

–SPEAK AMERICAN”: LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST LATINO RESIDENTS
OF GARDEN CITY, KS

A Thesis by

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Bachelor of Arts, Wichita State University, 2017

Submitted to the Department of English
and the faculty of the Graduate School of
Wichita State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

May 2019

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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in English.

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ABSTRACT

Carter (2014), Phillips (1998), and Zentella (1997) have extensively discussed the ways that linguistic discrimination functions to suppress the maintenance of minority languages like Spanish in the U.S. This study analyzes perceptions of linguistic discrimination reported by Spanish-speaking residents of Garden City, Kansas in order to understand more about how discrimination may contribute to displacement. By focusing on the ideologies and experiences of Spanish-speaking residents, I explore Spanish as a minority language in Garden City in ways that previous literature (Broadway, 1990; Grey, 1990; Stull, 1990; etc.) has not: with language as the focus and from the perspective of the participants themselves. Data was collected from 31 first- and second-generation Latino residents using sociolinguistic interviews and two questionnaires. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), whereby sociolinguistic methodologies were combined with ethnography to paint a larger picture of the data presented. The findings show that experiences of discrimination can influence language practices and family language policy, and may contribute to the displacement of Spanish in the community. This thesis contributes to sociolinguistic discussions about language practices and policy, linguistic discrimination and Spanish in the U.S. Specifically, it helps expand debates about interpretation services within healthcare, ESL and dual-language education, community policing in regions with high non-English-speaking populations, the politics of Spanish as a minority language in the U.S., and the connections between all of these concepts and the maintenance or displacement of Spanish. This work adds to the database of linguistic research into “new” Latino sociolinguistic regions of the United States, and contributes to highlighting the differences and similarities between these and more established Latino sociolinguistic regions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Local news outlets and social scientists who have conducted research in Garden City, Kansas agree: the town should stand as an exemplar of integration for similar micropolitan¹ communities in the rural U.S. that have experienced influxes of immigration in recent decades (Krings, 2016; Stull, 1990; Stull, 2001; Stull & Broadway, 2001; Stull & Ng, 2016). According to Stull and his co-researchers, as stated in Krings' Garden City Telegram article, this diversification has not been a particular challenge in Garden City, and the town's "broad affirmation of diversity in its schools and across the community serves as the best example to others" (Krings, 2016). Although there have admittedly and unavoidably been difficulties, things have gone "as smooth as could be expected and... the community has done a pretty good job" at welcoming these newcomers, many of whom are from Mexico and Latin America and speak languages other than English (Stull, 1990, p. 310). In my experience, local residents often agree with this sentiment; however, researchers working with Stull on the "Changing Relations" project (a collaborative study on the socioeconomic impact of immigration to Garden City) often suggested a somewhat different reality (e.g. Broadway, 1990; Campa, 1990; Grey, 1990). The publications resulting from this project collectively detail various levels of both informal and institutionalized discrimination in Garden City based on race, ethnicity and language. In multiple follow-ups to his original 1990 study, Stull reaffirms that, as a result of these original investigations in the area and the recommendations made to local officials, the city and its people have demonstrated "the ability of a community to use social science to help address problems that accompany economic development and plot a course toward community betterment" (Stull & Broadway, 2001, p. 295). He also concedes, however, that "despite a decade of concerted

effort by local government and nonprofits to resolve the problems we identified... most remain unabated” (*ibid*). The 2013 second edition of Stull and Broadway’s seminal book on the meatpacking industry, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, echoes the idea that problems with discrimination persist.

In response to this research, I chose to investigate the nature of linguistic discrimination against Spanish speakers in Garden City, where I lived from 1999–2004. I took language as my focus because none of the existing sociological and anthropological studies on Garden City have asked the question of whether Latino² residents experience discrimination not only on a racial or socioeconomic basis, but due to their language practices as well. If so, I ask, how might this discrimination affect the language practices and policies of Spanish-speaking individuals and families, and in turn, the maintenance pattern of Spanish in Garden City? Racial discrimination in this area has been documented by multiple researchers (Campa, 1990; Jiménez, 2010; Oppenheimer, 1985; Stull, 1990), but their studies generally mention the phenomenon of linguistic discrimination in passing, rather than focus explicitly on language from their participants’ viewpoints. Often, linguistic discrimination is overlooked by researchers more interested in questions of race or economics, and is discounted by the public as not convincingly discriminatory enough to be included with these other categories (Zentella, 1997). That can make it easier to discriminate on a linguistic basis, and thus harder to document this type of prejudicial behavior (*ibid*). Only a qualitative sociolinguistic study of Spanish speakers can help illuminate the subject, and that effort has not yet been undertaken in Garden City. This may be due to a perception that much of the discrimination is unintentional (e.g. due to a lack of background in bilingual educational theory among the teaching community, or a lack of funding available for social programs or interpretation services). Some of it is undoubtedly intentional on the part of

residents of the city and representatives of the local institutions under discussion in this study (schools, healthcare and the police). However, I will not attempt to delve deeply into the matter of intentionality and how to establish it; I merely propose to examine the existence and nature of systemic and informal linguistic discrimination against Latinos in Garden City.

My personal experiences within the public school system, and learning Spanish as a second language in Garden City, left a lasting impression regarding the Spanish language: racism and linguistic discrimination are common in my memories of western Kansas, and rules prohibiting Spanish were enforced at the schools I attended. Although I am not Latino, I witnessed these occurrences with some regularity, and acquaintances with children attending schools in Garden City USD 457 at the time of writing have asserted to me that this still occurs. In my years there, some teachers would employ “mock Spanish,” the usage of stereotypical phonetic, phonological and syntactic approximations of Spanish to ridicule its use (Hill, 1998), in their workplace interactions with Spanish-speaking children. Fully fluent Spanish/English interpreters and paraprofessionals were rare, and classes for ELL (or English Language Learner) students geared toward the maintenance of the Spanish language were all but non-existent. Building on these experiences and memories, I looked at the potential ways that discrimination against Spanish affects individual and family language practices, potentially contributing to its displacement.

This research functions as a counterpoint and follow-up to anthropological and sociological investigations conducted in southwest Kansas by Stull and his colleagues from the late 80s to the early 2000s, as well as a complement to more contemporary linguistic research on Spanish in Kansas (Showstack & Guzman, under review). Showstack and co-researchers have studied ideologies and maintenance in several areas of Kansas, and this work supplements theirs

by expanding the data pool to include participants from Garden City. The study discusses not only language ideologies and family and individual language practices, but looks at discrimination specifically and how it relates to these topics. I examine the sociolinguistic context of Spanish in Garden City in light of the local and national politics of the time of research and writing (2017–2019), a period marked by an increase in anti-immigrant and anti-Latino rhetoric often predicated on ideologies of language, as discussed below.

Existing literature and my primary research together suggest that experiences of linguistic discrimination against Latinos are tied to the displacement of Spanish as a heritage language in Garden City, in that these experiences relate to language ideologies, practices, and policies (both at the family and government levels) that favor English over Spanish. In expanding on this observation, I also suggest that the displacement of Spanish among immigrant Latinos and their descendants constitutes an externally-imposed requisite for belonging to the mainstream (primarily white) community of Garden City, despite the actual minority status of whites there. I chose public services as a focal point in order to shed light on a systemic aspect of linguistic discrimination against Spanish speakers in Garden City. In addition to their official interactions with city and state institutions, I also discuss my Spanish-speaking participants' experiences with what I will call ~~in~~formal" or ~~in~~terpersonal" discrimination, in an effort to contrast the types of experiences one encounters in everyday settings. Within a theoretical framework drawing from research into linguistic discrimination, as well as language practices, language ideologies, and language maintenance (see section 2, below), I investigate the implications of these linguistic realities based on the perceptions of the Spanish speakers I interviewed.

My main research questions are:

1. In what ways is linguistic discrimination present in the provision of public services in Garden City?
2. How does linguistic discrimination against Spanish-speakers, institutional and otherwise, affect their home language practices and policies?
3. What ideologies contribute to this effect, and what is the connection between language ideologies/practices, linguistic discrimination, and the displacement of Spanish in this region?

Researchers have for some time shown that discrimination contributes to the displacement of Spanish in the United States (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; Mar-Molinero, 2004). They demonstrate that this takes place within governmental structures representing the public services of the city or state (e.g. schools) as well as other, less-formal contexts (Bratt, 2007; Carter, 2014; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000). Displacement is a statistically demonstrated reality (Mora et al., 2006). This study examines a significant Spanish-speaking community in an area not traditionally recognized as Spanish-speaking or Latino in order to investigate the nature of this process, as well as fill a gap in the literature regarding the language practices of Spanish-speaking individuals in this region.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

In the broader sociolinguistic context, this study seeks to expand on Zentella's (1996) call for "anthropolitical" linguistic engagement in US Latino communities." Zentella's *anthropolitical linguistics* combines ethnographic aspects of linguistic anthropology (like participant observation) with qualitative sociolinguistic methodologies (like the sociolinguistic interview and discourse analysis) to discuss how "[r]egulations and reproaches that demand allegiance to English at the expense of Spanish in order to be considered a good American and a decent person end up condemning Latino communities for attempting to hold onto Spanish as they learn English" (p. 15). Though now 20 years past, Zentella's study sheds light on an ongoing reality in many parts of the U.S., including Garden City. The discourses she describes spring from institutional forces and function by regulating the language practices of speakers of minority languages through ideological linguistic suppression, and ideologies of nationalism and the linguistic superiority of English (Chavez, 2008; Philips, 1998). Carter (2014) more recently echoes this call for anthropolitical engagement, and adds to it a specific interest in "new" U.S. Latino communities that also informs my research. Although, as discussed below, Latinos have been immigrating to Kansas for over a century, only in the last 30 years has the community grown into a significant population.

Traditionally, "Latino regions" of the U.S. have been defined as those areas with at least a 10% Latino population (Bills, 1989); by this measure, Garden City itself, if not southwestern Kansas as a whole, has been a sort of Latino micro-region since the 1930s (Oppenheimer, 1985). The state of Kansas, however, reached this point more recently, and here I will consider Kansas as part of the larger "Spanish-speaking West," a Latino sociolinguistic region proposed by Villa,

Shin and Nagata (2014). The Spanish-speaking West constitutes an extension of the U.S.'s most traditional hispanophone sociolinguistic region—the Southwest—to include states as far north as Washington. One might include other Western states like Oregon, Nevada, and Colorado (Jenkins, 2013). These, along with Kansas, are states whose Spanish-speaking populations have grown in recent decades, and where today various forms of Spanish (but primarily varieties of Mexican and U.S. Spanish) are widely spoken (Showstack & Colcher, forthcoming; Villa, 2002). Critical and scholarly investigations into new Latino sociolinguistic regions are unfortunately lacking, and this study seeks to contribute to the literature on the sociolinguistic context of Spanish in new Latino regions.

Specifically, I situate this study within a tradition of ideas long discussed within research into linguistic discrimination, language ideologies, language maintenance and family language policy. Taken together, these 4 areas of interest help define my basic observation about Garden City: discrimination against Spanish speakers, fueled by ideologies of linguistic purity and monolingualism, affects the language policies of Spanish-speaking families in Garden City by informing their ideas about passing the language on to their children, potentially contributing to the displacement of Spanish in Garden City. As discussed below, the connections between discrimination and displacement (or lack of maintenance) have long been established; this study adds to that ongoing conversation by helping characterize the process of discrimination as it takes place in a Latino sociolinguistic region of the United States that is rarely featured in scholarly discussions on these issues.

2.1 Linguistic Discrimination

Aside from seeking to bring anthropological and linguistic attention to a “new” Latino region, I also seek to expand upon the already extensive research on discrimination against

Spanish speakers in the U.S. One of the most notable scholars of linguistic discrimination, John Baugh, detailed the ways in which institutional discrimination bears on the educational and social lives of African Americans in the United States (Baugh, 1983; 2001; 2017). Baugh, in turn, echoes the ideas of researchers like William Labov (1972; 2006; 2010). Building on these insights into discrimination, sociolinguists like Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza (2000), drawing on the work of Chicano studies historians (e.g. Acuña, 1988) and other linguistic/ethnographic work (e.g. Hurtado & Rodríguez, 1989), helped expose the long history of official “Spanish rules” in American schools throughout the Southwest, a sad, discriminatory reality reflected in the memories and experiences of the participants in this study. These rules and their consequences on language policies/practices and identity among the Latino community figure prominently in discussions of linguistic discrimination in Garden City schools.

This study is also informed by the anthropological concept of the “Latino Threat” (Chavez, 2008), influential within Spanish in the U.S. studies and sociolinguistics for its focus on mainstream perceptions of the linguistic capabilities of U.S. Latinos. Chavez posits that Latinos and Latino immigrants in the United States are seen in the mainstream as unwilling to assimilate, largely based on their attempts to maintain Spanish, or on a perceived lack of English fluency. This “Latino Threat” ideology feeds off of another language ideology described by Zentella as “Hispanophobia,” a discriminatory perception (like the Latino Threat) that drives political and social opposition to Spanish in the U.S. and supports the portrayal of Latin American language and culture as “threatening” to national unity (Chavez, 2008; Zentella, 1997). The concept of linguistic homogeneity in the name of national unity was a topic included in my research: I discussed it with my participants, and their responses provide an example of local realizations of the national theme of the Latino Threat in the U.S. This ideology drives discrimination against

the Spanish language, and that discrimination manifests at both institutional and individual levels in Garden City. As I discuss below, institutional denial of language services seems to involve more than just a lack of funds in western Kansas: there is a specific, discriminatory political ideology held by white Garden City residents that portrays Spanish speakers as threatening to the linguistic and nationalistic unity of Kansas, and therefore works to justify the institutional discrimination described in the present work.

Institutional linguistic discrimination against Spanish speakers has been well documented in several areas of the United States, particularly the Southwest. Specifically, discrimination within the realm of public services—in interactions with the judicial system, in healthcare experiences and in school systems—has been studied extensively, especially in regard to unequal educational and healthcare outcomes for Spanish speakers (e.g. Lippi-Green, 2012; Martínez, 2008). Not only have many cases of blatant racism and linguistic discrimination been reported, but, in general, it has been documented time and again that interpretation services within hospitals and police departments, and effective language programs within school systems, are lacking in many areas of the United States (see section 5.1 below). My interviews suggest that this is true for Garden City as well. This lack of services in such a robust Spanish-speaking community constitutes a form of institutional discrimination against Spanish speakers, and that lack is caused by ideologically driven political animosity toward speakers of the Spanish language.

Alongside institutional discrimination against Spanish speakers in Garden City runs another thread of what I will call informal, casual, or interpersonal linguistic discrimination. Rosina Lippi-Green's *English With an Accent* provides a list of documented examples of this type of discrimination: assumptions of non-fluency in English, mandates by complete strangers

to speak English when in America, and so forth (pp. 267–268). Escobar and Potowski's *El Español de los Estados Unidos* provides a similar list (pp. 216–218). Although it may seem redundant to consider institutional and casual categories separately, in many ways I see the latter, more quotidian form of linguistic discrimination as bound in a sort of feedback loop (to borrow a term from biology) with the institutional discrimination this work takes as its primary focus. It would be impossible to identify which type of discrimination originally begat the other, but the result is that they amplify each other mutually. Garden City is a relatively tightly-knit community, and between its institutions and citizenry there exists, perhaps, an even fainter distinction than in other, more populous areas. Of course, all institutions comprise individuals, and in this light I observe that in Garden City, the personal opinions of the white residents with whom I interacted often echoed the political ideologies espoused by local and state politicians. However, since many of these politicians are themselves born and raised in rural Kansas, it is difficult to say whether casual discrimination causes institutional discrimination or vice versa. It seems obvious to me that they mutually reinforce one another, reflecting the structure and function of ideologies as described by materialist and Marxian philosophers (e.g. Althusser, Gramsci, Bourdieu). That is to say that, in some sense, I view discrimination against Spanish speakers in Garden City as an ideology of the state government that both springs from interpersonal discrimination, and more firmly embeds it in our social structure by strengthening it and offering justification for it. In this way, individuals embody state ideologies and assist the state in its disenfranchisement of minority language speakers.

2.2 Language Ideologies

This research also represents a continuation of the body of studies related to language ideologies. Beginning with Hodge and Kress (1979), who in turn built upon more traditional

ideas within anthropology (e.g. the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis), these studies seek to highlight “how linguistic forms function... in political and social life” (Hodge & Kress, 1979, p. x) and the ways in which language “is immersed in the ongoing life of a society, as the practical consciousness of that society” (6). More specifically, the concept of language ideologies deals with the ways that political power is wielded to socially exclude, and thereby subjugate, individuals who speak a variety of language other than the supposed, theoretical “standard.” Given that ethnicity and culture are also integral elements of an individual’s ideological self-conception within society, I, like Hodge and Kress, assume that “[r]epression of minority cultures... acts through suppression of their language” (64). Therefore, I see racial/ethnic discrimination as intimately tied to and mutually reinforcing of linguistic discrimination, much like individual and state ideologies. I also take as a premise that ideologies of language function implicitly, and that through qualitative analysis, linguistic researchers can make explicit the mechanisms by which the state’s ideologies impact individual and family language practices.

Building on these foundational concepts, researchers have for decades discussed the ways in which ideologies of language have affected—and are reflected in—the language practices, identities and maintenance patterns of speakers of many minority languages. Kroskrity (1998; 2000), Lippi-Green (1994; 1997), Woolard (1998) and Woolard and Shieffelin (1994) have continued this work and applied its basic theoretical and methodological underpinnings to minority languages like Spanish in the U.S. Kathryn Woolard has specifically focused on “English-only” movements and language policy debates surrounding Spanish in the U.S. to show how ideologies of linguistic superiority and monolingualism, reinforced by the state apparatus (i.e. legislative bodies and schools), result in suppression of minority languages like Spanish and disenfranchisement of Spanish speakers (Woolard, 1989). The *monolingual ideology* (Leeman

2018), or the belief that only the dominant language should be spoken in any given area or context, creates cultural tension for speakers of languages other than mainstream —Standard American English” (itself a construct). This ideology is made manifest in instances of discrimination where individuals are explicitly told not to speak a minority language, or are otherwise marginalized because of their use of, or association with, minority languages and cultures. Ek et al. (2013), Flores (2014), García (2014), Macedo et al. (2003), and others have shown how beliefs about the prestige of English and ethnic, national and racial prejudices against Latinos in the U.S. have led to discriminatory language policies within schools across the United States, such as instructing students not to speak their first or heritage language. These policies and the schools that employ them systematically devalue fluency in Spanish (and specifically U.S. varieties of Spanish) in favor of English, which—as discussed below—often has a negative psychological and educational impact on students from Spanish-speaking families.

2.3 Language Maintenance

This research discusses how these ideological biases function in Garden City, and whether they contribute to the displacement of the Spanish language by affecting the language practices of local Spanish speakers. Thus, I am also drawing from a background in research dealing with language maintenance and language displacement, specifically as it applies to Spanish in the U.S. (Rivera-Mills, 2012). *Displacement* refers to the generational loss of ability to speak a language brought to the United States by an individual’s forbears. *Maintenance*, then, is the opposite measure: the degree to which heritage languages are maintained within families and across generations. These concepts are intimately tied with the idea of a *sociolinguistic generation* as proposed by Silva-Corvalán in the seminal work on Spanish in Los Angeles, *Language Contact and Change* (1995). This idea consists of a generational delineation of family

members beginning with the individuals who first immigrate to the United States; in the traditional framework, individuals who arrive in the United States after the age of 12 are considered G1 (first-generation), their children are G2 (second-generation), and so forth. Others (e.g. Escobar & Potowski, 2015) suggest an even more finely tuned generational schema, one that includes G0.5, G1.5, G3:1 and G3:2 in order to account for factors like having parents with differing linguistic backgrounds, or to offer a more detailed description of age of arrival in the United States.

The current work will utilize a simplified framework in line with my first description of sociolinguistic generation, as my assertions about generation and maintenance form a minor part of my observations on language in Garden City. Primarily, I wish to illustrate the structure and function of discrimination, language ideologies, and language policies in Garden City. However, I also suggest that these structures contribute to the displacement of Spanish in Garden City. My participants and I engaged in extensive discussions regarding ideas about the importance of teaching Spanish to one's own children or using it in the home, perceptions about how important Spanish was in my participants' childhoods, and beliefs about the benefits or drawbacks of speaking Spanish in the U.S., and specifically Garden City. These statements, in conjunction with those my participants made about discrimination and personal history, revealed that many of my participants express that their children are not maintaining Spanish to the degree that they have themselves, or to the degree that they wish their children could.

2.4 Language Policies

Closely related to the concepts of language maintenance and displacement are the language policies—both institutional and personal—that stem from ideologies and personal beliefs about language. At an institutional level, the policies discussed during my interviews

dealt with placement tests in public schools, prohibitions from speaking Spanish in the classroom (related to the so-called “English-only” movement within politics in the U.S.), and general political resistance to educational accommodation for the increasing number of student and parent speakers of languages other than English. Barragan et al. (2018), Fountain (2017), King & Bigelow (2018), Macedo (2017) and many others have discussed in depth the function of these institutional language policies and the detrimental effects they have on bilingual students, Spanish-speaking students, and students identified (or misidentified) as second language (L2) English learners. These policies, reinforcing and reinforced by language ideologies in the U.S., guide the manner in which students learn English in the classroom, bearing directly on their views of the place of Spanish in school and at home. I also look at the language policies of the police and the healthcare industry in Garden City, although with less depth of focus. In general, I try to show how a lack of translated documents and readily-available interpreters of Spanish might affect the healthcare and legal outcomes of Spanish-speaking residents of Garden City, based on their expressed feelings toward these institutions and their dealings with them. All of these instances constitute some form of official policy about language, and Spanish more specifically, which Spanish-speaking and Latino residents of Garden City must constantly navigate.

On another level, however, I also discuss the family language policies of the individuals I interviewed for this study. *Family language policy* (King & Fogle, 2013) refers to the micro- (or family-) level stances and practices that individuals adopt regarding language instruction in the home, how much to focus on communication in certain languages when raising children, and related views on language, child rearing and linguistic or cultural heritage. There are many factors that influence language policy within the family: for example, Parada (2013) has shown

that birth order has a consistent effect on which children learn which languages within bilingual families. I will mostly be focusing on the ways that discrimination and institutional policies affect the practices of bilingual and Spanish-speaking families in Garden City. This, again, reinforces my view of the function of ideologies and how all of this may be affecting the maintenance pattern of Spanish in Garden City.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Participants

The participants in this study ($n=31$; 19 female, 12 male) consisted of adult, first- and second-generation Spanish speakers residing in Garden City and its main suburb, the town of Holcomb. In order to reduce the number of variables at play, I focused on participants with Mexican heritage, who constitute the majority of Spanish speakers in Garden City. Just over half of participants are second-generation (17 of 31) and trace their Mexican heritage to the state of Chihuahua (16 of 31), which is common in this region. The following table provides a summary of demographic and background information for my participant pool:

		Female	Male	Both
Age*	<i>Mean</i>	40.6	31.5	37
	<i>Median</i>	42	30	34.5
	<i>Range</i>	26-55	24-47	24-55
Mexican State**	<i>Chihuahua</i>	11	5	16
	<i>Zacatecas</i>	5	0	5
	<i>Jalisco</i>	2	2	4
	<i>Guanajuato</i>	1	2	3
	<i>Puebla</i>	1	1	2
	<i>Guadalajara</i>	0	1	1
	<i>Coahuila</i>	0	1	1
	<i>Tamaulipas</i>	1	0	1
Sociolinguistic Generation	<i>First</i>	9	5	14
	<i>Second</i>	9	8	17

*3 participants' ages are unknown, but over 18; stats based on 28 participants whose ages are known

**2 participants trace heritage to 2 Mexican states; therefore, total number is greater than n

People were recruited using a “snowball” method (Schilling, 2013), consisting of the primary investigator (myself) reaching out to personal acquaintances among the Spanish-speaking community, who completed interviews and subsequently provided further contacts and information about potential participants. The city officials with whom I met were contacted via the usual channels: I did research on elected and unelected public officeholders and contacted their offices to request interviews. This last group however—non-Latino city officials—are not factored into the participant pool ($n=31$). Individuals were not paid for their participation, and all provided interviews on a purely volunteer basis. Only 2 or 3 of the individuals I contacted were uninterested in participating; the rest were enthusiastic about relating their personal histories and beliefs regarding the Spanish language.

3.2 Data Collection

In order to better understand the interactions between ideologies, linguistic discrimination, language practices and language maintenance, I conducted 31 semi-structured, video-recorded sociolinguistic interviews which I transcribed and coded. They range in length from approximately 30 minutes to 1.5 hours. I refer to the interviews as “semi-structured” because although I did employ a standard set of questions with each participant, for the majority of the interviews, we departed significantly from what is outlined therein. The interviews were conducted primarily in Spanish; interviews with non-Spanish-speaking city officials were conducted in English, as were four interviews with Latino participants who felt more comfortable using English in the specific context of our discussion (i.e. an academic, video-recorded study). Each interview was transcribed and coded using NVivo qualitative data analysis software. The coding process involved isolating themes that recurred in the data, all dealing with Spanish and the discrimination against Spanish speakers that participants have perceived in their

daily lives in Garden City and elsewhere. These themes revealed patterns in the interviews about Spanish speakers' experiences with discrimination, local government, educational institutions, and other aspects of speaking Spanish in their daily lives. They also illustrated patterns in the language ideologies and family/personal language practices of my participants, and how these relate to discrimination and maintenance of the Spanish language. Additionally, participants filled out two questionnaires (see Appendices A and B): one provided by Dr. Rachel Showstack of Wichita State University that focuses on family language practices and Spanish language maintenance, and another dealing more specifically with perceptions of discrimination against the Spanish language. The former includes detailed biographical information about the participants and a set of yes/no and Likert scale questions with varying scale degrees; the latter is a more straightforward Likert (five degree) scale, agree/disagree questionnaire. Results from this second questionnaire were inconclusive, and the data will not be discussed here in depth.

In addition to the interviews and questionnaires, I acted regularly as participant-observer and informal observer in my everyday life during the summer I spent collecting data in Garden City (May to August 2017). I attended events popular within the local Latino community—concerts of *norteño* and *banda* music, a local “National Night Out” event held in a Latino neighborhood by a participant’s relative—and other events geared toward the community at large, like the Finney County Fair and sports games. I participated in cultural activities like dining in local restaurants, attending social gatherings at clubs and communal spaces, and walking in the annual Beef Empire Days parade through downtown Garden City. When not conducting interviews, I worked at a relative’s farm and occasionally interacted with Spanish-speaking agricultural workers, as well as the other businesses and farms that drive the agricultural industry in and around Garden City. While I often took notes, this portion of my

research mostly informs my general observations about the overall cultural milieu of Garden City and my personal gauge of everyday life in southwest Kansas.

Rather than approach the with a preconceived theoretical framework, I chose to follow a “grounded theory” approach in a general sense, whereby—through the processes of collection, transcription and coding—themes, patterns and conceptual categories emerged from the data to inform my understanding of the information they contain (Charmaz, 2008). This approach to qualitative research, pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967), has been widely used within the social sciences. With its focus on open-endedness in the initial stages of data collection as well as its inclusion of a wide variety of types of data, the grounded theory approach allowed me to let Garden City and its Spanish-speaking community guide me toward my research questions, rather than attempt to impose theoretical constructs upon the social and linguistic realities of the town. I conducted an extensive sociolinguistic literature review only after the data had been collected and partially transcribed. Research into the history of immigration to Kansas, sociological and anthropological studies of Garden City, patterns in the meat packing industry and other, less theoretical areas was completed contemporaneously to the collection of primary data.

I took this approach fully understanding the existence and validity of other theoretical and investigatory approaches within the social sciences and sociolinguistics, methods like narrative analysis, discourse analysis, ethnography, and individual case studies. Working with the data “from the ground up,” however, and focusing on a larger group of participants provided several special benefits. Foremost among them involves the reality that I conducted this research as an inexperienced language researcher, recently having obtained my second bachelor’s degree (in Spanish, the first being in English literature and anthropology). Grounded theory provided me

with an open-ended investigatory experience, in turn allowing me to avail myself of aspects of many other frameworks. While I am not an ethnographer, I consider certain aspects of ethnography like participant observation, cultural immersion, and a historical perspective, essential to a sociolinguistic understanding of issues like those discussed here. While I did not conduct detailed linguistic narrative analyses, I am a trained literary narrative analyst, and cannot help but offer occasional observations in the way of deconstructing and analyzing the stories and narratives provided me by my participants. Thus, by adopting the grounded theory approach detailed above, I was able to draw on my strengths while exercising new investigatory methodologies with which to gather and analyze linguistic data.

Although the findings I present provide valuable information on discrimination against Spanish in Garden City, my sample size is such that in no way could one argue its absolute representativeness of the Latino immigrant and established Mexican-American experiences there. My positioning as a Spanish-speaking, white university researcher also presented potential complications. In interactions with officials of the city, I felt that my motive of researching discrimination against the Spanish language was seen as subversive, and met with mild hostility, or at the very least indifference. Several of the interviews and follow-ups I scheduled with city officials, as well as a ride-along with a local police officer, were abruptly cancelled without explanation. In my interactions with Latinos in town, I at times had the feeling that my motives were misinterpreted: as a non-native Spanish speaker and non-Latino, working for a state institution and discussing institutional discrimination against Latinos and native Spanish speakers, it is possible that some of my participants couldn't correctly read which "side" I belonged to, so to speak. Consequently, some participants may not have been as open with me about themes like discrimination by the police, for example, although many were quite open, in

my estimation. This study could therefore never be conceived of as a final answer to the question of linguistic discrimination in Garden City. It is merely part of the story of a handful of people inhabiting a rare community in the Great Plains that has been struggling, one might say, for almost four decades to integrate a constantly-changing, constantly-flowing population of new immigrants and the languages they bring with them.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

4.1 Garden City, KS: An introduction

Garden City is a large rural town straddling the high plains in the southwestern section of Kansas, 220 miles west of Wichita (the state's largest city) and 310 miles east of Denver, Colorado (the closest truly metropolitan area). Apart from the politeness of its residents and the infamous Clutter murders in nearby Holcomb (immortalized in Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*), the region is perhaps known best for the ubiquitous aroma of the nearby cattle feed yards and Tyson beef processing plant (formerly the industry-revolutionizing Iowa Beef Processers, or IBP). Southwestern Kansans call this, with occasional irony, *the smell of money*, and in many ways it quite directly is: Tyson is the largest employer in Garden City, boasting 3,200 workers according to the Chamber of Commerce website. Garden City is also well-known for the incredible changes that the processing plant's 1981 construction brought to this rural heartland town. Because of the "revolutionary"—and, some argue, legally and ethically questionable (Cohen, 1998)³—recruitment and hiring practices of IBP and Tyson throughout the 80s, 90s and 2000s, this formerly typical agrarian, white, protestant community was rapidly transformed into a micropolitan town with a "majority-minority" population (Stull & Ng, 2016, pp. 181; 185). That is to say that groups who once occupied the status of statistical and ethnic minority, namely Mexican immigrants and their descendants, are now the majority in Garden City (from 16% in 1980 to 48% in 2017) (Campa, 1990, p. 350; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Not unlike the business model driving IBP's other factories around the country at that time, the impetus for this growth in the Latino population of Garden City was the culmination of a decades-long experiment in lowering the production costs of beef (Champlin & Hake, 2006;

Hedges & Hawkins, 1996; Stull & Broadway, 2013). This process, aside from relocating factories from urban to rural areas, lowering wages and eliminating unions, most notably involved active recruitment of Mexican workers: IBP founded somewhere around a dozen recruitment stations in small towns throughout Mexico, paying per-recruit fees for individual hires and per-busload fees for the transportation of new workers to small towns throughout the U.S. (Cohen, 1998). While Latinos are now the majority, and people of Mexican heritage are the majority of Latinos in Garden City, the group they form is obviously very diverse and includes Spanish speakers from many other countries, as well as speakers of indigenous languages of Latin America and American-born individuals (not necessarily Spanish-speaking) with Latino heritage. Despite this fact, people still often refer to all Latinos by what they consider the ethnically-generic epithet *Mexican* (Grey, 1990, p. 414; Stull, 1990, p. 311), based on the assumption that all individuals of Latino heritage living in Kansas or Garden City are also of Mexican descent.

Although there exists an increasingly diverse mixture of ethnicities and nationalities in Garden City—Vietnamese, Burmese, Laotian, Honduran, Salvadorian, Nicaraguan, and more recently Somali and Eritrean—the town is most notably represented by its two largest ethnic groups, described here in terms used by locals: “Mexican” and “white” (I will use the term white throughout). Of course, in using any ethnic label one must simplify the variegated reality of the situation; both the white and Mexican communities in Garden City represent a wide range of backgrounds and self-identifications. Many white residents have German heritage, common throughout Kansas (Oppenheimer, 1985, p. 431). Among the Mexican community, one of the distinctions most commonly referred to by my participants is between the more well-established Mexican-American families (generally descendants of immigrants who arrived pre-1980, who

some locals call “Chicanos” with, as far as I can tell, neutral connotations) and their more recently-arrived immigrant counterparts (often referred to as “Mexican,” as opposed to “Chicano”) (cf. Campa, 1990, p. 347). To my knowledge, this is a somewhat idiosyncratic use of the term *Chicano*: in California and some parts of the Southwest, it has much more specific political and cultural associations. An apparently steady influx of immigration, due to the high turnover rates at the processing plant and local dairies (Stull & Broadway, 2013) ensures that, as some older families become established through generations of residency, the cultural makeup of the Latino and Mexican communities is regularly “replenished” by contact with the heritage culture and language (Jiménez, 2010, p. 69).⁴

However, a very real cultural divide between Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants continues today, registered in part in the differing levels of language maintenance. Discrimination and fear of marginalization pushed displacement of the Spanish language among families who came to Garden City early and stayed for two or three generations, or more (Jiménez, 2010, pp. 73; 88–89; 116). Thus, they often passed on to subsequent generations only the English language. More recent immigrants bring with them different language practices that have further diversified the linguistic makeup of the town and its Latino population (which ranges from monolingual in English to monolingual in Spanish, including varying levels of bilingualism). Specifically, this diversification has taken place by augmenting the pool of recently arrived monolingual Spanish speakers and thereby altering the level of maintenance among later-generation, established Mexican-Americans. Many Mexican-American individuals are monolingual in English or have receptive competence of Spanish for much of their lives. However, through regular contact and intermarriage (Campa, 1990, p. 350; Jiménez, 2010, pp. 116–118), they increasingly learn Spanish from friends and marriage partners rather than older

family members. One of my participants (Ariel) learned Spanish this way, from childhood friends.

4.2 The history of Mexican immigration to Garden City

Mexican immigration to Garden City started over a century ago. It began with the appearance of migrant workers, escaping the political violence of the Mexican Revolution and a nation-wide depression, who were attracted to the region by employment opportunities in the sugar beet industry or in the construction of the Santa Fe Railroad (Campa, 1990, p. 349). Many immigrants were actively recruited by these companies (Oppenheimer, 1985), a strategy replicated later by the meat processing industry. They came primarily from Michoacán and Guanajuato and tended to settle in the rural areas that were host to the majority of the companies employing them, including southwest Kansas. By 1930, the Mexican population in Kansas constituted the seventh largest concentration of a Mexican ancestral group in the U.S., with one of the principle *colonias* being in Garden City (Oppenheimer, 1985, pp. 431–434). Before beef and grain, the sugar beet was the driving force in the economy there, and the work performed by these laborers (principally Mexican migrant workers) was arduous, demoralizing, and essentially a form of tenant farming or sharecropping. The workers would live off of loans provided up-front from the companies, work an entire season on provisions purchased from their employer, and wind up with little or nothing at the end of the harvest (Oppenheimer, 1985, pp. 437–438). Speaking English, according to Oppenheimer, might land a child or a female adult Latina immigrant some small amount of supplementary income working in the service industry or as an interpreter for the railroad company. In general, however, the Mexican community's initial lack of proficiency in English and their second-class status precluded employment outside of manual labor.

In these earlier times, Mexicans in Garden City were treated much like their African-American socioeconomic counterparts in larger metropolitan areas: segregation at movie theaters, the public pool, parks, churches, schools, and other locales was institutionally and casually enforced, and the racist epithets *greaser* and later *spic*, *beaner* and *wetback* were commonly launched at individuals (Campa, 1990, p. 353; Jiménez, 2010; Oppenheimer, 1985; Quinones, 2007, p. 247; Stull, 1990, p. 311). The windows of businesses displayed signs stating “no Mexicans allowed” and Mexicans could not get haircuts in local barbershops (Oppenheimer, 1985, pp. 431–432; 438–442). Aside from racial discrimination in the economic sphere, Mexicans in Garden City were also spatially segregated to housing in two main *barrios*: *La Nalga* (which roughly translates to “The Buttock” or “Butt-cheek”) and *La Garra* (likely translatable to “The Rag(s),” in the sense of torn and tattered clothing).⁵ The stark names themselves stood as testaments to the quality of life in these two areas. These neighborhoods were located south of the railroad tracks that immigrant residents helped to build and which came to constitute, as in so many American cities, the separating line between “civil” (white) society and the “undesirable” minority labor element (Campa, 1990, pp. 349–350; Jiménez, 2010, p. 78). They remain low-income, principally minority neighborhoods to this day, though the names are apparently mostly forgotten.

This first wave of immigration lasted roughly from 1910–1930 and was cut off by several circumstances, including the Great Depression and the notorious “dustbowl” years in the Great Plains. Oppenheimer describes city and county governments working together with the same railroad companies that hired Mexican immigrant workers to have them sent back to Mexico, systematically emptying the state of a portion of its Mexican residents (Oppenheimer, 1985). These and other realities caused an over 40-year near-total hiatus in immigration to Garden City

(Campa, 1990, p. 349; Jiménez, 2010, p. 26), leading to a pattern of settlement repeatedly described by Tomás Jiménez in his 2010 book *Replenished Ethnicity* as “interrupted.” The families that remained were at first left to fend for themselves during trying economic times, but slowly became established members of the upper-working and lower-middle classes by the late 20th century. Punished by schoolteachers for speaking Spanish and encouraged by parents and social pressures to communicate only in English, many in subsequent generations quickly lost their heritage language and became monolingual in English (Jiménez, 2010; Oppenheimer, 1985).

The community formed by these families is often described now as Mexican-American and became an important and relatively well-integrated part of Garden City’s ethnic panorama. Almost all of the previously cited literature details how many individuals eventually moved into lower-management, blue collar positions and experienced some hard-won and rather limited mobility away from their previous status as immigrant laborers, mirroring the pattern common among European immigrants of the same or earlier eras. Garden City continued for decades as a fairly typical agrarian community with a somewhat atypical (for the region) 16–18% Mexican population, although this population was increasingly seen as part of the overall community (Oppenheimer, 1985). By the time that newer waves of immigration began arriving, spurred by the construction of the IBP plant in 1981, established Mexican-Americans more-or-less aligned themselves with the mainstream white community in their attitudes toward ethnically similar but culturally distinct individuals. They lamented the changing demographics of the town⁶, maintained their differentiation from the newer immigrants and distanced themselves, directly and indirectly, from that community (Campa, 1990, pp. 353–356; Jiménez, 2010). Arthur Campa argues in his 1990 article on the subject that:

—...native Mexican Americans are no longer a *viable ethnic group* in Garden City. They are differentially acculturated to mainstream culture, are residentially dispersed, [and] are not [as] occupationally concentrated as earlier in the century. Many feel threatened by the presence of Latino immigrants.” (p. 358, emphasis mine)

Campa’s assertions here suggest that these individuals are completely integrated into mainstream Garden City culture; the data presented in his own article, anecdotal evidence, and my data suggest otherwise. They are undeniably a culturally *different* group from their ethnic and national Mexican immigrant counterparts. However, one would be hard pressed to argue that they experience no discrimination because of their ethnicity or that it is impossible to differentiate, on the level of cultural integration or capital, between the mainstream white community and the established Mexican-American community.

These early waves of immigrants constitute the first significant increase in Garden City’s population over the last century, but it is difficult to gauge at this point if the population of Garden City continues to increase. There was definitely a steady increase that began with a population explosion between 1981 and 1987 that ran until 2000, when the other large beef packing plant at that time—Con-Agra, previously Monfort, as it was and is still known by most locals—burned down on Christmas and left thousands unemployed. From 1980 to 1990, the population boomed from (roughly) 18,000 to 24,000 and continued to increase to nearly 29,000 by the year 2000, after which it began falling for at least a decade (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017; KU Institute for Policy and Social Research). Local residents often insist that the town is still booming, and point to the many new retail chains as the most salient evidence.⁷ City Commissioner Matt Allen quoted the number 31,000 for Garden City’s population in my interview with him in the summer of 2017.

According to Gomez's USA Today article (2014) and USD 457, the percentage of minority students enrolled in public schools in Garden City increased from 18% in 1978 to an all-time high of 77% in 2013. This could point to more recently-arrived ethnic minorities as yet another influencing factor in Garden City's demographic changes, specifically refugee families from East Africa and Southeast Asia (Stull & Broadway, 2013). Vietnamese refugees were a common target of IBP/Tyson's recruitment efforts before the company turned to Mexico and Latin America, and my interviews in Garden City suggest that they have currently begun to hire refugees in favor of undocumented workers again. Whatever the actual population and its root contributing factors, the era of fast growth and expansion in Garden City has apparently ended. Its population rests (officially) at only about 2,000 more than it did 27 years ago, an 8% overall and average .3% annual increase, much lower than the average statewide growth rate of between .9 and 1% annually for the same 27 years, and the average annual growth rate of Wichita for the same period (.85%) (KU Institute for Policy and Social Research). For now, Garden City remains a small but surprisingly diverse statistical area with many ethnicities and languages represented in its population.

4.3 Linguistic discrimination on the national and regional stages

The research for this study was conducted at an interesting moment in American politics (the summer of 2017). In the months following the election of an unconventional candidate, real-estate magnate Donald Trump, as President of the United States, the White House began espousing anti-immigrant and linguistically discriminatory rhetoric. This was tangible in the streets of a town like Garden City, where you would and will continue to see houses flying Trump and Confederate flags beneath their American flags or in their windows. Before being elected, candidate Trump publicly labeled Mexican immigrants as rapists and murderers and

used “mock Spanish” to characterize these opportunity-seeking migrant workers as *bad hombres* and contributors to a supposed increase in crime (Gómez et al., 2018; Salama, 2017; Schwartz, 2016; TIME, 2015). He also famously criticized Jeb Bush⁸ in 2015 for speaking Spanish to Spanish-language reporters during his campaign: “He’s a nice man. But he should really set the example by speaking English while in the United States” (Rappaport, 2015). In defending that statement, he also made the assertion during a Republican primary debate in 2016 that “We have a country where, to assimilate, you have to speak English...where [Bush] was and the way it came out didn’t sound right to me. We have to have assimilation to have a country, we have to have assimilation. *This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish*” (O’Keefe, 2017, emphasis mine). My research, therefore, was conducted during a time when ideologies of monolingualism were center-stage in the politics of the United States, and in a place where political support for this ideology was widespread among the white community.

Support for Trump’s campaign was relatively high in Finney County, with 63% voting for his ticket (2016 General Election Results). Although racial voting statistics are unavailable for Garden City or Finney County specifically, one can assume, based on several factors⁹, that the white minority comprised the majority of support for Trump in Finney County and overpowered the votes of the Latino majority (Krogstad, 2016; Krogstad & Lopez, 2016; Lopez & Barrera, 2013; Tyson & Maniam, 2016). Aside from voting patterns in Kansas that favored the Trump administration and its anti-immigrant agenda, local politicians subscribed to the narrative that not only immigration but the language habits and needs of Latinos themselves were a burden on the state’s economy. Prominent politicians represented the presence of immigrants as an impending threat to be dealt with immediately for the sake of national security. For example, Secretary of State Kris Kobach, who famously called Kansas the “sanctuary state of the

Midwest” (McLaughlin, 2017), began a statewide campaign against alleged illegal voting by immigrants (Ingraham, 2017). His actions led to a temporary post in the Trump administration’s Election Integrity Commission, aimed at achieving the same goal at a national level. This was seen by many as an effort to bolster the ongoing and politically right-wing narrative that as many as five million illegal votes were cast for Hillary Clinton during the 2016 election (Scarborough, 2017)¹⁰.

Kris Kobach also claimed that Kansas’ budget problems were caused by immigration and runaway spending in the state legislature and board of education, rather than the tax cuts authored by then-Governor Sam Brownback. He cited ESL programs in Finney County schools as a specific example of unnecessary and harmful government funding that supposedly benefits only illegal immigrants, calling program funding “throwing money down the ESL hole” (Salazar, 2017). This effectively laid the blame for Kansas’ budgetary issues on the children of immigrants and de-legitimized the efficacy of language programs that help the same children achieve academic success *and* fluency in English. Before Sam Brownback announced his resignation in order to accept a post in the Trump administration as ambassador at large for religious freedom, Kobach announced his intentions to make a gubernatorial run, raising concerns for many about his alleged voter suppression and anti-immigration policies. He ultimately lost his election bid just over a year after this research was conducted. Former governor Sam Brownback is best known as the governor with the lowest or second-lowest approval rating of any governor nationwide due, in the eyes of many, to his aggressive and politically-driven tax cuts that left Kansas schools scrambling for funding (Gleckman, 2017; Lowry, 2015; Woodall, April 2017). These budget shortages hit districts like Garden City’s USD 457, home to many immigrant and Spanish-speaking students, particularly hard. The education budget in Kansas was eventually

deemed so insufficient as to be unconstitutional, and the associated tax cuts left the state hundreds of millions of dollars further in debt (Abouhalkah, 2016; Smith & Bosman, 2017). Just before announcing his resignation, Brownback's tax plan was repealed with assistance from moderate republicans in the state legislature, despite his attempted veto (Woodall, June 2017). The nature of political discourse and its vicissitudes dictate, however, that this is an ongoing and still-contested question in Kansas government.

This political context informed my study in many ways. While some participants reported a rise in discrimination after these changes in the recent political climate, others stated they had noticed none. Several were politically active: one participant, who declined to be recorded, had previously served as the city's mayor; one was active in the local Democratic party organization; one served on a commission on Latinos in Kansas formed by then-Governor Brownback. Others just had strong opinions about the status of Latinos, immigrants, and Spanish speakers in the United States, and our interviews regularly touched on these subjects. I consider linguistic discrimination to be ideological, and thus directly tied to political sentiments and sociohistorical moments. Therefore, although I will not be focusing exclusively on a rise in linguistic discrimination in Garden City tied to the influence of the aforementioned politicians, I will discuss the importance of bringing attention to discrimination in the face of political and ideological resistance to minority languages in the U.S. (like Spanish) and the people who speak them. I will suggest that these ideologically driven, discriminatory attitudes toward speakers of minority languages weaken state-level support for adequate language services in state institutions, and create a social environment that is hostile toward minority languages.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

5.1 Institutional discrimination

Overall, the language maintenance pattern of Spanish in Garden City seems to conform roughly to the norm that has been reported in many other parts of the U.S., i.e. it is displaced by English between the second and third generations (Escobar & Potowski, 2015, p. 20). My field research suggests that this is as true for many families today as it was for those arriving during the early years of Mexican immigration to Kansas (Oppenheimer, 1985, p. 431), despite the influx of new monolingual Spanish speakers. Many factors seem to drive the displacement of Spanish in Garden City: for example, in the past, beliefs about future success in the local job market being dictated by pertinence in the mainstream (i.e. monolingual English-speaking) community (Oppenheimer, 1985); pressure from mainstream society and parental figures, scarred by memories of discrimination for speaking Spanish, to only speak the dominant language (Jiménez, 2010); a lack of properly funded and theoretically sound language education programs for children; and the very presence of linguistic discrimination itself. These factors, as in other places with significant Spanish-speaking populations, result in language practices that favor English based on ideological beliefs about the value or acceptability of Spanish within U.S. society. These practices have been shown to result in the displacement of Spanish within Latino families in the U.S. (see Chapter 2).

However, in other ways, the maintenance pattern of Garden City also resembles that of a border town in Texas or Arizona. For example, some families maintain Spanish for more generations than the normally observed three (Escobar & Potowski, 2015, p. 28–32). Also, language usage and practices that many of my participants refer to as —Spanish,” including the

employment of loanwords/semantic extensions from English, code-switching between the two, and the incorporation of English calques, or literal translations (*llamar para atras* for “call [someone] back,” e.g.), are common phenomena among people of many ages, especially younger individuals. These factors are likely a result of the high local concentration of Spanish speakers and residents with Latino heritage in proximity to English, as well as steady immigration from Latin America, particularly Mexico—two aspects common to both Garden City and many U.S. border towns.

In the process of data analysis, clear patterns emerged. In general terms, participants tend to echo the findings of previous research in Garden City (Broadway, 1990; Campa, 1990; Grey, 1990; Stull, 1990) insofar as they agree that the status and situation of Latinos have improved throughout the years. In focusing specifically on language, however, it became clear that both institutional and informal linguistic discrimination are as present in Western Kansas as in other places in the country. Considering the high percentage of Latinos and Spanish speakers in Garden City, this discrimination is potentially more noticeable: even though Latinos are the majority, the discrimination is so persistent that nearly every individual with whom I spoke had experienced it at some point in their lives. It would be impossible, based on my research, to say that the public institutions of Garden City actively and intentionally discriminate against people who speak Spanish. My data suggests, however, that in addition to racially and ethnically discriminatory attitudes, many Spanish-speaking individuals in Garden City have experienced discrimination based on their language use, and this is perpetuated in the form of a lack of services for the Spanish-speaking population of Garden City. The following findings represent a subsection of reports made by participants about ideologies of language, language practices, and

experiences of linguistic discrimination in interactions with the police, the school system, and the health care system in Garden City.

5.1.1 The police

When asked about linguistic discrimination at the hands of the local police force, most participants were not particularly critical. They had either avoided interactions with the police, had not experienced discrimination in their estimation, or felt that although the police force may be discriminatory, it was probably on par with what is expected in most places, and not something that they specifically consider or worry about. However, two participants commented that they believed linguistic discrimination was a regular practice within the local police force. Alejandro¹¹, for example, claimed that ever since his childhood in El Paso, and many times since moving to Garden City, he had been discriminated against both informally and formally, particularly in his dealings with the police. Alejandro is a 30-year-old, second-generation Spanish-speaking male from Chihuahua, Mexico, whose family immigrated to the United States when he was seven. After living for several years in Texas, they relocated to Garden City. When asked if he had ever been discriminated against by representatives of the local government, he responded unequivocally “yes” and went on to describe his view of the way police deal with Spanish-speaking residents of Garden City.

Example 1: Alejandro

- Drew: Has sentido discriminación en un ámbito más institucional? O desde las instituciones de la ciudad?
- Alejandro: Oh, la policía, sí. La policía nos... nos discriminan los Hispanos. Es...
- Drew: Hay muchas policías que hablan español en Garden City?
- Alejandro: Hay dos, tres. He conocido a los dos, tres e incluso ellos no... como te dije, hay muchas generaciones de hispanos que ya viven una generación o dos aquí y se vuelven... de los peores “malinches,” es un término que se usa mucho entre los mexicanos: el “malinchista.”
- Drew: “La Malinche...”

Alejandro: La Malinche, de allí, de ese... de ese mito creció la palabra para describir a las personas así.

Drew: Pues, crees que esa gente también, como ella... de cierta manera han rechazado su cultura o su herencia o...?

Alejandro: Eso, sí. Claro que sí... y... pos, no los culpo hasta cierto extenso, que nos vivimos en Estados Unidos, ~~–~~Melting Pot,” todo eso, pero... creo que la mayor... no lo hacen porque ellos quieren, ~~–~~No, no quiero... chinga su madre, no quiero... no quiero mis raíces.” No, no es [eso]... porque la cultura es bella - sino siento que ellos fueron víctimas de tanta discriminación que en vez de culpar a sus agresores, se culparon a ellos mismos, y dijeron ~~–~~no, yo tengo que cambiar esto de mí.” Si no fueron ellos, fueron sus padres, y sus padres tuvieron que, ~~–~~no, tu no vas a hablar español, para evitar esas cosas. Tienes que comportarte así.”

Drew: Así que si la cultura o el lenguaje se mantiene, eso tiene mucho que ver con la discriminación.

Alejandro: Obvio que sí.

Drew: Have you ever felt discrimination in a more institutional realm? Or from the city's institutions?

Alejandro: Oh, the police, yeah. The police... discriminate against us Hispanics. It's...

Drew: Are there a lot of Spanish-speaking police in Garden City?

Alejandro: There are two, three. I've met the two, three and even they don't... lke I told you, there are a lot of generations of Hispanics who live two or three generations here and they turn... into the worst "malinches," it's a term that's used a lot among Mexicans; the "malinchista."

Drew: "La Malinche..."

Alejandro: "La Malinche," from there, from that... the word to describe people like that came from that myth.

Drew: So, do you think that those people also, like her... in a certain way have rejected their culture or their heritage or...

Alejandro: Yep, that's it. Obviously so... and... well, I don't blame them, to a certain extent, we live in the United States, "Melting Pot," all that, but... I think the majority... they don't do it because they want, "No, I don't want.. fuck that, I don't want... I don't want my roots." No, it's not [that] ... because the culture is beautiful - but I think that they were victims of so much discrimination that instead of blaming their aggressors, they blamed themselves, and said "no, I have to change this part of me." If it wasn't them, it was their parents, and their parents had to, "no, you're not going to speak Spanish, to avoid those things. You have to behave like this."

Drew: So if culture or the language is maintained, that has a lot to do with discrimination?

Alejandro: Clearly so.

This exchange with Alejandro illustrates several important findings: first, that some Spanish-speaking residents in Garden City feel discriminated against by the local police force. Second, it shows that discrimination could be an important factor in the maintenance or displacement of a language like Spanish in the U.S. Not only could this institutional discrimination at the hands of the police be feeding into the displacement of Spanish by reinforcing the ideology that being a Spanish speaker or a Latino is less acceptable to the mainstream, but Mexican-American agents of the government may themselves be the descendants of individuals who purposely abandoned teaching their children Spanish because of fears of marginalization or discrimination. Lastly, Alejandro mentions the noticeable dearth of bilingual officers on the police force in Garden City. In a town where, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 43.3% of households have a language other than English as their primary language (2017), the Garden City Police Department employs at most three or four Spanish-speaking officers in a force of 63.

When quoted this number in a recorded interview, the Chief of Police Michael Utz corrected me and would only answer that “a few” bilingual officers are on the force. The majority are monolingual English-speaking white individuals, and some Latinos in Garden City (like Alejandro) can describe instances of racial or linguistic profiling carried out by officers of the GCPD. Alejandro also describes the tension between new and established immigrant Mexican groups that was discussed in detail by Campa (1990), and may therefore still be a current cultural phenomenon in Garden City. By using the problematically sexist term *malinche* to describe Mexican-Americans or people of Mexican descent who have been residing in America for more time than himself, Alejandro characterizes them as traitors. This seems, in his description, to reinforce his belief that the bilingual police officers he describes are as much of a threat to Latinos as potentially racially motivated white officers.

One of the most salient examples of discrimination against Spanish in the context of interactions with the police consists of officers assuming that people they identify as Latino or “Mexican” cannot speak English. One participant, Jaime, reported that during an interaction with the police, he felt discriminated against when asked first, before anything else, whether he could speak English. Jaime is a 30-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker, born in Coahuila, Mexico, who immigrated to the U.S. with his parents at age nine. Before they were rescinded federally, Jaime was a recipient of DACA benefits who—despite residing in the U.S. for over 20 years and actively pursuing citizenship—had yet to receive citizenship at the time of our interview. Jaime described an interaction with a local police officer who he thought was potentially actively targeting Latinos in Garden City during traffic stops.

Example 2: Jaime

- Jaime: Una vez sí, me sentí discriminado, y eso fue aquí en Garden [...] nos estábamos aprestando para ir a Houston [...] para el día de Thanksgiving [...] mi esposa iba manejando. Íbanos por aquí, por la... qué sería, la Mary? [Mary Street in Garden City] y íbanos bien, yo puse mi cinturón, mi esposa, bien, y pasó un policía, y se dio la vuelta y nos paró.
- Ya cuando nos paró, mi esposa: “De qué sale, qué es eso?” “No: quiero hablar de él” [mimicking police officer pointing at him instead of her]. Y yo llegué, yo: “¿Qué?”... y mi esposa: “Por qué hablar de él si no estoy haciendo nada?” Y dijo “No: quiero hablarle a él, él habla inglés?” Porque? No tengo pelo, me veía como si fuera pandillero [...] nunca he sentido eso, me sentí feo. Me sentí muy feo. Uh, le dije “Ok, toma.” [...] [the police officer] quería saber si no tenía órdenes de arresto. Ni se dio cuenta que estaba mi niño y todo así, sin asiento, sin nada: directamente me llegó a mí. Me sentí, sí me sentí muy...
- Drew: Obvio, sí.
- Jaime: Y le dije [to his wife]... ya tengo dos, tres años viviendo aquí en Garden, nunca me ha, me ha pasado eso [...]
- Drew: Muchos me han contado historias más o menos parecidas a eso.
- Jaime: Sí, y...
- Drew: Crees que pasa con frecuencia?
- Jaime: Yo digo que sí...
- Drew: Sí?
- Jaime: Sí, um... ven a alguien, a un hispano [...] hay unas policías que piensan “Oh, porque es negro, es pandillero. Oh, es mexicano, es pandillero. Uh... es

musulmán, es terrorista.” [...] sentí que ese señor tenía algo... un, algo racista porque [...] le pasó lo mismo, con un amigo de mi esposa también, lo paró, —Oh, quiero ver su licencia.” Pero él no hizo nada: —Puede decir lo que hice?” —No, no: quiero ver su licencia.” De él, luego mucha gente que, dice que este policía está atacando a Hispanos o Latinos especialmente. No sé.

Jaime: One time yeah, I felt discriminated, and that was here in Garden (...) We were getting ready to go to Houston (...) for Thanksgiving (...) my wife was driving. We were going down here, down... what would it be, Mary? And we were going fine, I put my seatbelt on, my wife, fine, and a police officer passed, and he turned around and stopped us.

Then once he had stopped us, my wife: “What happened, what is this about?” “No: I want to talk about him.” And I came, I: “What?”... and my wife: “Why talk about him if I’m not doing anything?” And he said “No: I want to talk to him, does he speak English?” Why? I don’t have hair, I looked like I was a gang member (...) I’ve never felt that, I felt ugly. I felt really ugly. Uh, I told him “Alright, take it.” (...) (the police officer) wanted to know if I had an arrest warrant. He didn’t even notice if my kid was there and everything like that, without a seat, without anything: he came directly at me. I felt, yeah I felt...

Drew: Of course, yeah.

Jaime: And I told her (his wife)... I’ve lived in Garden City two, three years, that’s never, that’s never happened to me (...)

Drew: A lot of people have told me stories more-or-less similar to that.

Jaime: Yeah, and...

Drew: Do you think it happens frequently?

Jaime: I would say yes...

Drew: Yeah?

Jaime: Yeah, um... they see someone, a Hispanic (...) there are some police officers who think “Oh, since he’s black, he’s a gang member. Oh, he’s Mexican, he’s a gang member. Uh... he’s Muslim, he’s a terrorist.” (...) I felt like that gentleman had something... a, something racist because (...) the same thing happened to, with a friend of my wife’s also, he stopped him, “Oh, I want to see your license.” From him, soon a lot of people that, say that that police officer is attacking Hispanics of Latinos especially. I don’t know.

On one hand, what Jaime describes is clearly racial profiling, and not specifically linguistic in nature. However, it helps illustrate one way in which ideologies of language interact with racial ideologies: an officer assuming that an individual cannot speak English based on their physical appearance constitutes clear racial profiling, but the officer expresses it as a question about

language first, rather than citizenship or race, e.g. Additionally, aside from Jaime's gauge of the situation, asking if an individual speaks English may reflect the officer assessing how to best assist a citizen involved in an interaction with an official of the state. On the other hand, it could be an invasive question that, particularly when asked in English, immediately draws a division between the two individuals involved. Notably, it represents an instance in which an interaction that was interpreted as highly discriminatory by a resident of Garden City was spurred by a question—or potentially a challenge—about that resident's language abilities. These types of ideological and linguistic divisions between state government and local residents can put a citizen on edge based on a profile drawn by the police officer before any interaction takes place. All of the participants in this study had always been or had become bilingual by the time of interview, except for one monolingual English-speaking Latino participant. Nearly all had experienced a situation where it was presumed that they couldn't speak English. Even when nothing nasty was said about them in earshot on the basis of such an assumption, assumptions like this help deepen the divide between Latinos and mainstream American culture. When a police officer assumes your language based on your physical appearance, it is tantamount to questioning your citizenship or legal status in the United States, in however small a way.

5.1.2 USD 457

The linguistic situation of Spanish in the local public school district, USD 457, is perhaps where most of the cause for concern lies regarding the maintenance of Spanish in Kansas. In Garden City schools, 67% of students were Hispanic in 2016 (USD 457 internal memo); 47% in of children in Garden City came from a home in which Spanish was the main language spoken, and a full 50% from homes where the main language is other than English (Census Reporter, 2016). Although there are as many as 35 languages spoken by children in Garden City public

schools (USD 457 internal memo), the vast majority of students who speak a language other than English are Spanish-speaking. Statistics and demographics notwithstanding, the district boasts only one dual-language program (at Buffalo Jones Elementary), and this school employs a “transition” method, whereby children are immersed in Spanish for the first years of schooling, but are subsequently transitioned stepwise into full English instruction. Although perhaps not the most effective theoretical method of English instruction for Spanish-speaking students (many in the field are proponents of “immersion” programs over “transition” programs) (Montrul & Potowski, 2007), this institution has an honorable goal and provides an important, influential service to the city that is noticeable in conversation with Spanish-speaking residents. Several participants had either attended or sent their children there, and Buffalo Jones was frequently mentioned positively during discussions of local education.

Four of my participants (out of nine who had been, at some point, enrolled in ESL programs) expressed that their time in ESL in the 80s, 90s and early 2000s involved a level of education well below their needs, that effectively sequestered them from the student body and often caused delays in their education. According to one participant, Monica—principal of another elementary school in Garden City which utilizes ESL rather than dual-language transition—there are many metrics for determining placement of a Latino child or a child from a Spanish-speaking family. This generally begins with a standardized language test (which I was unable to obtain) that determines whether students enter the Newcomer program (for children born in a different country and brought to the U.S. just prior to enrollment), regular ESL, or the general student population. The most salient feature of this process, for children who do not do well enough on the test to skip ESL or the Newcomer program, is the separation from the general student body of students from families who speak a language other than English. Feelings of

loneliness and depression were among the results of participation in traditional ESL programs for those respondents. Jacobo, a 33-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker born in Chihuahua, Mexico, who moved to the United States at the age of 9, described ESL thus:

Example 3: Jacobo

Jacobo: Uh... bueno, reflexionando hoy, entonces claro, no me daba cuenta, pero siento que el ESL de entonces—y no sé cómo está hoy—uh, lo segregaba a uno de, del cuerpo principal de estudiantes. Pero, entonces siento, creo, lo trataban a uno como si estaba uno uh, bueno, tonto a lo mejor. Pero sí me, así me siento ahora, que sí era la división. El tipo de estudio que recibieras con ESL no era equivalente a la normal, del resto del student body.

Jacobo: Uh... well, reflecting today, at the time, of course, I didn't realize, but I feel that ESL at that time—and I don't know how it is today—uh, it segregated you from, from the main body of students. But, so I feel, I think, they treated you as if you were uh, well, dumb, maybe. But yes I, that's how I feel now, that yes, it was division. The type of study that you would receive with ESL was not equivalent to the normal, the rest of the student body.

Jacobo describes what many students of ESL throughout the 90s and 2000s felt: held back in their education, segregated from other children their age, and even potentially treated as intellectually inferior because of their lack of proficiency in English. Although he states that he is unaware of how the situation may be today, my findings and interviews with school employees suggest that these problems persist. This is not to discount the efforts of the many ESL instructors throughout the country and in Kansas specifically; these are hardworking professionals operating with the tools and resources provided to them by an imperfect system. Most participants, despite the negative feelings that came from being in ESL, nevertheless hold their instructors in high regard and credit them for beginning their English language education.

However, there were participants such as Daniela, a 27-year-old city employee who works with juvenile offenders. Daniela came to the United States at the age of 12 with her

parents, and I consider her to be a first-generation Spanish speaker (she reports that her first language is Spanish). At the time of her participation, she was a recipient of benefits under the DACA program. Daniela entered directly into an ESL program upon arrival in the U.S., and her experiences there left a definite negative impression on her as a speaker of Spanish.

Example 4: Daniela

- Drew: Y cómo era el programa [ESL program]?
- Daniela: Um... era, uh, me ayudó bastante. Los maestros eran buenas. Lo único que no me gustó era que no te, no te retaban mas. Porque después, llegué al colegio, me di cuenta de que [...] me tenía que acoplar más rápido a, al lenguaje. A un nivel del lenguaje de ingles más alto. Entonces, cuando estaba en la high school se me hacía fácil, prácticamente. Eran fácil las clases de ESL.
- Drew: Pero seguía estando en ese programa en el high school también?
- Daniela: Hasta, los primeros tres años sí.
- Drew: Ah. crees que te ayudó aprender el inglés?
- Daniela: Sí, pos, sí me ayudó, pero al mismo tiempo pienso que debía de haber sido más, um, que hubiera tenido más challenge, me entiendes? Como más, -Øk, ya aprendieron esto, ahora ustedes están sólo en esto” y... que me hubiera sido un poquito más difícil [laughter].
- Drew: Sí. Um, habías empezado aprender el inglés antes de entrar en ese programa? Cuando estabas en México o...
- Daniela: No, no sabía prácticamente nada...
- Drew: Los maestros que enseñaron los, las clases de ESL eran hispanohablantes o eran...
- Daniela: Eran blancos
- Drew: Eran Anglos?
- Daniela: Mmhmm [affirmative]
- Drew: Um... cómo es que podían enseñar a un niño hispanohablante el inglés, si no podían hablar el español?
- Daniela: [expression of amusement or wonder at the situation] Te ponían cosas muy simples como... gramática de primer o segundo grado, entonces siento que no nos... te llegaron como, hasta la gramática de, o sea, tercer o cuarto a lo mejor, y de allí ya no, siento que ya no te pusieran más como que -ahora tenemos que aprender estas, no, oraciones, no, vocabulario.” Era, todo era muy, muy simple.
- Drew: *And how was the program?*
- Daniela: *Um... it was, uh, it helped me quite a bit. The teachers were good. The only thing I didn't like was that they didn't, hey didn't challenge you more. Because afterward, I got to school, I realized that (...) I had to adapt more quickly to, to the language. To a higher level of the English language. So, when I was in high school it seemed easy to me, practically. ESL classes were easy.*
- Drew: *But you continued to be in the program in high school too?*

Daniela: Until, the first three years, yeah.

Drew: Ah. Do you think it helped you learn English?

Daniela: Yeah, well, yeah it helped me, but at the same time I think it should have been more, um, that I would have had more of a challenge, you know? Like more, “Ok, now you learned this, and now you’re going to be alone on this” and... that it would have been a little more difficult for me (laughter).

Drew: Yeah. Um, you had started learning English before entering that program? When you were in Mexico or...

Daniela: No, I knew practically nothing.

Drew: The teachers who taught the, the ESL classes were Spanish speakers or were they...

Daniela: They were white.

Drew: They were Anglos?

Daniela: Mmhmm (affirmative)

Drew: Um... how is it that they could teach a Spanish-speaking kid English, if they couldn’t speak Spanish?

Daniela: (expression of amusement or wonder at the situation) They gave you really simple things like... first or second grade grammar, so I feel like they didn’t... they got you to like, well, third or fourth grade grammar maybe, and from there they didn’t, I feel like they didn’t give you more from there like “now we have to learn these, no, sentences, no, vocabulary.” It was, everything was really, really simple.

Daniela’s quote illustrates the clear lack of efficacy of many ESL programs in Garden City, and the negative impact that ESL can have on the education and scholastic advancement of Spanish-speaking students. Her experiences with ESL likely echo those of thousands of children who attended school in Garden City from the beginning of the 80s (when the situation was possibly worse, according to my interviews, as there was no curricular support for transitional or maintenance language programs, and many schools had not yet implemented ESL programs) to the early 2000s (when several of my participants and myself attended school there). Furthermore, there are some indications, based on my conversations with educators and residents, that the situation regarding ESL has not changed all that much in the last 15 years or so: that is, children are still often separated from their peers, taught below their grade level, and sometimes forbidden from speaking Spanish. Daniela also described the emotional toll that her struggles with English, compounded by the inefficacy of the ESL program, had on her as a young girl in a new country:

Example 5: Daniela

Daniela: [...] creo que fue, como dicen, un “culture shock” cuando llegué. Cuando llegué estaba [...] creo que estaba deprimida. Yo sé que estaba chica y debía de haber acoplado más rápido, pero [...] cuando apenas llegué, entré a [...] una escuela donde estaba dos meses aprendiendo un poco de inglés. De entonces entro en la KH [Kenneth Henderson Middle School] y... nadie hablaba español. Las maestras no, no te dejen hablar español para nada, y los estudiantes que estaban hablando español [...] ya tenían un inglés más avanzado. Entonces estaba yo bastante estresada allí, no quería estar acá [...]

Daniela: I think it was, like they say, a culture shock when I got here. When I got here I was (...) I think I was depressed. I know I was young and I should have adapted more quickly, but (...) when I just arrived, I started going to (...) a school where I spent two months learning a little bit of English. From there I go to KH and... nobody spoke Spanish. The teachers didn't, didn't let you speak Spanish, no way, and the students that were speaking Spanish (...) already had more advanced English. So I was pretty stressed there, I didn't want to be here (...)

As she progressed through her schooling and entered high school, her English improved and she met more students in situations similar to her own. Daniela's story shows, however, that an individual's adaptation or assimilation to their new environment in Garden City is directly tied to their language abilities in multiple ways. First, individuals enrolled in ESL programs can feel emotionally isolated and separated as non-native speakers of the dominant language. The potential emotional and psychological tolls of this are too obvious to explain. Second, they are physically isolated and separated into a program apart from the regular student body. After being separated, not only are they often forbidden from speaking their native language, they are also not effectively brought up to a level of fluency in their second language that would allow them to communicate with—and become integrated in—the society which they have found themselves a part of. Third, the quality of their education suffers from a program that focuses so intensely on English-only instruction that the material being covered has to be set several grades lower than

the student's actual learning level, in order to use language that will be more easily understandable to a non-native speaker.

Jaime and his brothers, for example, were simply left back a grade or more in order to account for their language needs. He describes learning some English before arriving in the U.S., but having to be left back in the previous grade upon arrival in order to “catch up,” so to speak, with the rest of the student body:

Example 6: Jaime

Jaime: [...] yo en México estaba en quinto grado. Mi hermano estaba en tercero. So, llegando aquí, no más por, porque allí, yo cuando estaba en Chihuahua, ese verano antes de venimos, yo estaba tomando clases de inglés. Mis papas me mandaron a clases de inglés. Uh, yo les enseñaba a mis hermanos lo que yo aprendía. Uh, en ese tiempo nosotros llegamos, nos, uh, tomaron clases de ESL. Uh, estábamos sorprendidos que [...] en vez de estar en quinto, cuarto y tercer grado, nos bajaron a cuarto, segundo, entonces nos dejaron un año para atrás.

Jaime: (...) in Mexico I was in fifth grade. Mi brother was in third. So, getting here, just because, because over there, when I was in Chihuahua, that summer before we came, I was taking English classes. My parents sent me to English classes. Uh, I taught my brothers what I was learning. Uh, in that time we got here, we, uh, took ESL classes. Uh, we were surprised that (...) instead of being in fifth, fourth and third grade, they lowers us to fourth, second, so they left you behind.

Jaime was forced to enter school at a full grade year below his educational level in Mexico, despite the fact that he had been actively learning English before arriving in the United States. This illustrates clearly the fact that, at least in recent decades, if not still today, ESL programs in places like Garden City adopt approaches that can have a negative impact on the development of a child's scholastic ability.

All of these problems, and arguably more, could be solved by employing more bilingual teachers and adopting programs more like that which is employed at Buffalo Jones (a transition program); a step further would be to adopt maintenance programs over transition programs.

However, it is easy for politicians and administrators to shrug these propositions off as impractical in an era of widespread educational budget cuts in Kansas, and within a culture that seems to consider any language services for children as representative of somehow “giving in” to the reality of immigration to the United States. Research shows that rural areas, including those with high concentrations of Latino residents and recent immigrants, are more prone than larger, urban areas to a prevalence of discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants, foreign nationals, and foreign languages (Ebert & Ovink, 2014; Fennelly & Federico, 2008). Garden City matches this description in my experience; when coupled with political sentiments regarding ESL services at the state level, the overwhelming attitude toward Spanish is such that making important changes to the school system that would help maintain the language, while effectively instructing children in English, seems impossible to many educators and residents. Nearly every educator or administrative employee for the district with whom I met, when I asked what the main issue was regarding language services in schools, cited lack of state funds and lack of interest at the county and state level in investing in this area.

Monica, the principal of a local elementary school, detailed some of the difficulties of language education in the district. She is a 46-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker whose father is from Chihuahua, while her mother is from Spain. When asked about the attitude of monolingual English-speaking teachers toward Spanish-speaking children, she replied:

Example: 7 Monica

Monica: También eso se está mejorando, y pienso que, um, los, los maestros que, es que los, como, [por] cinco o seis años, uh, hemos tenido que ir a diferentes estados para agarrar maestros y maestras, so... las maestras que vienen de Michigan, o de Minnesota—donde no hay muchos hispanos o, uh, [personas] que hablen español—es, cuando vienen aquí, es algo a que se tiene que acostumbrar. So, para ellos, los tenemos que enseñar, y mirar cómo se... que tiene que repetir, que tienen que no ir más despacio, pero que tienen que repetir las lecciones y todo eso, so, todo eso lo tenemos que enseñar, entrenar a los maestros de, que vienen

de otros lugares. Pero sí están, pienso que, que sí, le dan el esfuerzo para enseñar a todos los niños.

Drew: Crees que es difícil, uh, reclutar maestros de [sic, a] Garden City porque no hay una universidad acá o... o hay gente que estudian la enseñanza y no regresan a Garden City, o...?

Monica: Um, las dos cosas, sí. [...] no hay una universidad de cuatro años aquí, pero los que se van no regresan porque les gusta donde fueron y está la ciudad más grande, hay más oportunidades de ganar más dinero también, o, uh, y diferentes, yeah, como es más grande [la] ciudad, verdad, son más oportunidades. Y por eso no vienen para atrás, los que sí vienen pa'trás es porque su familia es aquí, ha crecido por generaciones varias y... vienen pa'trás pero no son muchos los que se vienen pa'trás.

Monica: That's also getting better, and I think that, um, the, the teachers that, it's that the, like, (for) five or six years, uh, we've had to go to different states to find teachers, so... the teachers that come from Michigan, or from Minnesota—where there aren't many Hispanics or, uh, (people) who speak Spanish—its' when they come here, it's something they have to get accustomed to. So, for them, we have to teach them, and see how they... that they have to repeat, that they have to go, not slower, but that they have to repeat the readings and all that, so, we have to teach them all of that, train the teachers from, that come from other places. But yes, they're I think that yes, they put forth the effort to teach all of the kids.

Drew: Do you think it's difficult to, uh, recruit teachers from (sic: to) Garden City because there's not a university here or... or there are people who study teaching and don't return to Garden City or...?

Monica: Uh, both things, yeah. (...) there's not a four-year university here, but those that go don't return because they like where they went and the city is bigger, there are more opportunities to earn more money, also, or, uh, and different, yeah, the larger the city, right, there are more opportunities. And that's why they don't come back, the one's that do come back, it's because their family is here, it's grown for a few generations and... they come back, but there aren't many that come back.

As Monica shows, the local school district has had trouble recruiting locally, and therefore has had to seek educators from areas where there are far less Spanish-speaking residents per capita, and thus less candidates able to fulfill the language needs of the school district in Garden City. The 2018–2019 fiscal year salary schedule for USD 457 lists the base salary at \$40,282 (Garden City Public Schools, 2018) well below the 2016–2017 state average of \$47,984 and the national average for that same period of \$58,950 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Kansas

schools in general have struggled to hire teachers, as funding has been cut rather severely in recent years with support from politicians that often take aim at the same language services discussed here, targeting them as the source of Kansas' budgetary issues (see Chapter 4.4). Educational funding is a nationwide concern; however, in districts like USD 457, where there are a disproportionate number of students from homes where a language other than English is spoken, this issue is particularly notable.

5.1.3 Healthcare

Unfortunately, community policing and public education are not the only areas where institutional discrimination takes place. The healthcare system in Garden City seems to present similar issues when it comes to language services. Although the Catholic hospital there—St. Catherine's—is one of the largest in the area and serves thousands of Latino and Spanish-speaking individuals, I found indications that the interpretation services they offer are less than adequate given local demographics. While interpretation is usually available at a separate, non-profit free clinic that caters to the non-English-speaking population—Genesis Family Health, formerly United Methodist Mexican American Ministries—in the hospital itself, there are apparently few professional interpreters employed. St. Catherine's did not respond to my inquiry about their interpretation services, but I was informed by a former administrative employee that there are no professional Spanish-English interpreters employed by the hospital. Doctors often rely on bilingual nurses (sometimes nonnative Spanish speakers, like Ariel [below]) and the family members of patients to provide in-person interpretation. This act is known as “language brokering,” and the people made to act as language brokers are referred to as “ad hoc interpreters.” Ad hoc interpretation has been shown to negatively affect healthcare outcomes and

patient satisfaction in patient-provider interactions (Kam et al., 2017; Katz, 2014; Kim et al., 2017; Senedel et al., 2018).

One participant, Ariel, discussed how she has often been called upon to interpret for doctors while at work as a Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) at St. Catherine's hospital. Ariel is a 32-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker, born in Kansas, whose father is from Chihuahua but did not raise her. She learned Spanish as an adolescent and young adult from Spanish-speaking Latino friends, but reported identifying more with the white community. Hers is one of the few interviews conducted in English, as she claimed her Spanish-speaking abilities were not conducive to an in-depth interview (she expressed feeling more comfortable using English in general). As a child she acted as a language broker for Spanish-speaking family members, and stated that this practice is still widespread throughout healthcare services in Garden City.

Example 8: Ariel

- Drew: Do you find yourself... functioning as a translator pretty often?
- Ariel: Um, not in my current position now, um, my office is in HR [...] But in my other job, when I worked at the clinic in the hospital, uh, yeah: I translated a lot.
- Drew: For patients?
- Ariel: Mhmm, yeah. And they do have, um, two Spanish translators that work full-time, um, for the clinic, but when you have, you know, three floors of offices and there's only two translators, if the translators are tied up and the doctors are ready to go in, and there's somebody there, that's standing there, that speaks Spanish, you know, you just go in and help.
- Drew: Do you find a lot of people doing, like, what you did when you were a kid and they use, for example, their children help them translate?
- Ariel: Mhmm, yep. Yes, They'll bring a family member or somebody with them that speaks English.
- Drew: How do you think... how would you compare the effectiveness of using, say, a younger family member to translate for an adult versus using the, the in-house translators that you guys have?
- Ariel: They prefer for us not to use... even uh, adult family members as translators, if at all possible. Um, we do also have a CyraCom Translator Phone that can be utilized as well, and that can be utilized for, I mean, multiple languages. I mean, it's got a directory and you just find what language you need and you get on the

line and they get you with a translator. Um, the reason why they discourage the use of a family member as a translator is, if they relay the information incorrectly or maybe there's something that they don't think the patient should know and so they don't want to tell them that, so they leave that part out, um, it could end up being a liability for the hospital. Um, so they prefer that we don't use family as translators, as, as least often as possible. Now if the patient pushes the call light and they need something, and the family member is right there and just says "Oh, they need to go to the bathroom" or "They need water." You know, stuff like that's ok, but if you're trying to relay communication about, uh, care and medications and procedures, um, definitely they prefer to use a translator. And more so that you would use the translator as opposed to just regular staff, uh, because the translators are required to have certain certifications, uh, whereas us, as staff, are not, so...

Ariel and myself here use the terms "translator" and "interpreter" interchangeably (accidentally prompted by my mistaken usage, I believe) to refer to in-person interpreters; strictly speaking, translators deal with written documents only. However, her statement nonetheless reveals that although the stated policies of the hospital are in line with federal legal requirements to provide oral interpreters and translated documents (Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Affordable Care Act), they still rely on both adolescent and adult language brokers and untrained, informal interpreters, including employees whose job responsibilities actually lie in other areas. When possible, they are encouraged to use an audio-only phone service—the CyraCom Translator Phone—that, by Ariel's own description, is a time-consuming replacement for an in-person, professionally trained interpreter.

Example 9: Ariel

Drew: How effective do you think that phone service is?

Ariel: Uh, it's effective but it's very time-consuming. Um, because you have to say whatever you're saying in English, they translate back to the patient in Spanish. Patient responds to them in Spanish, they translate it back to you in English, um, so it's a lengthy process but we have more of a guarantee, I guess, that the information that's being translated is supposed to be accurate and confidential, because of the contract that they have with the company, so.

Drew: Do you guys use, are there any like, third-party translation services based out of Garden City that you guys can use?

Ariel: I don't think so. The only one that I can think of would be the Tyson employees, but I don't think that's Hispanic, I think it's just the Somalian—um, they have, um, a person that goes with their people to all of their appointments, and they translate for them. Um, but that wouldn't be for Spanish. I can't think of any other just third-party services for translators.

Although I was unable to verify that Tyson supplies interpreters for their Somali employees who receive medical care, Ariel's statements suggest that interpretation services for Spanish-speaking residents within healthcare in Garden City rely on ineffective methods that could lead to negative outcomes for patients. Many researchers (Gonzales et al., 2018; Gonzalez & Bloom-Pojar, 2018; Hsieh, 2014; Youdelman, 2013) suggest that the extra-linguistic (i.e. non-verbal and interpersonal) aspects of interpretation are vital to patient outcomes, and that phone services are far less effective.

5.2 Informal discrimination

The institutionalized linguistic discrimination I detail above—in the form of both discriminatory attitudes and lack of proper language services within the police force, the school system, and the healthcare system in Garden City—forms one part of the discriminatory ideological forces on which this thesis focuses. I also found throughout my interviews, and remember explicitly from my years spent in Garden City, that informal or interpersonal discrimination against Spanish speakers (as opposed to institutional discrimination) is common in Garden City. All but four of my participants listed at least one experience of being discriminated against by another individual in the public sphere. This often takes the form of people telling individuals speaking Spanish in public that it is unacceptable, or the assumption that an individual can't speak English, for example. Jacobo perhaps put it most succinctly:

Example 10: Jacobo

Drew: Alguien, alguien te ha molestado por hablar el español en público en Garden City antes?

Jacobo: Oh sí, sí. En el trabajo, es como cuando estaba explicando con los empleos, este, se me hace que ahorita si hablo, si—no sé cuantas entrevistas has tenido pero—*voy a estar sorprendido si encuentras con una persona que no tiene un, este, una experiencia dura o varias experiencias duras* (emphasis mine).

Drew: *Has anyone, has anyone ever bothered you for speaking Spanish in public in Garden City?*

Jacobo: *Oh yeah, yeah. At work, it's like when I was explaining about jobs, uh, it seems like if I talk right now, if—I don't know how many interviews you've had, but—I am going to be surprised if you meet somebody who doesn't have, uh, a rough experience or several rough experiences.*

When asked about his experiences with discrimination for speaking Spanish, Jacobo described what he saw as a very common practice of linguistic discrimination throughout many areas of life in Garden City. Jacobo had previously mentioned what he described as mostly good-natured ribbing, about his Latino heritage and Spanish language, among coworkers. However, in this response, he indicates that beyond that, he and (in his estimation) just about every Spanish speaker in Garden City has had a “rough experience” as a result of speaking Spanish in public.

Like Jacobo, the majority of my participants can recall an experience of being discriminated against casually, in a public place, for speaking Spanish. This is, of course, not a reality unique to this town; however, it contributes to the ideological dynamic of which I speak throughout this work. People experience discrimination based on their language practices, and it affects their language practices by teaching them that Spanish is unacceptable in public spaces. Two participants, including Veronica (below), cried as they told me about the times that others had belittled and abused them for speaking Spanish or not being able to speak English. Veronica is a 29-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker born in the U.S. I asked her to recount some

of her experiences being discriminated against for speaking Spanish in Garden City and Holcomb, where she currently lives, and her emotional response captures a feeling that several other participants discussed.

Example 11: Veronica

Drew: [...] crees que tuviste que hacer esas cosas [make friends with popular kids] para que la gente te aceptara?

Veronica: Sí. No tenía de otra.

Drew: Sentiste discriminación por no poder hablar el inglés o...?

Veronica: Sí, claro. Y eso era que, era entre mis compañeros. Imagínate con otros, o sea... pero sabes que, de esa, de ese entonces, la mera verdad: no ví mucho. Porque era diferente, porque ya me habían aceptado, y era diferente. Um, es más me aceptaron porque yo, ese mismo como que digo: boxeaba.

Drew: Hiciste esa, esos esfuerzos para...

Veronica: Sí, entonces yo iba con él, y me decía –este, no, necesitas que serte fuerte porque si andas así pos te van a...” Yo me acuerdo una vez yendo a la escuela, caminaba, y caminé por el ditch, y yo me acuerdo que había una niña, y... ok, yo me acuerdo que estaba, ella y su mamá, y yo no sabía que decían. Y me estaban gritando. Y yo no sa-... y, y yo me acuerdo que, se me grababan las cosas que decían, y yo no sabía qué decían. Y yo no más dijo –ok, um...” Y me empezaron a tirar piedras. Y yo no, entonces corrí, yo corrí a mi casa, y fue y le dije a mi papá, porque yo no sabía nada y me dijo esto, esto, y otro. Y la mera verdad: no me acuerdo que dijeron pero me acuerdo que eso pasó, y, y dijo, –Pos tú, para la proxima vez...” sorry [wiping tears]

Drew: Está bien, está bien.

Veronica: –Para la próxima vez que te digan eso, tú diles _pos esto es mi lado del, del mundo, ustedes son de allá, váyanse a la chinga de tu madre.” Pero, I think that was the changer for me. Sorry! [laughter]

Drew: (...) Do you think you had to do those things so that people would accept you?

Veronica: Yes. I didn't have another (option).

Drew: Did you feel discrimination for not being able to speak English or...?

Veronica: Yes, sure. And that was because, it was among my friends. Imagine with the others, well... but you know, from that, from that time, the simple truth: I didn't see much. Because it was different, because they had already accepted me, and it was different. Um, it's more that they accepted me because I, the same as I said: I fought.

Drew: You made those, those efforts to...

Veronica: Yes, so I went with him, and he told me “this, no, you have to be strong because if you go around like that well they” regoing to...” I remember what time going to school, I was walking, and I walked through the ditch, and I remember there was a girl and... ok, I remember that they were there, her and her mom, and I didn't

know what they said. And I just said “ok, um...” And they started throwing rocks at me. And I, no, so I ran, I ran to my house, and I went and I told my dad, because I didn’t know anything, and he told me this, this and this. And the simple truth: I don’t remember what they said to me but I remember that that happened, and, and he said “Well you, the next time...” Sorry.

Drew: It’s ok, it’s ok

Veronica: “The next time they tell you that, you tell them „well this is my side of the, my side of the world, you “reall from over there, go fuck yourselves.”” But I think that was the changer for me. Sorry!

As Veronica illustrates here, these discriminatory moments, often in reaction to language practices and carried out in racist and hateful speech, can become watershed moments in the development of individuals, having long-term effects on the way they view themselves and their language practices in larger society. At the same time that they can strengthen one’s resolve to maintain a heritage language and culture—Veronica was “changed” by this moment, and became a vocal proponent for the Latino community as an adult—they also firmly embed a knowledge of the existence of an ideological stance against speaking Spanish in public which I suggest feeds into the displacement of Spanish.

Similar to Veronica, others presented anecdotes in terms of resiliency, refusing to “be the victim” and not letting casual discrimination have an effect on their lives. Such was the case with Sofia, a 30-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker whose family is from a rural area of Chihuahua:

Example 12: Sofia

Sofia: No me gusta ser la víctima. No me gusta estar pensando, o estar no más con la mentalidad de que “ay, es que no, porque son racistas” o “porque no les gustan los hispanos.” Creo que uno, después se pone, se siente uno estar inferior.

Drew: Mmhmm [affirmative].

Sofia: Este, no me gusta ese término. Sí, hay personas malas, hay personas quien... dicho comentarios o así, les cae mal a uno, pero no voy a ser la víctima, no me voy a ser de que “Ah, es que son racistas, no les gustan los hispanos.” Creo que hay un poco de racismo en donde quieras, donde, hay racismo al asiático, al negro, al—ahorita que tenemos más este, como de otras razas, o sea hay racismo entre esas

razas. Pero creo que simplemente es porque no conocen, no saben las diferentes culturas. Pero aquí, por ejemplo, sí—han sido malos desde que, más que... they're just mean because they are mean.

Drew: [laughter]

Sofia: You know? No voy a estar de que —Ay, es que no les gustan hispanos.” Por ejemplo sí, recuerdo una de las veces, sí me cayó mal. Estábamos en la WalMart, estaba yo con mi mama, yo estaba empujando el carrito y ella estaba en frente. Y este, estaba una pareja, de, de americanos, y mi mama le dijo en ingles —excuse me.” Con su acento, ah?

Drew: Sí.

Sofia: Dijo —Excuse me” y este, como que le ignoraban. Y luego decía mi mama —Excuse me!” [laughter] Mas fuerte.

Drew: Sí.

Sofia: Y todavía no se movieron. Entonces, conociendo a mi mama, ella es... de poca [inaudible] como se dice, ah... les movió el carrito. Y luego dice él, el señor —I don't speak Mexican.”

Drew: [groan]

Sofia: I don't like to be the victim. I don't like to be thinking, or just have the mentality that “Ay, it's that they're racists” or “because they don't like Hispanics.” I believe that you, afterward you become, you feel you are inferior.

Drew: Mhmm.

Sofia: Uh, I don't like that term. Yes, there are bad people, there are people who... [have] said comments like that, they don't like you, but I'm not going to be the victim, I'm not going to be like “Ah, it's that they're racists, they don't like Hispanics.” I believe that there is a little bit of racism everywhere, where, there's racism against Asians, against black people, against—now that we have more, uh, like from other races, I mean, there's racism amongst those races. But I think it's simply because they don't know, they don't know the different cultures. But here, for example, yes—there have been bad once since, more that... they're just mean because they are mean.

Drew: (laughter)

Sofia: You know? I'm not going to be like “Ay, it's because they don't like Hispanics. For example yeah, I remember one of the times, yeah, I didn't like it. We were in WalMart, I was with my mom, I was pushing the cart and she was in front. And uh, there was a couple, of, of Americans, and my mom said to them in English “Excuse me.” With her accent, ah?

Drew: Yeah.

Sofia: She said “Excuse me” and uh, like they were ignoring here. And then my mom said “Excuse me!” Louder.

Drew: Yeah.

Sofia: And they still didn't move, So, knowing my mom, she's... very outgoing, as they say, ah... she moved their cart. And then he said, the man, “I don't speak Mexican.”

Drew: (groan)

Here, Sofia describes a moment of clear racial discrimination that nonetheless takes the form of assumptions and assertions regarding language practices of Spanish-speaking Garden City residents. This type of informal discrimination was described regularly by my participants when I posed questions about discriminatory attitudes revolving around their language use. Sofia didn't explicitly tie these experiences to any loss of language, however. When expanding upon her thoughts about this interaction, she said:

Example 13: Sofia

Sofia: No... no le tomamos tanta importancia a cosas negativas de esas.

Sofia: We don't... we don't place much importance on those kinds of negative things.

Sofia, who like Veronica represents herself as hardened to or transcendent in the face of verbal discrimination (whether on a linguistic or possibly racial basis), nevertheless characterizes these experiences very differently: as merely annoying moments which she refuses to let change her attitude about the culture of Garden City. Both participants reported that discrimination is less common now than when they were children, and that despite these experiences, Garden City is a hospitable town in which to live and raise a family for them. However, their experiences with hispanophobic ideologies left a lasting impression on them.

5.3 Language ideologies and family language practices

The linguistic discrimination against Spanish speakers detailed in the preceding chapters represents a realization of language ideologies that are reinforced by the institutions with which Spanish speakers interact in their everyday lives. Specifically, the stories my participants told suggest that ideologies of hispanophobia (Zentella, 1997) and the monolingual ideology—which I consider here as both parts of the larger ideology of “The Latino Threat” (Chavez, 2008)—

affect family language practices in Garden City by suppressing the maintenance of Spanish and encouraging monolingualism in English. Hispanophobia was implicitly referenced by several participants. For example, Inés, a 47-year-old, second-generation Spanish speaker living in Garden City, discussed the concept that Spanish is not acceptable in the United States, something expressed by people who hold racist and linguistically discriminatory attitudes toward Latinos, Spanish speakers and the Spanish language.

Example 14: Inés

Drew: Crees que barreras lingüísticas forman parte de [la] discriminación contra los latinos?

Inés: Sí.

Drew: Porque no... también escucho a mucha gente... que dicen cosas como “Estás en América: debes hablar inglés” y cosas así. Te, te... te ha ocurrido a ti?

Inés: Sí, pero... dije, yo les he, yo les he contestado, este, de que yo sé la historia [...] Le digo... entonces eh, siempre, Estados Unidos siempre ha sido una nación o un país de diferentes idiomas. Siempre. Simplemente los indios que vivían aquí: no todos tenían el mismo dialecto. Entonces... que el inglés sí, es el universal, pero eso no quiere decir que uno no puede hablar los otros idiomas.

Drew: Do you think linguistic barriers form part of [the] discrimination against Latinos?

Inés: Yes.

Drew: Because don't... I've also heard a lot of people... that say things like "You're in America: you should speak English" and things like that. Has, has... has that happened to you?

Inés: Yes, but... I said, I've told them, I've told them, uh, that I know history [...] I tell them... so, uh, it's always, the United States has always been a nation, or a country of different languages. Always. Simply the Indians that lived here: they didn't all have the same dialect. So... so that English, yes, it's the universal, but that doesn't mean that one can't speak other languages.

Inés here illustrates not only the fact that, like many Spanish speakers, she has been told before that one does not speak Spanish in the United States; she also shows what resiliency against this type of discrimination looks like. A common sentiment expressed by the participants in this study is that while discrimination does exist, they refuse to allow it to affect them on a

psychological or linguistic level. However, the discrimination nonetheless exists, and constitutes a prominent ideological force in the local linguistic landscape. This ideology of monolingualism is so common that white individuals will often joke about it by saying things like “Speak American!” with varying degrees of either hostility or irony. Of course, the joke is that American is not a language, but nonetheless the belief in an official American language (i.e. English) is a real ideological force in the United States that bears out historically (see Chapter 4) as much as in the present moment, as my data shows. Luckily, there is no federal official language in the U.S., though several states (including Kansas) do have English as the official institutional language. The standard, monolingual ideology is expressed by Kansas politicians, and is the same ideological force that leads to the lack of proper language services discussed in the previous chapter. This has been standardized in the past under the heading of either the “official English” or “English-only” movements (Zentella, 1997) which, respectively, champion either the adoption of English as the official language (of a state or the entire U.S.) or banning the use of languages other than English in official documents and actions (e.g. in the courts or schools). Although these political movements are not as present in the news today as in past years, the sentiment is still culturally embedded in the form of the ideologies and discriminatory behavior discussed in this work. These ideologies work in many ways to undermine confidence in language education and place barriers (monetary, political, educational and social) in the way of the maintenance of Spanish as a heritage language among children from Spanish-speaking families (Przymus & Kohler, 2018).

The presence of this ideology alone is not the singular reason why Ines’ children are not fully fluent in Spanish (only two of her five children speak it to varying degrees). My claims imply that the denial of transition or maintenance-focused language services at an institutional

level is a form of discrimination that, when coupled with political ideologies that target minority languages, contributes to the displacement of Spanish in the U.S. by affecting the language practices of Spanish-speaking individuals and families in Garden City. I suggest that discrimination (historical and current; institutional and informal) is part of what discourages Spanish-speaking individuals from maintaining Spanish in their families, and leads to subsequent generations knowing less Spanish than previous ones. However, as previously stated, I did not conduct thorough, quantitative research into the levels of maintenance within the families of the individuals I interviewed. My data merely shows how linguistic discrimination interacts with and is fed by ideologies at the personal and state level, in order to suggest that this could be having an effect on the maintenance of Spanish within Latino families in Garden City. I suggest this occurs through the language policies of the state—namely, the denial of language services within state institutions—and of Latino families, in the form of increasing the difficulty of reinforcing Spanish as a spoken language within the home.

Not everyone phrased it in such terms, however: Humberto, for example, framed his approach to his children's language education almost as a responsibility to use Spanish to supplement the English education received at school. Humberto is a 47-year-old, first-generation Garden City resident who immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 30 to work at the IBP packing plant, and has since become the head of a local educational institute with programs geared toward the Spanish-speaking community.

Example 15: Humberto

Humberto: [...] cuando nosotros nos dimos cuenta de, de que un segundo idioma en este país abría las puertas... no más fácil para, pero... uh, abría mas puerta, uh, empezamos a involucrar, uh, en el español más que el inglés. Porque nosotros dijimos –El inglés, lo van a aprender de una u otra forma. Estando en este país, lo van a aprender.” Entonces lo que nosotros necesitamos es uh, el vocabulario de español, que no se, que no se pierda. Que no se, que no se vaya, y que con cualquier

persona que puedan encontrar en cualquier lugar, puedan uh, tener la manera de comunicación.

Humberto: When we realized that a second language in this country opened doors... not more easily, but... opened more doors, we started getting involved more in Spanish than English, because we said "They're going to learn English one way or another: living in this country they're going to learn it." So what we need is the Spanish vocabulary, that it doesn't get lost, that it doesn't go away, and that... with whatever person they could meet in whatever place, they can have, uh, a way to communicate.

Humberto realizes the importance of being able to speak Spanish in Garden City and, more broadly, the United States (an ideology discussed in Showstack & Colcher, forthcoming), and implicitly seems to recognize that the school system will not assist him in maintaining Spanish as a heritage language for his children. He expressed, like other participants, dismay with the ESL system, and filled in the perceived gap by focusing on Spanish language communication at home. He reports that his children speak Spanish, but differently than he does: they mix it with English.

Other participants, like Veronica and Jacobo (both discussed above), were encouraged by the school system to focus on the English language in their homes because they each had a child with a learning disability. In Jacobo's case, the issue was merely that his son started talking late. He reported focusing more on English because of this fact; his son does not speak Spanish, and his daughter has receptive competence of Spanish, but speaks English. His family serves as a good example of the rate of displacement of Spanish within a Mexican family in Garden City: Jacobo's parents speak little English—"fragmented," as he puts it—and he appears fluent in both, whereas his children speak little Spanish.

Example 16: Jacobo

Drew: Um, tu, tus padres hablan inglés?
Jacobo: Uh, muy poco. Sí, muy poco, fragmentado.
Drew: Uh, tienes hijos?
Jacobo: Sí.
Drew: Ellos hablan español e inglés o...?
Jacobo: Mi niña, la chiquita, si habla, no de... nos entiende. La chica habla más español que el grande. El grande es por - siempre me he enfocado en enseñarles, pero por razones que él tuvo, en, uh, este... aprender hablar, en general no hablaba. Por eso, decidimos dejarnos mas enfocados en el inglés, para que empezara a hablar. Sin embargo, me mandaron una carta la escuela, querían ponerlo a él en ESL. Y les quise explicar, "No es que no hable inglés, es que no habla." No habla, simplemente, y es cuando ya empezaron a ponerlo con un *speech pathologist*, y tratar de ayudarlo de esa forma.

*Drew: Um, your, do your parents speak English?
Jacobo: Uh, very little. Yeah, very little, fragmented.
Drew: Uh, do you have kids?
Jacobo: Yes.
Drew: Do they speak Spanish and English or...?
Jacobo: My girl, the small one, she speaks, not like... she understands us. The girl speaks more Spanish than the biggest. The biggest is because - I've always focused on teaching them, but for reasons that he had, in, uh, like... learning to talk, in general he didn't tak. Because of that, we decided to stay more focused on English, so he would start to talk. However, the school sent me a letter, they wanted to put him in ESL. And I wanted to explained to them, "It's not that he doesn't speak English, it's that he doesn't tak." He doesn't tak, simply, and that's when they started to put him with a speech pathologist, to try to help him in that way.*

This is an example of how the lack of properly funded or theoretically current language programs at schools affects the language practices of local Spanish-speaking families. In the case of Jacobo's son, the school misidentified the issue with his speech development as due to his being from a Spanish-speaking family, but eventually placed him with a speech pathologist. Although there is limited research on misdiagnosis of speech impairments among ELLs (cf Chabon et al., 2010; Kraemer et al., 2013; Rowden-Racette, 2009), existing research suggests that this process of misdiagnosis is discriminatory and has a negative impact on speech and

learning disabilities. I further suggest that the misdiagnosis of Jacobo's son represents a form of linguistic discrimination against Latinos in Kansas that, as represented by his lack of fluency in Spanish, possibly contributes to the displacement of Spanish as a minority language in Kansas.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings presented in this thesis summarize my observations about the effects that informal or interpersonal discrimination have on the language practices of individuals. None of my participants explicitly stated that the discrimination they had suffered in the past prevented them from passing Spanish on to their children. However, of my 31 participants, 24 are parents, and 20 of those parents reported having been discriminated against casually for speaking Spanish at some point during their lives. Of those that had reported discrimination on an interpersonal level, 10 (exactly 50%) had at least one child who didn't speak Spanish—usually the youngest child, if the participant had multiple. My data is not sufficient to prove that informal discrimination absolutely leads to the displacement of Spanish in Garden City. However, taken together with what is known about the history of discrimination against Spanish speakers and its connections to the displacement of Spanish (see Chapter 4.2), my participants' reports about their children's fluency in Spanish indicates that this may still be an operational force.

Discrimination is, of course, merely one of a myriad of factors that affects the maintenance of minority languages in these types of contexts. More specific inquiries into this question will need to be made; the most I feel comfortable accomplishing here, as regards maintenance patterns, is to suggest this route for further study.

The experiences discussed with my participants paint a complicated picture of the linguistic landscape of Garden City. Like Jacobo foresaw, nearly all of the individuals I interviewed had experienced discrimination based on their language practices and their ethnicity. I, like Zentella (1997) see these types of discrimination as inherently related. All of the examples of linguistic discrimination presented here are predicated, in some sense, on racial and ethnic

discrimination against Latinos in Garden City. Participants like Sofia and Alejandro, in fact, often seemed to conflate the two concepts when answering my queries about experiences of discrimination: as shown in the examples provided above, they will often switch between language that refers to people discriminating against them for speaking Spanish, to discriminating based on ethnicity, and back again. This is unsurprising, given that an established precept of interactional sociolinguistics is that we construct and broadcast our identities through language in any given context. However, a clear plurality of participants could list an experience of having been discriminated against for their language practices. A similar plurality agreed that racism was a problem in Garden City. I believe their experiences trace the outlines of a discriminatory process whereby the Spanish language is subordinated to English and slowly lost through several generations of residency in the United States, despite the majority status of Latinos and the new waves of Spanish-speaking immigrants that continue to come to Garden City.

My observations also touch on institutional discrimination, although I do not see personal and institutional discrimination as mutually exclusive. As I have shown throughout, institutional discrimination manifests as governmental policies and attitudes hostile toward language education for English Language Learners, and a related lack of funding for districts with high percentages of Spanish-speaking children. I also observed that racialized linguistic prejudice among the police, and ineffective interpretation methods within healthcare, compound the potentially negative impact on the maintenance of Spanish in Garden City. Institutional discrimination affects the language practices of Spanish-speaking families in the town by placing an official and educational emphasis on the English language at the expense of Spanish. This study shows that discrimination, both in the past and present, has had an impact on the language

practices and maintenance patterns of Spanish-speaking residents of Garden City. In the past, open discrimination and the segregation of Latinos in Garden City forced families to abandon the Spanish language and pass on only English. After the hiatus in Latino immigration to the state (c. 1930–1980), those families who originally immigrated here in the first half of the 20th century became more-or-less integrated into the society and culture of Garden City. Once immigration began again, spurred by the construction of the IBP plant and its recruitment practices (see introduction and footnote 3), Garden City was unprepared for a large influx of monolingual Spanish speakers. This led to similar discriminatory practices, albeit much less pronounced, that seem to have continued affecting the language practices of Spanish speakers, and possibly contributing to the displacement of Spanish among Latino families, as it was shown to do in the past (Oppenheimer, 1985).

Whereas, in the past, discrimination against Latinos and the Spanish language was openly and institutionally enforced throughout Kansas, this study shows how both informal and institutionalized discrimination continue to pervade Garden City society at many levels. These forces merely operate on a less explicit basis, as embedded ideologies about the danger of multilingualism, the threat of the presence of Latinos and the Spanish language, and the superiority of English as a spoken language in the United States (Chavez, 2008; Zentella, 1997). These ideologies, espoused by politicians and members of the public alike, affect things like state funding and public support for language services for Spanish speakers, in turn affecting the level of services provided in institutional spaces like schools, hospitals, and in interactions with the police. This lack of services represents a form of discrimination that is strengthened both by political sentiments (see Chapter 4.4) and informal discrimination, both facts of life for many of the participants I interviewed who are living in Garden City.

Those participants, as represented by the findings provided here, illustrate several realities about the nature of linguistic discrimination against Spanish as a minority language in Garden City, Kansas. First, they show that within the institutions of the town, there is a severe lack of language services for the overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking population. Within the police force, racial and linguistic discrimination occurs in interactions with citizens, and the number of Spanish-speaking officers is inadequate in comparison to the proportion of local residents who speak Spanish as a first language. Regarding schools, there is not enough state-level and political support for language programs that assist students both in mastery of English and in maintaining Spanish as a heritage language (often referred to as transition or maintenance programs). Teachers, more so than in many areas of the country, are poorly compensated, and difficulties recruiting bilingual educators trained in ESL has made it hard for the district to provide for the language needs of their students. Within the healthcare system, there exists a lack of interpretation services for Spanish-speaking patients, and those patients are forced to utilize methods that have been shown to have negative impacts on patient outcomes, like the use of ad hoc interpreters and telephone-based interpreting services with no visual component.

The second point these participants illustrate is that the discrimination they experience on behalf of non-institutional forces—their coworkers, neighbors, and sometimes even friends—constitutes another impact on their language practices. Although no participants claimed that informal discrimination had stopped them from speaking Spanish or passing the language on to their children, several of them had undergone highly emotional experiences of interpersonal or informal discrimination that impacted them for life. The most common effect it actually produced was to strengthen the individual's belief in the importance of their own heritage and language, and the value of speaking Spanish in the United States. Nevertheless, this informal

discrimination was and continues to be widespread, and when coupled with the institutional forces that operate against the practice of speaking Spanish in Kansas, my findings suggest that linguistic discrimination against Spanish-speaking Latino residents of Garden City contributes to the displacement of Spanish as a heritage language.

While the findings I present here make an important contribution to sociolinguistics by exploring a region that has received little critical attention through qualitative, interview-based inquiry focused on the expressed ideologies of participants themselves, there are several limitations to this study. My positioning as a white university researcher who speaks Spanish as a second language may have led my participants to be less open with me than they would with a Latino or a native Spanish speaker. My sample size ($n=31$) also limits my ability to make empirical judgments about the maintenance patterns of Garden City as a whole. I was further unable to effectively incorporate my questionnaire into this research, and relied more heavily on the questionnaire composed by Dr. Showstack, which provided important biographical information on my participants. I was unable to delve more deeply into the provision of public services because many of the initial contacts I made (specifically, elected officials, administrators on the school board, and some police officers) stopped responding after our first conversations. I believe this may be due to the fact that I was explicitly studying discrimination against Spanish, and officials of the city/state/healthcare system are likely hesitant to enter into such discussions for professional reasons. Despite all assurances of confidentiality on my behalf, being video-recorded while discussing institutional discrimination can be an uncomfortable position for someone working within a governmental structure, as can simply going on the record during a written interview.

In order to expand on my results, intense sociolinguistic attention must be paid to the Spanish-speaking community of Garden City. Several researchers from Wichita State University, including myself, plan to actively continue research efforts into Spanish in Kansas. It is my belief that these research efforts will benefit immeasurably from a specific focus on regions that house cities like Garden City, Liberal, and Dodge City, where the populations are now mostly Hispanic and/or Spanish-speaking, and where little to no sociolinguistic investigation has taken place. My findings and analysis would be validated by additional in-depth work with the maintenance of Spanish in Garden City, and with more intense scrutiny paid to the practices of public service providers. In order to solidify the importance of qualitative studies like mine, more must be completed, but also must be supplemented by quantitative data about the makeup of Garden City's Spanish-speaking population and the language services available to them. These goals will be difficult to achieve for various reasons: the educational institutions sponsoring this type of research often place little emphasis on the humanities and social sciences, and funding may be scarce; researchers will likely run into the same issues I had with finding participants who are willing to openly discuss sensitive subjects like discrimination; more broadly, sociolinguistics as a field does not flourish in Kansas—my university, for example, has no linguistics department. Through partnering with researchers in other fields of study (sociology, history, education, health sciences, and anthropology, for example) and trying to identify issues like those presented here, dedicated sociolinguists already working in the field will be able to overcome these issues and continue to challenge discrimination and social injustice within public services.

This research also bears implications for public service and educational reforms in the state of Kansas. If Kansas' state government fails to address the ideological forces at play within

official language policies and institutional attitudes toward language services, I believe the issues I outline here will persist. However, ideologies are by nature persistent and pernicious, and in many ways, nebulous enough that any direct political action which attempts to address ideological biases often falls short of achieving its stated goals. The steps that must be taken are difficult and, in my estimation, often reducible to matters of capital and power. The main cause of the dearth of dual-language immersion programs and qualified, trained, bilingual educational professionals in Kansas is a lack of state funding for education. While advocating for increased funding is, as of the writing of this piece, a priority of many politicians and citizens of the state (Shorman, 2019), I believe my research implies that this concern should be constantly at the forefront of the minds of educators and parents. It is my belief that, should more funding be applied to grow bilingual and immersion programs within Kansas schools, the results will speak for themselves, in the form of increased academic achievement among Kansas students. Dual-language immersion has been shown to close achievement gaps for ELLs and improve educational and testing outcomes for both ELLs and L1 English speakers—not just in language arts, but in math, sciences, and overall behavioral factors as well (Lachance, 2018; Landry et al., 2019; Miller, 2017). This is, of course, not the only argument in favor of advocating for the language rights of children; however, I believe that if we are to meet the demands of the growing ELL population within Kansas, we must frame our findings in practical terms in order to achieve practical, political results. The onus is on academic researchers working in this area to make our findings relevant to the broader public, and one way of doing so is by arguing that increased support for language-focused educational services is not just a matter of intrinsic rights: it is an investment with tangible returns.

My research also implies that community policing must actively work toward the ability to fully engage with the local community in order to combat crime. Part of that ability involves language and language barriers: while some research (cf. Herbst & Walker, 2001) unconvincingly argues that language barriers don't play a significant role in unfavorable criminal, judicial, and police interaction outcomes for Latinos or Spanish speakers, there is a growing body of research (cf. Correia, 2010; Culver, 2004) showing exactly the opposite. The lack of Spanish-speaking police officers within the Garden City Police Department therefore poses a direct threat to community-police confidence and positive relations between residents and police officers. It is also, as this work shows, a form of institutionalized discrimination that works against the maintenance of the Spanish language. There is another growing body of research indicating that a lack of trust in local police forces leads to underreporting of serious crime among immigrant populations (Becerra et al., 2018; Pickett, 2015). My findings suggest that there may exist this lack of trust between members of the Latino community and the GCPD. By prioritizing bilingual hires, perhaps through an incentive program targeted at local Latino residents interested in becoming officers, these problems could be addressed. However, lacking expertise in this area as I do, I am sure that my suggestion could be framed as naïve in an era where funding for all aspects of local government are lacking, and extra money to lure bilingual officers likely doesn't exist. This is similar, then, to the issue faced by local schools in Garden City: it is extremely difficult to find the money for implementing programs that are sensitive to the local language landscape, and yet it is crucial that we do so.

Within the healthcare system, essentially the same problems and solutions apply. The main difference in this case is that the healthcare industry is just that, a private industry, and is therefore less susceptible to the type of legislative resolutions I've been suggesting here, as it is

not directly an arm of local government. St. Catherine's Hospital is also a non-profit religious organization, and can therefore argue that all profit generated by the hospital's services is already being allocated to intra-hospital issues. However, as stated in section 5.1.3, under-serving the language needs of medical patients has been shown to adversely affect healthcare outcomes. My research implies that, if the hospital is truly to engage with and address the medical needs of the local population, they must consider improving and expanding their focus on Spanish-language interpretation. This means not relying on language brokers providing ad hoc interpretations, and hiring full-time interpreters to be on staff at the local hospital.

These conclusions and implications are, in my view, preliminary. I acknowledge the weaknesses in my study, and will continue to work at expanding my database and my own understanding of the issues at play within the institutions of Kansas. However, if taken together, the historical, sociological, and linguistic literature on this subject all points toward a complex of discriminatory attitudes and actions, both formal and informal, that have a direct impact on how Spanish is used in Kansas, and whether it is transmitted within families, across generations. Regardless of both the shortcomings in my own research and the potential difficulties of expanding upon it, this piece represents a small starting point for discussing discrimination against the Spanish language in new Latino regions like Garden City. Although atypical in many senses, there are every day more and more towns that resemble Garden City: formerly small, agriculturally based economies that are transformed by industrial food processing practices and high rates of immigration into micropolitan large towns with majority-minority populations. In the process of researching the history of this industry, I learned that many places in the Midwest, Great Plains and southern U.S. regions have experienced very similar changes, and even many towns in Canada face the same realities. Most studies into these towns focus on economics,

crime and race; however, in order to fully understand the mechanisms at play in these situations, the problem of linguistic discrimination against speakers of minority languages must figure prominently in any discussions of these places and populations. By showing a portion of how discrimination works in Garden City, I suggest that similar findings will likely be made elsewhere, and that this research is important to understanding the constantly evolving cultural and linguistic makeup of the United States.

NOTES

¹ Micropolitan Statistical Areas are defined by the Office of Management and Budget “based, respectively, on the presence of either an urbanized area of 50,000 or more population or an urban cluster of at least 10,000 but less than 50,000 population” (Office of Management and Budget, 2009, p.8; Mulligan, 2014; Brown et al., 2014). Garden City adheres to the second definition. As Mulligan (2014) states, paraphrasing Vias (2012), “While the populations of some U.S. micropolitan counties are in decline, most are growing—some very rapidly—because they are often successful in attracting government investments, new private businesses, and footloose migrants” (p. 349).

² A note on ethnic terminology: throughout the thesis, various classificatory terms are used to describe the residents of Garden City. While I have a personal distaste for the limiting nature of such terminology, distinctions must nevertheless be made. “(Established) Mexican-American” refers to the later-generation descendants of the first waves of Mexican immigration to Kansas (1910–1930; possibly also 1980–1990 or later); “Mexican” refers to more-recently immigrated individuals born in Mexico; “Latino” refers to individuals with heritage from anywhere in Spanish-speaking Latin America (generally in an effort to distinguish them from the strictly Mexican-heritage community, although at times it may be used more inclusively). Naturally, nearly every respondent had a different definition of how they view or label themselves ethnically, and although these three terms place severe limitations on the varied spectrum of identity within Garden City, they seem to me a sufficiently effective method of differentiating between in-group communities.

³ Cohen’s October 1998 article in the Wall Street Journal (among others; c.f. Barboza, 2001; Champlin & Hake, 2006; Hedges & Hawkins, 1996; Kandel & Parrado, 2005; Miraftab, 2016, etc.) details a highly suspicious and potentially predatory pattern of recruitment on behalf of IBP starting in the 90s: the company sought out a dozen or so rural, failing oil and mining towns throughout northern and central Mexico and paid subcontractors a per-person fee of \$40 to recruit employees—with the promise of high pay, unskilled labor, cheap housing, and benefits—for its various processing plants throughout the Midwest. Many of these promises were empty, particularly as regards available housing (Fisher, 1981). They also set up a contract with the Texas-based Mexican-American owner of *El Conejo* bus company, one Jesus Vazquez, and paid him a \$7,000 per-busload fee to guarantee the new employees’ arrival at a designated plant, often the Holcomb, KS (Garden City) location. IBP encouraged their employees to invite family members and friends from Mexico to work in Garden City with them. Border-town radio stations on the U.S. side with signals strong enough to broadcast throughout northern Mexico ran advertisements for open positions in IBP’s Midwest factories (Stull, 2006, p. 137), and newspapers and billboards on both sides of the border displayed an open call for workers.

This practice seemingly increased in 1996 when the company joined the now-defunct INS’s then-recently inaugurated “Basic Employee Verification Pilot” program, whereby the company itself (and not, as previously was the case, the INS) was held responsible for the verification of these employees’ documents. This would seem to pose a conflict of interest: many of these workers (as in the case of IBP’s Joslin, Illinois plant that was raided in 1997) (Haines & Rosenblum, 1999, p. 185) were using falsified documents, to which the company apparently turned a blind eye, satisfied with the validity of the papers with which they were provided (Cohen, 1998). At least three of the participants in my study arrived in Garden City without documents specifically to work at IBP/Tyson.

Lots of these workers only remained in Garden City for a few months until becoming transient before being deported, winding up in some aspect of the judicial system or simply returning to Mexico, many with work-related injuries (Cohen, 1998; Miraftab, 2016, p. 46; Broadway, 1990, p. 323). The turnover rate of IBP’s nearly all-Latino workforce in Garden City was regularly 7% a month (84% of staff replaced per year) and potentially as high as 200% annually (Broadway, 1990, p. 336; Barcus & Simmons, 2013, p. 133). Their short stays at the company allowed IBP to avoid offering these workers any of the promised benefits (Broadway, 1990, pp. 323–324), compounding the already outstanding savings the company had made in tax breaks and bonds from the city, de-unionization efforts, lowering wages, and the strategic relocation of their plants from cities to rural areas (Broadway, 1990; Broadway, 2007; Fisher, 1981; Freiburg, 1979; Gurwitt, 1998; Stull & Broadway, 2004, etc.). The only thing missing was a cheap labor force: their new rural homes generally had low unemployment to begin with (Broadway, 1990, p. 325), a problem easily solved by the introduction of a Mexican immigrant worker base.

IBP/Tyson never denied actively recruiting in Mexico, but denied vehemently the assertion that they actively recruited undocumented workers as part of a larger economic or industrial strategy (Champlin & Hake, 2006). Lawsuits that made it to court were generally dismissed or settled without much real penalty for the

company. My interviews with respondents and some of the more recent literature (Stull, 2013) seem to reveal that the company has switched to its former practice of seeking refugee populations from Africa and Southeast Asia to fill these positions, with active participation from the corresponding government agencies. However, taken as a whole, these practices constitute an innovative form of wage slavery and exploitation that in subsequent years became a widespread industry standard known as the “BHP Revolution” (Broadway, 2007, p. 562; Stull & Broadway, 2004, p. 15–20; Quinones, 2007, p. 232; etc.). First, cut out the stockyard middleman and the unions, then move from urban to rural areas, turn the butchering process into a one-cut-per-worker assembly line and hire a revolving-door, unskilled, undocumented immigrant workforce practically incapable of organizing or petitioning for labor rights. Thomas Frank characterized it in his 2004 book *What’s the matter with Kansas?* as “. . . some of the most advanced union-avoidance strategies ever conceived by the mind of business man. . .” (p. 53).

⁴ Jiménez’s book—admittedly not the work of a linguist—is generally accurate in its representation of the acculturation and integration process of ethnically Mexican individuals into mainstream culture in Garden City, and his concept of “ethnic replenishment” is particularly insightful as it applies to the town. He approaches the concept of assimilation, however, from an interesting standpoint that seems to view integration as the loss of language and tradition in favor of a more mainstream, less “ethnic” identity, rather than as socioeconomic parity for the descendants of former immigrant communities, and he does so without criticizing this ideology. This perspective ignores current socioeconomic disparities and seems to favor a “straight-line” definition of assimilation that places the onus solely on immigrants and not also on the residents that constitute their receptive context, as would a “segmented” assimilation theory (Ebert & Ovink, 2014, pp. 175–178). Of course, in the eyes of many this is exactly the correct definition: immigrants are outsiders and “Americans” have no responsibility to take part in the assimilation process. A more extreme version, also commonly held, is that immigrants are interlopers that must completely transform themselves in order to be accepted.

Jiménez uses the degree of such “straight-line” assimilation as a measure of success for later-generation Latinos in Garden City and to ameliorate for the reader any “concerns” that Mexicans in the U.S. might be “ethnic nationalists” to whom their ethnicity is of great import (p. 251). These people are basically assimilated Americans with few ties to their ancestry, he seems to insist. Thus, at least in my perspective, Jiménez sees ethnic “replenishing” (i.e. the continuation of a Mexican ethnic identity in established Mexican-American communities through contact with newer immigrants) as an impediment to the social integration of the Latino community. It may very well be (and probably is, in effect), but this perspective would seem to normalize reactionary sentiments in non-Latino U.S. citizens by not addressing the issue of the white perspective that Mexicans should lose their ethnic identity in order to become members of the community. Why must it be that way? I’m not convinced Jiménez asks that question fully. In nearly the same breath that he speaks to the high level of cultural and linguistic assimilation in later-generation Mexican-American communities like that of Garden City, he also admits that “. . . they have not experienced socioeconomic assimilation to a degree equal to that of white ethnics. . .” (*ibid*).

It is difficult, therefore, to establish the criteria upon which Jiménez bases his perception of the value and degree of these communities’ assimilation. It appears that a generalizing loss of “ethnic raw materials,” as he puts it—and not socioeconomic status—is the main criterion, and that the Mexican immigrant experience and their subsequent integration into mainstream U.S. culture is not only differentiated from that of earlier European immigrant groups but is held back in some essential way by the longevity of the period of immigration and its ongoing nature, with not much attention given to the effects of racism and discrimination. This may arise from a lack of precision in terminology or from my own misunderstanding of Jiménez’ perspective.

⁵ I base this likelihood on anecdotal evidence of this definition (*garra=andrajo; harapo*) being a commonly used colloquial phrase in U.S. Mexican Spanish (e.g. *hecha garras*). The website for the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE) has the following entry:

garra

12. f. pl. Méx., Nic., R. Dom. y Ur. *Desgarrones, harapos*.

This shows that in Mexico—and presumably some varieties of Mexican Spanish spoken in the U.S.—it carries this colloquial definition. The literal definition is “claw.” There is apparently no ambiguity about that to which *nalga* refers, nor does there appear to be evidence of a significant diachronic shift in the meanings of these colloquialisms since the 1910s and 20s (when these *colonias* were founded).

⁶This sentiment is widespread among the residents of Garden city, although to find a citable source is more difficult. Standards of political correctness in present-day U.S. culture in turn make it difficult to find someone who will readily admit, on record, to holding discriminatory beliefs. Informally, however, many locals express them constantly. In Gomez's 2014 article for USA Today he interviews a man named Roy Dixon who responded thus:

–I want out of here,” says Dixon, a livestock management consultant. –A lot of them [i.e. immigrants and their descendants] are good friends, don't get me wrong. But I do talk quite regular about moving to a smaller town and getting back to the rural America that I so knew.”

–Who are we now? We've lost our culture. We've lost our roots. It's like the natives are being pushed out.”

Dixon, in a follow-up published by the GC Telegram (Aust, 2014), denied any racial connotations to what he had said, but was nevertheless swiftly removed from his position as one of the city's Chamber of Commerce ambassadors and a member of its Government Affairs Committee (ibid).

Stull also briefly mentions this nativist sentiment in his original 1990 study when he asserts that –Most white oldtimers feel that the quality of life in Garden City has deteriorated over the past decade... they also blame IBP for the urban problems that now confront them” (p. 311) (emphasis mine). It appears this feeling has not subsided with the passage of time. My own experiences living in Garden City and subsequently spending countless days there throughout my adolescent and adult life provide overwhelming anecdotal evidence that many white residents lament the presence of such a large number of immigrants in their town and regularly lay blame for the social ills of Garden City on the shoulders of the –Mexicans.” Nearly all of the research presented under the banner of the Changing Relations program in 1990 echoes this reality, if only casually or in passing.

⁷Over the last half-decade or so, The City of Garden City has publicly announced its intentions of transforming the town into a regional shopping hub for southwestern Kansas (Aust, 2014; Aust, 2015; Brewer, 2015). It appears, however, that these businesses are fulfilling an economic role similar, in some ways, to that of the beef packing plants: offering low-wage jobs to a community with a low unemployment rate to begin with, leading to recruitment from other areas and all done under the safety net of generous tax breaks from the city. One could argue rather effectively that the presence of these types of stores in a town this size, coupled with a potential decrease or stagnation in population growth, actually points to the problems of an unsustainable low-wage economy that has been constructed over the last four decades in Garden City and has already reached its zenith; however, a full discussion of the economic efficacy of retail chains in small towns and the effects they actually have on such economies is not within the scope of this essay.

⁸Jeb Bush had said to a Spanish-language reporter regarding Donald Trump that –*El hombre no es conservador*” (–The man is not a conservative”) in an effort to criticize Trump's credentials and qualifications for the Republican candidacy that year.

⁹Factors such as: voting patterns among Latinos that generally lean Democratic, an overall low voter participation rate among Latinos, and the fact that nationally Trump was favored by whites (21-point margin) and Clinton by Latinos (36-point margin) (Krogstad, 2016; Krogstad & Lopez, 2016; Lopez & Barrera, 2013; Tyson & Maniam, 2016).

¹⁰I spoke to many local white residents of Garden City who professed this view. Few, if any, of these allegations and investigations have yielded substantial enough evidence to support such claims, but many local politicians and business leaders subscribe to them, legitimizing them for many. This sentiment is not native to Garden City, of course, but noticeable in that town, since it often serves as an example for politicians in Kansas who portray themselves as tough on immigration.

¹¹All participant names are pseudonyms assigned by the author.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Para las siguientes preguntas, rodea con círculo el número que corresponde más a tu acuerdo o desacuerdo con la declaración.

(5=Totalmente de acuerdo, 4=Más de acuerdo que en desacuerdo, 3=Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, 2=Más en desacuerdo que de acuerdo, 1=Totalmente en desacuerdo).

1. Siento cómodo hablando el español en público.
(De acuerdo) 5 4 3 2 1 (En desacuerdo)
2. En general, el español es aceptado por la mayoría de la población de Garden City.
3. He sentido juzgado o discriminado por hablar español en público en Garden City.
4. Alguien que conozco ha sido discriminado o juzgado por hablar español en público en Garden City.
5. Problemas con el inglés me han impedido asistir un evento o ir a un lugar alguna vez en el pasado.
6. Servicios públicos (proveedores de electricidad/agua/gas, servicios de salud y emergencia, escuelas) se esfuerzan para adaptar a mi familia y nuestras preferencias de lengua.
7. Cuando tengo que usar algún servicio público en Garden City, un intérprete está generalmente disponible.
8. La falta de intérpretes disponibles ha afectado mi capacidad para obtener servicios públicos por lo menos una vez en el pasado.
9. He sido discriminado por hablar el español mientras obtener o usar algún tipo de servicio público por lo menos una vez en el pasado.
10. Discriminación contra el lenguaje de español ha afectado mi capacidad para obtener servicios públicos por lo menos una vez en el pasado.
11. El sistema educativo de Garden City se adapta a niños de todos los historiales lingüísticos.
12. El sistema educativo de Garden City ofrece clases e instrucción especial para estudiantes bilingües.
13. Algunos maestros no han logrado o han rechazado adaptarse a mis preferencias de lengua o las de mi niño/a.
14. Siento que el español se florece como lengua en Garden City.
15. Actitudes negativas hacia el español hacen daño a la habilidad de transferirlo a nuevas generaciones.
16. Me ha dado vergüenza hablar el español mientras usar servicios públicos alguna vez en el pasado.
17. Recibo mejores servicios de la ciudad cuando uso el inglés.
18. Creo que domino mejor el español que el inglés.
19. Literatura ofrecida por proveedores de servicios públicos (folletos, contratos, descripciones de medicamentos, etc.) está generalmente disponible en español e inglés.
20. Estudiantes que hablen español reciben el mismo nivel de educación que sus colegas.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Cuestionario para el participante: El español en Kansas

1. Nombre: _____
2. Dirección de correo electrónico (opcional) _____
3. Edad: _____
4. Ocupación: _____
5. ¿Dónde nació?
City _____ State _____ Country _____
6. ¿En cuál ciudad/pueblo asistió la escuela secundaria? _____
7. ¿En cuál ciudad/pueblo vive ahora? _____
8. Si no nació en EE.UU., ¿cuántos años tenía cuando llegó? _____
9. ¿Cuántos años lleva viviendo en Kansas? _____ ¿Y en EE.UU.? _____
10. ¿Dónde nacieron sus padres?
Mother:
Rancho/Pueblo/Ciudad: _____
Estado: _____ País: _____
Father:
Rancho/Pueblo/Ciudad: _____
Estado: _____ País: _____
11. Si sus padres viven en EE.UU., ¿cuántos años llevan viviendo aquí?
Madre: _____ Padre: _____
12. ¿Dónde nacieron sus abuelos? _____
13. Si Ud. tiene pareja, ¿también habla español? _____ ¿Nació en EE.UU.? _____ Si no nació en EE.UU., ¿Dónde nació? _____ ¿Cuántos años lleva viviendo en EE.UU.? _____ ¿De qué trabaja? _____
14. ¿Cuáles términos prefiere Ud. usar para describir su etnicidad? _____
15. ¿Cuál idioma aprendió primero? (escoge una opción abajo)
Español Inglés Los dos a la misma vez Otro _____
16. ¿Quién vive en la casa con Ud.? (ej. amigo, esposo, etc.) _____
17. ¿Qué nivel de educación tiene Ud.?
A. No terminé la escuela secundaria. B. Escuela secundaria C. Universidad
D. Estudios graduados o profesionales
18. ¿Cuántos años de clases de español ha tomado?
A. Menos de un año B. 1-2 años C. 2-5 años D. Más de 5 años
19. ¿Cuántos años de clases del inglés ha tomado?
¿Cuántos años de educación ha cumplido en que las clases se impartían en español?
20. ¿Cuántos años de educación ha cumplido en que las clases se impartían en inglés?
21. ¿Cuántas veces ha viajado a un país hispanohablante (aparte de EE.UU.) en los últimos 5 años?
A. Cada año B. Tres o cuatro veces C. Una o dos veces
D. No he visitado un país hispanohablante en los últimos 5 años
22. ¿Qué lee usted en español? (ej. periódicos, revistas, libros, etc.) _____

23. ¿Qué lee usted en inglés? (ej. periódicos, revistas, libros, etc.) _____
24. ¿Mira la televisión/ escucha la radio en español? (Nombra los programas por favor.)
25. ¿Mira la televisión/ escucha la radio en inglés? (Nombra los programas por favor.)

Uso de la lengua

Por favor, use la escala de abajo para describir su uso de la lengua en los siguientes contextos:

- 1 = Solamente el inglés
- 2 = Más inglés que español
- 3 = La misma cantidad de los dos
- 4 = Más español que inglés
- 5 = Solamente español

26. Con la mayoría de mis amigos de mi edad que saben español _____
27. Con mi madre..... _____
28. Con mi padre..... _____
29. Con mis hijos _____
30. Con mis abuelos..... _____
31. Con mi(s) hermano(s) mayor(es)..... _____
32. Con mi(s) hermano(s) menor(es)..... _____
33. En casa en Kansas..... _____
34. ¿Cuál idioma se habla en su vecindario? _____

Conteste las siguientes preguntas con:

- 5=Siempre
- 4=Generalmente
- 3=A menudo
- 2=A veces
- 1=Nunca
- NA=No aplica

35. Escribo mensajes de correo electrónico en español _____ en inglés _____
36. Publico en Facebook / Twitter (o otros medios sociales) en español _____ en inglés _____
37. Leo publicaciones en español (periódicos, revistas, etc.) _____ en inglés _____
38. Escucho la radio en español _____ en inglés _____
39. En privado, rezo en español _____ en inglés _____
40. Leo libros a mis hijos en español _____ en inglés _____

Proficiencia

41. ¿Cómo evaluaría su propio nivel de español?
A. Excelente B. Bien C. Más o menos D. Bajo E. Muy bajo
42. ¿Cómo evaluaría su propio nivel de inglés?
A. Excelente B. Bien C. Más o menos D. Bajo E. Muy bajo

La importancia del español en contextos específicos

Evalúa la importancia de poder hablar el español para los siguientes aspectos de la vida en EE.UU. en una escala de 1-5 (5 = es muy importante; 1= no es importante)

43. Los estudios _____
 44. El trabajo / la vida profesional _____
 45. La familia _____
 46. ¿Crees que tus niños (futuros) hablarán tanto español como Ud.? Explica.

Actitudes hacia la transmisión del español (para los padres solamente)

Responde a las siguientes ideas con:

- (2) Completamente de acuerdo
 (1) Más o menos de acuerdo
 (0) No sé, N/A
 (-1) Más o menos en desacuerdo
 (-2) Completamente en desacuerdo

47. Las personas que vienen a los EE.UU. deben aprender el inglés y olvidarse de su español. _____
 48. No importa qué hacen los padres, los niños latinos que viven en los EE.UU. se van a olvidar de su español. _____
 49. Cuando ayudan a sus hijos a mantener su español, los padres les dan un regalo muy valioso.
 50. Hablarles en dos idiomas a los niños puede ser confuso para ellos. _____
 51. Si los niños no quieren aprender el español, no hay que obligárselo. _____
 52. Es importante que mi(s) hijo(s) valoren y que se sientan cómodos en sus dos culturas. _____
 53. No hablo bien el español, así que no se lo puedo enseñar a mis hijos. _____
 54. No enseñarles el español a los niños Latinos es negarles parte de su cultura. _____
 55. Mis hijos saben que ser bilingüe es importante. _____
 56. No necesito enseñarles el español a mis hijos porque vivo en EE.UU. _____
 57. Los padres Latinos tienen la obligación de enseñarles el español a sus hijos. _____
 58. Cuando les hablan en español, los padres latinos les hacen daño a sus hijos. _____

Si tiene hijos, contesta las siguientes preguntas sobre cada uno de ellos:

59. Edad(es)				
60. Lugar de nacimiento				
61. Años de estudios formales en español				
62. ¿Ha asistido a una escuela bilingüe? ¿Cuál?				
63. Nivel de inglés (A. Excelente B. Bien C. Más o menos D. Bajo E. Muy bajo)				
64. Nivel de español				