

Was I an Oreo?  
My Lived Experiences in High School: A Critical Race Theory and LatCrit Analysis

by

Rosana Donoso

B.A. Concordia University, 2007

University of British Columbia

A GRADUATING PAPER

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF EDUCATION

(SOCIETY, CULTURE AND POLITICS IN EDUCATION)

in

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

University of British Columbia

(Vancouver)

April, 2013

© Hilda Rosana Donoso Barredo 2013

## **ABSTRACT**

In this paper I narrate my high school experience through the lens of a Critical Race and a LatCrit theoretical framework and methodology. The issue of race is dealt with through my own experience and provides a narrative to analyze, question, and understand what I experienced as a student of color in the American education system. The practices of “passing” as white and calling someone an “Oreo” are contextualized and analyzed through my own experiential knowledge and voice. Systemic racism in education is questioned through some of the tenets of Critical Race Theory and LatCrit, by utilizing my own story as the unit of analysis regarding school issues such as tracking and standardized testing. This is done with the goal of advancing the rights of students of color and resisting the pernicious oppression of systemic racism in education.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Introduction.....	1
Voice and Narrative.....	3
Tenets of CRT and LatCrit: An Analysis.....	5
Racism as Normal.....	6
The Importance of History.....	8
Challenging Liberal Constructs.....	11
The Power of Whiteness.....	19
Resistance: We Are Powerful.....	25
References.....	28

## INTRODUCTION

*OREO. Oreo is what other African-American students called him. He was excelling at school, getting good grades and making the honor roll. He had nerdy glasses and did not wear baggy pants. Oreo was his name because he was “acting white.” I had heard this a few weeks ago while listening to an NPR program discussing Black identity. It made me wonder, was I an Oreo? Was this in part why I was such a pathetic, sad figure in high school? Was this the reason I ended up with gum in my hair during health class?*

*In high school, as new arrived immigrant, I wanted to learn English as soon as possible. I wanted to be in honors and Advanced Placement (A.P.) courses. I did not want to hang out with students in the bilingual program nor the Black students. I wanted to sit in the back of the cafeteria with the white students who were part of the gifted program. That is where I thought I belonged. I wanted to say I AM DIFFERENT. I was educated; I came from an upper middle class family not from poverty –unlike the common stereotype of a Latino immigrant in the United States. I had gone to private school. I had two parents who spoke English and were very much involved in my education. I had ambitions and I was not going to end up in a community college. I was... white.*

*When I started high school in Massachusetts, I sat in bilingual classes with students mainly from the Caribbean and Central America. I felt defeated everytime I went into one of those classrooms. I felt the curriculum was weak, the people who were in them felt like strangers, and I could not relate to any of it. What bothered me the most was that a lot of the kids had been in bilingual education for a long time, some even for three or four years. You were supposed to work hard, learn English and move on to the mainstream system. I did it after three months. Once I started climbing the tracking system, not many Latinos were part of my Honors or A.P.*

*courses. I felt ashamed to be seen as a Latina when so much “failure” and “backwardness” was being associated with Latina/os as a whole. I never questioned the reasons behind it. I never thought racism could be one of the main culprits. That word never entered my vocabulary.*

*Not even when I won first place in a competition as part of my school’s debate team. The team won all first to third places: I with a Spanish accent, my friend with a Greek last name and another friend with an Asian background. As we happily walked out of the room with our trophies a white student from the competing school yelled: What is this, Affirmative Action day?*

*When I first was called Hispanic or Latina, I hated it. I saw those terms neither as my race nor as a description of who I was. I spoke Spanish, so yes I could be an Hispanic –as I thought the word should be utilized. I was not a Latina, rather I came from a country in Latin America. I remembered the first time I was called Brown, I took offense, my skin was white. I was very proud of being an Ecuadorean but it did not make me Brown. In my first encounter with a new person, I was thought to be a Caucasian, American or European. I guessed due to my physical appearance, dress and attitude. Only when I spoke and my accent became apparent did anyone ask me where I was from. I could see his or her attitudes change no matter who it was. This still happens to me.*

I have struggled with issues of race for a long time now. I have accepted racism as a constant in society but I still fail at making sense of it. This is my attempt to come to terms with my lived experiences and race and, most importantly, my guilt. The guilt I feel regarding my past attitudes towards race, my racism towards the “other,” and how I have taken advantage of my white skin; the benefits I have been granted when “passing” as a Caucasian. Through some of the tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and LatCrit, I will present in this paper an analysis of my narrative as the main unit of examination.

LatCrit emerged in the 1980's and early 1990's as spin-off of Critical Race Theory. LatCrit proponents believed CRT, in its origins, was not a complete representation of race complexities; they demanded an expansive view beyond the black and white binary (Hernandez Truyol, 1997). The black-white paradigm is seen by LatCrit "as the reduction of race relations in American society and law to the relations" only "between white Euro-Americans and Black African Americans" which does not recognize the oppression of Latinas/os (Valdes 1998, as cited in Trucio-Haynes, 2001). Thus, LatCrit emerged as a companion to CRT incorporating a more contextualized analysis of white supremacy by focusing on its impact on Latinas/os and their collective struggle for social justice (Davila and Aviles de Bradley, 2010). LatCrit created a conceptual frame that allows researchers to understand how the historical and present racialization of immigrants of color has shaped the contemporary experiences of Latinas/os in the United States (Huber, 2010). It is a critical approach to race that takes into account the special situation of Latinas/os in American life related to issues of language, immigration, culture and ethnicity (Stefancic, 2007).

Below I will explain the use of narrative in a CRT and LatCrit methodology and I will expand on some of the theories' tenets using my story to analyze issues of race and racism. This paper is a living document. I know it is neither complete nor an absolute. It will change as days go by but for now this is my reality.

### **VOICE AND NARRATIVE**

Critical Race Theory and LatCrit identify storytelling, giving voice, and naming one's reality as valid scholarship and valuable tools for research (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado, as cited in Fernandez; 2002). Both a CRT and a LatCrit methodology centralize the voices of people of color as tool to present, reflect, and analyze their lived

experiences under systemic racism. As such it reformulates what validity is in academic research (Delgado as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1995). I follow on the steps of Fernandez (2002), Delgado Bernal (2002) and Solorzano and Yosso (2009) by utilizing their writings as models for combining both CRT and LatCrit methodologies. These authors argue that CRT and LatCrit complement each other by adding different dimensions to an analysis of race beyond the white/black binary; LatCrit follows the tenets of Critical Race Theory while it also recognizes the special realities of Latinas/os regarding issues such as language and immigration.

Howard (2008) describes the CRT methodology as one that:

“Acknowledges the presence and perniciousness of racism, discrimination and hegemony, and enables various cultural and racial frames of reference to guide research questions, influence the methods of collecting and analyzing data, and to inform how findings can be interpreted” (p. 956).

“A key theme of naming one’s reality or the notion of voice” is central to CRT (Love, 2004, p. 228). Critical Race theorists argue that social reality is construed by the exchange of individual stories that are situational, where “truths only exist for this person in his predicament at this time in history” (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995, p. 57). A CRT methodology seeks the centralization of that voice, a voice that does not emerge from the dominant group but is rather a voice that opposes, rebels against, and counters white narrative and oppression (Calmore, 1992). These are seen as essential tools for survival and liberation in the struggle of people of color against racial oppression (Delgado, 1989).

A LatCrit methodology seeks a new epistemology based on *testimonios* (testimonies), *cuentos* (fables), biographies, chronicles, parables and counter-stories that acknowledge and value the ways of understanding and knowing of the oppressed (Delgado-Bernal, 2002). LatCrit elucidates the many identities of Latinos/as as immigrants, men and women, and as owners of different ethnicities and cultures (Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Fernandez,

2002) while analyzing systemic racism. Like CRT, LatCrit epistemologically recognizes people of color as producers of knowledge: it values their critical ways of knowing and naming racism and oppression based on their experiential living (Fernandez, 2002).

Both methodologies seek to challenge dominant narratives towards the goal of social justice (Delgado Bernal, 2002). The task for both methodologies is “to uncover and explore the various ways in which racial thinking operates” (Flores, as cited in Delgado Bernal, 2000, p. 108), by the use of narrative. Valdes (2007a) best explains their use in a LatCrit and CRT methodology: these narratives allow for the problematization of normative experiences by situating those claims in an analysis of power allocation. This is how I will utilize my narrative – by attempting to recognize my own position of privilege in Latin America and of oppression in a racialized American society.

### **TENETS OF CRT AND LAT CRIT: AN ANALYSIS**

When applied to the specific context of education, Critical Race Theory and LatCrit question the dominant discourse by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000, as cited in Delgado Bernal, 2002). As CRT and LatCrit centralizes and foregrounds race and racism in American society (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2000; Symposium, 1994, as cited in Parker and Lynn, 2002; Espinoza and Harris, 1998; Solórzano and Delgado-Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1997a; 1997b) where "race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity" (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995), the analysis in education centralizes and problematizes the experiences of students of color in the educational system. Thus, Critical Race Theory, as it was originally contextualized and later expanded by LatCrit proponents, will be the main theoretical lens I will use to analyze and better understand my experiences in high school. By placing race at the center of the discussion, some of the tenets



of CRT and LatCrit will grant this paper the structure and focus to thread through my own personal experiences.

### **Racism as Normal**

Critical Race Theory and LatCrit argue racism has been normalized and is endemic in U.S. society. Both theories centralize the living experiences of people of color in order to understand and combat racism (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw, 1993; Valdes, 2007a). According to CRT and LatCrit, racism remains legally and culturally ingrained in U.S. society where whites' well-entrenched power over the "other" remains pervasive (Bell, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Matsuda et. al, 1993; Espinoza and Harris, 1998). Racism is not defined as a simple act of prejudice committed by an individual, but rather as a structured oppressive institution of America's way of life (Gotanda, 2005). Racism is defined as a system of racial domination and exploitation where power is unequally distributed in order to privilege whites and oppress people of color (Huber, 2010). Solorzano, Allen, and Carroll (2002), argue three fundamental elements of racism. They include a belief of superiority by one group, a group in power carrying out racist behavior, and a system of oppression that affects racial and ethnic groups. CRT and LatCrit contend racism infects the economic system, cultural and political institutions (Delgado, 1982), such as schools where the misconceptions of the "other" then become relevant to a discussion of education (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 2005).

Neil Gotanda (1995) writes that "subordination occurs in the very act of a white person recognizing a black's person race." Gotanda argues once that person is defined by the color of his/her skin –where white is superior to black due to hypodescent conceptions of race ingrained throughout American history– that instant recognition of hierarchy and impossibility of racial equality is constantly reproduced. This occurs in all instances when that person is recognized as

non-white, beyond the white/black binary. Racism is experienced by all minority groups including Latinos. As Haney Lopez (1997) argues, the history of white supremacy demonstrates that Latinos/as have in fact consistently been treated as 'nonwhite' and any conversation must include all groups that sit on the fringes of white supremacy (as cited in Espinoza & Harris, 1998, p. 538).

I had an abstract understanding of racism as a high school student and a new immigrant in the United States. I understood prejudice, I was against the use of racial slurs and I had some acceptance of diversity; but racism was not part of my lexicon. I remember the first time I was confronted by the existence of systemic racism. I was twenty seven years old and was working for the Obama for President campaign. I attended a workshop by an African American man based on the principles of Critical Race Theory (unknown to me until I actually took a course in CRT at my Master's program) where systemic racism was widely discussed. I adamantly rejected it, even when the facilitator challenged me directly. I did not want myself portrayed as a victim. I could not accept a world where the system was stacked against me at every point. I truly had learned to believe in the mantra of the American dream: hard work leads to success without bounds. Thus, I failed to see how the obstacles I had encountered in the United States were in part due to systemic racism; whether in high school gaining access to honors and A.P. courses, difficulties interacting with some people in English due to my heavy accent, or even acquiring legal immigrant status. Worse, I failed to understand how systemic racism affected others in much more complicated, hurtful and destructive ways.

Padilla (1999) writes:

"It is insufficient to be merely disgusted and offended by these types of actions (acts of prejudice and discrimination). We must name the actions for what they are -racist and nativist- behavior in an equally public setting and hold the actors accountable. Moreover, we must be aware of the

institutionalization of white supremacy, as well as our contributions to the perpetuation of white supremacy" (Padilla, 1999, p. 781).

I was merely offended by discrimination and that is where I greatly failed and from where my guilt comes from –the guilt of how badly I understood race; of how, informed by racism, I perceived my fellow students of color in high school in very negative ways. I believe some answers as to why can be found in my upbringing in Latin American and my constant internalization of the principles of neutrality and meritocracy as a new immigrant in the United States. The analytical tools of CRT and LatCrit can lead to deeper analysis and understanding of that reality; below is an expansion of the tenets I argue are central in accomplishing this.

### **The Importance of History**

Critical Race and LatCrit theorists advocate for an analysis that strongly recognizes the importance of history. CRT requires the historicizing of race and racism, due to the necessity of context. It advocates for the recognition of the brutalities of the past as the roots of today's pervasive racism in society (Harris, 1993; Gotanda, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Bell, 1995; Espinoza and Harris, 1998). Today that history of racism, especially related to racist acts committed with intent, is seen only as the "ugly" past and not as part of the present (Espinoza and Harris, 1998). Critical Race theorists challenge ahistoricism (Delgado Bernal, 2001) and argue for an expansive view of racial subordination (Crenshaw, 1988), in order to understand the aggressions of today. Thus, here I intend to historicize my own race and my racial attitudes towards others.

My race is Mestiza, a mix of White Spaniard and Ecuadorean indigenous blood; but I considered myself white. I am a part of what the U.S. government racially classifies as the Hispanic/Latino population, thus my race in American society. As a young immigrant to the United States, I repudiated the terms Latina/o and Hispanic as my race. As Hernandez-Truyol (1997) writes, "I had no comprehension of the Non Latina White 'othering' scheme" (Hernandez-

Truyol, 1997, p. 896). My skin was white, thus I refused to be called Brown. In Ecuador I had occupied a position of privilege. I was born in an upper middle class in Ecuador where racism against Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorians and dark-skinned mestizos and classism, based on one's position on the economic ladder, were a constant.

Thus, as a citizen of Ecuador and later as an immigrant I replicated the paradigm of what Luna (1999) calls the White European conquest of advanced cultures, experienced by communities of color in Mexico, Central and South America. I felt as a white skinned mestiza I was better. I was a member of the upper middle class with a mother who only has Spaniard blood and is red headed and green eyed. Moreover, I denied the knowledges of Indigenous populations, I barely had any contact with Afro-Ecuadorians and I was taught not to have any physical contact with poor dark skinned people in Ecuador. In the United States when I first realized I would be going to a school where most students were of color, I felt out of place and scared; I felt fear of the "other." I did not want to attend bilingual schooling, neither did I want to be seen as a poor and lazy Hispanic immigrant. With these beliefs and attitudes, I was repeating White European paradigms, that I thought were mine—I was erasing and denigrating the realities, knowledges, values, and rich cultures of people of color. I was denying my own reality.

Due to the history of colonization in Latin America, skin color became an important factor in determining class status. The Spaniard Conquistadors valued light-skinned individuals thus a new social ladder was imposed: white skin people sat at the top, people with neither dark nor light skin sat in the middle, and dark skinned people stayed at the bottom. Individuals in the middle class, depending on the lightness or darkness of their skin, could move up or down a class (Robinson, 2011). This classification has been deeply internalized as Latin Americans tend to flee any identification with Blackness or Indigenous blood (Darity, Dietrich and Hamilton,

2005). This is seen in census reports of the Hispanic population in the United States where most Hispanics choose to be identified as white Latinos where a strong preference for whiteness exists (Robinson, 2011). Latin Americans, if their color skin allows it, prefer being identified as someone whose ascendancy is Spaniard. The negation of any indigenous or African blood allows for a better position in society. In order to be accepted, members of non-white groups adopt customs that reproduce the power of whiteness. This is captured for example in the use of westernized clothes by indigenous populations in urban areas or the use of whitening skin lotions by Black Caribbeans. This predilection for whiteness Hernandez-Truyol (1997) argues "from the Latina/o viewpoint, the desirability of whiteness represents the internalization by the colonized of the colonizer's predilections" (as cited in Padilla, 1999, p. 774).

I believe my stances related to race and racism emerge from this history. I believe my attitudes towards my fellow students of color in high school were instilled in me as a child –in an Ecuadorian classist and racist society where the color of my skin placed me in a position of privilege. My refusal to be identified as a Latina in the United States –which did not recognize my European blood but rather placed me in a position of oppression I had never experienced before– led I me to hang onto my racist values. I wanted to believe that my past history as a privileged white woman needed to be recognized in American society, opening the same doors of success in school and society I had experienced in the past. I was wrong. I was in the end defined as a minority and the “other” in my school, a racialized white space, even if my white skin was not an outward marker (Barajas & Ronnkvist, 2007).

Espinoza and Harris (1998) write: "this is the problem with race. It is both easily knowable and an illusion. It is obviously about color and yet not about color" (p. 523). I truly believe this is a true portrayal of race based on my own lived experiences. Today I describe

myself as a Latina. I happily call myself Brown. I am a Mestiza. After years of living in the United States and Canada, having being exposed to many races and cultures, and adopted social justice and anti-racist values, I have finally evolved. This is not without its complication. In the United States I consider myself American and in Latin American I am an Ecuadorian. There is this passage that best describes it:

“We imagine ourselves as Spanish, we imagine ourselves as Mexican, we imagine ourselves as 'Americans,' but none of these labels seem to fit. Indeed any Chicano/a who travels to Spain or Mexico is quickly reminded of how Americanized they are. Yet living in 'America,' that same Chicano/a is constantly reminded either by little tweaks or wrenching yanks that they are not Anglo, not assimilated and unassimilable. Who are we then?” (Espinoza & Harris, 1998, p. 549).

I am not sure if I totally know who I am. Defining the self is a constant process of acceptance, doubt and self-discovery. I have come to terms with some of my past racial attitudes as I now understand in part why I developed them. I have decided to be a proud Latina and Brown person, but that does not erase the subconscious racism (Lawrence, 1995) that at times emerges within me. Whiteness and predilection for it is a tough habit to kick. These living experiences are what inform my analysis and shape these pages because complexity is all there is. Racism is still out there and within me.

### **Challenging Liberal Constructs**

In high school I could not understand why there were no other students of color, especially Latina/os, in my honors and A.P. courses. I thought it was because they were not working hard enough, they did not have any ambition, and they were always getting into trouble. I had adopted the values of the American dream: as individuals we were the owners of our future where merit and hard work would be equally rewarded. These constructs had been taught to me in school and by society as a whole through television, newspapers and other mediums. The story told in school tracking practices is one based on objectivity, color blindness and merit. At

least that is the idealism behind student tracking where dedicated, hard-working and gifted students are supposed to be rewarded by enrollment in more advanced and challenging courses. It is here that the necessity emerges to problematize the constructs of colorblindness, neutrality and merit where Latino and African American students are being disproportionately streamed into lower academic tracks (Oakes, 1990; Conchas, 2001; Flowers, 2008). Critical Race and LatCrit Theorists question the fundamentals of these liberal values (Valdes, 2007a). They argue for the rejection of the constructs of meritocracy, neutrality, objectivity and color blindness as these concepts erase the oppression brought by the social construction of race and the attendant racism that emerges (Matsuda et. al., 1993). A meritocratic and neutral system does not exist in students streaming if we consider the critical research looking at the statistics collected by researchers, where students of color are resegregated into low tracking courses (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995); as was the case in my own high school.

Villenas and Deyhle, 1999, write:

“The individualization of failure is at the crux of a racist interpretation of the school achievement of students of color. As the argument goes, African-American, Latinos/as, and Native Americans are not successful because they do not try hard enough. Failure is rooted in the individual, not in the way society and schools are organized” (p. 432).

The normalization of failure among students of color is promoted by powerful figures who are part of the dominant culture. I adopted the value of individuality since childhood and it was later reproduced by the racialized environment of my own high school. CRT and LatCrit argue meritocracy and colorblindness are metaphors for an “equal starting point” that contradicts the historical unequal footing in which people of color were born into in a racialized American society (Gotanda, 2005; Stefancic, 1997). That “equal starting point” does not seem to be the case in high school. This is shown by different studies that recount how tracking occurs unofficially in elementary school with students of color streamed into in less difficult subject

matters early in their educational careers and studies that give evidence of unequal Middle School Math and Science attainment of African American and Latino students compared to their White counterparts belonging to the same tracking placement (Oakes, 1990; Entwisle and Alexander; 1992; Cogan et. al, 2001).

Gotanda (1995) sees meritocracy and colorblindness as the metaphor of the “equalstarting point” (p. 266) where the history of race and the cumulative disadvantages lived by so many citizens of color are disregarded. Thus, the *unequal* footing in which people of color were born in a racialized society are erased by the ghosts of meritocracy. Merit, or lack of it, is perceived, awarded, and experienced by school authorities and students of color respectively based on constructs of race. This is why I failed to see that the curriculum being offered to most students of color in my high school was poor as most of these students were enrolled in lower track courses or in bilingual education. Unfortunately, our bilingual courses were not up to par to what was required to move onto higher tracked courses. I failed to understand how certain school policies and administrators denied students of color the opportunity to move ahead. Students were being tracked to low difficulty courses and no options were being offered to improve their learning and grades.

I failed to see how our knowledge of Spanish was seen as a handicap but for those non-Latinos taking an Honors and A.P. Spanish course it was considered a great achievement. Yosso (2005) argues that one of the most prevalent forms of racism in education is deficit thinking in which minority students are blamed for their poor performance due to assumptions about a lack of cultural knowledge and skills, non-parental involvement, and lack of aspirations. I now recognize how this is in part the reason why so many minority students were failing in my high school and how minority students’ different ways of learning and understanding of the world



were not being recognized, rather they were being punished for it. Padilla (1999) argues the use of merit and its hidden racialized connotations steer towards the internalization of racist stereotypes by minorities about themselves, which in turn leads us towards self-destructive acts such as voting against Affirmative Action programs in order to be viewed as equal, as white. This is a representation of my own case as I chose to devalue the social and cultural capital of students of color in my high school, due to the racist definition of knowledge, merit and objectivity reproduced by the school system I was part of.

I will never forget how much I hated the days I had to take my PSAT and STA tests. These standardized tests were described to us as objective measurements of our achievement and merit. My English scores were horrendous. I had arrived to the United States with basic knowledge of English. I understood a lot but would not speak it. After three months, I started the tenth grade in all English mainstream courses. I had moved from the lowest track in the ninth grade to Advanced Placement English and History courses in my Senior year. By all my teachers' accounts I had excelled in high school but the test did not show any of that. I still found the language sections of the tests extremely difficult. The test was not color blind as Hispanics and Asians immigrants were at a disadvantaged as English was not our maternal language; other minority groups were also hurt as the tests' cultural references were mostly based on the white middle class experience. In standardized tests the tested curriculum is usually based on white Eurocentric ideals and contexts. This puts African American students and other students of color at a disadvantage (Tate, 1994; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). Tate (1994) argues students of color are required to have a double consciousness borrowing from W.E.B. Dubois (1903) concept. Correct answers to tests need to reflect idealized white middle class values while at the same these children of color must take ownership of their learning in order to survive racialized

schools. This is why in part my SAT scores were low. My social capital was not taken into account as Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) writes:

“For the most part the linguistic and cultural resources that bilingual children bring” (to school) “are suppressed and at best ignored. In the fortification of monolingualism and monoculturalism which upholds white privilege, to then privilege bilingualism is to privilege bilingual families (read brown-skinned immigrants) who if honored and respected cannot be economically, politically, and educationally marginalized” (As cited in Villenas and Deyhle, 1999, p. 428 ).

My testing scores led me to question the tests’ validity. It enraged me that my own successes were not being taken into account. I had succeeded in school with good grades, had gotten out of bilingual education and achieved enrollment in A.P. courses, and was part of many school activities. This turned out to be just an example of how merit and objectivity were used to deny students of color opportunities for learning. CRT asserts meritocracy and its companions are bogus as “...these traditional paradigms act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society” (Calmore, as cited in Solorzano and Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 313). These tests were oppressive tools utilized by those in power to maintain their privileged positions; denying opportunities to students of color related to tracking, advanced curriculums, and access to higher education, as SAT scores are an important component of university admission processes. As a teenager I failed to recognize how the liberal constructs of merit and colorblindness served to discriminate non-white students. This is in part why I came to see my fellow students of color as a problematic and not-worthy. These tests could not be a valid representations of merit due to the effects of tracking practices and tracking could not be a fair practice due the use of these standardized tests as achievement measures; it was a vicious cycle occurring through the American educational system as many researchers have argued (see below) that I had no idea it was occurring.

A number of studies have determined that African American and Latino students have been disproportionately streamed into the lower and vocational academic levels (Oakes, 1990; National Center for Education Statistics, 1985; Flowers; 2008; Solorzano and Ornelas, 2002; 2004; Klopffeststein, 2004; The Massachusetts Advocacy Group, 1990). Through surveys of white and minority students, school officials, teachers and occasionally parents, these studies found unequal enrollment in Honors and Advanced Placement courses of Latino and African American students compared to their White and Asian counterparts. Colgan, William, Schmidt and Wiley (2001) found evidence that across all U.S. schools, access to Pre-Algebra and Algebra-I courses was significantly lower at schools with a large percentage of minority enrollment. Oakes (1990), Entwisle and Alexander (1992), and Colgan et al. (2001) found different Math and Science aptitude levels in students of color due to tracking and argued this keeps them at a disadvantage when it comes to academic opportunity both at the high school and higher education levels. Data collected by the College Board (2004; 2006), the institution that sponsors Advanced Placement programs implemented around the country, indicated that racial and ethnic minority students in K- 12 school settings were disproportionately underrepresented in such programs and scored lower on AP exams than their white peers. Oakes (1990) concluded that this was especially concerning when looking at student tracking in Mathematics and Science. This was certainly the case in my own high school but I learned to see it as normal; as part of an objective system. I learned to believe students of color were not achieving due to their own actions.

Valdes (1996) writes:

What English speakers call *education* is school or book learning. What Spanish speakers call *educacion*, has a much broader meaning and includes both manners and moral values. To raise un nino bien educado (a well-educated child) requires the education of the whole being in relation to family and community, including teaching the expectations of the roles that they would play in life and the rules of conduct that had to be followed in order to be successful in them (as cited in Villenas and Deyhle, 1999, p. 425).

By reading this I now recognize that this *educacion* is what enabled me and drove me to succeed in high school, at university, and in life as a whole. That *educacion* is what my mother believed in and instilled in her children. I finally now realize how it was disregarded by those who surrounded me in high school. What drove me in some ways to adopt the racist description of minority students were not only my own ideas of race but the racial constructions used to portray Latinas/os in American society. Inequality and oppression were being reproduced in my own high school through illegitimate tracking and testing policies. My experiences resemble what Conchas (2001) and Solorzano and Ornelas (2002; 2004) argue for: different forms of racial prejudice and racism, respectively, are the main cause for the unfair and unequal tracking of students of color. Conchas (2001) in his study found, through interviews with students, teachers and school officials, that student tracking that stratified students by race was due to the structural and cultural processes of schools; institutional traits that were representative of the society at large that kept reproducing social and racial inequities. Solorzano and Ornelas (2002; 2004) found tracking led to racial segregation in high school which placed students of color in a position of oppression when applying to university. The authors found that tracking led and exacerbated the impact of exclusionary and oppressive policies in education as enrollment in upper tracked courses gave students an advantage in university admissions. Solorzano and Ornelas (2002; 2004) argued the main reason for these policies of exclusion both in the secondary school level and at higher education is the systemic racism that permeates American society.

Additionally, Oakes and Guiton, (1995), through interviews and observations of teachers, counselors and administrators, found that students were usually the ones being blamed for their low status in the academic strata – their poor grades and low motivation. Oakes and Guiton

(1995) concluded these views were connected to the educators' conceptions of class and ethnicity. Hierarchical and firm structural tracking processes, that already benefited high-achieving students, were being exacerbated by the officials' "political actions" (Oakes and Guiton, 1995, p. 30). This findings, again, applies to own experience. My own high school counselor, from the first moment we met, without any questions or inference, tracked me to the lowest curriculum offered. I was one more Hispanic student who society portrayed as lazy, incapable of hard work, and not very intelligent. As such, I believe racism permeated my own high school where power allocations benefitted only white students; students who were later accepted into prestigious four-year higher education institutions. Power allocations benefitted the dominant culture as CRT and LatCrit claim. As Delgado (1982) writes: "Today over a century after the abolition of slavery, many citizens suffer from discriminatory attitudes and practices, infecting our economic system, our cultural and political institutions and the daily interactions of individuals" (p. 135).

Moreover, Delgado (1982) argues that once students of color internalize racial labels and aggressions against them, they exhibit hatred not just of themselves but of their own race. He writes, "the psychological responses of self-hatred and self-doubt unquestionably affect even the victims' relationship with members of their own group." (Delgado, 1982, p. 137). In his study, Conchas (2001), found that Latino students made strong links between the racial composition of the different academic programs and the racial stigma associated with each; internalizing the divisions among races. Conchas (2001) writes: "Latino students clearly articulated how the racial and ethnic divisions within each program reflected the racial hierarchy present in the larger society" (p. 485-486). In these passages, while I take full responsibility for my actions in high school, I find some understanding of my feelings of rejection, my negative racial attitudes

towards others and my overall story. I understand why I felt the way I did towards students of color and how tracking influenced the way I racialized school. By problematizing the liberal constructs of objectivity, meritocracy and colorblindness I find some resolution with my past.

### **The Power of Whiteness**

CRT and LatCrit argue that the United States is based on property rights, with the ultimate property being that of whiteness. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) argue that "the ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature of power in America" (p. 53). Skin color grants to those of the white race a position of privilege (Harris, 1993). Dixon and Rousseau (2006) contend that in the scheme of whiteness being white is seen as normal, while any person who is non-white is abnormal. From that normality the property of whiteness arises and grants status and privileges, which only whites own and enjoy (Dixon and Rousseau, 2006). Consequently, Zeus Leonardo (2004) argues that white privilege is the advantages that white people accrue due to their whiteness. CRT and LatCrit argue that being racialized as white gives a person membership to an exclusive club that grants reputation and special rights; which in turn leads to racial oppression in society (Harris, 1993).

Throughout my life in North America I have "passed" as white. I have done this, as Valdes (1997a) proposes, with the wish to assimilate in the United States and with the hope of not experiencing racism. These actions of "passing as white" due to the high value of whiteness in society, has been problematized by LatCrit theorists. Latinas/os, this critical framework argues, are forced to assimilate into Anglo-White culture in order to sustain a life in the United States. Valdes (1997) argues that due to the valuable property of whiteness, Latinos choose to construe themselves as owning white European lineage but not an Indigenous or African heritage. Moreover, Espinoza and Harris (1998) argue for the recognition that racism encircles culture; which has been used as a tool for racial oppression; assimilation from a Latino culture

into an Anglo-White one is seen as valuable and respectable. As a high school student, all I wanted was to assimilate into white culture because I knew well the value of whiteness as a white-Ecuadorean. Later, I found that if I acted “white” I could be tracked into the advanced curriculum courses. Whiteness was a powerful racist tool.

From a Critical Race Theory perspective, Harris (1993) tells the story of her black maternal grandmother who in the 1930’s passed herself as white in order to acquire employment in Chicago. She had done this for economic survival as a divorced Southern woman. I experienced what Harris (1993) writes about her grandmother: “She was transgressing, crossing borders, spinning out of margins, traveling between dualities...into light/dark/, good/bad, white/black.” I have always being proud of my Ecuadorean background but, at times I have been ashamed to be a Latina, to be Brown; I wanted to feel like a whole American. I crossed borders between my culture and that of Caucasians every day, wishing to belong to the privileged class.

I have “passed” as white in the past, present, and probably will in the future. My physical characteristics, the fact my parents spoke English before we arrived to the United States, my cultural and social capital acquired through my family, and my formal education, have allowed me to “pass” as white. I have done this consciously. Harris (1993) argues whiteness is a collection of certain rights that include the absolute right to exclude and the rights of use and enjoyment. The rights of use and enjoyment refer to whiteness as “simultaneously an aspect of identity and property, it is something that can be experienced and deployed as a resource” (Harris, 1993, p. 1734). I believe I discovered the power of “passing” as soon as I arrived to the United States. My “passing” was and is used by me as resource that allows me certain rights, as Harris (1993) contends. As I entered a room or walk in the streets I was not stared at as the “other.” Today, I never get any negative attention when I enter an expensive restaurant or attend

a meeting at professional environments; some sense of power, acceptance, relief and enjoyment is accomplished by it. My passing is what Harris (1993) argues for, a transgression that grants me some access to the privileges and rights of whiteness.

Unfortunately, my passing does not last long as I do have an accent when speaking English. The curtain falls and I tell them yes I was born in Ecuador, but the U.S. is home. This is not widely accepted. Rather than affirmation, I end up sensing repudiation and negation. Harris (1993) and Espinoza and Harris (1998) argue that the self-denial of identity –“passing” as white– by both African Americans and Latinos, makes them complicit in their own oppression through the perpetuation of racist ideals of whiteness (Harris, 1993, Espinoza and Harris, 1998). Looking back on all my lived experiences, I am guilty of this. By refusing to accept from the beginning that I live in a racist society, I have become complicit in my own oppression and that of others. By denying who I am, by “passing as white” I devalue my culture and ethnicity, reinforce the value of whiteness which in turn just incarcerates me and others in a world where acceptance is just an illusion. When analyzing his own experiences as a half Mexican and half white American citizen, Johnson (as cited in Valdes, 1997a) argues for an inalienability where race constrains Latino assimilation. Johnson (as cited in Valdes, 1997a) argues his own foreignness will always be a source of subordination, as he is not accepted as a not full member of the white ethnicity, no matter the physical color of his skin or his father’s white race. These passages truly capture my own experiences. My Brownness is a given. It is who I am and what I need to accept. This is the reason why my assimilation into American society will never be complete. As such, many lessons are, and continue, to be learned.

At this point I go back to the question: Am I an Oreo? Oreo is the term African Americans use to signify a person who is black on the outside but white on the inside, someone



who “acts white” and has abandoned his or her black culture (Tyson, 2011). Forham and Ogbu (1986) were the first scholars to investigate how the burden of “acting white” affected African American students and their experiences in school. Forham and Ogbu (1986) found many students of color associated academic pursuit with a “one way-acculturation into a white cultural frame of reference” and to “acting white” (p. 203). Years later Tyson and Darity (2005) found African American students used the term “acting white” to refer to other Black student who used different ways of speaking, displayed behaviors and attitudes, and engaged in activities seen as signaling white cultural norms. This behavior of “acting white” included getting good grades, receiving academic recognition, and enrollment in honors and A.P. courses. Ojeda, Navarro, Rosales Meza and Arbona (2012) and Bettie (2002) have found similar attitudes in the Latino student population.

Forham and Ogbu (1986) argue that minority students adopt these attitudes towards academic achievement due to the cultural ecology of schools (the poor state of the schools they attend and the present negative racial attitudes of the dominant group) and the development of an oppositional collective identity. An identity and sense of peoplehood in opposition to whiteness emerges due to racial oppression and the treatment African Americans receive in all economic, social and psychological domains (Forham and Ogbu, 1986). These contentions truly describe my high school as it was made up mostly of low-income students of color and a minority of whites. A smaller group of middle-class whites became seen as the ones chosen to a gifted student program that granted them access to advanced curriculum courses from the ninth grade. Racial tensions were common, both hidden and palpable, as resources were limited.

Tyson and Darity (2005) argue that the charge of “acting white” goes is a response to the racism and classism that exists in society. Students of color develop a misguided resentment

towards their peers due to the lack of opportunity and of recognition given and bestowed by those in power (Tyson and Darity, 2005). This was the case in my own high school as a small number of minority students were able to enroll in honors and A.P. courses, privileges bestowed by white guidance counselors and teachers. My own experiences, first being denied access to honors and A.P. courses by a guidance counselor and later granted enrollment in them by others, are evidence of how capricious racial attitudes are. Resentments emerged among members of the same racial group as I and other two Latino students were seen as privileged and the rest were not.

Tyson (2011) and Tyson and Darity (2005) argue the burdens of “acting white” become more prevalent in schools with mixed races and an unequal tracking system. In these settings, “patterns of social inequality reproduced and affirmed in tracking exacerbate the well-documented anti-achievement ethos among America’s youth” (Tyson and Darity, 2005, p. 600). Bergin and Cook (2002) argue that due to the limited number of people of color in the upper tracks, these particular students are more likely to be accused of “acting white” as it places them in constant contrast with white students. Additionally, as more students of color are largely tracked to the lower levels, they are more likely to be in a position to notice and comment on the supposed defection by their high achieving peers (Bergin and Cook, 2002). Moreover, Tyson (2011) argues these attitudes gives students of color agency: by adopting the “acting white” constructs these students are suggesting their enrollment in the lower tracks is due to choice, tastes and preferences rather than oppression. Tyson (2011) writes:

“Asserting control in this manner is preferable to passively accepting the insulting message implicit in racialized track placement, namely that black students are academically inferior or lazy...In that sense, the taunt is a small act of rebellion that symbolically, at least, reclaims power” (p. 73).

In high school I do not remember ever being accused of “acting white.” But as I started reading about the term “Oreo” I started wondering whether this is why I was resented by most Latino students in high school? Is this why a Salvadorian student stuck a piece of gum on my hair at a bilingual class we took together? My high school was racially mixed and upper tracked classes were made up mostly of white and Asian students. This is why Tyson and Darity’s findings resound so much with me –the authors studied the same type of schools I attended and found aggressive attitudes in students towards members of their same racial group. When I start thinking about my own past in high school I do realize I could have easily been portrayed as stuck up and conceited with good reason. I refused to spend time with students of color outside the classroom because I thought I would be held back by them. I feared being perceived as the “other.”

I did not want to be seen as lazy, as someone who did not care about school and did not understand English, all the typical stereotypes associated with Latinas/os. I was totally unconcerned for how my fellow Latino students felt about me; I did not care in all honesty. Rather I was deeply concerned about how my teachers and other school authorities perceived me; most of them were white. I was a nervous child in high school, a newly arrived immigrant who was desperately trying to fit in. Racism in society, the power bestowed on whiteness, and the liberal constructs of merit and objectivity promoted in my high school enmeshed me in a situation of contradictions and tensions that drove me to “pass” as white. As Tyson (2011), writes:

“As adolescents, most high schools students are grappling with internal doubts and questions about their identity and where they belong. For black students, the experience of racial isolation as well as the messages conveyed through racialized tracking (e.g. advanced classes are ‘white people’ classes) create additional social and emotional challenges” (Tyson, 2011, p. 47).

I believe this was the case for me as Latina student in high school. Little did I know I was reproducing my own oppression and those of my fellow students of color through my actions and poor understanding of merit, achievement, and most importantly, race. As LatCrit and Critical Race theorists argue, I was oppressed by the pernicious and destructive oppression of systemic racism that is constantly disregarded in many discussions of education (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995).

### **Resistance: We are powerful**

To conclude, I would like to focus on the issue of resistance. CRT and LatCrit theorists seek transformation and the end of oppression of people of color. Solorzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) envision a social justice agenda that empowers minority groups and that includes students of color. They argue for the recognition of students' internal and external forms of resistance against unjust schooling practices. As an Ecuadorean immigrant in the United States I resisted the racialization of my being. I resisted unjust school practices related to tracking –I did not take the power of my own agency for granted. Luna (1999) argues there must be a reconstitution of what legitimate and appropriate forms of resistance are, “when they tell us how to behave, they are using mechanisms to keep us from effectively resisting against our dehumanization” (p. 711). I did not realize I was acting against the unjust reproduction models prevalent in American education, but I did have an understanding of justice –if only when it applied to me.

I do wish I had resisted the discrimination and racialized oppression of my fellow students of color. For that, I still carry a deep guilt. I hope to assuage it by writing this story. I follow Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) contentions. They write, “the story of one's condition leads to the realization of how one came to be oppressed and subjugated and allows one to stop inflicting mental violence on oneself” (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995, p. 57). I am trying to

accomplish just that. My lived experiences in high school have left an indomitable mark on my life, they are part of the person I am today. I have written this paper in part to deal with my guilt and to make sense of my own experiences related to race. My goal for this paper is for it to be viewed as a continuation of my journey in social justice and anti-racism work, as Critical Race Theory and LatCrit authors promote their work as transformative with the goal of furthering social justice. I dedicate this paper to my fellow students of color at South High School and to all the students of color that keep resisting injustice and oppression all over the United States.

*In twenty-five years, I was my teacher's first "Hispanic" student in his Advanced Placement English class. This was happening in a high school where most of us came from a group of color. The rest of the English class was all white. They were part of a selected few. I believe they were ten or eleven if my memory serves me well. These white middle class students were part of an advance academic program that allowed them to graduate high school with all honors and Advanced Placement Courses, part of a curriculum that was only achievable if you were selected in middle school. In Junior High School I was still living in Ecuador and was attending a small private school. Of course, this was not recognized once I got to the U.S. This group of "gifted" students was always hanging out together, they ate lunch together in the back of the cafeteria, played sports together and were part of the National Honors Society together. I always felt like an outsider trying to break into that group. I wanted to become accepted as a person who came from Ecuador but was dedicated, intelligent, and different from all the rest of the Latino students in the school. I graduated in the top ten percent of my class, but when I first arrived to my high school I was tracked to the lowest academic levels by my guidance counselor. Due to an amazing teacher and my own efforts, I was able to experience mobility across tracks. But I still wonder why was I never part of that selected group? Why was Shakespeare so damn*

*hard to read? And why did I feel more cared about and secure in an environment where there were no Latinos in the room? Today I have a deeper understanding of it and some of the questions have been answered.*

## **References**

- Abreu, A. G. (1998-1999). Lessons from LatCrit: Insiders and outsiders, all at the same time Beyond/between colors: de/constructing Insider/outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 787-810.
- Barajas, H. L. & Ronnkvist, A. (2007). Racialized space: Framing Latino and Latina experience in public schools. *Teachers College Record*, 109 (6), 1517-1538.
- Beatty, J. (2002). Exceptions to the rule: Upwardly mobile white and Mexican American high school girls. *Gender & Society*, 16 (3), 402-433.
- Bell, D. A. Jr. (1995). Racial Racism. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed The Movement*, (pp. 302-310). New York, NY: The New Press.
- Bergin, D. A. & Cooks H. C. (2002). High school students of color talk about accusations of acting white. *Urban Review*, 34 (2), 113-134.
- Bernal, D. D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105-126.
- Beverly, J. (2005). Testimonio, subalternity, and narrative authority. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.), pp. 547-557. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Calmore, J. O. (1991-1992). Critical race theory, archie shepp, and fire music" securing an authentic intellectual life in a multicultural world. *Southern California Law Review*, 65, 2129-2230.
- Conchas, G. Q. (2001). Structuring failure and success: understanding the variability in Latino school engagement. *Harvard Educational Review*, 23 (2), 475-504.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1988). Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in antidiscrimination law. *Harvard Law Review*, 101(7), pp. 1331-1387.
- DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher*, 33(5), 26-31.
- Darity, W.A. Jr., Dietrich J. & Hamilton, D. (2005). Bleach in the rainbow: Latin ethnicity and preference for whiteness. *Transforming Anthropology*, 13 (2), 103-109.
- Davila, E. R. & Aviles de Bradley A. (2010) Examining education for Latinas/os in Chicago: A CRT/LatCrit approach. *Educational Foundations*, 24 (1), 39-58.

Delgado, R. (1982). Words that wound: A tort action for racial insults, epithets and name calling. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 133 (17), p. 133-181.

Delgado, R. (2009). Affirmative action as a majoritarian device: Or, do you really want to be a role model?. In Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). *Foundations of Critical Race Theory In education* (pp. 109-116). New York, NY: Routledge.

Disxon, A. D., & Rousseau, C. K. (2006). And we are still not saved: Critical race theory in education ten years later. In A .D. Disxon, & C.K. Rousseau (Eds.). *Critical Race Theory In Education: All God's Children Got A Song* (pp. 31-54). New York, NY: Routledge.

Entwisle, D. R., & Alexander, K. L. (1992). Summer setback: Race, poverty, school composition, and mathematics achievement in the first two years of school. *American Sociological Review*, 57(1), pp. 72-84.

Espinoza, L., & Harris, A. P. (1998). Embracing the tar-baby - LatCrit theory and the sticky mess of race LatCrit: Latinas/os and the law: A joint symposium by California law review and La Raza law journal. *La Raza Law Journal*, 10, 499-560.

Fernández, L. (2002). Telling stories about school: Using critical race and Latino critical theories to document Latina/Latino education and resistance. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 45-65.

Flowers, L. A. (2008). Racial differences in the impact of participating in advanced placement programs on educational and labor market outcomes. *Educational Foundations*, 22(1/2), 121-132

Forham, S. & Ogbu, J.U. Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting white.'" *The Urban Review*, 18 (3), 176-206.

Gotanda, N. (1995). A critique of our "constitution is color blind." In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. 257-275). New York, NY: The New Press.

Haggerty, C., Dugoni, B., Reed, L., Cederlund, A., & Taylor, J. (1996). *National Educational Longitudinal Study: 1988-1994 methodology report* (NCES 1996-174). Washington,DC: U.S. Department of Education

Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1707-1791.

Hernandez-Truyol, B. E. (1997). Borders (en)gendered: Normativities, Latinas, and a LatCrit paradigm essay. *New York University Law Review*, 72, 882-927.

Howard, T. (2008). Who really cares? The disenfranchisement of African-American males in pre-k 12 schools: A critical race perspective. *Teachers College Record*, 110 (5), 954-985.



Huber, L. P. (2010). Using Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit) and racist nativism to explore intersectionality in the educational experiences of undocumented Chicana college students. *Educational Foundations*, 24 (1), 77-96.

IV, W. F. T. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education*, 22, pp. 195-247.

Ladson-Billings, G. & IV, W. F. T. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97 (1), 47-67.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005). The evolving role of critical race theory in educational scholarship. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 8(1), 115-119.

Lawrence, Charles R. (1995) The ID, ego, and equal protection. Reckoning with unconscious racism. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller., and K. Thomas. (Eds.). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. 235-256). New York, NY: The New Press.

Leland S. Colgan, Schmidt, W. H., & Wiley, D. E. (2001). Who takes what math and in which track? using TIMSS to characterize U.S. students' eighth-grade mathematics learning opportunities. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 23(4), pp. 323-341.

Leonardo Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of 'white privilege'. *Educational Philosophy & Theory*, 36(2), 137-152.

Love, B. J. (2004). Brown plus 50 counter-story telling: A critical race theory analysis of the "majoritarian achievement gap" story. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 37 (3), 227-246.

Luna, G. T. (1998-1999). On the complexities of race: The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Dred Scott v. Sandford. Beyond/between colors: De/constructing insider/outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 691-716.

Klopfenstein, K. (2004). Advanced placement: Do minorities have equal opportunity? *Economics of Education Review*, 23(2), 115-131.

Massachusetts Advocacy Center. (1990). *Locked in/locked out: Tracking and placement practices in public schools*. Boston, Ma: Eusey Press.

Matsuda, M.(1996). *Where is your body? And other essays on race, gender, and the law*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Matsuda, M., Lawrence, C. R. III, Delgado, R. & Crenshaw, K. W. (1993). *Words that wound: Critical Race Theory, assaultive speech, and the first amendment*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press Inc.

National Center for Education Statistics. (1985). *High school and beyond: An analysis*

*of course-taking patterns in secondary schools as related to student characteristics.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Oakes, J. (1987). Tracking in secondary schools: A contextual perspective. *Educational Psychologist*, 22(2), 129.

Oakes, J. (1990). *Multiplying inequalities: the effects of race, social class, and tracking opportunities to learn mathematics and science.* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Oakes, J., & Lipton, M. (1990) Tracking and ability Grouping: A structural barrier to access and achievement. In J. I. Goodlad, & P. Keating (Eds.). *Access to knowledge: An Agenda for our nations' schools* (pp.187-204). New York, NY: College Entrance Examination Board.

Oakes, J., & Guiton, G. (1995). Matchmaking: The dynamics of high school tracking decisions. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(1), 3-33.

Ojeda, L., Navarro, R. L., Rosales Meza, R. & Arbona, C. (2012). Too Latino and not Latino enough: The role of ethnicity-related stressors on Latino college students' life satisfaction. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 11 (1), 14-28.

Padilla, L. M. (1998-1999). Social and legal repercussions of Latinos' colonized mentality Beyond/Between colors: De/Constructing Insider/Outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 769-786.

Padilla, L. M. (1999). Social and legal repercussions of Latinos' colonized mentality. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53 (4), 787-810.

Parker, L. & Lynn, M. (2002). What's race go to do with it? Critical race theory's conflicts with and connections to qualitative research methodology and epistemology. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8 (1),7-22.

Plasencia, M. (1998-1999). Suppressing the mother tongue - anti-subordination and the legal struggle over control of the means of communication Beyond/Between colors: De/Constructing insider/outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 989-994.

Robinson B. (2011). *The Color Line: How Skin Color Affects Latinos' Perceptions of Commonality.* APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper.

Sapon-Shevin, M. (1993). Gifted education and the protection of privilege. In M. Fine, & L. Weis (Eds.). *Beyond Silenced voices: class, race and gender in the United States* (pp. 25-44). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Solorzano, D. G., Allen, W. R. & Carroll, G. (2002). Keeping race in place: Racial microaggressions and campus racial climate at the university of California, Berkeley. *Chicano-Latino Law Review*, 23, 15-111.

- Solorzano, D. G. & Bernal, D. D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and LatCrit theory framework. *Urban Education*, 36 (3), 308-342.
- Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)*, 14(4), 471-495.
- Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso T. J. (2008). Critical race methodology: counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for educational research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8 (23), p. 23-44.
- Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso T. J. (2009). Critical race methodology: counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for educational research. In Taylor E., Gillborn D., & Ladson-Billings,
- Solorzano, D. G., & Ornelas, A. (2004). A critical race analysis of Latino/a and African American advanced placement enrollment in public high schools. *The high school journal*, 87 (3), 15-26. G. (Eds.). *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (p.p. 131-147). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Steele, C.M. (2009). A threat in the air: how stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. In Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (pp. 163-189). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stefancic, J. (1997). Latino and Latina critical race theory: An annotated bibliography. *California Law Review*, 85 (5), 1509-1584.
- Tamayo, Y. A. (1998-1999). Literal silencing/silenciando la lengua. Beyond/between colors: De/Constructing Insider/Outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 995-1002.
- Tate, W. F. (1994). Race, retrenchment, and the reform of school mathematics. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 75 (6), 477-483.
- Trucio-Haynes, E. (2001). Why “race matters”: LatCrit theory and Latina/o racial identity. *La Raza Law Journal*, 12 (1), 1-42.
- Tyson, K. & Darity, W. Jr. (2005). It’s not “a black thing”: Understanding the burden of acting white and other dilemmas of high achievement. *American Sociological Review*, 70, 582-605.
- Tyson, K. (2011). *Integration Interrupted*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Valdes, F. (1997a). Foreword: Under construction. LatCrit consciousness, community, and theory. *California Law Review*, 85(5, LatCrit: Latinas/os and the Law: A Joint Symposium by "California Law Review" and "La Raza Law Journal"), pp. 1087-1142.
- Valdes, F. (1997b). Foreword: Under construction. LatCrit consciousness, community, and theory. *California Law Review*, 85(5,) 1087-1142.

Villenas, S. & Deyhle, D. (1999) Critical race theory and ethnographies challenging the stereotypes: Latino families, schooling, resilience and resistance. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 29 (4), 413-445.

Villenas, S. (2006). Latina/Chicana feminist postcolonialities: Un/tracking educational actors' interventions. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)*, 19(5), 659-672.

Westley, R. (1998-1999). LatCrit theory and the problematics of Internal/External oppression: A comparison of forms of oppression and InterGroup/IntraGroup solidarity Beyond/Between colors: De/Constructing Insider/Outsider positions in LatCrit theory. *University of Miami Law Review*, 53, 761-768.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8 (1), 69-91.