

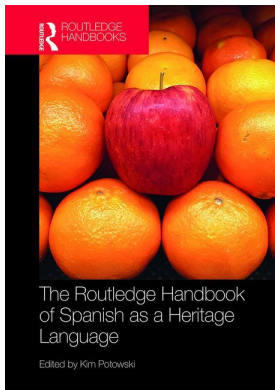
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 06 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



## The Routledge Handbook of Spanish as a Heritage Language

Kim Potowski, Javier Muñoz-Basols

### Spanish as a Heritage Language and the Negotiation of Race and Intra-Latina/o Hierarchies in the U.S.

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315735139-8>

Rosalyn Negrón

**Published online on: 08 May 2018**

**How to cite :-** Rosalyn Negrón. 08 May 2018, *Spanish as a Heritage Language and the Negotiation of Race and Intra-Latina/o Hierarchies in the U.S.* from: The Routledge Handbook of Spanish as a Heritage Language Routledge

Accessed on: 06 Dec 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315735139-8>

**PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT**

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

## 8

# SPANISH AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE AND THE NEGOTIATION OF RACE AND INTRA-LATINA/O HIERARCHIES IN THE U.S.

*Rosalyn Negrón*

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

### Introduction

Latina/os have sociohistorical roots in continents including North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, making them a pan-ethnic,<sup>1</sup> multiracial, and multicultural people. At least 19 national origin dialects of Spanish are spoken by different U.S. Latina/o groups (but see Erker, this volume, for a critique of the concept of *dialect*), which combined with the multiple dialects of English they speak<sup>2</sup> render them among the most linguistically diverse of U.S. groups. Latina/o groups (e.g. Cubans, Ecuadorians, Salvadorians) have experienced distinct immigration histories and trajectories within the U.S., which partially explains their different social statuses. This diversity confounds the U.S. racial system, which has historically categorized the U.S. population into white and non-white and conferred status on groups in relation to the white dominant majority. What happens when the realities of Latina/o diversity and the inflexibility of the U.S. racial system meet, and how does this translate into the everyday of social and linguistic practice? I argue that Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) must be examined within a broad repertoire of linguistic options available to Latina/os as they negotiate the U.S. racial hierarchy. Latina/os' linguistic repertoires may include multiple dialects of English and Spanish, different styles, standard and non-standard forms, as well as hybrid forms resulting from language contact (Bailey, 2000, 2001; Zentella, 1997; Durán and Toribio, this volume) and this variety enables the creative and flexible negotiations of multiple dimensions of difference, including race.

Consider for example the following conversation between two Dominican American high school students in Rhode Island (Bailey, 2000:195–196):

#### Excerpt 1:

[Isabella and Janelle are sitting on steps outside of the main school building at the end of their lunch period. Isabella has returned from eating lunch at a diner near the school, and she has been describing the generous size of the turkey club sandwich she has just eaten.]

- J: Only with that turkey thingee // *ya yo (es)toy llena.*  
 “I’m already full”
- I: //Two dollars and fifty cent.
- J: That’s good. That’s like a meal at //Burger King.
- 1: //That’s better than going to Burger  
 King, you know what I’m saying? And you got a Whopper, French fries,  
 //and a drink. And =
- J: //Yeah
- I: = the French fries cost a dollar over there.
- J: For real?
- I: *Sí, sí ¿Como no?* “Yes, really.”
- J: *Mírale el ombligo. Míralo. Se le ve, ya se lo tapó.* ((looking at a passerby)) “Look at  
 her belly button. Look. You can see it, she already covered it.” (.5)
- I: *Seguro porque se lo enseñó.* ((laughing)) “She must have showed it.” (1.5)
- J: //()
- I: //But it’s slamming, though, oh my God, mad [“a lot of”] turkey she puts in there.
- J: That’s one thing 11-, I love the way *como l-* =
- I: “how th-”
- J: = the American [“white Americans”] be doing sandwich, they be rocking [“are  
 excellent”], them things, yo, they put everything in there yo.

Bailey (2000: 197) points out that “the variety and juxtaposition of linguistic resources by Janelle and Isabella in the above exchange reflect their specific life experiences and aspects of their social world.” This includes: 1) their bicultural socialization as exemplified by their alternation between English and Spanish; 2) their sustained contact and identification with African American youth evident in their use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (e.g. habitual *be* in “the American be doing sandwich, they be rocking them things, yo”); and 3) a “we” / “they” contrast between themselves and “Americans” (“white people”), suggesting an identification as non-white and non-American. Even in a brief moment of mundane conversation it is evident that Latina/o identity, language, and race interact in complex ways that flout any attempts to draw a direct link between SHL use and discrete Latina/o identities.

Because of the rigid black-white binary imposed by the U.S. racial system, for many Latina/os using (or avoiding) Spanish can serve to circumvent the limitations set by race. For example, some Latina/os have been found to use Spanish to differentiate themselves from African Americans (Bailey, 2000; Toribio, 2003). Still others may speak in AAVE to affiliate as/with African Americans, as shown in Excerpt 1. Latina/os may use English to deflect an immigrant identity in an anti-immigrant climate where the use of Spanish is a marker of foreignness. Others may wish to de-emphasize an indigenous heritage by using a dialect of Spanish that invokes a euro-Latina/o identity (Negrón, 2011). In other words, race, Latina/o identity, and SHL overlap in sometimes mutually reinforcing but sometimes contradictory ways: Spanish can be a vehicle for circumventing racialization as *black*, but its use also upholds a racial classification as *non-white*. Also important is the fact that U.S. racial formation processes are different from those in Latin America.<sup>3</sup> Many immigrants to the U.S. bring with them Latin American racial concepts, which can create tensions between U.S. Latina/o subgroups in ways that put Spanish language ideologies directly at play. Consider Excerpt 2, translated into English from an interview I conducted in Spanish with a 48-year-old white Colombian woman who migrated to the U.S. in her thirties.

Excerpt 2:

I feel proud to be Colombian. I don't feel sorry. I tell everyone that I'm Colombian because independently of thinking that Colombians work with drugs, Colombians are very educated, very educated. Manners of the Colombians are better than that of other cultures, it seems to me; at the table, in everything. For example, Dominicans, they eat with their mouth open, they talk when they're eating, they don't greet, and they don't say goodbye. We Colombians are very educated. And over there in Colombia, those manners come from Europe, from the Spaniards. Listen, I'm working with a Colombian gentleman in real estate. What an educated man, that man, it terrifies me, that man you can just see that he is Colombian. As soon as he started talking to me, like that, so educated, so unhurried, so calm to talk, I said to myself, this man is Colombian, and he was Colombian.

Alma highlights verbal and nonverbal communicative acts that in her mind distinguish Colombians and Dominicans. The direct link she draws between Colombians and Europe (while ignoring the Dominican Republic's own European connections) has racial overtones: she references a Latin American historical racial narrative that equates whiteness (read *Colombian*) with nobility and purity, and blackness (read *Dominican*) with the uncultured and crude. In fact, during fieldwork in New York City, it was not unusual to hear my Latina/o informants describe Colombian Spanish as more formal, proper, and closer to its Iberian origins compared to Dominican Spanish. To the extent that such intra-Latina/o hierarchies signal differential social and economic rewards, intra-Latina/o fissures complicate efforts to promote SHL institutionally (c.f. Bedolla, 2003).

In this chapter, I analyze examples that I argue constitute attempts by Latina/os to negotiate racial categorization through language. I consider the ways that members of different Latina/o subgroups use language and language ideologies in both affiliative and differentiating ways, the latter often couched in racial terms. Critical to this discussion is an examination of the status of specific Latina/o subgroups within the U.S. racial hierarchy, which is closely tied to the status of Spanish language varieties spoken by U.S. Latina/os. Moreover, Spanish generally indexes a non-white identity and thus Spanish is often stigmatized in public domains (Urciuoli, 1996). This has important implications for the everyday use of Spanish and may play a role in Spanish language loss among the children of Latina/o immigrants.

### **What is race?**

Smedley (1998: 693) defines race as "the organization of all peoples into a limited number of unequal or ranked categories theoretically based on differences in their biophysical traits." Racial ideology is particularly pernicious because these superficial biophysical differences are thought to reflect meaningful differences in the fundamental nature – and indeed, the value – of human groups. In fact, geneticists have dismissed the notion that people from different so-called "races" are biologically distinct. They find that the genetic differences within racial groups are in fact greater than the differences between them (American Anthropological Association, 1998). Nevertheless, in the U.S., the concept of race was reified as a system of legal, social, and economic control of blacks and indigenous peoples. The roots of race were established in the colonial era, further entrenched and reproduced to justify the enslavement of blacks, and carried on through de jure racism during the Jim Crow era. Then and now, racial categories signify a binary of white/non-white. This binary was codified by the rule of *hypodescent*, which

conferred a subordinate black racial status to anyone with even “one drop” of African blood. Whites, as the primary beneficiaries of the American racial system, are deemed normative, the standard by which other racial groups are evaluated, whereas all persons with any non-white blood are considered non-white. This racial binary has been used as a heuristic for assigning worth, capacity, and morality.

Latin America shares with the U.S. a history of European colonialism, African and indigenous slavery, and centuries of racial mixing. In both the U.S. and Latin America, race has been strongly tied to class. From its inception in the colonial past, racial classification and control was a means by which the labor of non-white groups was exploited for the benefit of whites in power. In both locations, the economic logic of race in the 18th and 19th centuries posited that non-white groups were unfit for any economic activity that required more than brute bodily effort. Pseudo-scientific racist studies affirmed the animal-like nature of non-white people, which claimed that their low intelligence and lack of discipline justified their exploitation (Gould, 1996). This racist economic logic, which had blacks as its main target, would later be applied to other groups who were needed for their labor, especially immigrants from Asia and Latin America. In addition to the ways that slavery and systemic racial discrimination has constrained the accumulation of wealth for racialized groups, the persistence of the racist economic logic has relegated many non-white groups, including Latina/os, to labor force positions that limit their economic mobility. In tandem with a *new racism* (Barker, 1981) that conceives of cultural difference as almost genetic in nature, the class positions of racialized groups are explained by their culture rather than in terms of the structural consequences of race.

Despite these broad similarities, in contrast to the U.S. black-white binary, Latin American categorization systems have historically had more intermediate categories between black and white. For example, in Puerto Rico, the categories *indio*, *trigueño*, and *jabao* each pertain to different combinations of skin color and hair form types (Gravlee, 2005).<sup>4</sup> The concepts of *mestizaje* (racial mixing) and *blanqueamiento* (racial whitening) point to some unique aspects of Latin American’s racial history, the legacies of which are experienced by many Latina/os today. As a nation-building ideology, *mestizaje* advances a sort of post-racial society in which racial and cultural mixing between white, black, and indigenous peoples produces a nation of *one* people (Wade, 2005). However, Stutzman (1981) argues that throughout Latin America the inclusive ideal of *mestizaje* in reality excluded blacks and indigenous people. Whiteness as the national ideal was inscribed into policy in several Latin American countries, including Argentina, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba, all of which implemented measures to accelerate *blanqueamiento* through increased European immigration.

### Modern-day U.S. Latina/o racial self-identification

Given these histories, the racial concepts that Latina/o immigrants bring with them to the U.S. do not neatly match the U.S. racial categorization system. This is evident in the way that Latina/os respond to questions about race in the U.S. Census. It is important to note that the U.S. Census, after increasing pressure, eliminated “Hispanic/Latina/o” as a racial category in 2010, leaving Hispanics/Latina/os to choose between *white*, *black*, and other categories. The 2010 Census shows that 53% of U.S. Latina/os identify as white (U.S. Census, 2011a). In contrast, only 2.5% of Latina/os in U.S. identified as black. In writing about Puerto Rico’s gradual but persistent “whitening,” Duany (2010) suggests that the percentage of Puerto Ricans identifying as white (approximately 75%) belies the islands long history of racial mixing. Importantly, after white, “Some other race” was the next most common response to the race question on the U.S. Census, with 36.7% of Latina/os identifying in this way. This category includes instances in which

Latina/o respondents used “Hispanic” or “Latina/o” as a racial identification. Grieco and Cassidy (2001) found that 97% of respondents who identified as “Some other race” on the 2000 Census were Latina/o. This in turn may be a reflection of the long history of *mestizaje* in Latin America.

Results of the Racial and Ethnic Target Test (RAETT), which checked for the effect of question format on racial and ethnic self-identification, suggests that when race and ethnicity questions are asked separately, Latina/os are more likely to skip the race question (Hirschman et al., 2001). The RAETT further found that a larger proportion of Latina/os reported more than one race than other groups. Also, it appears that across Latina/o groups there is significant variation in racial self-identification, particularly when *Hispanic/Latina/o* is not given as an option for racial self-classification (Tucker et al., 1996). These studies suggest that the phenotypical conception of race in the U.S. does not correspond with folk concepts of race and ethnicity among Latina/os. In general, although U.S. Latina/os show a preference for *white* identification, they reject the black/white binary options in favor of the Latina/o category, suggesting that Hispanic/Latina/o should once again be considered a racial category on the Census. Indeed, many U.S. Latina/os view *Latina/o* as part of their racial identity (Pew Research Center, 2015). For U.S. Latina/os, the incompatibilities between U.S.-based and Latin American race concepts promote strategies that serve to bridge, manipulate, or reject racial categorization systems. I later provide examples of the ways that language serves as an important tool for such negotiations.

### Race and language among U.S. Latina/os

Given that race is frequently conflated with class, the language varieties of racialized groups are frequently evaluated in terms of their economic value. Given the primary black-white U.S. dichotomy, varieties of African American English reflect discourses about African Americans in the U.S. (see, for example, Lippi-Green, 2012). Spanish, too, has become racialized and seen itself subject to contradictory demands. On the one hand, it is conceived in terms of its costs to economic mobility. The persistence of Spanish use among heritage speakers is taken as evidence that U.S. Latina/os cannot be full economic players in the American nation, where English is the principal language of the economy (Urciuoli, 1996). On the other hand, Spanish holds value for non-heritage speakers as the growing Latina/o population and their purchasing power, which reached \$1.3 trillion in 2015, has expanded opportunities for marketing to and providing services for Latina/os (Nielsen, 2016). Nevertheless, the use of Spanish in public space has been subject to control and rejection, tied in part to fears about the end of the U.S. way of life conceived by the dominant white majority (Cobas and Feagin, 2008).

The fierce debates that surrounded the English-Only legislative initiatives of the 1990s revealed that what was at stake was not merely questions of official expedience or educational progress, but rather the integrity of the nation itself (Urciuoli, 1996). Popular and official discourse about the growth of Latina/o immigration to the U.S. was couched in terms of a threat to the fundamental character of the (white) American nation (c.f. Huntington, 2004). Advocacy for the support and maintenance of Spanish was seen as a threat to the expected process of assimilation, by which immigrants would become economically productive Americans. As seen in the dismantling of bilingual education programs throughout the country in the past 20 years,<sup>5</sup> schools have been a key battleground for competing views about the value of bilingualism versus the importance of English for social and economic mobility.<sup>6</sup>

Urciuoli (1996: 26) argues that the use of Spanish in public arenas was framed as contrary to U.S. national ideology, which deemed assimilation, social mobility, and the use of English as hallmarks of citizenship, and the use of Spanish “as signs of illiteracy and laziness, which people are morally obliged to control through education.” Working class Puerto Ricans’ bilingual

practices in the public sphere, for example, was a basis for their racialization, as their “broken” English, their accents, and their language mixing was taken by white gatekeepers as evidence of their subordinate status. Urciuoli further contends that race has always been about restricting who could be deemed part of the nation and thus subject to equal rights, protection, and opportunities. In the U.S. case, the normative American, Urciuoli (1996: 16) writes, “is white, English-speaking, middle-class . . . [and] if you don’t fit into this view of the generic American, then your membership to the nation is provisional.” Membership in the U.S. nation entails the assimilation of cultural tools needed to claim the promise of economic mobility enshrined in “American dream” ideology. Though the U.S. does not have an official language, English is viewed as the rightful language of the U.S. nation and a crucial vehicle for economic mobility. Members of the lower classes, and by conflation, the racialized groups that occupy vulnerable class positions, are unfit citizens in their inability to advance economically. Languages other than standard English are discouraged and controlled in the public spheres of economic activity and socialization, such as workplaces and schools. Urciuoli (1996) and Cobas and Feagin (2008) show that such control may entail Latina/os being directly asked not to speak Spanish in public by white bystanders, Latina/os having their Spanish accents ridiculed when speaking English, or Latina/os experiencing pressures to speak “good English.” Through such tactics, Spanish language-use affirms Latina/os’ racialization as non-white and as un-American.

### Critical issues

In the remainder of this chapter I outline two main areas in which the study of race is critical for understanding SHL use trends in the U.S. First, I discuss how Latina/os use language to negotiate race in their interactions with other Latina/os. This can entail downplaying racial and other differences by invoking a collective Latina/o identity, or *latinad*. It may also involve highlighting intra-Latina/o differences. Second, I examine how Latina/os resist racial categorization through their language practices. The processes entailed in these two areas are not totally distinct from each other. That is, invoking a Latina/o identity through language is also a way in which Latina/os resist racial categorization.

### *Spanish and race within Latina/o pan-ethnicity*

Between U.S.-raised Latina/o SHL speakers in particular, a switch from English to Spanish during a conversation can serve to affirm a shared Latina/o identity. Consider Excerpt 3 between William and Roberto, two Latinos who had previously not known each other and who were unsure about each other’s ethno-racial backgrounds, namely they were unsure if each was Latino. Both Roberto and William have a white racial appearance. But Roberto in particular has certain stylistic features (e.g. clothing and hair style and bodily stances) that make it difficult to unambiguously categorize him as non-Latino white. They met when Roberto (Venezuelan) walked into William’s (Puerto Rican) cell phone shop in Queens, New York. From the beginning of their conversation the men spoke only in English; that is, until a shared Latina/o identity became relevant for their respective business interests:

#### Excerpt 3:

*William:* Yeah, I, I own an online magazine called *Cuchifrito*<sup>7</sup> for Thought,<sup>8</sup> it’s been around for 8 years.

*Roberto:* Ok.

- William: Ahm, I'm working with a company called *Asamblea Latina* ["Latina/o Assembly"]. They did something really big in, ah, Flushing Meadow Park last year.
- Roberto: *No me digah* ["You don't say?"]
- William: Yeah and it's all *Latino*, and from 21 countries.
- Roberto: Oh, *coño, ehtá bien* ["damn, that's good"].

Negrón (2014: 100)

Seconds before this exchange, William read a business card with Roberto's unambiguously Spanish first and last name. This made it possible for William to categorize Roberto as Latino despite Roberto's white racial ambiguity. Once he established that Roberto was Latino, William introduced his Latina/o-oriented business. Roberto in turn affirmed William's instantiation of a shared Latino identity by switching to Spanish. The rest of their bilingual exchange unfolded within a frame of shared *latinidad*. As a collective project that unfolds through both discursive and institutional practices, *latinidad* reduces racial difference by exalting the Latina/o pan-ethnicity as a multiracial people. William subscribed strongly to this notion. His website – a blog for Latina/o-oriented news, creative writing, opinions, and information – shows how keenly he believes in cultivating *latinidad*, connecting with other Latinas/os, and advancing Latina/o interests. In a video that he once posted to the website, he evocatively described in Spanish Latinas/os' indigenous, African, and Spanish origins, three racial and cultural ancestries that he saw as common links for all Latinas/os. William's use of the phrase 'all *Latina/o*' above is consistent with the philosophy of Latina/o inclusivity that he strongly espouses. Thus, *latinidad* emphasizes the shared aspects of the Latina/o experience in the U.S., even as it encompasses significant heterogeneity across multiple domains of social organization: demographic, linguistic, racial, socio-economic, and so on.

Though Spanish use tends to signify Latina/o identity, its use and proficiency among Latinas/os vary significantly. In fact, Spanish may actually serve to foreground differences between Latinas/os who speak it fluently and those who do not (De Genova and Ramos-Zayas, 2003; Ghosh Johnson, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2014; Zentella, 2007). De Genova and Ramos-Zayas (2003) show that between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago, differences in Spanish dialectal features and in levels of bilingualism were sources of division. Through criticisms of Puerto Rican Spanish, Mexicans demoted Puerto Ricans to a racialized status "approaching" blackness, invoking racial stereotypes about laziness and welfare-dependency, while simultaneously undermining Puerto Ricans' authenticity as Latinas/os. This was a way for Mexicans to bolster their own relative, tenuous position in the U.S. racial order. This tenuous position is partly tied to common perceptions of Mexicans as immigrant and therefore not American. In turn, Puerto Ricans in De Genova and Ramos-Zayas' study reproduced mainstream discourses about Mexicans as "illegal," "foreign," and "Third World."

Just as intra-Latina/o divisions exist in ways that encourage language strategies of differentiation, so too can members of the same Latina/o subgroup mark difference. In his work referenced earlier, Bailey (2000) describes distinctions between recent Dominican immigrants and Dominicans who had spent most of their life in the U.S. Complaining about the perceived overuse of Spanish or the "hick" nature of particular forms of Dominican Spanish were some ways that Dominican American youth marked a contrast between themselves and their recent immigrant peers. Similarly, Mendoza-Denton (2014) describes how the use of Spanish and indigenous appearance lent a measure of Mexican authenticity to the working-class *Piporra* youth gang she studied in northern California. However, *Piporra's* white, middle-class counterparts, *Fresas*, used those markers of Mexican authenticity to reproduce Latina/o American racial ideology, which positioned indigenous Mexicans at the bottom of the racial and socioeconomic



hierarchy. Competing ideologies about Spanish use are implicated in broader debates about what it means to be Latina/o, who can and cannot make claims to a Latina/o identity, as well as the relative position of Latina/o subgroups within racial hierarchies. Thus, speaking a heritage language requires much more than communicative competence. It also requires picking up on the politics of linguistic identities and negotiating often contradictory language ideologies.

Thus, even as all Latina/os are subject to racialization in relation to the white U.S. majority, Latina/o subgroups are themselves subject to a hierarchy of value that has salience within the Latina/o pan-ethnicity. The intra-Latina/o hierarchy develops through the interplay between two related processes. First, the binary U.S. racial system imposes rigid categories that limit Latina/os' options for racial self-identification. Second, the racial categorization systems that operate in individual Latin American countries exert their own meanings and influence. In the U.S., black and indigenous Latina/os experience a racial double-whammy. They are discriminated against by their lighter compatriots and fellow Latina/os, as well as subject to disadvantage in the U.S. institutionalized racial hierarchy (Córdova and Cervantes, 2010). In noting that black and indigenous Latina/os have been victims of a sin of omission in media and marketing representations of Latina/os, Torres-Saillant (2002) shows that in important ways the systems of racial categorization in the U.S. and Latin America are not wholly incompatible. Yet, while the U.S. racial system is binary, with white and non-white as mutually exclusive, in Latin America an expanded set of ranked categories forms a continuum in which racial categories may blend into each other, reflecting the particular histories of racial mixing in Latin America. Mendoza-Denton (2014) points out that through the use of cultural markers like language, Latina/os may move along this continuum to become more or less white, black, or indigenous (*indio*) across contexts. And regarding language, in interactions with co-ethnics, Latina/os may be guided by the Latin American racial ideology that equates standard Spanish with superior cultural traits. Roberto, whom I introduced earlier in this chapter, echoes this ideology in his description of his use of standard forms of Spanish with certain Spanish speakers: "I pronounce the s's, I pronounce the r's, I pronounce everything; something I thank my dad for, man." Roberto's father was born in Spain but had lived many years in Venezuela, where he was part of the working-class. Roberto associated his father's Spanish ancestry with strong values and education: "My father was born in Spain, he was very educated"; and "My father is that type of Spaniard that, he brought me up with values!"

The flip side of this is that certain varieties of Spanish are deemed less prestigious. Specifically, Latina/os with dark skin and other racialized physical features are tied to less prestigious language varieties. As a case in point, Dominicans' status in the Latina/o social order has acute racialized overtones, given that approximately 90% of Dominicans have African ancestry (Torres-Saillant, 1998). Along with Puerto Ricans, Dominicans are among the poorest and least educated Latina/os in the U.S. They are also among the darkest phenotypically. Zentella (1990) reported that Dominican's disadvantaged position in NYC's hierarchy has consequences for how the Dominican dialect is perceived and used. She found that while few Latina/os used words associated with the Dominican dialect, Dominicans (whom she notes are overall darker and poorer in NYC), in contrast, were the only subgroup that adopted from all other groups without exception. She suggests that Colombians, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans contribute to Dominican linguistic insecurity through their widespread rejection of Dominican Spanish. In their later work on NYC Spanish, Otheguy and Zentella (2012) present weakened coda /s/, as a less prestigious linguistic feature stereotypically tied to speakers of Caribbean varieties of Spanish.<sup>9</sup>

When we look at the distribution of languages spoken at home by Latina/os from different groups, intriguing questions arise about the relationship between race and SHL maintenance. Table 8.1 (from Rumbaut, 2006) shows the linguistic profiles of foreign-born and second- and later- ("second +") generation Latina/os in the 2000 Census.

Table 8.1<sup>10</sup> Language spoken at home of foreign-born and U.S.-born Hispanics and non-Hispanics, 2000 (persons 5 years and older)

Ethnic identity	First-generation (foreign-born)						Second+-generations (U.S.-born)					
	English only		Spanish		All other languages		English only		Spanish		All other languages	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not Hispanic	5,780,867	31.3	355,778	1.9	12,313,265	66.7	202,899,620	95.5	3,110,915	1.5	6,380,528	3.0
Hispanic	984,087	6.3	14,422,751	93.0	105,506	0.7	5,787,871	36.1	10,167,640	63.5	66,913	0.4
Mexican		6.1	93.6		0.3		34.5		65.2		0.2	
Puerto Rican <sup>a</sup>		8.4	91.2		0.5		37.1		62.4		0.5	
Cuban		6.2	93.4		0.4		32.9		66.4		0.6	
Dominican		5.7	94.0		0.3		11.7		88.0		0.4	
Salvadoran, Guatemalan		4.9	94.4		0.6		14.2		85.2		0.6	
Central American, other		6.8	92.6		0.6		32.7		66.8		0.5	
Colombian		6.1	93.4		0.5		22.2		76.8		0.9	
Peruvian, Ecuadorian		5.1	94.2		0.7		24.3		74.9		0.8	
South American, other		7.9	89.9		2.2		35.1		63.4		1.5	
Other Spanish, Hispanic, Latino		18.8	55.9		25.2		49.9		49.1		1.0	
Total	6,764,954	19.9	14,778,529	43.5	12,418,771	36.6	208,687,491	91.4	13,278,555	5.8	6,447,441	2.8

<sup>a</sup> For Puerto Ricans, “foreign-born” includes those born on the island of Puerto Rico, and “U.S.-born” refers to those born on the mainland.

Source: 2000 U.S. Census, 5% PUMS.

We notice that among first-generation Latina/o immigrants, rates of Spanish use at home are similarly high. However, in the second and later generations we see marked differentiation in the linguistic profiles of SHL speakers. Second +–generation Dominicans have the highest rate of Spanish use (88%) and the lowest rate of English-only use (11.7%). Other Latina/o groups with high rates of Spanish use include Salvadorans and Guatemalans. Puerto Ricans (62.4%), South Americans (63.4%), and Mexicans (65.2%) had the lowest rate of SHL use. For Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, the higher rates of English use and relatively lower rates of SHL can be explained in large part by their multi-generational history in the U.S. and centuries-long encounter with U.S. imperialism. Dominicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans are more recent immigrants.

Certainly, the immigration histories of individual Latina/o groups play an important role in the linguistic profiles of U.S. Latina/os. But is immigration history sufficient as an explanation? South Americans had the highest rate of English-only use and nearly the lowest rate of SHL use despite the fact that South American Latina/os from countries like Argentina, Chile, and Venezuela, like Dominicans, are relatively recent immigrant groups in the U.S. One hypothesis is that dark-skinned immigrants are more subject to raced-based discrimination and neighborhood segregation that limits their contact with native English speakers. Another possibility is that white Latina/o immigrants may enjoy other advantages (e.g. higher social class and education) that position them for professional and educational opportunities in which mastery of English is requisite. Clearly the picture is complex, and race alone cannot explain the patterns presented in Table 8.1. My point is to show that considering race in relation to SHL can cast a potentially useful light on the processes of SHL maintenance.

### ***Resisting racialization through linguistic practice***

There is evidence that the meeting of U.S.-based racial categorization schemes with those of Latin America yield new, more complex systems that influence the lived experiences of Latina/os in the U.S. For example, Bailey (2001) argues that second-generation Dominicans resist both the outright rejection of black identity that characterizes older generations of Dominicans (see, for example, Duany, 1998; Torres-Saillant, 1998) and the rigid U.S. racial binary. Instead, many young Dominicans develop ethno-linguistic repertoires that reflect their daily interactions with both black and white Americans as well as other Latina/os (as shown in Excerpt 1). In my work in New York City (Negrón, 2011) I show that through linguistic flexibility and cross-cultural competence, Latina/os creatively switch between ethnic and even racial categories in their everyday discourse. Young second-generation immigrant New Yorkers, Latina/os among them, are opting more and more for cosmopolitan identification that does not easily tie them to static ethnographic categories and related behavioral expectations (Kasinitz et al., 2008). Julia, a 19-year-old Colombian-American woman whom I interviewed, grappled with the words to describe this cosmopolitan orientation (Excerpt 4):

#### Excerpt 4:

*Julia:* And I like being that way. I like having a little bit of aspect from each other person. Like I said my nationality is Colombian. But my culture is . . . you know? Is how I'm living right now. My culture's . . .

*RN:* If you were to put a label on it, what would it be?

*Julia:* I don't even know (Laughs).

Hip-hop dash . . . because you know it has to go to music. Hip-hop dash, Hispanic in general dash . . . I don't know. Very ethnic, I know little things about different cultures. Yeah, but I don't know a lot about one specific one. You know? . . . Because I really don't, I can't emphasize on one culture because I don't know about it. I don't even know much about my own. I don't, I can't . . . if you ask me some history on Colombia, I don't know. You know. Ask me geographics . . .

RN: But is that necessary in order for you to have a sense of being Colombian?

Julia: No, not at all. I know what I am. I'm proud of what I am. But I don't see it as though I have to be labelled just as that. You know? I wasn't raised in it. You know what I'm saying? It's different if I was actually brought up in [Colombia] or with parents or in a situation that they thought that was an important thing to emphasize. My parents didn't emphasize on where I was from. I was raised around . . . the majority of my mom's friends were all Puerto Rican. My mom used to be tired as hell coming home from work, I was raised on Puerto Rican food.

RN: Oh, really?

Julia: You know, *pasteles* ["patties"] or *pastelones* ["sweet plantain casserole"], you know *habichuelas con eso* ["beans with that"], you know, I was raised on that. So it's different. I'm, I . . . I don't know. It's different.

For Julia, this reluctance to label herself as just Colombian also had implications for negotiations of her racial identity. As she explained in another point of our interview (Excerpt 5):

Excerpt 5:

RN: So describe the first time you had an awareness of your ethnicity or your race, or your culture, you know, that you were different.

Julia: I always knew that, I knew that none of my friends spoke Spanish, I knew that, you know. I came home and I ate different things. I always knew that plus it's like skin tone. I'm light as hell and my father is dark as shit. You know?

RN: So, basically they would call you like the "white" girl?

Julia: Nah, I was never called white girl! "Oh, you are a Spanish girl" (laughing).

RN: Oh, Spanish girl.

Julia: . . . They would be "See you, sweetie, see you sweetie, how do you say that? How do you say this?" That was it. Like, there was a lot of other Spanish people too, there was a lot of Dominicans, Puerto Ricans a lot of Africans but I never felt at home with them because, I don't know, like I never felt like that at home with like the Dominicans and the Puerto Ricans because to them I wasn't Spanish enough because I would still hang out, I've always been around black people [African Americans]. Yeah, but I don't know . . . like most of [the] Puerto Ricans whatever were real fair skin and stuff like that like, speak Spanish constantly. You know, it's easier for me to speak English. I think in English I'm gonna speak in English. I only speak Spanish to my parents. I wasn't Spanish enough.

As a phenotypically white person who identified strongly with African American culture, she recognized that because she was a Spanish-speaker, others would not automatically label her as white. Nevertheless, her preference for English and her greater comfort with her black friends meant that she did not readily identify with other Latina/os.

The realities of race in the U.S. constrain options and establish incentives for racial self-identification. Yet we know that racialized people are not without agency, nor subjects of an unchanging caste system (Perlmann and Waldinger, 1997). And we know that race has valence: the meaning and significance of skin color can shift in interaction with other markers of ethnicity like language and cultural knowledge and performance. Through language, Latina/os exercise a number of racial options, which can include tactics of distancing from undesirable racial identities or highlighting desirable ones, as contextually useful to them. At times, such tactics also include crossing to or passing as a member of racial outgroups. The racial status hierarchies indicated by such choices point to the fissures that complicate the forging of a cohesive Latina/o collectivity. For white Latina/os, for example, Spanish-language use can be a way to discursively “become” more black in order to take on a racial minority identity. Consider for example, the following story told to me by Roberto, the Venezuelan first-generation immigrant described earlier, who, because of his light skin and blue eyes, was often assumed to not be Latina/o (Excerpt 6):

Excerpt 6:

You know one thing when you are in a black neighborhood, right? You don't want these motherfucking *molletos* to think you're white-white! Fuck that! *Me hago boricua* ["I make myself Puerto Rican"] . . . instantly! Like I remember the last time I got high, I was on my way to cop [buy], and I knew these niggas was not even gonna look at me [and assume I was an undercover cop]. You know what I did? I turned the phone to vibrate so it won't ring, and I had the thing *y me pongo hablar* ["and I start to talk"], "*Mira que si este, que si lo otro, cla, cla, cla . . .* [Look, this and that, blah, blah, blah]. *Hablando una conversación con el aire* [Having a conversation with the air]! *Pero en español* [But in Spanish]. *En boricua* [In Puerto Rican]. *Y los tipos ahí* [And the dudes there]: *Bueno* ['Well'], you're not white!"

Note that it is Puerto Rican Spanish, and not his native Venezuelan Spanish, that Roberto uses to keep the strangers around him from thinking that he was white of the European, normative sort. Through his use of a language variety associated with a marginalized and highly racialized Latina/o subgroup (Puerto Ricans), Roberto reproduces a racial script in which Puerto Ricans as drug buyers are unmarked actors. Roberto also uses the Spanish racial epithet, *molleto*, to refer to blacks. The racial ideologies operating in his linguistic practices seem to undermine his desire to deflect a white racial identity. Underlying all of this is an attempt to wrest some control over the ascription of race. It is a messy business, one where even as subjects of racialization, Latina/os reproduce the racial worldview.

Often, linguistic acts that circumvent racial categorization aim to deflect racialized stigmas. Abel, an Ecuadorian satellite TV subscription salesman, provides an example of the ways that a devalued *indio*-Latina/o ancestry led him to distance himself linguistically and discursively from that identity. Upon his arrival in the U.S., Abel worked in construction in New Jersey, where his experiences deeply influenced his racial and ethnic self-presentation: “When I lived in New Jersey, I was ashamed to say I was Ecuadorian,” he admitted. In Abel’s view, Ecuadorian identification was laden with negative connotations, given the predominantly *indio* and *mestizo* Ecuadorian population in the New York City area. He subscribed to a racio-geographic folk categorization scheme common in Ecuador in which people from the Ecuadorian coastal cities like Guayaquil (*costeños*) were distinguished from those who hailed from the highlands (*serranos*). According to Abel and other Ecuadorians whom I interviewed, highlanders were closely linked to an indigenous or *indio* identity. While he avoided the categorization, Abel also had described

himself to me as *indio* and pointed to certain physical characteristics such as his brown skin and nose shape as marking his indigenous heritage. While he sometimes romanticized a certain *indio* lifestyle, he identified so strongly as a *costeño* that he used derogatory labels like “*tira flecha*” (“arrow thrower”) and “*cholo*” to describe Latina/os with indigenous heritage and even himself (“*Yo soy cholo*” [“I am a *cholo*”). To mitigate the impact of his *indio* appearance, Abel opted for *guayaquileño* as his primary identification. Particularly relevant to this discussion of Spanish language use and race is that in addition to distancing himself from *indio* identity through the use of ethnic labels, Abel sometimes used a Colombian dialect to assume a more white, non-*indio* identity (Excerpt 7).

Excerpt 7:

*Abel:* I didn’t say that I was Ecuadorian. They have to treat me the same as them, the same as other people. I said I was Colombian.

*RN:* And they believed you? People believed you?

*Abel:* Because I changed my accent.

Abel’s wish to distance himself from the associations made between Ecuadorian identity and indigeneity, compounded by his own indigenous heritage and status as an undocumented immigrant, motivated him to pass as “anything but Ecuadorian” in an effort to expand his options for mobility in the face of factors that would otherwise limit them. Latina/os’ use of Spanish in general is also a way to shape the racial assumptions people make of them. For example, Toribio (2003: 6) describes a linguistic dilemma experienced by Daniel, a 46-year old Dominican living in the U.S. While he expressed a desire to lose his Spanish accent when speaking in English, this same feature afforded him a way to distinguish himself from African Americans:

I went to college two years for English, *y no se me ha perdido el acento*. (. . . and I haven’t lost the accent . . .) I have an accent that is very deep . . . When I’m in the woods over there, they see me, I’m not white, so what I am? I’m minority . . . (They know I’m not black) when they hear me speak.

How can Spanish work as a way to resist racialized stigma, if Spanish itself bolsters Latina/o’s non-white categorization? Crucial here is that the negotiation of race for many Latina/os entails creating a space between black and white in the U.S. racial binary. Recall that, while more than half of Latina/os identified as white in the 2010 U.S. Census, a significant number insisted on identifying as neither black nor white. With both blackness and whiteness as reference points, Latina/os use the tools available to them to secure for themselves a favorable racial position. Language is one such tool. The prevailing notion is that within white normative (monolingual) contexts, Spanish has lower status in relation to standard American English.<sup>11</sup> But the preceding discussion suggests that the racial valence of Spanish changes across contexts and across speakers. Understanding the contexts in which Spanish is or is not stigmatized, or the cases when Spanish does not neatly signify a Latina/o identity, can improve our understanding of whether the U.S. racial binary is indeed under transformation.

### Recommendations for practice

Spanish as a heritage language must be viewed within the context of a broader repertoire of linguistic options that Latina/os use to invoke or de-emphasize particular Latina/o identities. The status of specific Latina/o subgroups within the U.S. racial hierarchy affects the status of

Spanish language varieties spoken by U.S. Latina/os. Thus, applying a racial lens to the study of SHL directs our attention to multiple varieties of Spanish, each potentially subject to different assimilation pressures and patterns of proficiency. The restraints imposed on the use of Spanish in public spheres (Cobas and Feagin, 2008; Urciuoli, 1996) along with U.S.'s rigid racial order, has contributed to "a wide variety of identity configurations and levels of Spanish proficiency among U.S. Spanish speakers" (Potowski, 2012: 183). Quite simply, for some Latina/os, Spanish language use improves their racial position, while for others it worsens it. It is likely that levels of Spanish proficiency are at least partly tied to race, in that a desire for an improved racial position has long been an important motivating force for assimilation. Additionally, spatial segregation along racial lines may reinforce Spanish language maintenance by reducing the level of contact between Spanish and English speakers (c.f. Stevens, 1992).

The notion that racialized minority languages and cultures are best kept to the private sphere – rather than accommodated in public, civic, and policy realms – is particularly relevant for heritage language studies. Heritage languages bind individuals to social groups in ways that are personal and familiar (Fishman, 2001). SHL studies have as a key aim the maintenance of the Spanish language in the U.S., particularly in the face of assimilation pressures, and as we have seen, in the face of racialization processes that devalue Spanish. Yet Spanish language maintenance among U.S. Latina/os is tied to the acceptance and accommodation of Spanish in the public spheres. SHL, a language of the familiar and of personal space, must be legitimized in the public space through policy that at its core recognizes the value of linguistic diversity in the U.S. and views language discrimination as perpetuating racial injustice. Increased acceptance of language diversity undermines the myth of the monolingual nation.<sup>12</sup> By extension, language diversity inscribed in policy would counter the deeply embedded, historical notion that to be a rightful part of the U.S. nation one must be white and English-speaking.

Schools are key sites for such policies. In the domain of education, SHL studies can push against the historical role that schools in the U.S. have played as places where minority languages and cultures went to die. Indeed, schools have supported racial formation processes in multiple ways, which include advancing assimilation and minimizing non-white contributions to building the U.S. nation. For example, schools were an instrumental part of governmental policy to acculturate Native American children as a way to erase Native American cultures (Adams, 1995). More recently, Arizona and Texas have implemented policies to prohibit ethnic studies in high school curricula or to block efforts by Latina/o educators to include more Latina/o historical figures in social studies curricula (McKinley, 2010). The fact that black and Latina/o students are most likely to attend low performing schools is a further example of how schools reproduce race and class positions (Orfield and Lee, 2005). Policy and curricular initiatives that promote SHL maintenance in schools, and that do so with an explicit awareness of Spanish dialectal diversity, are a way to protect and expand language diversity in the U.S. Such campaigns must be part of a wider movement to transform discourses about language diversity in the U.S., binding the interests of heritage language speakers to discourses that frame bi-/multilingualism as essential to global citizenship. But efforts to promote SHL maintenance would be bolstered by coordinated efforts among activists, policy-makers, and educators mobilizing on behalf of Latino/a communities. To this end, transformation is also needed in inter-racial understanding among Latino/as, given the intra-Latino/a racial divisions described in this chapter. Latino/a and other SHL educators should examine the racial dimensions of any biases and assumptions they may have about different Spanish varieties, and integrate material on race, and on Spanish language diversity into their curricula. SHL educators can also play an important role in fostering dialogue among student heritage speakers about language and race, and challenging racializing attitudes that shape language preferences, practices, and beliefs.

Last, as the material realities of race make clear, any movement that frames linguistic diversity as a matter of racial justice must address the political and economic logics that preserve racial inequality. Here too policy is critical, and the political advocacy of SHL researchers and educators ever more important. Linguistic research that illuminates the links between language discrimination and racial discrimination must be communicated to state and government officials through statements and policy briefs, and through coordinated efforts with racial justice organizations.

### Notes

- 1 A panethnicity is an umbrella ethnic group that includes multiple nationalities and cultures that share a sense of common ancestry.
- 2 We could also include multiple indigenous languages such as Maya or Quechua in this linguistic diversity. However, not all indigenous groups from Latin America identify as Latina/o.
- 3 By Latin America I refer to the Spanish-speaking countries of South, Central, and North America and the Caribbean.
- 4 While the black-white binary has been a persistent organizing principle in the U.S. racial order, there are some common U.S. folk categories like “mixed,” “light-skinned,” and “brown,” which suggest that the differences between Latin American and U.S. racial categorizations are not as stark as traditionally thought.
- 5 The recent passing of Proposition 58 in California, which reinstates bilingual instruction in public schools, may foretell a nationwide shift away from English-only education policies.
- 6 These debates miss that bilingualism and language acquisition are not mutually exclusive; immersion in multiple languages actually promotes English acquisition (Ramírez et al., 1991; Lindholm-Leary, this volume).
- 7 *Cuchifrito*, which are fried foods that include pork and various sorts of patties, are associated with Caribbean Latina/o cultures, in particular with Puerto Rican food.
- 8 The name of the magazine has been altered to protect William’s anonymity. I chose a replacement name that retained certain cultural connotations in the original.
- 9 Weakened coda /s/ is present in both Caribbean and mainland varieties of Spanish (Otheguy and Zentella, 2012).
- 10 Reprinted with permission from the National Academies Press, Copyright 2006, National Academy of Sciences.
- 11 Hispanicized English forms like Chicano English are also racialized and stigmatized in relation to standard American English (Fought, 2003).
- 12 This is crucial because despite the linguistic diversity in the U.S., pressures against bilingualism are strong being that 80% of the U.S. population reports speaking only English at home (U.S. Census, 2011b).

### Acknowledgements

I would like to credit the American Anthropological Association, publisher of the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*; the National Academies Press, publisher of *Hispanics and the Future of America*; and Bilingual Review Press at Arizona State University, publisher of *Bilingual Review* | *La Revista Bilingüe*, for their content used this chapter.

### Further reading

- Bucholtz, M. (2001). From mulatta to mestiza. In K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Teaching modern foreign languages: A handbook for teachers* (351–373). New York: Routledge. Describes how women with ambiguous or multi-ethnic identities use language to negotiate multiple ethnic and racial categories.
- Davis, T. Y., & Moore, W. L. (2014). Spanish not spoken here: Accounting for the racialization of the Spanish language in the experiences of Mexican migrants in the United States. *Ethnicities*, 14(5), 676–697. The authors show how the use of Spanish by first-generation Mexican immigrants functions as a racial marker that signals Latina/o immigrants’ racially subordinate status in the U.S.



- Mendoza-Denton, N. (1999). Sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology of U.S. Latinos. *Annual review of Anthropology*, 28, 375–395. With a focus on Chicana/os and mainland Puerto Ricans in the U.S., the author provides a comprehensive review of the microstructural characteristics of Spanish language varieties and their sociolinguistic use.
- Pimentel, C. (2011). The color of language: The racialized educational trajectory of an emerging bilingual student. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 10(4), 335–353. Examines race and language ideologies that shaped educators' perceptions of Latina/o students' abilities, through the case of a Latino student's progress in bilingual education programs.
- Schmidt, R. (2002). Racialization and language policy: The case of the USA. *Multilingua*, 21(2/3), 141–162. Based on an analysis of the discursive social context of language policy proposals, the author argues that pluralist language policies along with policies that address economic inequalities are better poised than English-only policies to address the injustices of racialization in the U.S.

## References

- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- American Anthropological Association (1998). American Anthropological Association Statement on Race. *Understanding Race*, May, 17. Retrieved from [www.aaanet.org/stmnts/racepp.htm](http://www.aaanet.org/stmnts/racepp.htm).
- Bailey, B. (2000). The language of multiple identities among Dominican Americans. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 10(2), 190–223.
- Bailey, B. (2001). Dominican-American ethnic/racial identities and United States social categories. *International Migration Review*, 35(3), 677–708.
- Barker, M. (1981). *The new racism: conservatives and the ideology of the tribe*. Junction Books.
- Bedolla, L. G. (2003). The identity paradox: Latino language, politics and selective dissociation. *Latino Studies*, 1(2), 264–283.
- Cobas, J. A., & Feagin, J. R. (2008). Language oppression and resistance: The case of middle class Latinos in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(2), 390–410.
- Córdova, D., & Cervantes, R. C. (2010). Intergroup and within-group perceived discrimination among US-born and foreign-born Latino youth. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 32(2), 259–274.
- De Genova, N., & Ramos-Zayas, A. Y. (2003). *Latino crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the politics of race and citizenship*. New York: Routledge.
- Duany, J. (1998). Reconstructing racial identity: Ethnicity, color, and class among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico. *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3), 147–172.
- Duany, J. (2010). Whiteness (*Blanqueamiento*). *El Nuevo Día*, May, 13. Retrieved from [www.prdream.com/wordpress/topics/2010/05/2135/](http://www.prdream.com/wordpress/topics/2010/05/2135/).
- Fishman, J. (2001). 300-Plus years of heritage language education. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource in the United States*, 87–97. McHenry, IL: Delta Systems Inc. and Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Fought, C. (2003). *Chicano English in context*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ghosh Johnson, S. E. (2006). Mexiqueño? Issues of identity and ideology in a case study of dialect contact. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, PA.
- Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Gravlee, C. C. (2005). Ethnic classification in southeastern Puerto Rico: The cultural model of 'color'. *Social Forces*, 83(3), 949–970.
- Grieco, E., & Cassidy, R. (2001). *Overview of race and Hispanic origin, Census 2000 Brief, C2KBR/01–1*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Hirschman C., Alba R., & Farley R. (2001). The meaning and measurement of race in the U.S. census: Glimpses into the future. *Demography*, 37(3), 381–393.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004). The Hispanic challenge. *Foreign Policy*, 141(2), 30–45.
- Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J., Waters, M. C., & Holdway, J. (2008). *Inheriting the city: The children of immigrants come of age*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lippi-Green, R. (2012). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*, 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.
- McKinley Jr., J. C. (2010). Texas conservatives win curriculum change, *The New York Times*, March 12. Retrieved from [www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/education/13texas.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/education/13texas.html).

- Mendoza-Denton, N. (2014). *Homegirls: Language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Negrón, R. (2011). *Ethnic identification among urban Latinos: Language and flexibility*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Negrón, R. (2014). New York City's Latino ethnolinguistic repertoire and the negotiation of latinidad in conversation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18(1): 87–118.
- Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. K–12 integration and diversity. Retrieved from <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4xr8z4wb>.
- Otheguy, R., & Zentella, A. C. (2012). *Spanish in New York: Language contact, dialectal leveling, and structural continuity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Perlmann, J., & Waldinger, R. (1997). Second generation decline? Children of immigrants, past and present—a reconsideration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 893–922.
- Pew Research Center (2015). The many dimensions of Hispanic racial identity. *Multiracial in America: Proud, diverse and growing in numbers*, June. Washington, DC.
- Potowski, K. (2012). Identity and heritage learners. Moving beyond essentializations. In S. M. Beaudrie & M. Fairclough (Eds.), *Spanish as a heritage language in the United States: The state of the field*, 179–199. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Ramírez, J., Yuen, S., Ramey, D., & Pasta, D. (1991) *Final report: Longitudinal study of structured English immersion strategy, early-exit and late-exit bilingual education programs for language-minority children, Vols. I & II*. Prepared for the U.S. Department of Education. San Mateo, CA: Aguirre International.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). The making of a people. In National Research Council (US) Panel on Hispanics in the United States; M. Tienda and F. Mitchell (Eds.) *Hispanics and the Future of America* (16–65). Washington, DC: National Academies Press. Retrieved from [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK19896/](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK19896/).
- Smedley, A. (1998). 'Race' and the construction of human identity. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 690–702.
- Stevens, G. (1992). The social and demographic context of language use in the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 57(2), 171–185.
- Stutzman, R. (1981). *El mestizaje: An all-inclusive ideology of exclusion*. In N. Whitten (Ed.), *Cultural transformation and ethnicity in Modern Ecuador* (45–94). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- The Nielsen Company. (2016). *From the ballot box to the grocery store: A 2016 perspective on growing Hispanic influence in America report*. Retrieved from [www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/reports/2016/from-the-ballot-box-to-the-grocery-store-hispanic-influence-in-america.html](http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/reports/2016/from-the-ballot-box-to-the-grocery-store-hispanic-influence-in-america.html).
- Toribio, A. J. (2003). The social significance of Spanish language loyalty among Black and White Dominicans in New York. *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe*, 27(1), 3–11.
- Torres-Saillant, S. (1998). The tribulations of blackness: Stages in Dominican racial identity. *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3), 126–146.
- Torres-Saillant, S. (2002). Problematic paradigms: Racial diversity and corporate identity in the Latino community. In M. Suárez-Orozco and M. Pérez (Eds.), *Latinos: Remaking America* (435–455). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Tucker C., McKay R., & Kojetin B. (1996). Testing methods of collection racial and ethnic information: Results of the current population survey supplement on race and ethnicity. *BLS Statistical Notes* 40. Washington, DC: Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- Urciuoli, B. (1996). *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011a). Overview of race and Hispanic origin: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs. Retrieved from [www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf](http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf).
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011b). Language use in the U.S. American community survey. Retrieved from [www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2013/acs/acs-22.pdf](http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2013/acs/acs-22.pdf).
- Wade, P. (2005). Rethinking *mestizaje*: Ideology and lived experience. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37, 239–257.
- Zentella, A. C. (1990). Lexical leveling in four New York City Spanish dialects: Linguistic and social factors. *Hispania*, 73(4), 1094–1105.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Zentella, A. C. (2007). 'Dime con quién hablas, y te diré quién eres': Linguistic (in)security and Latina/o unity. In J. Flores & R. Rosaldo (Eds.), *A companion to Latina/o studies* (25–38). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.