

## **Annotated Excerpt**

What does it take to assemble a high-quality proposal and demonstrate your capacity to conduct the work? To guide potential applicants, the annotated excerpt from this proposal showcases the kind of thinking, theorizing, and methodological rigor we expect to see in proposals, whether one is conducting a qualitative, mixed method, or experimental study. This example is intended as a guide. It does not, however, dictate the specific topic or study design that we are seeking. This proposal includes clear thinking, research questions that are motivated by theory, well-defined terms, and tight alignment between the literature review, research questions, methods, and analyses.

We hope you find this resource useful.

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### **Excerpted from:**

Unequally 'Hispanic': Intersectional Inequalities and Resiliency among Indigenous 'Hispanic' Youth  
Seth M. Holmes, University of California, Berkeley

**EXCERPTED FROM THE WILLIAM T. GRANT SCHOLARS PROPOSAL:  
Unequally ‘Hispanic’: Intersectional Inequalities and Resiliency among  
Indigenous ‘Hispanic’ Youth**

**Seth M. Holmes, University of California, Berkeley**

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Indigenous ‘Hispanic’ immigrant youth make up an important, growing, vulnerable population in the United States. They are subject to inequalities in wellbeing and educational outcomes due to compounded layers of discrimination and disadvantage. These youth are vulnerable along multiple axes: as children in mixed-immigration-status families, as children in poor families with insecure employment, as ‘Hispanics’ of Latin American descent, and as indigenous people growing up speaking indigenous languages. Yet, policy-makers, education program planners, and researchers have generally ignored this population, subsuming them under the presumed homogenous category of ‘Hispanic’ youth. Due to this erasure in data collection as well as policy-making, program-planning and practice, we know extremely little about this population, their needs and their contributions. Specifically, there has been very little research elucidating the ways in which the various categories of difference affecting these youth interact to produce discrimination, disadvantage and inequality.

*One thing with which reviewers were most impressed about this proposal was the theoretically and conceptually rich discussion of race, ethnicity, and immigrant status, as well as the correspondingly complex and innovative research design. Given the Foundation’s interest in supporting scholars who think deeply about race and other dimensions of inequality, the annotation here draws attention to the ways in which the applicant does this quite effectively and thoughtfully.*

I propose this in-depth qualitative project to fill this gap in the literature, clarifying the intersectional inequalities and resiliency of indigenous Mexican immigrant youth in terms of wellbeing and educational success. I use a resiliency lens, as opposed to the common deficit-based approach, to understanding immigrant youth inequalities (Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, & Tseng, 2015) in order to highlight and support the ways indigenous youth, their families and schools can mediate and counteract such inequalities. In addition, findings from this project will lead to further understanding of

*The theoretical and conceptual frames and proposed contributions are introduced up front.*

the ways in which broadly used ethnic categories can lead to misunderstanding in the contemporary world characterized by increasing diversity and human mobility. Finally, I will use my findings to develop an evidence-informed theory of transborder intersectionality. The specific aims of this five-year project are:

**Aim 1:** To investigate the social categories and meanings active in interpersonal, social, linguistic, and institutional discrimination against indigenous Mexican immigrant youth.

- o **Sub-Aim 1.1:** To delineate the ways these categories and meanings differ from diverse social positions – from other indigenous Mexican immigrant populations, from mestizo (non-indigenous) Mexican immigrant populations, from U.S.-born Hispanic populations, from U.S. Anglo populations – especially within school contexts.

- o **Sub-Aim 1.2:** To analyze the ways in which indigenous Mexican immigrant youth navigate, internalize, resist, and refashion these forms of discrimination.

**Aim 2:** To elucidate the mechanisms by which discrimination produces inequalities in future aspirations, wellbeing, and educational success for indigenous Mexican immigrant youth.

**Aim 3:** To evaluate the ways in which indigenous Mexican immigrant youth show strength and resilience in relation to future aspirations, wellbeing, and educational success.

**Aim 4:** To develop in a collaborative manner evidence-informed recommendations for education policies, school programs, and family practices to counteract inequalities among minority youth.

*Reviewers appreciate very clear statements about the goals of proposed projects. Here, the applicant has one proposed project with multiple goals. Applicants with multiple projects should make a strong case for how the projects are linked.*

The 2015 “Intersecting Inequalities” William T Grant report identifies several important factors affecting the wellbeing and educational success of immigrant youth, specifically low levels of parental education and employment, poverty, newcomer status, language barriers, racialization as a “visible minority” group, and undocumented status of self and/or parent (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Each of these factors may be even more significant for indigenous ‘Hispanic’ immigrant youth whose parents come from areas of Latin America with the highest poverty and lowest education levels, whose transnational networks are newer and less established than those of many mestizo (non-indigenous) Latin Americans, whose first language is indigenous and unrelated to Spanish or English, and who are racialized as Hispanic or Latino/a while also stigmatized as indigenous. This project responds to the call of the report authors to produce a “new generation of research . . . to understand and intervene in shifting patterns of disparities” among immigrant youth, in this case among some of the most vulnerable immigrant youth in the U.S. (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015).

Though we know very little about indigenous ‘Hispanic’ youth, we have growing literature bases on immigrant youth, Hispanic youth, and Hispanic immigrant youth. Approximately one quarter (17 million) of children in the United States live with at least one **immigrant** parent and this population is steadily growing (Zong, Jie and Batalova, 2016). More than half of these children live in poor families (*Ibid*) and various data sources show that children in poor families are roughly twice as likely to drop out of school than the national average (Stark, Noel, & McFarland, 2015). More specifically, the percentage of immigrant youth who dropped out of school is roughly 100% higher than the national average, whereas the percentage for U.S.-born children of immigrant parents is approximately 25% higher than national average (*Ibid*). Estimates indicate that 5 million children live with an unauthorized parent, and an additional 1.5 million were themselves unauthorized (C. Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2013a).

*In keeping with the selection criteria for applicants who apply under the Reducing Inequality focus area, this researcher makes a compelling case for how the educational outcomes of indigenous Hispanic youth are unequal compared to other groups.*

Undocumented immigrant youth experience multiple disadvantages in relation to educational trajectories, psychosocial well-being, and labor market access (Gonzales,

2011; C. Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Suárez-oroazco et al., 2015). The U.S. Census Bureau indicates that **Hispanics**<sup>1</sup> make up 23% of the nation's children (Lopez & Velasco, 2011). More than one third of these children live in families whose incomes are below 200% of the poverty line, meaning that more Hispanic children are poor than children of any other racial or ethnic group (*Ibid*). Approximately 9 out of 10 Hispanic or Latino/a youth say that college education is important (higher than the national average), yet only roughly half that number plan to get a college degree themselves (lower than the national average) (Pew Hispanic Center 2009). The reasons given by these youth who stopped their education included the need to support their family, poor English skills, a dislike of school, and a feeling that they did not need more education for the careers they expected for themselves. The ratio of Hispanic youth 16 to 24yo who have dropped out of school is approximately 70% higher than Black and 200% higher than White youth (Stark et al., 2015).

In the contemporary U.S., the populations of children in immigrant families and Hispanic children overlap significantly and the poverty and education outcomes are intersectional. "*Intersectionality*" denotes the theoretical framework indicating that experiences of discrimination and outcome inequalities are related to multiple overlapping axes, such as ethnicity, gender, class, immigration status, and sexuality (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). Social scientists working from this framework indicate that discrimination is not simply cumulative across the different axes, but rather "conjugated," producing new and distinct forms and experiences of inequality (Bourgois, 1988). Among immigrants in the U.S., 46% report being Latino/a or Hispanic, making up the largest immigrant ethnic group (Zong, Jie and Batalova, 2016). 28% of immigrants were born in Mexico, making it the most common sending country (*Ibid*). Among Hispanic children of immigrant parents, the poverty rate is 40% in contrast with that of Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents, whose poverty rate is 27% (Lopez & Velasco, 2011). **Hispanic immigrant youth** are five times more likely to drop out of school than non-Hispanic immigrants (*Ibid.*). In addition, Hispanic youth born outside the U.S. are nearly three times more likely to drop out of school than their U.S.-born counterparts (Zong, Jie and Batalova, 2016) and are less likely to plan on attending college (Lopez and Velasco 2011).

*The applicant offers a well-developed discussion of intersectionality – an oft-used term that is not always deployed well – and uses the framework to capture the complexity of his respondents' lives throughout the proposal.*

Beyond the high poverty rates and poor education outcomes for the related categories of youth in immigrant families (both immigrant youth and U.S.-born children of immigrant parents) and Hispanic children, scholars of youth inequalities must consider vulnerable populations commonly overlooked by the data. Importantly, among the roughly one

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<sup>1</sup> Here, I use the terms, "Hispanic" or "Latino/a", as they are those most commonly utilized in data sets and peer-reviewed literature. However, multiple scholars have pointed out problems with these terms (Baquedano-lópez & Janetti, n.d.; S. Holmes, 2013b; Stephen, 1996, 2007, 2015). For example, multiple populations of Latin American descent who might be categorized in these groups by scholars and state institutions often do not identify with these terms and may not choose these identifiers in surveys.

quarter of youth categorized as Hispanic or Latino/a is a growing population of **indigenous** Latin American immigrant children. It has been estimated that there are 1.8 million indigenous Hispanics in the United States, primarily Mixtec, Triqui, Zapotec, and Maya from the south of Mexico, where poverty and violence force younger and younger people to emigrate (Stephen, 2014a). The influx of indigenous Mexicans has enriched the ethn racial and linguistic diversity of the U.S., a demographic transformation recognized in the U.S. Census, which in 2000 added a new identity category, "Hispanic American Indian" (Huizar Murillo & Cerda, 2004). Respondents who so identified increased by 68% in the succeeding decade (compared to a less than 10% population growth overall); nearly a third resided in California (*Ibid*). This includes a quarter of the entire Mexican immigrant workforce in the state's economically vital agricultural industry, with large additional populations in low-paying jobs in urban areas (Mines, Nichols, & Runsten, 2010). Yet, research indicates that the U.S. Census data do not fully capture this population, even with the new category (Gabbard et al., 2008).

*The applicant explains why one should pay attention to variation within racial/ethnic categories that is not often captured by quantitative data, by policies and programs that serve youth, or by relevant*

These new indigenous Hispanics are largely invisible not only to census data, but also to important institutions of everyday life, including schools and most government and non-governmental programs. U.S. institutions often treat Hispanics as a homogeneous group, ignoring indigenous Latin American populations. As their

primary language, many of these people speak indigenous languages such as Triqui, Mixtec, Zapotec, or Maya completely unrelated to Spanish and their cultures are distinct from mestizo (non- indigenous) Latin Americans. Indigenous communities are among the poorest with the lowest educational attainment in Mexico, and they have long been subjected to racism and discrimination in their home country. Their social positioning is highly stigmatized in Mexico, and from one perspective, the resulting inequalities of income and education outcomes have migrated with them to their new home in the U.S. Here, in multiple ways, they and their children continue to face disparities rooted in interrelated race, ethnicity, class, and immigration status. Indigenous Mexican adults and youth work in disproportionately dangerous and low-paying jobs, often under the table (S. M. Holmes, 2011; S. Holmes, 2013a; Mines et al., 2010). Many deal with obstacles to better employment due to unauthorized immigration status (S. Holmes, 2013a). And, due to associated stigma, many second- (and even first-) generation children abandon their parents' languages in favor of Spanish or English, a trend that reflects a global loss of indigenous languages, cultures, and knowledge (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998; Hale et al., 1992) with harmful effects on family, community, health and well-being (Pérez Báez, 2009). Yet, compared to the focus on mestizo (non-indigenous) Mexican immigrant youth, neither policy nor scholarship adequately addresses this population's existence, its vulnerabilities, needs, strengths and contributions. The proposed project aims to remedy this troubling gap in the literature.

### **EXISTING EVIDENCE: INDIGENOUS 'HISPANIC' YOUTH IN SCHOOLS**

In U.S. schools, Indigenous Mexican students confront severe educational challenges. In these institutions, they are unrecognized both in everyday educational practices and in large-scale educational reform (Baquedano-lópez & Janetti, n.d.). Since indigenous Mexican students are most commonly subsumed under the category "Hispanic" or

“Latino/a,” school personnel are often unaware of their ethnoracial, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds and needs (Machado-Casas, 2012). A crucial starting point for research is to document the social, cultural, and linguistic dimensions of educational inequality and to foster educational justice by drawing on students’ and families’ social and cultural practices and resources. The proposed research will fill both scholarly and policymaking gaps in understanding the challenges facing indigenous Hispanic students

*Strong proposals make clear statements about what the research will examine and how it will contribute to existing literature. These statements become clear threads connecting different components of the proposal.*

as well as the sources of strength and resiliency they utilize to counteract the multiple forms of discrimination and erasure that serve as obstacles to their educational and psychosocial wellbeing. The project seeks to support families as sources of strength and resiliency and schools as sites of possible intervention toward these ends.

The small, but growing body of literature addressing indigenous Latin American student experiences has examined the mismatch between school and family expectations and cultures (Velasco, 2010), the failure of schools to foster the multilingualism and multiliteracy necessary for students’ success (Machado-Casas, 2009, 2012), the seemingly inevitable loss of indigenous language and culture (Bishop & Kelley, 2013), and the structural and institutional obstacles to educational and social mobility (A. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). These students experience racism, bullying, and other forms of discrimination, which lead them at times to hide their indigenous heritage, even to state “We don’t speak Mixtec. We’re not from Oaxaca” (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Ruiz & Barajas, 2012). One school district anti-bullying campaign in California recognized the term, “oaxaquita”, which is used to refer to indigenous students from Oaxaca, Mexico, pejoratively, as a form of hate language (Baquedano-López & Borge Janetti *In Press*). There is a critical need for in-depth research into the intersectional forms of discrimination and disadvantage that lead to inequalities in wellbeing and educational outcomes for indigenous Mexican youth in the U.S.

Other research more generally among immigrant students has focused on many topics, including the academic trajectories of new immigrant youth (C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010), variation in English language proficiency (Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, & Paez, 2008), mediators of acculturative stress (Katsiaficas, Suárez-Orozco, Sirin, & Gupta, 2013)(C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011), the importance of supportive adult relationships (Green, Rhodes, Hirsch, Suarez-Orozco, & Camic, 2008), and problems from undocumented status (Gonzales, 2011; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; C. Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2013b) and separation from parents (Suarez-Orozco, Hee Jin Bang, & Ha Yeon Kim, 2011). The ways in which these and other factors apply to indigenous Latin American students has yet to be explored. Given the multiple layers of structural vulnerability of indigenous Latin American youth – related especially to ethnic hierarchies and discrimination, socioeconomic status, language difference, and immigration status – it is vital to understand the phenomena putting these students at disadvantage and supporting their resiliency.

### **UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO FOUNDATION’S RESEARCH INTERESTS**

This research contributes to our understanding of programs, policies and practices that reduce inequality in outcomes among structurally vulnerable youth. The project will then bring this understanding to improve outcomes for indigenous Latin American

immigrant youth and for structurally vulnerable youth more broadly. Specifically, the project will contribute first to an in-depth understanding of the intersectional inequalities experienced by indigenous Latin American immigrant youth, focusing especially on educational processes and outcomes. My goal is to disentangle and specify the multiple axes contributing to discrimination and outcome inequalities in this population, adding also to our understanding of intersectional theory as applied to youth inequalities more broadly. In addition, this research will elucidate the school and government programs, school and family practices, and cultural strengths and social capital that support resiliency against discrimination and disadvantage among these youth. Finally, based on the data, I will develop recommendations collaboratively with the youth; these recommendations can be applied for this population as well as for other vulnerable populations. These recommendations will apply especially to vulnerable ethnic minority groups typically subsumed within broad, yet heterogeneous, racial and ethnic categories in research and practice.

### **SIGNIFICANCE FOR POLICY AND/OR PRACTICE**

The project promises to elucidate the programs, policies and practices – focusing especially on school staff, peers and family – which contribute to disadvantage and discrimination or to resiliency and wellbeing for a structurally vulnerable population of youth who are usually overlooked by policy-makers, education practitioners, and researchers. The lessons learned in this study will be utilized collaboratively to make recommendations for supporting the growing population of indigenous Latin American students and their families. Collaboratively written recommendations may relate to immigration policies affecting mixed-status families, educational policies and practices related to speakers of indigenous languages, and school policies and practices related to discrimination and bullying, to name only a few areas. As stated above, lessons from the project will be adapted to support other vulnerable populations often overlooked in research, policy and practice.

Furthermore, the findings will serve as a potent reminder to researchers, data collectors, policy makers, and program planners not to assume that ethnoracial categories are homogenous. In reality, reifying ethnoracial categories and treating them as homogenous erases people within those groups and thereby misses the opportunity to learn from them and to support their wellbeing. Most broadly, the project will lead to

*The Foundation is very interested in research that pushes the field to more richly conceptualize and operationalize race, ethnicity, and other dimensions of inequality.*

new theorization of intersectionality, acculturation and the “Latino Paradox” from the viewpoints of transnational, mixed-status, indigenous Latin American youth and families. This new understanding of intersectionality will include a strong focus on resiliency, which promises to be helpful moving forward in research related to youth

inequalities in other contexts and settings. The new conceptualization of acculturation will come from a transnational indigenous Latin American perspective and lead to a more evidence- informed theory for future research, policy and practice. Finally, the project will allow an empirical critique and re-configuration of “the Latino Paradox” given the great diversity within the social and institutional category of Hispanic or Latino/a.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand the inequalities affecting indigenous Latin American immigrant youth, I combine a life course perspective focused on resiliency with the theoretical threads of structural vulnerability including a focus on deservingness, transborder intersectionality supplemented by language socialization, and a Gramscian conceptualization of social change in relation to representations.

*Reviewers agreed that this proposal has a thorough, well-organized discussion of relevant theoretical and empirical literature. The applicant provides an integrated discussion of the literature that provides a map for the study framework.*

### Life Course Perspective and Resiliency

This project is conceptualized in relation to a general **life course perspective**, recognizing the importance of childhood exposures to stratification, discrimination, and their correlated stress to short- and long-term wellbeing (Hertzman & Boyce, 2010). This perspective acknowledges that outcomes relate to specific sensitive periods in which exposures occur (W. Boyce & Ellis, 2005), mediating mechanisms that can modulate the effect size of adversity (W. T. Boyce, Sokolowski, & Robinson, 2012), and the resiliency of individuals and populations against the effects of these exposures (Benard, 1991). This perspective informs Aims 2, 3, and 4, elucidating the means by which explicit and implicit interpersonal, social, economic, linguistic, and institutional discrimination lead to inequalities in wellbeing; analyzing the means by which indigenous Mexican immigrants and their families show resilience in the face of these forms of adversity; and developing recommendations for policies, programs and practices to improve the experiences of this vulnerable population of youth in order to affect their wellbeing into the future.

Within the life course perspective, this research focuses on **resiliency**. This focus has been elaborated in the social and behavioral sciences as a means to counter the common research emphasis on deficits, lacks and problems (Benard, 1991; Richardson, 2002). The focus on resilience also counters the implications in much social, behavioral and health science research that the necessary change must happen on the level of behavior of the vulnerable group as opposed to the levels of structures, institutions, and policies or the sociocultural norms of the dominant group (S. M. Holmes, 2012). In this project, Subaim 1.2 and Aim 3 focus specifically on investigating the ways in which indigenous Mexican immigrant youth *resist* discrimination as well as the social and cultural concepts and practices that serve as sources of strength and resilience for these youth in the face of discrimination and inequality. Aim 4 will collaboratively bring findings regarding sources of strength and resiliency to bear on policy, program and practice recommendations in relation to this population of youth as well as other populations of vulnerable youth.

### Structural Vulnerability and Deservingness

The first theoretical thread utilized alongside the life course perspective is **structural vulnerability**. This concept was developed in medical anthropology in relation to Latino immigrant health (S. M. Holmes, 2011; Quesada, Hart, & Bourgois, 2011) and has been taken up more recently in public health and health care practice (Bourgois, Holmes, Sue, & Quesada, n.d.). Structural vulnerability highlights the ways in which society's multiple overlapping and mutually reinforcing power hierarchies (e.g.

socioeconomic, ethnoracial, cultural) and institutional and policy-level statuses (e.g. immigration status, labor force participation) put the health and wellbeing of particular individuals and populations at risk. The concept of structural vulnerability extends the recognition of the social determinants of health by linking the wellbeing of individuals and populations to larger political, economic, demographic, and socio-cultural hierarchies that constrain both individual action and health care and education programs and services. The concept aims to uncover the structural causes of vulnerability in order to affect upstream policies, programs and practices in an effort to foster equity. Structural vulnerability is a helpful counterpoint to the common individualistic focus on risk behavior in public health and many social services. The concept directs responsibility and interventional attention away from the victims of inequality and toward the social structures producing and organizing their vulnerability.

*Note that the applicant defines important concepts throughout the review.*

One of the more subtle hierarchies at work here can be understood through the concept of **deservingness** (Willen & Mulligan, n.d.; Willen, 2012). Deservingness indicates the unofficial, moral – as opposed to official and legal – understandings of which groups of people deserve services and care and which do not. The conceptual tool then leads to consideration of the ways in which these unofficial understandings affect practice. This concept is especially important for Aims 1 (especially Subaim 1.1) and 2 focused on the social categories and semantics active in discrimination and the ways in which this discrimination produces inequalities in aspirations, wellbeing and educational success for indigenous Mexican immigrant youth.

### **Transborder Intersectionality and Language Socialization**

The second theoretical thread utilized in this project I will call **transborder intersectionality**. This thread builds onto structural vulnerability a more specific, fleshed-out understanding of the ways in which multiple axes of identification interact to form experiences of discrimination and inequality. Intersectionality, as described briefly above, refers to the framework originally proposed in legal studies to recognize the ways in which discrimination occurs simultaneously along intersecting social categories such as gender, race, class, ability, sexuality, religion, age and immigration status (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). The theory indicates that social inequality occurs through multiple dimensions of discrimination and oppression simultaneously. The related theory of conjugated oppression was developed in sociocultural anthropology to indicate the ways in which different forms of discrimination act together not simply additively, but rather produce experiences of oppression that are new and different from what each would be individually (Bourgois, 1988). I modify the theory of intersectionality with that of transborder lives (Stephen, 2007). This theoretical framework critiques common popular and scholarly understandings of immigration that imply unidirectional assimilation or acculturation from a geographically distanced ethnic minority culture toward a culture assumed to belong to the unexplicated, purportedly homogenous mainstream (Gutmann, 1999; Hunt, Schneider, & Comer, 2004). To elaborate a more realistic and nuanced understanding of immigration, developed specifically in relation to indigenous Latin American immigrants in the U.S., the concept of transborder lives highlights the ways in which immigrants navigate everyday life through multiple different kinds of “borders.” In the case of indigenous Mexican

*The applicant fleshes out the meaning of intersectionality and how it relates to his work to capture the complexity of the lived experiences of racial and ethnic identities.*

immigrant youth, these metaphorical and material borders include especially immigration status, ethnicity, indigeneity, language, and socioeconomic class. Their experiences of life and their opportunities for educational success and wellbeing depend on their successful navigation of these multiple simultaneous axes of difference. Thus, by transborder intersectionality, I refer to the means by which social inequality is produced across multiple axes of difference in the context of multi-layered transnational, multilingual, transcultural life.

Supplementing the transborder intersectionality framework, the theory of **language socialization** (Baquedano-López & Hernández, 2011) will be utilized to investigate the experiences of indigenous Mexican immigrant youth regarding hierarchy in the context of education. The theory of language socialization was developed to add an interpretive sociocultural lens to our understanding of the learning of new languages. This theory stands in contrast to the common understanding of language acquisition as a simple, cognitive process of linguistic knowledge and skill acquisition. Rather, language socialization theory posits that the learning of language also inheres being socialized into certain cultural realities and understandings. Recent research in this area indicates that indigenous Mexican students learn ethnic hierarchy as well as which ethnic groups belong in which geographic locations (Baquedano-lópez & Janetti, n.d.). This theory will add to the overall thread of transborder intersectionality a nuanced understanding of the ways in which ethnic minority students learn their places in hierarchy and inequality implicitly within the classroom. The thread of transborder intersectionality supplemented with a focus on language socialization will inform especially Aims 1 (specifically Subaim 1.1) and 2 to elucidate the specific categories and meanings at play within discrimination against indigenous Mexican immigrant youth as well as the ways in which this multi-layered discrimination produces inequalities for this population of youth.

*Simple graphics can be a useful way to amplify key concepts and theories.*

A general overview of the primary theoretical threads at play thus far is illustrated in Figure 1.

This simple graphic shows that transborder intersectional inequalities are produced by the interplay of the specific layers and intensities of structural vulnerability and counteracted or mediated by the various sources of resiliency.

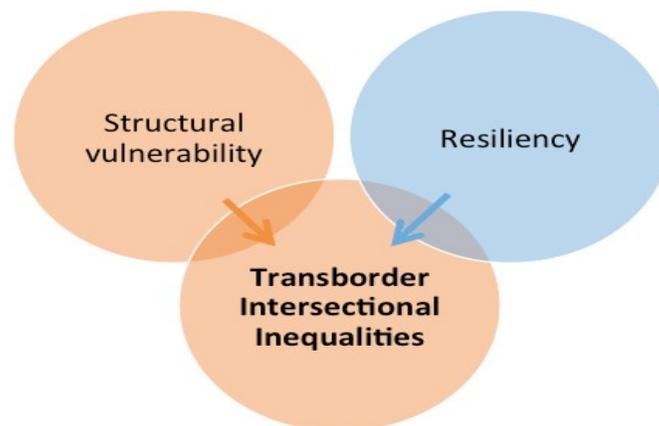


Figure 1. Structural Vulnerability, Resiliency, and Transborder Intersectional Inequalities

### Social Change and Representation

The final theoretical thread informing this project is a Gramscian conceptualization of social change. For Gramsci, hegemony is the social and cultural dominance of one group within a hierarchical social structure (Gramsci, Horne, & Nowell, 1971).

Through hegemony, this group maintains control over the whole society toward its own interests.

However, this control, this hegemony is seldom consciously willed or planned. More often, hegemony and the forms of knowledge and meaning that support it are subconscious, assumed, and taken for granted. Moreover, for Gramsci, hegemony is always incomplete, contested and agonistic. It is maintained or changed through an all-out military “war of maneuver” or through a more subtle “war of position” (*Ibid*). Gramsci describes the “war of position” as the battle over power that happens through representations that legitimize or resist the political, economic and social systems in place. Recent research indicates that processes of representation play significant roles supporting policies and practices directed toward immigrants (Chavez, 2001; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016). Some of these representations function through dichotomies (e.g. voluntary vs. forced, economic vs. political, immigrant vs. refugee, etc.) that do not always clearly fit reality (S. Holmes, 2013a; Yarris & Castañeda, n.d.). A Gramscian theorization of social change analyzes representations as simultaneous symbolic, social, political and legal categories of inclusion and exclusion with important material consequences. Thus, working to change these representations in society is an important aspect of maintaining or challenging hegemony that produces inequality. This theoretical thread will inform Aims 1 (especially Subaim 1.1) and 4, informing the analysis of social categories and meanings active in discrimination against indigenous Mexican immigrant youth and then providing background for the collaborative process producing recommendations for policy, program and practice change.

*Throughout the literature review, the researcher briefly explains significant theoretical concepts for the reviewers – as he does here with Gramscian theory – and details **how** the concepts are relevant for the goals of his research.*

An overview of the conceptual framework for the project can be seen in Figure 2. In this graphic, the multiple axes of structural vulnerabilities that produce transborder intersectional inequalities are shown in orange. The various forms of resiliency are shown in a different color (blue) to indicate that they counteract and mediate the effects of the structural vulnerabilities. The policies, programs and practices at work in the lives of indigenous Mexican youth (and that this project’s findings and recommendations will target) are shown in multiple colors to indicate the understanding that these could either exacerbate or ameliorate the inequalities at the right side of the diagram.

*A visually appealing graphic that pulls together the relevant theory, concepts, and project contributions can be useful.*

Figure 2. The Production and Amelioration of Transborder Intersectional Inequalities in the Lives of Indigenous Mexican Youth



### RESEARCH DESIGN: PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

In-depth, qualitative research is needed to begin to fill the general lack of knowledge related to the lives, wellbeing, educational trajectories, experiences and resiliency of indigenous Mexican youth. Research will be conducted within a

general framework of ethnography supplemented specifically by recorded interviews and conversations, videographic research, and collaborative research, analysis, and dissemination. Ethnographic research involves long-term involvement and immersion in a particular social and cultural context. The researcher participates in everyday life over an extended period of time, while observing interactions and listening to conversations in order to identify significant practices, political economic forces, and cultural forms. The investigator regularly records events and conversations in detailed field notes.

Ethnography also entails a research verification technique called triangulation. This involves collecting several kinds of data from the same sources over time as well as from independent sources in order to verify the validity of research findings and to diminish distortion due to self-report alone. Types of data often include field note descriptions, taped and transcribed conversations and semi-structured interviews, photographs, surveys, newspaper and other media clips, and oral and written histories. These data are

*The qualitative research design developed in this section is commensurate with the research questions. Note how the applicant clearly explains **how** each strategy answers specific questions.*

then compared and contrasted to better understand the phenomena in question. In order to fully understand the realities of indigenous Mexican youth, the framework of ethnography will be filled in with recorded interviews and conversations, videographic data involving subtle family interactions, and collaborative community-based methods at multiple steps. These details will be discussed in more detail below. The forces and experiences of discrimination, disadvantage, inequality, and resiliency as well as their interrelations within a diasporic environment make up an exceedingly complex and overdetermined reality that necessitates this multi-faceted and contextual qualitative methodology.

In addition, the population I am proposing to study is less trusting of quantitative research methods often used in public health and education research; for this reason, I am proposing these more culturally-sensitive ways of collecting information and learning about this under-studied vulnerable population of youth.

### **Specific Research Questions**

#### Aim 1 Research Questions:

1: Which social categories and meanings are active in interpersonal, social, economic, linguistic, and institutional discrimination against indigenous Mexican immigrant youth?

2: Which social categories and meanings are active in discrimination specifically in the context of school?

3: How do these categories and meanings differ from other indigenous Mexican immigrant populations, from mestizo (non-indigenous) Mexican immigrant populations, from U.S.-born Hispanic populations, and from U.S. Anglo populations?

4: How do indigenous Mexican immigrant youth navigate, internalize, resist, and refashion the social categories and meanings active in discrimination against them?

#### Aim 2 Research Question:

1: Through what mechanisms do these forms of discrimination produce inequalities in future aspirations, wellbeing, and educational success for indigenous Mexican immigrant youth?

#### Aim 3: Research Question:

1: What are the most important sources of strength and resilience for immigrant youth that counteract or mediate the discrimination and inequalities they experience?

#### Aim 4: Research Questions:

1: What are the priorities of indigenous Mexican youth for changes in policy, program, and practice?

2: How do indigenous Mexican youth want to pursue these changes in policy, program, and practice and how do they want to be involved in the process?

### **Sample Definition and Selection Procedures**

This multi-layered, in-depth research into intersectional inequalities and resiliency among indigenous Latin American immigrant youth will require sampling a vertical slice (Nader, 1972) of the social world of these youth. This will involve field research with high school aged Triqui and Mixtec indigenous immigrant youth through their migration circuit in

Madera County, California and Skagit County, Washington State, their parents, their relatives with whom they have regular contact in rural Oaxaca, Mexico, their classmates of mestizo Mexican and Hispanic American and Anglo American descent, their teachers, and their school nurses [see Table 1]. The participant sample will be selected in order to balance the need for the organic development of relationships within ethnography with a

*The researcher very clearly explains the youth who will constitute his sample, noting their vulnerability and resilience, and expanding below on why they are the ideal participants for this project.*

vulnerable population and the desire for a representative sample. Each of these groups is important for understanding the ways in which the multiple categories of difference interact as well as which have saliency from different social positions.

These indigenous Triqui and Mixtec immigrant youth are ideal research participants for two

primary reasons. First, they represent two of the most common, growing populations of indigenous Latin American youth in the United States. Second, my long-term relationships with their communities and community-based organizations make research with this otherwise hidden population possible.

Research with this vulnerable population will necessitate respectful, strong rapport. I have built rapport over the past decade with indigenous Triqui and Mixtec immigrant families in the U.S., though I have only performed research with the adult parents, primarily the fathers, in the families.

Through multiple preliminary conversations this

past year, these parents and youth have explained that they feel this project is important and would like to undertake it with me. In addition, I have made initial contact with representatives of school districts in Skagit County, Washington and Madera County, California that serve these students. These representatives have indicated their support and interest in this research project as they want to understand better the growing diversity of their student body.

*The applicant provides evidence for the feasibility of recruiting this potentially hard-to-reach population. Reviewers like to see how applicants are thinking about potential challenges or weaknesses of a study.*

**Table 1. Sample**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Description</b>
High School Youth	Central California and Northwestern Washington	30 Triqui Indigenous Youth
		30 Mixtec Indigenous Youth
		20 Mestizo Mexican Youth
		20 Latino/a American Youth
		20 Anglo American Youth
High School Staff	Central California and Northwestern Washington	20 Teachers
		4 Principals
		4 High School Nurses
Indigenous Immigrant Family Members	Central California and Northwestern Washington	50 Triqui Indigenous Parents
		50 Mixtec Indigenous Parents
Indigenous Non-Immigrant Family Members	Rural Oaxaca, Mexico	30 Triqui Indigenous Relatives
		30 Mixtec Indigenous Relatives

## Research Design and Methods, Including Data Collection

The research will be conducted in a vertical slice (Nader, 1972) approach with the populations described above in order to understand the effects of the social world of high school aged indigenous Mexican immigrant youth. The research will involve an iterative process of hypothesis testing and question refining within an overall framework of ethnographic field research. Within the framework of ethnographic methods, special attention will be given to recorded interviews and conversations, community-based collaborative methods, and videographic methods. Monthly during fieldwork, the

*Here, the researcher provides a clear overview of his methods and explains the way in which he will work with community participants. Throughout this section, he explains the role members of the community will have in data collection and analysis. He also offers well-developed considerations about the cultural appropriateness of the design.*

investigator will systematically analyze and code field notes and interviews in order to test the primary hypotheses of the study and develop more precise questions for the next rounds of interviews and observations. This method allows for ongoing contextual development of increasingly precise hypothesis testing. The community-based organizations with which the project will engage collaboratively include the Centro Binacional para el Desarrollo Indigena Oaxaqueno (CBDIO) and the Frente Indigena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB). I have developed a strong relationship with the Director of CBDIO, Leoncio

Vasquez Santos, through joint presentations related to the wellbeing of indigenous Mexican immigrant workers. He has shown strong interest in working with me on the proposed project. In addition, I have developed strong collaborative relationships with the FIOB Binational Coordinator of Youth, Elio Santos, and the FIOB California Coordinator of Youth, Luiz Resendiz. They have both participated in community-based collaborative research in the past and are interested in working with me on the proposed project, as well as highlighting the results during their annual Oaxacan Youth Encuentro in California. In preliminary meetings, indigenous Triqui and Mixtec youth and families have indicated that they want to collaborate in directing the videographic research, analyzing the data, and developing recommendations for policy, programs and practice. They are not interested at this time in a more formal Community-Based Participatory Research project in which they would also determine the questions and collect the data. Thus, collaborative meetings will focus on the above aspects and will, thus, increase in frequency during the final two years of the project.

Videographic methods have been developed by language socialization researchers, including Eleanor Ochs, Patricia Baquedano-Lopez and others, to analyze subtle family and school interactions related to language, culture and hierarchy. The indigenous youth will be advising me on the cultural appropriateness of videography in different contexts; they will guide me as to what it is appropriate to record and what it is not appropriate to record based on their comfort level and cultural norms. Indeed, indigenous immigrant youth have already shown interest in collaborating to produce a research-based documentary video (in addition to the peer-reviewed articles and book that I plan to write) to share their stories and affect social change. This will include direct collaboration in planning the videography, taking turns behind the cameras, taking turns asking questions behind the microphone, and jointly discussing and deciding editing priorities.

Beyond the importance of this multi-modal qualitative data in itself, it will also provide a more solid knowledge base from which quantitative instruments (e.g. surveys) may be

developed and utilized in the future. In addition, this qualitative data has the significant benefit of including the voices and stories of the affected youth, which can be important for changing policy and public opinion (Martin et. al. 2013, Hansen et. al. 2013). Along these lines, Andres Cediell, professor in the Berkeley School of Journalism who is curating documentary shorts about immigration for PBS, is interested in helping bring this collaborative research documentary to broad audiences through PBS.

*The researcher offers a strong rationale for why multiple forms of qualitative research are appropriate.*

These multiple forms of qualitative methods will be utilized in order to gather subtle social and cultural data related to discrimination, meanings, resistance, internalization, and resiliency. These

subtle phenomena are not easily amenable to quantitative study at this time for several reasons. First, we do not have enough of a knowledge base related to the experiences of this population to construct meaningful questions and measures. Second, many of these topics involve stigma, which may lead to inaccurate survey response data. Finally, much of this information is subconscious and not easily articulated by respondents. This in-depth qualitative data will provide a fuller picture of the intersectional inequalities experienced by these youth as well as possible means for counteracting them.

### **Sites: California, Washington, and Transborder Returns**

This field research will take place throughout the transnational circuit of indigenous Mexican immigrant youth in the U.S., though it will focus primarily on Central California and Northwestern Washington State. The fieldwork will be conducted over the first three years of the project. During these three years, field research will be focused on Skagit County, Washington State in the fall during which many Triqui and Mixtec indigenous youth are working in the berry fields on the weekend and attending high school on weekdays. Field research during winter break from school will be conducted with indigenous immigrant youth as they make the coming of age return to their “home” villages in the mountains of Oaxaca to meet or maintain relationships with their relatives. During the spring, field research will focus on Madera County, California during which time most Triqui and Mixtec youth attend high school on weekdays, work on farms on Saturdays, and attend a local Spanish-language flea market with their families and relatives in the area. During the summer, field research will follow youth and their families as they move between California and Washington State seeking agricultural work.

The two primary sites in the U.S., California and Washington State will also provide interesting comparative information. Children of immigrants and Hispanic or Latino youth are particularly visible in California. California is the state with the highest number (4.3 million) of children living with immigrant parents. This accounts for 49% of children in the state (Zong, Jie and Batalova, 2016). In addition, although precise numbers are unavailable, a recent study estimates the number of indigenous Mexicans in California to be over 200,000 (Rivera-Salgado 2015). This includes a quarter of the entire Mexican immigrant workforce in the state’s economically vital agricultural industry, with large additional populations in low-paying jobs in urban areas (Mines, Nichols, & Runsten 2010; Kissam & Jacobs, 2004). Washington is, in contrast, not thought of as an immigrant receiving state. In addition, Washington is a majority Anglo American State with much less visibility of Hispanic residents. These two sites will allow for a more full understanding of the factors producing transborder intersectional inequalities in different contexts in terms of immigration and ethnic makeup.

In each primary site (Madera County, California and Skagit County, Washington) as well as the supplementary site providing transnational context (rural Oaxaca, Mexico), each of the methods will be engaged to provide an in-depth understanding of the social and cultural phenomena of discrimination and resiliency as they relate to inequalities among indigenous Mexican immigrant youth. Each site will involve participant observation, recorded interviews and conversations, community-based collaborative research alongside indigenous immigrant Mexican youth and community-based organizations, and video recording of family interactions. Each of these methods will be utilized in the home and the school, except for video recording which will take place only in the home (see Table 2). In-depth interviews will be recorded with Triqui and Mixtec youth, their fathers and mothers, their school peers in different ethnic and immigration status categories, their teachers, and their school nurses. The researcher is fluent in English and Spanish and speaks and understands limited Triqui Alto. Interviews will be conducted by the investigator in English or Spanish when either of these is fluently spoken and understood by the participant. In the rare case that a participant may speak only Mixtec, the community organization, CBDIO, has offered to provide translation services. Given the extreme lack of Triqui translators, the investigator will utilize the translation help of other primary study participants in the rare case that a participant may speak only Triqui Alto.

*When data collection involves language diversity, applicants should explain how they will collect culturally valid data in the most respectful way possible.*

*Tables are often a great way to summarize the timeline, which should be reasonable and feasible.*

**Table 2. Proposed Timeline**

<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Data Collection Activities</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>
Fall 2017, 2018, 2019	Skagit County, Washington	-Participant observation in home with youth and family; in school with youth, peers, teachers, and school nurse -Videography in the home with youth and family -Recorded interviews and conversations in home with youth and family; in school with youth, peers, teachers, and school nurses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 1: RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4</li> <li>● Aim 2: RQ1</li> <li>● Aim 3: RQ1</li> </ul>
Winter Break 2017, 2018, 2019	Rural Oaxaca, Mexico	-Participant observation along trip from California to "home" village in Oaxaca and in village with youth and relatives -Videography along trip from California to "home" village in Oaxaca and in village with youth and relatives -Recorded interviews and conversations along trip from California to "home" village in Oaxaca and in village with youth and relatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 3: RQ1</li> </ul>
Spring 2018, 2019, 2020	Madera County, California	-Participant observation in home with youth and family; in school with youth, peers, teachers, and school nurse -Videography in the home with youth and family -Recorded interviews and conversations in home with youth and family; in school with youth, peers,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 1: RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4</li> <li>● Aim 2: RQ1</li> <li>● Aim 3: RQ1</li> </ul>

		teachers, and school nurses	
Summer 2018, 2019, 2020	Madera County, California and Skagit County, Washington	-Participant observation in home and during migration to find work with youth and family -Videography in the home with youth and family -Recorded interviews and conversations in home and during migration to find work with youth and family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 2: RQ1</li> <li>● Aim 3: RQ1</li> </ul>
Full Academic Year 2020-2021	Madera County, California and Skagit County, Washington	-Participant observation with youth and family -Recorded interviews and conversations with youth -Recorded collaborative data analysis meetings with indigenous Mexican youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 4: RQ1</li> </ul>
Full Academic Year 2021-2022	Madera County, California and Skagit County, Washington	-Recorded collaborative meetings with indigenous Mexican immigrant youth to develop and plan dissemination of recommendations -Recorded collaborative meetings with youth and leadership involved in CBDIO and FIOB to develop and plan dissemination of recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Aim 4: RQ2</li> </ul>

### Data Analysis

Once collected, the multiple forms of data described above (field notes from participant observation, transcribed interviews and conversations, as well as transcribed videography) will require a complex and multi-faceted process of analysis. This analysis will be performed utilizing several methodologies within the context of active mentorship as described further below. A general overview of the initial stages of data analysis is provided by the general model of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This model denotes an analytic methodology particularly useful in qualitative field research studies. The methodology focuses on the systematic progression of organically uncovering social, cultural, and political economic processes behind the phenomena under investigation. The process of analysis begins as data is collected and proceeds through cycles of increasingly precise coding. Data related to a particular topic receive a specific, inductively produced code. The data with a single code are compiled and analyzed for their characteristics and meanings. Then, data is coded axially, focusing on connections among categories.

In this project, using AtlasTi, field notes and transcribed audio and videographic data will be analyzed according to social categories and meanings active in discrimination from different social positions, resistance and internalization of this discrimination by youth, mechanisms by which this discrimination leads to inequalities in wellbeing and educational success, sources of strength and resiliency for youth, and priorities of youth for change. Data will also be analyzed according to inductive terms and categories used by youth and other populations in the vertical slice described above. These different coding systems

*We strongly encourage applicants with qualitative projects to include analysis plans that provide as much detail as possible about the coding process, validity, and how the analysis connects to the questions asked. In research with collaborative elements, this can be tricky to do, but please keep in mind that reviewers need to be able to fully assess a project's potential.*

will then be compared and contrasted. This will allow for the recognition of linkages among the different forms of discrimination according to social position. The validity of analyses will be verified through the triangulation of various sources and kinds of data.

The final two years of the project will be devoted to analysis of data by the primary investigator, dialogical discussion of data and analysis with indigenous Mexican immigrant youth and indigenous Mexican immigrant community-based organizations, and the collaborative development of recommendations for policy, program and practice change. In this way, data analysis will both be informed by indigenous Mexican youth and community organizations and, in turn, inform the participatory development of evidence-informed recommendations for change. Consensus regarding analysis will be achieved through discussion of the analyses—including themes—arrived at separately by the investigator, the indigenous Mexican youth, and representatives from the community organizations mentioned above. The invitation of critiques and analyses by study participants is an increasingly common practice in collaborative qualitative research that works to increase the validity of findings by minimizing the a priori bias of the outsider. Indigenous Mexican immigrant youth will participate not only in the development of the recommendations, but also in their dissemination through co-authoring popular articles and white papers for school districts and state governments, making collaborative presentations for universities and policy makers, and co-directing a documentary film to share their voices and experiences with a broad audience.

## HUMAN SUBJECTS

The Institutional Review Board Application is in process. The University of California, Berkeley, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects will review the protocol, interview guidelines, and consent forms and provide IRB approval. All necessary precautions will be taken to protect the

*Given the vulnerability of the target population, the researcher offers a very well-developed discussion of human subjects protections for his participants.*

confidentiality of the data including the storage of data on locked, password-protected drives in locked rooms with access only for authorized staff. All data will be de-identified and no names will be used in project findings, manuscripts or presentations.

1. Risks to Human Subjects. Potential risks to participants include discomfort and concerns about privacy and confidentiality regarding the personal information they will be providing about their histories, perceptions of others, and experiences of discrimination.

### 2. Adequacy of Protection against Risks

Informed consent will be obtained from all individual participants. In addition, in accordance with Triqui and Mixtec cultural norms, discussions of the project plans will be held in family and community meetings with disclosure of all aspects of the research and aims. All participants will be informed that they have the right to withdraw from the study prior to completion at any time. After answering all questions and ensuring that any participants under the age of 18 have understood all information, the researchers will ask parents/guardians to document their own consent by signing a consent form, and to document consent for the child by signing a parental consent form. The underage participants will sign an assent form.

Participants will be informed that all data are completely confidential, except in cases where we are required by law to break confidentiality (e.g., suspected child abuse, suicide risk). All data will be identified by a unique study ID, rather than by personally identifying information. The code that links participant ID to identifying information will be stored separately from other study data, and will be accessible only to authorized research staff who are directly involved with the project. Participants will be informed that parents and children will not have access to each other's data, and that their teachers will not have access to their individual data. Participants will also be informed they can skip any aspect of the study they wish to. All research staff will be trained in the appropriate safeguarding of confidential data and in the protection of human subjects.

3. Potential Benefits of the Proposed Research to Human Subjects and Others. As a result of participating in the proposed study, the children, their parents, their schools and the participating communities may gain a greater awareness of the impact that discrimination has on wellbeing and educational success. Additionally, they may become aware of sources of strength and resiliency among indigenous Mexican youth and families not previously highlighted. Moreover, this study will be the first to document broadly and analyze the intersectional inequalities affecting indigenous Latin American youth in the U.S. These findings can help youth, families, and schools support and advocate for indigenous Latin American immigrant youth. There is also a possibility that indigenous Latin American youth and community organizations may benefit from skill development, a sense of empowerment, and new social networks in relation to the collaborative aspects of the project, including especially the development and dissemination of recommendations.

Because participants will have received detailed information about all study procedures, they will have sufficient information to decline participation if they find the procedures overly burdensome, intrusive, or upsetting. The risks are minimal, and similar to those experienced when youth, parents, and school staff think about or discuss their experiences, perceptions, and difficulties. It is anticipated that the minimal risks to study participants will be outweighed by the potential benefits to the participants, their families, their communities, their schools, and public policy.

## MENTORSHIP AND EXPERTISE STATEMENT

### Career Trajectory

I have been fortunate to receive strong mentorship and training opportunities throughout my early career, as a doctoral student at the University of California Berkeley and San Francisco, Robert Wood Johnson Health & Society Scholar at Columbia University, and assistant professor at University of California Berkeley. This training and mentorship has provided me with skills that are invaluable for the execution of this new project.

Theoretically and substantively, my existing scholarship falls broadly into one of two research areas: (1) social and health inequalities among immigrants (Castañeda et al., 2015; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; S. M. Holmes, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2013; S. Holmes, 2013a; Holtz, Holmes, Stonington, & Eisenberg, 2006; Stonington & Holmes, 2006) and (2) the ways in which service providers perceive and respond to social inequalities (Bourgois et al., n.d.; Hansen, Holmes, & Lindemann, 2013; S. M. Holmes, Jenks, & Stonington, 2011; S. M. Holmes & Ponte, 2011; S. M. Holmes, 2012; S. Holmes, 2013a). Due to my ongoing interest in social inequalities affecting ethnic minority immigrants over the lifecourse and my growing rapport with indigenous immigrant families, I have become interested in taking my expertise in in-depth research on inequalities affecting indigenous immigrants and the perceptions and responses of service providers to bear on indigenous immigrant youth and school staff.

### Expanding My Expertise

Although I bring many skills and strengths to the project — especially, a deep understanding of the existing theoretical and substantive literature related to indigenous Latin American (specifically Triqui and Mixtec) immigrants in the U.S. and an understanding of using in-depth qualitative methods to answer important yet subtle social and cultural questions — the William T. Grant Scholars Program will be crucial for my career development. The Program will allow me to expand my existing skills and develop new ones in order to move into the broad area of youth inequalities.

*Successful proposals develop strong mentoring plans that clearly show the applicant will make a methodological, substantive, and/or theoretical stretch. Reviewers need to be convinced that this stretch would likely not happen without support from the Foundation.*

First, the program will expand my expertise substantively in the area of research with youth and families. Although I have conducted intensive research with indigenous Latin American immigrants in the past, my work has focused almost exclusively on adult, male farmworkers. I have not conducted research with youth nor with mothers in any appreciable way. This substantive area is critical to my future interests in working with ethnic minority immigrant youth to understand the development of inequalities across the lifecourse. I look forward to reading, attending conferences, collaborating with others, and seeking active mentorship in this area.

Second, the program will stretch my expertise in the theoretical area of language socialization. This theoretical framework has been developed by linguistic anthropologists, anthropologists of education, and educational linguists (Baquedano-López & Hernández, 2011) to account for the subtle sociocultural processes accompanying the learning of new languages. Unlike common assumptions about language acquisition that presume a relatively simple cognitive process of acquiring

linguistic knowledge and skills, this theory shows that learning a new language involves also coming to understand one's place in the world through that process. Many immigrant youth come to understand their place in social hierarchies and other inequalities implicitly during language study (Baquedano-lópez & Janetti, n.d.). Given the critical importance of language for indigenous Triqui and Mixtec youth, this theory will prove vital to the project. Most of these immigrant youth grow up speaking an indigenous language unrelated to Spanish or English, next learn Spanish through social networks or in school in Mexico, and then learn English in the U.S. Some of these youth are choosing not to speak their native language due to an understanding of its stigmatization in Mexico and the U.S. At times this stigmatization occurs actively within their educational experiences (Barillas-Chón, 2010; Machado-Casas, 2012; Velasco, 2010). While I am a sociocultural anthropologist by training, I have had no training in linguistic anthropology. However, I am motivated to pursue reading, collaborations with others, and active mentorship in this theoretical area.

Third, the program will stretch my methodological expertise in the important areas of community-based collaborative methods and videographic research methods. In my experience, successfully working with indigenous populations requires a deep respect for their worldviews and cultures. I have learned this over the course of my previous research. However, working with the youth of the indigenous Mexican populations in the U.S. will require an even more active form of visible respect and deference. In preliminary conversations with indigenous immigrant families and respected community organizations with whom I have built rapport (described above), these parents and community leaders have requested that any research with their youth be **collaborative** in a flexible manner. This open collaboration will be a requirement for this project to move forward. In preliminary conversations and meetings, youth, families, and community organization representatives have laid out the general outline of collaboration for this project to include dialogical analysis of data, joint planning and filming of the videographic data, shared development of recommendations, and cooperative dissemination of the recommendations. While my previous research was relatively traditional ethnography, I am excited to move in these collaborative research directions through reading, active mentorship and community experience.

The **videographic research** element will be critical for two reasons. First, such data is important for the analysis of subtle aspects of language socialization within multi-lingual family interactions. Second, this data will be able to bring the stories and voices of indigenous youth to policy-makers and broadly concerned publics. I have no experience with videography. However, Elio Santos, one of the youth leaders of one of the indigenous Mexican immigrant community organizations is studying film and wants to collaborate with me on this aspect. In addition, I am in conversation with Andres Cediell, a UC Berkeley journalism professor, about the possibility of support to bring one version of a research-based short documentary video to a PBS series on immigration. I look forward to working with Santos and receiving active mentorship in this area. Each of the above areas is important to this project as well as to my future career focusing on ameliorating inequalities affecting immigrant youth.

## Mentors and Plans for Active Mentorship

In order to engage these stretch areas successfully, I propose Patricia Baquedano-Lopez and Lynn Stephen as my two mentors for the first two years of the program.

**Patricia Baquedano-Lopez** is a renowned expert in immigrant and ethnic minority education research (Baquedano-Lopez, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2013; Baquedano-López, Solís, & Kattan, 2005; Mangual Figueroa, Baquedano-López, & Leyva-Cutler, 2014; Solís, Kattan, & Baquedano-López, 2009) and language socialization (Baquedano-lópez&Hernandez, 2011; Baquedano-lópez & Janetti, n.d.). Baquedano- Lopez is Associate Professor of Education in the Social and Cultural Studies Program and Director of the Center for Latino Policy Research at UC Berkeley. In 2014, we worked together to organize a multidisciplinary conference at UC Berkeley responding to the unprecedented numbers of unaccompanied Latin American minors arriving in the U.S. We have since discussed the possibility of writing a grant to build a network of researchers investigating the wellbeing of indigenous Latin American immigrants in the U.S. The William T Grant Scholars Award would add significantly to our positive, yet still cursory relationship by adding regular meetings for me to receive expert feedback on my research and my stretch areas. Baquedano-Lopez and I will meet monthly for at least one hour in the Center for Latino Policy Research (which is one block from my office) for mentorship and advising. We will discuss my research plans, any fieldwork issues, and initial data analysis related to immigrant youth development, education and language socialization. I do not see our busy schedules being a barrier to mentorship as Baquedano-Lopez and I are motivated to build a mentorship relationship and consider building a network of scholars focused on indigenous immigrant youth.

*The applicant explains his current connection to the first mentor, identifies her expertise in his substantive and theoretical “stretch areas”, and describes how her mentorship will enrich this project, as well as a broader research agenda.*

**Lynn Stephen** is a prominent expert in immigrant family research especially related to mothers and daughters (Lynn, 2007; Stephen, 2008, 2016), collaborative community-based research methods with indigenous Latin American immigrants (Stephen, 2014b), and videographic research methods. She has directed a research documentary video with indigenous Mexican youth (<https://vimeo.com/154235511>), organized a web-based collaborative videographic research project on Hispanic populations in the U.S. (<http://latinoroots.uoregon.edu/>), and conducted cutting-edge collaborative research with an indigenous Mexican farmworker organization in Oregon (Stephen, 1995). Stephen is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies at the University of Oregon. We met most directly in 2015 when she gave the

*The applicant explains how this mentor will support his methodological stretch, describes her expertise, and details how they will work together.*

Michael Kearney Memorial Lecture on Immigration at the Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting and I was invited to be one of the discussants. We, then, worked together to bring the lecture and the discussion papers together to be published after peer-review in *Latin American Perspectives* (In Press). The award would add

significantly to our positive relationship by leading to regular communication and meetings for me to receive expert feedback and advice on my research and methods. We will meet six times in person annually, once each at the annual meetings of the American Anthropology Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Society for

Applied Anthropology as well as three times in Eugene, Oregon, where she works and I have immediate family. In the intervening months, we will schedule Skype meetings of at least one-hour. Our meetings will involve advising on my collaborative and videographic research as well as preliminary findings related to family research. I do not see our busy schedules or distance being barriers as Stephen and I have enjoyed working together successfully; I have immediate family in Eugene, Oregon; and I am very motivated to learn collaborative and videographic methods.

### **The Final Three Years**

During the final three years of the program, I plan to continue to stretch my expertise in the areas of research with immigrant youth and families, language socialization research, videographic research methods, and flexible collaborative research methods. Qualitative data collection within an overall ethnographic framework takes a great deal of time and I expect to continue with data collection regarding Aims 1, 2, and 3 during the third year of my project. As described above, I expect to move into a mixture of data analysis, collaborative conversations regarding this data analysis with indigenous Mexican youth and community organizations, and collaborative development of recommendations during the final two years of the program. The final two years will stretch my expertise especially in the areas of analysis of language socialization and videographic data as well as collaborative community-based research methods. I expect to continue in mentorship relationship with Baquedano-Lopez and Stephen as well as seek mentorship from others working in the areas of immigrant youth inequalities and resiliency. I plan to seek mentorship from others within the William T Grant network with expertise in immigrant youth and indigenous youth as well as bringing research to bear on policy and practice.

**Carola Suarez-Orozco** has offered to serve as an active formal or informal mentor throughout my project, and especially during these final years. Suarez-Orozco is a renowned expert on immigrant youth wellbeing (Katsiaficas et al., 2013; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2011; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Suárez-orozco et al., 2015; C. Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2013b; Suárez-orozco, 2003) and education research (Carhill et al., 2008; Suárez-orozco et al., 2015; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010, 2011) and has mentored some of the younger renowned experts in this field successfully as well. Suarez-Orozco and I have discussed her mentoring me during these final years specifically as I analyze data and seek to bring this research to scholars through peer-reviewed publications; to policy-makers, school boards, and teachers through white papers and in-person presentations alongside indigenous immigrant youth; and to the general public through Op Eds and other popular media venues.

The overall plan for mentorship can be visualized in Table 3.

Table 3. Mentorship Timeline

<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Mentored Stretch Areas (Specific Aspect)</b>	<b>Mentorship Activities (Relevant Mentor: Baquedano-Lopez, Stephen, Suarez-Orozco)</b>
Year 1	Youth & Family Research: Data collection	-Read about & receive direct feedback on initial research with youth & families ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings & email; <b>S</b> monthly meeting alternating in-person & Skype, also email)

	Language Socialization – data collection	-Read about & discuss initial language socialization research experiences ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings in person & email)
	Collaborative Methods – guide initiation of all forms of data collection	-Read about and discuss initial collaborative meetings for any guidance on initiation of data collection, including collaborative planning & collection of videographic data ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings & emails)
	Videographic Methods – data collection	-Read about and discuss initial videographic data collection & attend brief sound and video workshop at California Newsreel ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings - with videographic team when in Eugene - & emails)
Year 2	Youth & Family Research – data collection	-Receive direct feedback on data collection with youth & families ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings & email; <b>S</b> monthly meeting & email)
	Language Socialization – data collection	-Receive feedback on language socialization data collection ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings in person & email)
	Collaborative Methods – guide data collection	-Discuss youth and community guidance of data collection, and direct collaborative collection of videographic data ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings & emails)
	Videographic Methods – data collection	-Receive feedback on videographic data collection ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings - with videographic team when in Eugene - & emails)
Year 3	Youth & Family Research – data collection	-Receive direct feedback on data collection with youth & families ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings & email; <b>S</b> monthly meeting & email)
	Language Socialization – data collection	-Receive feedback on language socialization data collection ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings in person & email)
	Collaborative Methods – guide data collection	-Discuss youth and community guidance of data collection, plans for collaborative data analysis, direct collaborative collection of videographic data, and plans for cooperative videographic editing ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings & emails)

	Videographic Methods – initial editing & data analysis	-Receive feedback on videographic data collection, attend brief editing workshop at California Newsreel ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings - with videographic team when in Eugene - & emails)
Year 4	Youth & Family Research – data analysis	-Receive feedback on youth & family data analysis ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings & email; <b>S</b> monthly meeting & email)
	Language Socialization – data analysis	-Receive feedback on language socialization data analysis ( <b>BL</b> monthly meetings & email)
	Collaborative Methods – dialogical data analysis	-Receive feedback on collaborative data analysis, including collaborative editing of videographic data, and discuss plans for collaborative development of recommendations ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings & emails)
	Videographic Methods – complete editing & data analysis, plan dissemination	-Discuss videographic editing and begin plans for dissemination ( <b>S</b> monthly meetings, with videographic team when in Eugene, & emails)
Year 5	Youth & Family Research – data analysis & writing	-Receive feedback on youth & family data analysis, writing & dissemination plans ( <b>BL</b> as determined; <b>S</b> as determined; <b>SO</b> monthly meetings alternating in person & Skype)
	Language Socialization – data analysis & writing	-Receive feedback on language socialization data analysis, writing & dissemination plans ( <b>BL</b> as determined; <b>SO</b> monthly meetings alternating in person & Skype)
	Collaborative Methods – develop recommendations & dissemination	-Receive feedback on collaborative development of recommendations & plans for dissemination ( <b>S</b> as determined)
	Videographic Methods – dissemination	-Discuss plans for videographic dissemination ( <b>S</b> as determined; <b>SO</b> as determined)

### FEASIBILITY AND POTENTIAL LIMITATIONS

This in-depth, multi-method research project is ambitious in scope, yet I am confident that with the mentorship and resources provided by the William T. Grant Scholars Program I will be able to successfully accomplish all aspects of the project in the five-year time frame. Although this project incorporates important areas of substantive, theoretical, and methodological stretch, it is a natural extension of my existing research

on multi-layered inequalities affecting indigenous Mexican immigrants.

Rapport. Due to my prior research, I have already built rapport with indigenous Mexican parents and community organization, such that this fieldwork can begin right away with this vulnerable and often hidden population. In addition, I have made inroads with individuals in school districts in Central California and Northwestern Washington and have been invited to volunteer and engage in participant observation. I do not foresee problems with access in these sites. Finally, despite political and inter-village violence in contemporary Oaxaca, I have already participated in one winter break trip with indigenous Mexican youth to visit their relatives in their “home” village and know family members in the important Triqui Alto and Mixtec villages in the mountains of Oaxaca, Mexico. Furthermore, I have been invited to accompany youth for the upcoming winter breaks on these short transnational return trips. Thus, despite the general difficulty for researchers in working with these populations, my history of transnational research and relationships with indigenous Mexican immigrant workers and community organizations will facilitate in-depth field research with these populations and in these sites.

*The applicant acknowledges the challenges of working with the populations that are the focus of his project but defends the feasibility of his plans by describing existing connections – as well as plans for navigating potential obstacles.*

If faced with unavoidable obstacles (such as potential increasing levels of violence in the region) to research during winter break trips to Oaxaca, I will consult with indigenous immigrant youth and families and community organizations regarding the best ways to proceed. If youth are not able to make these return trips or I am not able to accompany them due to unavoidable obstacles, then I will shift my research during these breaks to focus on youth and family interactions during these breaks from school. In this way, I will continue to work toward the specific aims of the project.

## **IMPLICATIONS AND DISSEMINATION**

This project responds to the call of the “Intersecting Inequalities” William T Grant Foundation report to “understand and intervene in” the multiple layers of disparities affecting immigrant youth (Suárez-orooco et al., 2015), in this case indigenous ‘Hispanic’ youth who are some of the most vulnerable. In this way, the research will have important implications in the field of youth inequalities on multiple levels. First, this project will fill the gap in the literature on indigenous

*The applicant explains the fit of this project with the Foundation’s interest in rigorous research on reducing inequality by describing its contributions to the academic literature as well as to potential strategies to address disparities.*

‘Hispanic’ immigrant youth, the multi-layered discrimination and disadvantage producing inequalities in wellbeing and educational success affecting them, as well as their strength and resilience in response. This understanding, then, will be brought to bear on policies, programs, and practices to decrease these inequalities for indigenous ‘Hispanic’ youth as well as for other vulnerable populations of youth. Second, the project intervenes subtly into the literature on ethnic and immigrant youth that often comes from a deficit focus by utilizing an explicit resiliency framework, thus respecting the strengths and traditions of the youth, their families, and their cultures. This framework will contribute further understanding of ways in which policies and school programs can support these youth, their families, and their communities. Third, the project will involve collaboratively – with indigenous immigrant youth and community

organizations – developing and disseminating recommendations for change. These recommendations will most directly apply to indigenous Latin American youth, but also be adaptable for other vulnerable youth populations. Fourth, these findings will challenge the unintentional erasures enacted on specific subgroups of youth categorized within larger ethnic groups. This, then, will foster further awareness of vulnerable populations of youth hidden from our scholarship, policies, and practice. Finally, the research will contribute to further elaborating a theory of *transborder intersectionality* to understand and respond to the inequalities affecting immigrant youth.

I expect this project will result in a peer-reviewed book manuscript and a series of peer-reviewed articles as well as a collaboratively directed research-based short documentary video and direct recommendations for policies, programs, and practices. The Chief Editor of the University of California Press has indicated initial interest in publishing an eventual book manuscript. Target outlets for articles include top peer-reviewed journals (e.g., *American Anthropologist*, *Anthropology and Education*, *Cultural Anthropology*, *International Migration*, and *Latino Studies*). I anticipate presenting my findings at conferences including the Society for Research on Adolescence, the American Anthropological Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Society for Applied Anthropology. I also anticipate disseminating findings through policy briefs via connections in the Hispanic Caucus of the U.S. House of Representatives where I have conducted a briefing in the past, and through essays and interviews in popular media (e.g. *The Huffington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *New America Media*, *National Public Radio*, *Public Radio International*, and *Radio Bilingue*). I am in conversations with filmmakers about the possibility of disseminating the research-based short documentary video through the PBS immigration series or through the network, “Films that Change the World”. In addition, I plan to submit the video to festivals for research-based documentaries, such as the Margaret Mead Film Festival of the National Science Foundation in Washington, D.C. Furthermore, I have agreed to disseminate my findings collaboratively with youth in English to school districts involved in educating Triqui and Mixtec youth as well as in Spanish to the indigenous Mexican community organizations.

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