidiendo nada más eso'. Y ella queriendo y no queriendo, Si me lo llevo y se la llevé a [Leslie]. ¿Ya le digo 'Cómo te sientes ahora con este?' Dice [Leslie], "mucho mejor porque ya no, no se me tiran mis cosas, no batallo. Como ella se agacha y camina despacio, a la hora que se cambian de clase los niños a veces se lo [tumban] y le tiraban sus cosas y ya con eso dice yo estoy más a gusto así" (Amalia, Interview, October 2022).

"I told [the supervisor] that if we could buy it for her. She said, 'No, we cannot buy that.' And I told [the supervisor], 'As far as I know, we can buy it because it is something she needs because it is difficult for her to bring a normal binder.' And [the supervisor] said, 'Hmm... well, make me a list.' And I gave [the list] to her. But she didn't bring the binder, she brought others. I told [the supervisor], 'This one does not work for her.' But I gave that one to Leslie. I made all her sheets for her classes and everything. Now it has been about two weeks since I go with [Leslie] to the first class to help her. I saw that [Leslie] struggled with the binder that she had, everything was falling out. I went and told [the supervisor], 'Leslie needs that type of binder with a backpack because she has trouble with everything, and it is difficult for her to keep bending down to pick it all up.' And she said, 'Hmm, let me see what I can do.' And I even told [another staff], 'There is money because she told us herself that they already sent money for everything.' I said, 'We are not asking for much, just that.' And she wanted to or not, I took it and took it to [Leslie]. I tell her, 'How do you feel now with this?' Leslie says, 'Much better because now, things do not fall out, I do not struggle. When she bends down and walks slowly when the kids change classes they sometimes [knock her down] and throw her things, and now with that, she says she is more comfortable like this." (Amalia, Interview, October 2022).

The preceding testimonio reveals how Amalia operationalized her access to institutional knowledge and power to advocate for student needs. The statement demonstrates the power dynamics Amalia navigated to communicate the student's need for the appropriate binder. After being denied the request, Amalia persisted in communicating the student's need, recognizing in her knowledge of the program's ability to cover the cost of the binder.

Amalia's persistence in making her request and her recognition of the knowledge of the program demonstrates the use of navigational capital, or the "skills of maneuvering through social institutions" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Although Amalia does not specify the language used in the conversation with her supervisor, Amalia has further developed her English repertoire through her interactions at work and her communication with her children.

Further, in communicating with her colleague, it can be assumed that the communication was in Spanish as both are fluent Spanish speakers. Recognizing how Amalia leverages her linguistic capabilities to communicate effectively with an English-speaking supervisor while advocating for student needs highlights the concept of linguistic capital. Yosso (2005) defined linguistic capital as the "intellectual and social skills attained through communication in more than one language and/or style" (p. 79). In this case, Amalia's use of linguistic capital was important in her ability to navigate the power dynamics.

Developing Intergenerational CCW: Amá and Apá's Experience

Amá and Apá moved to Rural Town in the late 1990s. They had eight children when they bought the ten-acre property, less than a mile from City limits. The property sits on the town's outskirts, a quiet place far away from the town but close enough to hear and feel the train as it went by. Apá and his seven brothers agreed to pay for the property, which had two houses, and with time build more houses. Also, the property was appealing to keep animals-chickens, goats, cattle, and horses. So, with time, our family and Apá's younger brother made Rural Town their home, and the siblings lived in other close-by towns. Table 8 outlines essential information about the Familía Gallegos.

Table 8

Familía Gallegos

	Pseudonyms and educational attainment
Amá	Amá was born in Michoacán, Mexico. She attended elementary school in rural Michoacan. She has worked as a seasonal farmworker and on a seasonal wildland firefighting crew for twenty years. Amá is the mother of the Familía Gallegos. Amá's preferred language is Spanish. However, she has developed English language repertoires at work and in other social settings.

Table 8 (continued)

Apá	Apá was born in Michoacán, Mexico. Like Amá, He attended elementary school in rural Michoacan. His employment history includes reforestation, seasonal farm work, and seasonal wildland firefighting as a crew boss for many years. Apá is the father of Familía Gallegos. Apá's preferred language is Spanish. Apá is proficient in English and has developed his English language repertoire by communicating at work.
Gabriel	Gabriel graduated from RHS and obtained an associate degree with welding certification from a local community college. Upon graduation, Gabriel secured employment in welding at a local shop. Gabriel is bilingual.
Rosalva	Rosalva graduated from RHS, was enrolled in the school's Career Technical Education, and obtained certification as a nursing assistant. Upon graduation, Rosalva enrolled in a local four-year institution, but her enrollment was interrupted due to personal reasons. As a result, Rosalva has several credits left to complete in order to earn her degree. Rosalva is bilingual.
Susana	While enrolled at RHS, Susana attained a nursing assistant certificate from RHS's CTE program. Susana was awarded the prestigious Gates Millennium Scholarship and attended a state university in Idaho to study sociology. Susana obtained a master's degree in education from a prestigious university. Susana is bilingual.
Carlos	Carlos graduated from RHS after participating in RHS's CTE program and attaining certification in auto mechanics. Carlos attended a local community college, and secured employment upon graduation. Carlos is bilingual.
Miriam	Miriam graduated from RHS. Miriam participated in RHS's CTE program and was certified as a nursing assistant. Miriam used her certificate while enrolled at a local liberal arts institution. As a result, Miriam became a third-grade teacher at a local school. Miriam is bilingual.

Table 8 (continued)

Eulalia	Upon graduation from RHS, Eulalia was awarded the prestigious Gates Millennium Scholarship, attended a local liberal arts institution, and majored in biology. After graduation, Eulalia pursued an M.Ed. and a Ph.D. with a major in education.
Alvaro	Following graduation from RHS, Alvaro studied mechanical engineering at a state school. Alvaro secured employment and relocated to a regional state upon graduation. Then, Alvaro pursued a master's degree in engineering and returned to live in the area. Alvaro is bilingual.
Clarissa	Upon graduation from RHS, Clarissa studied chemical engineering at a state school and graduated with a bachelor's degree. Following graduation, Clarissa secured employment in the engineering industry. Clarissa is bilingual.
Joaquin	Following graduation from RHS, Joaquin enrolled at a state school. Joaquin graduated after four years and secured employment in the business industry. Joaquin is bilingual.

As shown in Table 8, Joaquin is the youngest of nine siblings. With her experience supporting her children's school access and success, Amá had valuable insight into the dynamics present in K-12 schools. For example, in an interview, Amá described packing Joaquin's lunch for a field trip.

Amá stated,

"Y luego a Antonio le hice unos sándwiches con galletas, con queso y jamón. Y le dije "aquí están tus tacos". (Eulalia: laughs). Y luego cuando llego le dio vergüenza sacarlos haya por que pensó que eran tacos. Y eran galletas de Sándwiches…(laughs) (E: ¿y por que le daba vergüenza?) por que estaba chiquito y los demás sacaban otro lonche. Y el pensaba que eran tacos. (Eulalia: ay Amasita, siempre bromeando). Yo le dije que eran tacos. Pero eran sándwiches. (Eulalia: y Amacita por que crees…) pobrecito de el, pues el no sabia" (Amá, interview, April 14).

"And then, I made some sandwiches for Joaquin with cookies, cheese, and ham. And

I said, "Here are your tacos." (E: laughs). And then, when he arrived, he was embarrassed to take them out because he thought they were tacos. And they were cookie sandwiches'... (laughs) (E: Why was he ashamed?) because he was small, and the others were pulling out other lunches. And he thought they were tacos. (Eulalia: ay Amasita, always joking). I told him they were tacos. But they were sandwiches. (Eulalia: and Amacita, why do you believe...) poor little him, well he did not know" (Amá, personal communication, April 2020).

Having had eight older children and regularly participating as a chaperone in field trips, Amá knew the type of food that would be socially acceptable in Joaquin's school setting. Moreover, Amá was aware of the potential for Joaquin to experience racism if he brought tacos as lunch. So, Amá prepared Joaquin small cookie sandwiches, although she had told Joaquin they were tacos. The example demonstrates Amá's ability to navigate the K-12 school structure and ensure Joaquin had a positive experience with the food. Joaquin's action sheds light on the racial tensions and prejudices in an elementary school setting. Although, as an early elementary student, Joaquin had an insight about how he would be treated if he ate tacos during lunch, as a form of resistance, he did not take out his lunch. While Amá did not specify how she came to learn about Joaquin's experience during lunchtime, it can be assumed that she noticed the cookie sandwiches were still in Joaquin's backpack or Joaquin told her about the tacos.

Amá and Apá supported their children to educational success in complex ways, through pathways recognized by teachers or administrators and bypassing the school (Poza et al., 2014). Given the age difference between the oldest sibling, Gabriel, and the youngest sibling, Joaquin, Amá and Apá's participation in K-12 schools, was complex throughout the years. For example, when Gabriel was in elementary school, Apá worked for a reforestation contractor, and he worked throughout the region and was gone for weeks at a time. Amá took care of parent-school responsibilities such as answering phone calls from the school, signing homework assignments, ensuring the children were up to date on vaccinations necessary for enrollment, and countless other ways. Apá attended award ceremonies, parent-teacher conferences, and other significant events whenever he was available and offered support through other means, as outlined in the following examples. The youngest children of the Familía Gallegos experienced parental engagement differently. For instance, during my

elementary years, all nine siblings were either attending K-12 schools or pursuing post-secondary education, and Apá was employed locally as a cattle rancher or in local field and orchard work. So, there was more opportunity for both parents to participate and Amá and Apá attended school-sponsored field trips, parent English classes, school carnivals, and other activities.

Through the years, Amá and Apá prioritized familial activities, practicing intent community participation (López et al., 2010; Urrieta, 2013). For instance, during weekends and summer, my siblings and I would join our parents, Amá and Apá, in working in the orchards and fields alongside other extended family members. This also reflected our family's engagement in our educational experiences. Amá and Apá invited relatives to attend school-sponsored activities. In an interview, Apá recalls an experience where he invited his uncle to Susana's elementary award ceremony. Apá stated,

> "Quería que fuera con ella por que le iban a dar una, algo le iban a reconocer. Y invite a tu tío [Jose]. Y ya cuando la llamaron y le dieron un, un reconocimiento. Le llamaron y le dieron otro reconocimiento y le volvieron a llamar y le dieron otro reconocimiento. Ya cuando vino para atrás traía tres, se sentaba y se paraba y agarraba otro. ¿Y ya cuando vino se fue derecho con tu tío y le dijo, "por que llora tío?" Estaba emocionado de ver que la reconocían por que era muy buena estudiante, pero aparate de eso. De todos, todos fueron buenos estudiantes. Y tengo muchos reconocimientos que un día quiero adornar una casa. Quiero adornar la sala, un comedor, el cuarto, por que tengo, no se, cientos de reconocimientos. Los tengo en un velis." (Apá, Interview, March 2020).

> "[Susana] wanted us to go with her because they were going to give her [an award]… something was going to be recognized. And I invited your uncle [Jose].. And when they called [Susana] and gave her an acknowledgment. They called her and gave her another recognition, and they called her again and gave her another recognition. When she came back, she brought three, sat down, and stood up and she was given another. And when she came, she went straight to your uncle and said, 'Why do you cry tio?' He was excited to see that they recognized her because she was a very good student. But besides that, of all, all were good students. And I have many recognitions

that I want to decorate a house one day. I want to decorate the living room, a dining room, and the room because I have, I do not know, hundreds of awards. I have them all in a suitcase" (Apá, Interview, March 2020).

In addition to describing Apá's participation in schooling activities, the excerpt above demonstrates ways extended family participated in schooling activities and supported the children in accessing school success. Apá recalls how Susana 'wanted us to go with her .'While it is unclear if "us" is referring to Amá and Apá or the extended family, knowing Jose's participation reflects other ways the familía practiced schooling support. Further, there are more examples of Familía supporting the family's access to educational success, including attending sporting activities, accompanying children for registration, and other complex ways. Apá's story demonstrates ways Familía recognized and celebrated school success, in this case, demonstrated through awards among parents and extended family. Part of aspirational capital, "these stories nurture a culture of possibility" (Yosso, 2005, p. 78). Apá's testimonio highlights how the stories of schooling success become part of the Familia's history and artifacts of value. Amá and Apá continued to celebrate academic success throughout the years.

In the interview, I asked Apá to describe what the future of his grandchildren and other Latinx im/migrant students at Rural Town would be. Apá stated,

"Yo pienso que van a seguir por que muchos siguen, muchos quieren ser como el mas grande. Dicen no, 'yo quiero ser como aquel.' 'Yo quiero ser como mi tía'. 'Yo quiero ser como mi tío'. 'Como mi hermano', 'mi hermana'. Es un ejemplo que van siguiendo. Yo creo que los demás van a tener que seguir por que ya, los maestros me dijeron una ves, se acabaron todos los Gallegos. Ya no vamos a tener mas. Digo, al rato va ver nietos. Y ya están ahí, algunos están hasta en la misma escuela. Van a tener que seguir "(Apá, Interview, March 2020).

They will continue because many follow and want to be like the oldest. They say no, I want to be like that. 'I want to be like my aunt.' 'I want to be like my uncle.' 'Like my brother,' 'my sister.' It is an example that they are following. The others are going to have to continue because already, the teachers told me once, all the Gallegos are gone. We're not going to have any more. I mean, after a while there will be

grandchildren. And some are already there. Some are even in the same school. They are going to have to keep going" (Apá, Interview, March 2020).

In the statement, Apá calls attention to the evolution of aspirational capital, describing how children build their capital. Apá's statement emphasizes how examples of K-12 schooling success impact generations of Latinx im/migrant students. More specifically, Apá highlights "van a tener que seguir" [they will have to follow], emphasizing the expectation the children have to continue their education, following the examples of others who have successfully accessed K-12 schooling success. With Yosso's (2005) social capital lens and the practice of Mexican im/migrant communities "lifting as we climb, Apá's testimonio highlights how the success of a Latinx im/migrant student serves as aspirational capital for others in the familía and community to strive for K-12 schooling success. In conjunction with Sofia and Amalia's testimonio, the statement highlights the importance of community and cultural values in supporting Latinx im/migrants' access to K-12 school success.

A Summary of School Participation from Parent Perspectives

The parent testimonios in this chapter exemplify the complex ways Latinx im/migrant parents and familía participate in K-12 schools. The testimonios of Sofia, Amalia, Apá, and Amá demonstrate ways parents acquire intergenerational knowledge and use it to support children and family's access to opportunities provided in schools. In her testimonio, Sofia described ways she drew from the institutional knowledge gained to advocate for her children and acted as an agent to resist discrimination. Amalia's testimonio illuminates ways communities build and employ institutional knowledge to advocate for the rights and needs of the community. Sofia and Amalia show that parents take action to disrupt power systems, drawing on social and cultural resources and familial lived experiences while nurturing a collective agency of the Latinx im/migrant community. From a retrospective lens, Amá and Apá's testimonio highlights how Latinx im/migrant communities nurture a collective agency placing a high value on access to K-12 schools.

Notably, the narratives of Latinx im/migrant parents in this study highlight their high value on accessing K-12 education and the nuanced ways communities negotiate access. Further, findings highlight parents' use of CCW, including familial, navigational, and linguistic capital. Finally, findings from this chapter speak to Ishimaru et al.'s (2015) call to "disrupt dynamics of inequity that shape ways nondominant parent disengagement and

disparities in student outcomes or school push-out" (Ishimaru et al., 2015, p. 2). This chapter illuminates the ways students and parents participate at a rural school district in Idaho, in ways recognized by the schools, and ways unrecognized. The study brings to light nondominant families' knowledge and cultural practices in schooling spaces.

Chapter VI: An Autoethnographic Approach to Documenting Latinx Im/migrant Student Experiences in RSD

This chapter focuses on my own experience and my sibling's experience at RSD to understand how im/migrant families participate in and negotiate access to school success in rural schools in Idaho. In this chapter, I narrate my family's stories to document the multidimensional ways bi/multi-lingual im/migrant students exist in school spaces highlighting how La Familía navigated instances of discrimination. While all forms of CCW were identified in this chapter, I highlighted how my siblings and I yielded Navigational, Social, Familial, Aspirational, and Resistant capital to access school success. Further, findings revealed that my immediate family and relatives fields, orchards, and homes were essential places of knowledge-making, cultural resilience, and language preservation. In addition, findings from this chapter highlight instances of microaggressions perpetuated by peers and teachers as barriers confronted by im/migrant students as they participate and negotiate access to school success.

Exploring Parental Engagement from the Perspective of the Children

Amá and Apá had experience with other school districts when enrolling at RSD. They had developed their navigational capital enough to seek assistance at the main office and rely on support from that network when other issues arose. When I asked my older siblings about their experiences at RSD, we remembered their experiences in similar ways. However, their engagement and participation in parent-engagement activities differed for each one of my eight siblings. For example, when my older siblings were in school, Amá was home to care for the younger children. At that time, Amá did not have a driving license, and Apá worked plating pine trees through the region as a seasonal wildland firefighter or on a local ranch tending cattle.

When asked about Amá and Apá's participation in school, Gabriel, my oldest sibling, stated,

> "I think like my mom and dad. They didn't really know the importance of school back then. They just expected me to go to school and learn things because I was the oldest one. They're just like, you know, just send him out to school. He's gone for eight hours and whatever and then he'll come back, and he'll become smarter. I think that was their mindset back then. As the rest of us got older they became more involved with them. Because I remember wanting them to go to my… I don't know- assemblies

and stuff. It was probably also because they were always working. First of all, my dad was always working and my mom didn't know how to drive so she couldn't really attend the assemblies and parent stuff. They would… I don't remember them ever missing a parent-teacher conferences, though. (Eulalia: that's funny [Amá and Apá] said the same thing). Yeah, but I don't remember them ever going to assemblies or award ceremonies or anything like that because my Dad was always working or like my mom didn't know how to drive and I think like, as everyone else got older they were like maybe we should go you know. But I think at the beginning they didn't realize the importance of it." (Gabriel, Interview, March 2020).

Gabriel addresses the complex ways Amá and Apá participated and supported their children through school. While Gabriel's testimonio is retrospective, it shines a light on intent community participation (López et al., 2010; Urrieta, 2013), where, as the oldest, Amá and Apá held specific expectations for Gabriel's participation and success in school. A possibility is that Amá and Apá were practicing the "permissive philosophy of learning" (Urrieta, 2013, p. 331), where parents encourage their children to take the initiative in learning, fostering an environment where making mistakes is accepted as part of the learning process. Since Gabriel was the oldest child in the family and among the oldest children in the extended family, Amá and Apá may have had limited experiences with discrimination or exclusion from the schooling environment and therefore were more willing to trust the school.

Drawing from a Collective of CCW

My siblings and I enrolled at RSD in the early 2000s. At the time, the population of Rural Town was less than 2000 people, with about a quarter of the population identifying as Hispanic and Latinx. At the time of my enrollment, five of my siblings (Gabriel, Rosalva, Susana, David, and Miriam) were enrolled at RSD, with two of my siblings (David and Miriam) being enrolled in the same school, Rural Elementary School (RES).

Common in many rural school districts throughout the country, many students attended school with me from kindergarten to high school graduation, reflecting economic mobility in rural areas (Showalter et al., 2019). Further, many teachers, staff, and administrators had been at the school for many years, lived in the community, and were involved in local organizations. Although my sibling's experiences were complex and differed significantly, there were common themes. As stated previously, when Amá and Apá

were home, they were purposeful about our participating in family activities, including eating most meals together, praying the rosary at night, doing homework together, and various other daily activities. On weekends and during school breaks, our family spent time together at my parent's seasonal work site, the orchards, fields, or growing vegetables and helping raise livestock on our family's property, mirroring intent community participation (López et al., 2010; Urrieta, 2013).

As we were close in age, my siblings and I shared many experiences and spent countless hours conversing about our time in school and our aspirations and visions for our future and our family's future. While the older siblings talked amongst each other about their school experiences, the younger siblings listened, pitched in, and imagined how their experiences would be participating in those same activities. Further, my older siblings often took us along as they participated in school activities. For example, when Gabriel, Rosalva, and Susana volunteered at the food pantry or serving brunch at Rural Town's senior citizen center, my siblings and I attended with them.

As the sixth born, I was preceded by a "good family" reputation in elementary, middle, and high school. For example, there were repeated instances where my siblings had the same teacher. Then, as we could participate in other activities, my siblings participated in the same clubs and extracurricular activities. For example, my older sisters, Rosalva and Susana participated as state leaders for the club, Lideres. They met local Latinx leaders and attended events at the college campuses. The younger siblings, including myself, were networked into their social networks. Yosso (2005) defined social capital as forms of knowledge, skills, and resources available through networks of people and community resources. While these Latinx leaders' influence deserves deeper analysis and documentation, I will highlight how these networks influenced the nurturing of our community's cultural wealth.

In college, my younger sibling and I had a shared experience of being networked into social networks of support. For example, five siblings, including me, graduated from the University of Idaho. Being a state president for Lideres and having worked with other community organizations, my older sister Susana, made the choice to go away to the university, a five-hour drive from home. While Susana was there, we made various visits to the campus and were welcomed by Susana's social network. Six years later, Alvaro and a

cousin attended the university and enrolled in the College Assistance Migrant Program. The youngest sibling, Joaquin, stated the following about his experience and joining the program and choosing the university to attend,

> "I joined CAMP because the recruiter came to the school, and he knows some of my siblings. He knew Alvaro and Susana and all of them already. I think he knew you, too, right? (Eulalia: yes). Yeah, and then it seemed like the best route to go straight into college. It was the most Cost-friendly school. And I mean excited to go there because that's where a bunch of my siblings had already gone. Or not a bunch but…. And I grew up in Rural Town. I know the university of Idaho has like… Well, it includes a lot of people that you already know. Including the Latinx [community]" (Joaquin, Interview, July 2020).

As the youngest sibling in a family of nine, Joaquin's experience was unique as he could draw from his sibling's experience at local colleges and universities. Joaquin's statement sheds light on how networks of social relationships in areas of the Latinx im/migrant diaspora can influence children's access to resources, including higher education. This is especially significant as Joaquin would be navigating a new and potentially challenging environment at the University (Yosso et al., 2009). As the youngest sibling in a close-knit family, Joaquin chose a university five hours away from his parent's home. At the time of his enrollment, two siblings, Clarissa and Alvaro, attended the university and participated in the College Assistance Migrant Program. Joaquin's statement highlights how our family drew from each other's support networks to access school success and higher education.

Nurturing Aspirational Capital with the Help of Teachers and School Staff

Various school staff and community members supported my siblings and me in navigating K-12 schools and accessing school success. For example, various school staff were indelible supporters of my siblings and me, connecting us to afterschool and summer jobs, writing letters of recommendation, sharing information about resources, and countless other ways. This staff was critical in helping my family build their navigational and social capital (Yosso, 2005).

In an interview, Clarissa described how her middle school math teacher influenced her to pursue a degree in engineering. As an aside, Clarissa's math teacher taught me, Alvaro, Miriam, and an older cousin the same advanced math courses. Clarissa described

participating in a course called Bright Ideas, where students were tasked with leading experimental STEM-related projects. In the interview, Clarissa recalled taking a class field trip to a local college campus and visiting the science department to highlight these experiences' impact on envisioning their future access to school success. Clarissa said the following about the class,

> "They chose what kind of students would be in that class. It was very selective, which I think is weird because I feel that an elective with that aim shouldn't be so selective. I feel it should be open to all students. But the point of that, that class was to make projects or to, whether it be like a science project. Like, making some sort of invention" (Clarissa, Interview, July 2020).

According to Clarissa, the enrolment process for the class was selective. In another conversation, Clarissa described teachers as agents to "select" which students would have access to school success. Clarissa and other students who participated were supported to explore their interests related to math and science, an experience significantly different from the middle school courses other students were enrolled in. In retrospect, Clarissa recognized the situation as unfair and unjust. Further, it is important to explore the feelings Clarissa internalized as a young student regarding which students had access to school success.

As an elective with a few highly selected students, the class structure allowed for creating a student-teacher relationship that was impactful beyond middle school. For example, Clarissa stated the following,

> "I remember he would always encourage me. He would always heavily encourage me to go into science and engineering. And I always remember that. When I was in high school, Like, I did always remember that, and I would see him around town. And he would always encourage me even if it was in a minute interaction that I had with him. He would always like; oh, you should do science or whatever. So, when I was in college, and it was my first semester, I was still kind of trying to decide. And you know I had done other things regarding like, putting more underrepresented groups in science and engineering. But when I was in my first semester in college, I kept remembering Mr. Smith and how he was so encouraging and that kind of was one of the motivating factors for me deciding to become a chemical engineer. But what makes me sad is. I guess that I was one of the, I was just one of the Latina students

who was pushed in that direction. It just makes me sad that there wasn't more. Not, like all students were pushed to think in creative ways, you know" (Clarissa, Interview, July 2020).

Clarissa's teacher provided continuous reinforcement for her potential success in a STEM field by encouraging her. Clarissa described how she remembered the encouragement and reinforcement while deciding what she would study in college- a pivotal time for her academic and professional trajectory. Significantly, Clarissa references other ways she had learned about creating inclusive opportunities for underrepresented students in science and engineering. Specifically, as the state president of Lideres as a high school senior, she worked with community organizations to host a STEM conference for Hispanic and Latino leaders in Idaho. During the interview, Clarissa was on summer break before graduating with a Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering. With hindsight, Clarissa deeply understood the exclusionary factors Latinx im/migrant students face in accessing school success. Clarissa's testimonio is an essential example of teachers and the local community supporting and encouraging K-12 success and beyond while critiquing how Latinx im/migrant students are included and excluded.

Nurturing Resistant Capital and Naming Barriers Confronted by Im/migrant Students in Schools

Clarissa and other family members highlighted various instances of macroaggressions, microaggressions, racism, and exclusion. When Joaquin was asked about moments of racism in school, Joaquin gave the following example,

"It was my senior year of high school. Um, they were doing announcements over the intercom, and this kid that did the announcements. I had been in school with him for years. And we were always kind of buddies. Not really. We wouldn't hang out after school. But we would just kind of talk sometimes, and he would do a joke of the day, and every once in a while, he would do a racist joke of a day. Once, I don't know if he did this multiple times- for sure once. I'm like pretty sure once. He said, 'this one goes out to my buddy Antonio.' And he said a racist joke. I don't remember what the joke was, but I think it was something like, 'why does…' I don't know but it was something racist about farm work. Or something like that. But he didn't say the joke. Like, yeah, I don't know if it was that joke. Or like, I remember him saying, 'why

does México not have an Olympic team?' you know because everyone that can run, jump, or swim is already here.' Like I remember him saying that over the intercom" (Joaquin, Interview, July 2020).

Joaquin's testimonio spotlights an instance of verbal racial aggression. Joaquin described how a peer, whom he had considered a friend, singled him out over the intercom, which all students and school personnel at Rural High School heard. However, Joaquin did not recall the student being reprimanded for his actions. Meaningfully, Joaquin's example highlights how racial aggression might be normalized or accepted by school administrators, teachers, staff, and students.

Other forms of exclusion were institutionalized, more subtle, and covert. Through the recorded interviews and conversations, my siblings described a theme relevant to Angela Valenzuela's Subtractive Schooling (Valenzuela, 1999), where Latinx im/migrant students were "stirred" to pursue Career Technical Education or alternative ways of schooling. For example, RSD partnered with various local school districts to form a public cooperative that served children in 9-12 grades. The school provided Career Technical Education (CTE) programs and was an alternative school for students facing barriers. As earliest as ninth grade, I remember noticing how many of my male peers with Spanish-speaking, im/migrant backgrounds were enrolled in the alternative school. Then, starting in eleventh grade, students were bussed after lunch to attend the classes there. Alvaro's experience is especially revealing. During a platica, he recounted the first day of school as a ninth-grade student. He got off the school bus before it drove to the public cooperative and went to see the counselor about his enrolment in a mainstream math and science class. I faced a similar dilemma. While I was highly interested in becoming a Certified Nursing Assistant, my siblings, and teachers discouraged me from participating in the cooperative because I would be off campus during the advanced English College prep hour, which was only offered during the afternoon. Clarissa's testimonio further supports the theme. Clarissa stated,

> "They try to help you get ready for college and what you are going to major in and whatever, but like seeing the difference that, like Hispanic students, like Mexican students, like how they were kind of stirred, like put in another direction. Versus like white students and I feel like, that's kind of where it showed up" (Clarissa, Interview, July 2020).

In the excerpted section, Clarissa described high school, and support from educators as an important juncture in children's post-secondary, workforce, and personal life trajectory. Clarissa's description of children being "stirred" and "put in another direction" alludes to educators' role, and systemic forces operating to exclude Latinx im/migrant children from certain types of success. Through our pláticas and interview, Clarissa described a keen awareness of Latinx im/migrant student exclusion through her K-12 school experience.

In another instance, Joaquin described how an im/migrant and bilingual peer was not supported to take an advanced placement science course. Joaquin stated the following,

> "I remember one of Clarissa's friends her name was Claudia, and she did not let Claudia take that class because she thought that she couldn't do it. Yeah, but it's all the kids were like, they were all white kids. They were like the ones that would go to church with her and stuff" (Joaquin, Interview, July 2020).

Joaquin's example illustrates teachers' role in supporting or failing to support students. In a platica, Clarissa shared the memory from her perspective of the incident. At the time, Joaquin and Clarissa were enrolled as the class was offered only every two years. Clarissa recounted how the teacher spoke to the class about the difficulty of the science content. However, she described how there might be one or two students who would fail. In Clarissa's memory of the incident, the teacher looked at Claudia while commenting. In this example, the teacher seemed to operate from a deficit and racist perspective of the student's repertoires of knowledge, perpetuating racism at the institutional level (Oudghiri, 2022). Furthermore, the teacher seemed to lack understanding of the challenges faced by some of her students or unfounded beliefs about the student's abilities to succeed in a college-level science class (Gándara & Mordechay, 2017).

Since Joaquin and Clarissa both recounted Claudia's experience with the science course, the incident and other instances of exclusion were noticed and engrained in them in familial memory. Furthermore, interactions with Claudia's teacher and other teachers engaging in similar behavior were recounted numerous times throughout the interviews and pláticas from early elementary to post-secondary schooling and beyond.

In many instances, as the case outlined above, my siblings and I continued the course without calling attention to ourselves or the teacher. Yosso (2005) defined resistant capital as the "knowledge and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality"

(p. 80). A common phrase in our pláticas was, "I remember thinking ."In these examples, we practiced a conformist strategy that developed into a recognition of structures of racism and ultimately into a motivation to transform the oppressive structures (Yosso, 2005), as exemplified by telling the story knowing that there was a high potential it would be published with implications for education policy and practice.

Walking in Community: My K-12 Classroom Experience and Access to School Success beyond K-12 Schools

Yosso (2005) defined familial capital as cultural pieces of knowledge, including history, memory, and cultural intuition, nurtured among immediate and extended family. For me, familial capital is inextricably related to the place. The fields, orchards, and homes of my immediate family and relatives were essential for knowledge-making, cultural resilience, and language preservation. They were also spaces where other forms of cultural capital were nourished. In an interview, Gabriel described his childhood experience working in the orchards. He stated the following,

> Yeah, I would always work in the fields. I remember when I was eleven. My dad was like, 'oh vente, vamos a trabajar vamos al fil.' And I was like, why? I'm not going to get paid. I had to have been like ten. I don't know nine? I was little and my tio Juventino, mi tio Chelo, all of them, they would be like 'oh vente vamos a la poda.' I was like, 'oh okay,' and I would go and then my Dad would be like, 'oh vete con tu tio.' And then juntabamos la brocha. They would firm the trees all the branches they would have to put them in the center so the trash would have to chop it up and turn it into mulch and then you would have to, or the people would have to. I remember why. I remember thinking, 'why if I'm not going to get paid? Then at the end of the day, they would always have like five or ten dollars. They would be like, 'ay te va amigo'. I'm like, 'Yeah, I got paid.' (Gabriel, Interview, March 2020).

As the oldest sibling of nine, Gabriel's testimonio is important for describing the familial dynamics and community and family networks in Idaho. Gabriel described how my father invited him to work in the orchards with him and our uncles. Gabriel's testimonio also sheds light on family relationships and collective processes. There were many things my siblings and I did together which became a part of our familial history and space for nurturing our CCW (Yosso, 2005). In the data analyzed for this study, the fields and orchards were

mentioned numerous times in interviews with all three groups. Participants, including me, described how working in the fields impacted our school experience and desire to succeed. The excerpt above highlights our family's practice of intent community participation, where Gabriel and others learn by participating in adult activities (López et al., 2010).

As a senior in high school, I applied for the Gates Millennium Scholarship Program. The scholarship aimed to help minoritized students with high academic and leadership potential and would fund undergraduate degrees in any major and specific graduate degree programs. The application required me to submit eight essays in response to prompts, and at various times I mentioned my experience in the fields and orchards as a drive to my academic success. For example, Essay Seven required I respond to the question: Other than through classes in school, in what areas (non-academic or academic) have you acquired knowledge or skills? I wrote about my experience in the fields and orchards.

"When I was twelve, I worked in the fields with my best friend. We walked side by side, digging weeds out from the onion and digging our stories in the soil. We poured our hearts in the dirt with worries and goals. We were middle school students, with futile worries about the rejections and thoughts of our peers when they discovered we worked in the unbearable heat of summer because our parents depended on the larger portion of our checks. We were simultaneously big dreamers, despite our age; we considered middle school a stepping stone to high school and college. Our first thoughts were that we would find a male in school that would inspire us to want to go to school every day. We presumed that it would be our motivation, but by the end of summer, our opinion changed.

In the mornings the conditions felt unmanageable, there were many mosquitos that bit our soft, carefully protected faces, and the morning dew soaked us in water that kept us feeling wet until the lunch break. Our mothers tried to protect us with multiple bandanas, stocky oversized sweaters, and large irrigation boots but their efforts could never enough, for field conditions are not meant to be bearable. Many times, I felt like crying, and I did, but never in front of her. I know she also cried when we were apart; we cried when there was no one to witness.

From the unbearable heat of summer and rows of onions, we learned to accept life's challenges and those around us who offer us love, care, and compassion. When

we overcame the ten-hour workday getting paid minimum wage we would not keep, we felt we were strong enough to take over the world. The world was in our hands. Boys were no longer the reason we wanted to attend a class every day, graduate high school, and someday get a college education. We wanted to do it for our family, for ourselves, and for our time together in the fields.

From picking the red delicious apples on the bitter Saturday mornings in September, I learned that the time that is not spent in the present is wasted. Every few seconds, an apple was placed in the picking bags of my father, mother, and siblings; we were earning honest money for our family needs. We all lived in the present, apple by apple. When our fingers would completely frost from the morning dew, we were circumspect to place each apple softly in the wooden box, careful not to hurt the delicate skins. We learned to treat each other the same we treated each red delicious, carefully with each second. Even though the bitterness of the frozen fruit hurt our delicate hands, we learned not to hurt each other's delicate charms.

The crops my family, friends, and I tended in the uncomfortable work clothes and conditions provided nourishment and wealth for many people throughout the world. It also provided nourishment and a wealth of life lessons for my family, friends and me. From the valleys and beautifully adorned rows, I learned to be wise in the negotiations I make for money, from the unbearable heat of summer and rows of onions, I learned to accept life's challenges and those around us who offer us love, care, and compassion. I also learned that the time that isn't spent in the present is wasted. This nourishment and wealth of life lessons, I will have for the rest of my life" (Gallegos Buitron, Scholarship Essay, January 2013).

While there are various themes in the excerpt that are relevant to this study. I will keep the focus of the analysis on how working in the fields and in the community impacted my experience in the K-12 classroom and my pursuit of school success. In this essay, I allude to cultural knowledge nurtured in the fields, among family and community. Further, Yosso described, "our kin also model lessons of caring, coping, and providing (educación), which inform our emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness" (p. 79). In the essay, I described various lessons I learned working in the fields, such as caring for my family and being in the present. Further, I attributed my motivation to attain school success

to my family, my friends, and my community. Yosso (2005) described how familial capital "engages a commitment to community well-being and expands the concept of family to include a broader understanding of kinship" (p. 79).

Further, in this essay, I engaged in reflectivity, learning, and listening to the wisdom and knowledge(s) outside of the school (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012). While I wrote the essay a decade ago, the themes remain true to what motivates my school's success. For example, the relationships in Rural Town have significantly impacted my journey to become an emerging scholar and have influenced my decisions as a researcher.

In writing the narrative of my work in the fields, I engaged in my own "Process of identity formation as I attempted to establish patterns and pathways of thought and behavior to cope with experiences of racialized oppression" (Powell & Carillo, 2019, p. 1). Working in the fields shaped my sense of self and ability to thrive in white-dominated spaces, knowing I would have access to undergraduate and graduate education with a scholarship covering tuition and room and board for my undergraduate and graduate journey (Powell & Carrillo, 2019). Moreover, I critically engaged my cultural identity and lived experiences in this essay to understand how I would participate and navigate K-12 schooling spaces and beyond.

A Summary of La Familía's Experiences at Rural School District

Testimonios shared in this chapter highlight how the family employed CCW to access school success and simultaneously call to critique the barriers students face in experiencing school success. Through a CCW framework, im/migrant student and parent's agency is the focus on making meaning of school experiences. Participants in this chapter highlighted how the community nurtured academic and professional success. Findings reflect the call of other scholars for K-12 schools to ways of knowing, lived realities, and the CCW of nondominant students (Arzubiaga et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Yosso, 2005; Urrieta, 2013).

Gabriel's and other siblings' testimonio illuminate the complex and nuanced ways parents participated in the K-12 schooling spaces, in being present, or absent in schooling spaces. For example, Gabriel recounted how Amá and Apá's engagement in evolved throughout the years. For example, my parents became more involved in school settings with the younger children given more resources including Amá's access to a driver's license and a car. Joaquin's testimonio sheds light on aggressions normalized in a school setting. Further, Joaquin's testimonio illuminates the ways Latinx im/migrant families and communities create

pathways of support for school success, reflecting Apá's testimonio from the previous chapter. Clarissa's testimonio illuminates how students access and navigate school success, highlighting how students are excluded. In the final section, I connect familial capital and place, highlighting how communities support school success in and out of school settings.

While some excerpts, interviews, and platicás were not included in this chapter, all nine of the Gallegos siblings contributed platicás or interviews to this chapter. Platicás with siblings were instrumental in conceptualizing the findings for this chapter and informing writing in other parts of the dissertation.

Chapter VII: Discussion and Implications

Although Idaho has a large proportion of schools in rural settings, researchers consider Idaho a "research desert" as it is a place where rural education research is not often conducted (Their et al., 2021). Further, rural areas are incredibly diverse regarding demographics, economies, administrations, and vocations (Thier et al., 2017). In serving im/migrant students and families, schools in rural areas face unique challenges, including a lack of financial resources, identification and retention of specialized teachers, access to contextual teacher professional development, in addition to a shortage of early childhood services, among many other challenges (Coady, 2020; Showalter et al., 2019). Using an asset-based approach that grounds the im/migrant parent and student experiences, this study documented the complex and nuanced ways Latinx im/migrant students, families, and communities experience school spaces in rural Idaho.

This study complicates and troubles a singular narrative of the Latinx im/migrant student and familial experience in Idaho. For example, while Carlos, Thelma, Esperanza, Marta, my siblings, and I all identify as Latino/a/x, Hispanic, or Chicano/a/x, we experienced RSD and other educational institutions in Idaho in diverse and unique ways that ultimately has shaped/will shape the trajectory of our lives and access to school success. Latinx im/migrant students' experiences in these institutions are influenced by structures, processes, and discourses in these spaces that profoundly influence their access to school success. This was evidenced in Joaquin and Claudia's testimonio and their recounting of Claudia's experience. While some students receive support to access mainstream definitions of success in school, such as access to advanced courses, it is crucial to recognize that educators can inadvertently act as gatekeepers.

Further, this study revealed specific racial aggressions faced by Spanish-speaking im/migrant students in high school classrooms. Carlos and Thelma's testimonios highlighted structures, processes, and discourse students experience daily, which result in systemic inequities for Latinx im/migrant students and families. Esperanza and Marta's experience shed light on how siblings and parents verbally and explicitly nurture aspirational capital for their children. Further, a closer analysis of student experiences highlights a lack of access to rigorous courses and content that would further support these students in achieving their parents' and families' high expectations and aspirations. In defining school success and

documenting how students are experiencing RSD, it is important to understand further how Thelma, Carlos, Marta, and Esperanza can attain K-12 school success and full access to educational equity and pedagogy in K-12 schools which centers, accepts, and respects the unique experiences and perspectives these students possess. The outcome is an urgent call to policymakers, school administrators, and educators to remove systemic barriers that result in educational equity for Latinx im/migrant children.

In response to the primary research question, how do Latinx im/migrant students and families participate and negotiate access to school success in rural Idaho? Parents and students of Spanish-speaking im/migrant and migrant backgrounds employ CCW, saberes (Urrieta, 2013), and other forms of knowledge to participate and negotiate access to school success in K-12 schools in rural settings. Participants' testimonios document instances of assimilation and achievement of mainstream school success. For example, Ama's testimonio recounting how she packed her younger child's food for school demonstrated her acute awareness of racialized aggression her child might face at school while highlighting a specific instance of supporting her child to assimilate into mainstream K-12 school culture. Further, Sofia's testimonio supporting Thelma and navigating the racialized aggression with her younger child highlights other ways parents take action to ensure their children can participate in K-12 schools. Together, parent testimonios document actions parents take to ensure their children and children in their community access opportunities provided in schools.

Participants highlighted ways they employed and nurtured their CCW through relationships with family, community, and transnational places across the US-México border. Further, findings revealed how forms of CCW were intertwined, including aspirational and familial capital (Pérez Huber, 2010; Peralta, 2013). In addition, findings revealed complex barriers im/migrant students and families confront as they negotiate school success, including limited opportunities to employ linguistic capital, instances of racism, and aggression. Further, enacting educational equity for Latinx im/migrant communities in Idaho requires a more nuanced understanding of the histories of movement across international borders. Employing ethnographic methods and conducting a thorough analysis of familial oral histories could be valuable tools for gaining insights into the experiences of Latinx and Chicanx families in the Northwest. As demonstrated by my family's testimonio, Indigenous-

heritage communities im/migrating across rural regions of shifting im/migrant demographics can maintain Indigenous cultural practices passed through generations and across borders (López et al., 2010; Urrieta, 2013). Moreover, in the analysis of the *Rural Town*, we see how communities form in these areas. For example, participants in this study are from the states of Michoacán, and Zacatecas, Mexican states where migration to the United States has been more common from rural regions (Consejo Nacional de Población). Further exploration using Gutierrez and Rogoff's (2003) framework would shed light on how individual and familial beliefs, values, and experiences that are culturally and contextually specific should be yielded to support educational equity and access to school success for im/migrant students in these communities.

Findings further support claims for teacher professional development promoting culturally responsive teaching strategies to shift teachers' perceptions and practices from deficit to asset-based pedagogies to support all students (Oudghiri, 2022). Given the transnational networks and movement of im/migrant communities, U.S. educators need to understand community-based knowledge through deep "awareness and appreciation of the richness of Indigenous heritage learning practices and students' strengths and capacities as mature persons, capable of taking the initiative and responsibility in their learning" (Urrieta, 2013, p.320). In creating a nuanced understanding of familía's participation in schools, participants highlighted how parientes support children in accessing school success, as demonstrated by Thelma, Carlos, and my family's experiences. For example, further exploration would help shed light on how families employed extended support networks across international borders as a result of to the Covid-19 Pandemic. Findings from this study reinforce calls for removing barriers to participation and a fundamental shift in the underlying assumptions, structure, norms, and practices of traditional familial engagement and parental engagement (Ishimaru et al., 2017).

In documenting my testimonio and my sibling's testimonio through autoethnographic tools and Chicana Feminist Epistemologies, this study captured how a participant's participation and presence in *Rural Town* and RSD evolved, overlapped, and was relational to a family's and a community's cultural practices (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). As stated in Chapter III, my positionality evolved through the research process, ultimately supporting me in achieving a mainstream definition of school success- writing a dissertation and obtaining a doctorate

degree. Having institutional support through my major professor, doctoral

committee, and mentors and committing to centering the relationships, respect, reciprocity, and responsibility (Brayboy et al., 2012) early in my academic trajectory allowed for nuanced documentation of the ways Latinx im/migrant families experience K-12 schools. Further exploration of my testimonio would show how graduate programs support or fail to support Chicanx and Latinx students to center their saberes (Urrieta, 2013).

Idaho's Latinx im/migrant communities have shaped and continue to change Idaho. Today, communities of Mexican heritage and im/migrant populations are leading efforts to effect change in the state to pursue economic, educational, social, health, environmental, gender, and racial equity for Latinx im/migrant communities. Such organizations include the Community Council of Idaho, Idaho Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Idaho Immigrant Resource Alliance, the Future Hispanic Leaders of America, and countless others. For example, during the Sixty-seventh Idaho Legislative session in March 2023, Poder of Idaho, a nonprofit organization with the mission to mobilize the Latino and immigrant community for policy change, led efforts for Senate Bill 1081: Restricted Driver's License Bill. Senate Bill 1081 went to the Senate Transportation Committee for the first time in 20 years. The bill would have granted driver's licenses to Idaho residents, regardless of citizenship status, who met the requirements of legal driving age, passing driving tests, and providing proof of identity through documents including passports, birth certificates, or consular ID cards. Significantly, the bill would create a pathway for eligible undocumented status access to driver's licenses in Idaho, thereby reducing financial and emotional challenges for those who rely on driving for work, childcare, healthcare, and daily life activities. While the bill did not proceed further, the efforts demonstrate how Latinx im/migrant community leaders in Idaho advocate for social equity, inclusion, and are challenging oppression in the state.

Documenting the experiences of Latinx im/migrants in Idaho requires a more nuanced understanding of the historical and cultural context in which this is happening. Idaho sits on the unceded land of the Ktunaxa, Qlispé, Schitsu'umsh, Nimíipuu, Newe, Bannaqwate, and Numa, and people have moved across the American continent (inclusive of South America, Canada, and other countries) for thousands of years. The economic, political, and social conditions that have driven im/migrants from Mexican-heritage backgrounds to the region are deeply intertwined with the history of colonialism, land dispossession, and exploitation of Indigenous people across the continent.

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