PERFORMING BILINGUALISM:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

AT A DAY LABOR CENTER IN THE SOUTHWEST

by

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DEDICATION

To the workers who lent their voices to this project

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic research examines the social implications of the ethnolinguistic contact that occurs in the U.S.-Mexico border region at a day labor center in Tucson, Arizona. I discuss the multiple values of English and Spanish in this setting and how individuals interpret and negotiate these values in the construction and performance of identity. More specifically, I analyze how discourses of linguistic capital shape the organization of this community and influence the dynamics of employment negotiations. The research setting includes immigrant day laborers (primarily from Mexico and Central America), employers who contract workers, and bilingual volunteers who act as language brokers between workers and their employers; all of whom use language to interactively negotiate their social status as they construct identities vis-à-vis other members of the community.

My analysis reveals a discourse that places a high level of linguistic capital on Spanish-English bilingualism in the economic market. Although I have not found evidence that this linguistic capital has a real exchange rate into dollars, my data demonstrates that immigrants rapidly acquire and contribute to this locally constructed discourse. I explore the techniques that workers use to exploit and promote their language abilities through 'performances' of bilingualism that are realized not only to secure employment, but also for social positioning within this community of practice. Language, then, is one of the many tools that both workers and employers use in the construction of interpersonal relationships and social hierarchies. In addition, I analyze gatekeeping encounters focusing on the rapid employment negotiations that occur between day

laborers and their employers, building on previous research with regard to the concepts of rapport, co-membership, and the presentation of an institutional self.

Finally, I propose a model for the study of intercultural communication and contact that reflects the dynamic nature of contact and the complexity of overlapping categories of identity. Identity formation is a multiplex and multidirectional social construction that necessitates pushing beyond binary models of intercultural communication. Identity construction is informed not only by face-to-face interlocutors, but also by the linguistic ecology of dominant and subordinate discourses and the imagined individual and collective interlocutors they evoke.

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

The study of intercultural communication within the context of ever-increasing globalization is vital to our understanding of the social dynamics of contact situations. With this project, I examine the social implications of the ethnolinguistic contact that occurs in the U.S.-Mexico border region at a day labor center in Tucson, Arizona where employers and workers negotiate daily employment with the assistance of volunteers. My research examines how the heterogeneous members of this community use language to interactively negotiate their social status as they construct identities vis-à-vis other members of the community.

My research examines how language and social interaction can both construct and deconstruct the boundaries that define membership in social groups in contact. By documenting language contact in a microcosm of the Southwestern United States, this dissertation addresses the ways in which language affects and is affected by social interaction in situations that require intercultural dialogue. The broad question that drives this research is: What is the value of language in this setting and how do the members of the community interpret this value in the construction and performance of identity? More specifically, I explore the discourses of linguistic capital and the role of language in the performance of identity and in employment negotiations.

This qualitative ethnographic research examines how participants use linguistic practices to negotiate their social status in relation to other members of the community. I observe how individuals interact with each other within the context of their participation in a fledging community organization where individuals actively shape the design and

implementation of the Day Labor Center's objectives. The core participants in this study are immigrant day laborers (primarily from Mexico and Central America), volunteers who manage the Day Labor Center, and the employers who contract workers. Yet, the members of this community cannot be divided simply into categories such as English- or Spanish-speakers, Latino or Anglo, Mexican or Honduran; they are individuals whose identities are continually shaped by face-to-face social contact with in-group and out-group members as they strategically situate themselves in relation to other members of the community.

Workers' bilingual abilities often have an integral role in facilitating access to employment. A collective discourse has emerged that names Spanish-English bilingualism as having a tangibly high level of linguistic capital because of the relative scarcity of bilingual workers and the increased employment opportunities that bilingualism facilitates. This situation has resulted in the construction of a discourse that names English-language skills as being essential for success in the local job market. Although it unclear whether this linguistic capital has a real exchange rate into dollars, this community overwhelmingly identifies speaking English as being the most important job skill a worker can gain.

Informed by this locally constructed discourse of the value of bilingualism, I will describe the techniques that workers use to exploit and promote their bilingual abilities with other workers, volunteers, and potential employers, not only to secure employment, but also to socially situate themselves within this community of practice. In the same way employers seek workers with specific trade skills, they also request bilingual workers

who often must interpret for employers and other workers. Workers that have already established themselves as English speakers in the broader context of the Day Labor Center then have to demonstrate their English proficiency to employers and justify their priority over other workers. Language, then, is one of the many tools that both workers and employers use in the construction of interpersonal relationships and social hierarchies. Just as workers' language practices are used to situate themselves among their peers in the setting of the Day Labor Center, so do employers engage in the agential use of language to inform and negotiate their status with workers. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) explain that membership in communities of practice is not mutually exclusive; multiple identities are expressed as members negotiate their membership in various communities where social hierarchies are constructed on the basis of differences. My ethnographic research examines specific practices; namely, the literal and figurative construction of the linguistic capital of English, the performance of linguistic and other kinds of identities, and gatekeeping encounters between workers and employers; and how these interactive practices mutually construct a community of practice in the context of the Day Labor Center.

I situate my research as looking beyond traditionally drawn ethnolinguistic borders within the context of contact as proposed by Pratt (1987) and Urciuoli (1995); both of whom question the imagining of languages as bounded entities constructed as a representation of a people or nation, as discussed by Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm (1990). Urciuoli asserts that "Borders are places where commonality ends abruptly; border-making language elements stand for and performatively bring into being such

places" (1995, p. 539). I seek to examine the places where language is not bounded, but rather reaches across social categories as a result of contact. According to Bakhtin (1981), the 'languages' of heteroglossia interact with each other, which results in new 'languages,' that are not mutually exclusive. This framework suggests the need to study language(s) in context to determine how their confluence results in discourse, leading us toward the study of languages in contact as defined through intercultural communication.

Southern Arizona provides a productive site for the study of languages in contact because of the multilayered coexistence of U.S. Latinos and Anglos, new and established immigrant Latinos, all in interaction with each other and with other social groups. Alvarez (1995) stresses the dynamic nature of migrant communities that define themselves through practice rather than through place. Examining how workers and employers negotiate employment creates a productive site for the analysis of individuals' practices that construct and reconstruct identity in the negotiation of social capital through discursive exchanges. Saldívar (1997) likewise notes the heterogeneous nature of cultural constructions in the border region. Rather than focus on the construction of a hybrid culture as suggested by Saldívar and others (which implies a fixed, albeit new, social construction), I emphasize the dynamic nature of ethnolinguistic contact. Vila (2003) calls on border theory (and ethnography) to emphasize the crossing of borders (both geographical and social) rather than reinforcing borders through the demarcation of limits and boundaries. This is what I propose to do by focusing on the discursive practices of contact.

In his study of cultural production in the U.S.-Mexico border region, Saldívar (1997) calls for a Bakhtinian approach to examining the multiple discourses resulting from a heteroglossia of voices. Scholars of border and contact zones have tended to focus on the cultural and linguistic production of minority groups as the *result* of their contact with dominant groups without examining intercultural encounters as a *process* of continual adaptation and negotiation. My research contributes to the study of language contact within the context of the so-called 'hybridity' of contact zones by situating the multiplicity of voices produced in what Pratt calls the "fractured reality of linguistic experience in modern stratified societies" (1987, p. 51). I propose that the study of intercultural language contact should have the analysis of actual communicative exchanges that occur between social groups in the forefront while being simultaneously grounded in the context of the linguistic ecology that reflects broader social structures and linguistic ideologies of a community.

Calling on Pratt's (1987) concept of contact zones, that has been used extensively in the field of sociolinguistics, I understand contact zones as a place of colonial encounter where historically separated people establish relationships based on socioeconomic inequalities. Diverse social groups are divided not only by geo-political boundaries, but also by numerous social divisions. The border is a space where these groups are in contact and where these social divisions are continually negotiated.

Outline of chapters

In this chapter, I have discussed the central focus of my research that seeks to examine language context as an interactive social process in the U.S.-Mexico border region. I emphasize the importance of analyzing the context of intercultural encounters at the point of contact between differentially powerful individuals. Identity construction is understood as a discursive process created through the interaction of a heteroglossia of voices.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the Day Labor Center focusing on the origins of the Center, its physical setting, daily operation, and principal actors. This descriptive chapter helps the reader understand the context of the interactions analyzed throughout the dissertation. It is meant to be a record of the experiences of the Church, workers, and volunteers in creating the Center. This chapter also introduces my motivations for conducting research in this setting and the methodology used within the framework of empowering research. I discuss the role of the researcher and outline research activities. I examine the concept of responsibility of the researcher to the community and situate my presence as a researcher/volunteer in the context of my research agenda. I also discuss the process of getting approval from the community to conduct research and data collection through participant observation and individual interviews.

Chapter 3 presents the overriding theoretical framework for my analysis of the Day Labor Center community. By using the concept of ecology to describe the macro-level social context of my research, I situate the microanalysis of the Day Labor Center within a broader discussion of language, immigration, and nation in the United States, and more specifically in the Southwest. I discuss language ideologies and how they are

founded in existing power structures and reproduced through them. There is a dominant ideology that names speaking English as being essential for socioeconomic success in the U.S.; this ideology is intimately bundled with social constructions of race, class, and citizenship. An integral part of this dominant linguistic ideology is that the English language is assigned a tremendous amount of linguistic capital in comparison with Spanish. I situate this analysis of linguistic capital within the context of Proposition 300 in Arizona that denied state-funded adult education (including ESL classes) to those that could not demonstrate legal documentation. This chapter will draw connections between dominant language ideologies and how they influence individuals' motivations to learn English as observed in the production of local discourses on language. I conclude Chapter 3 with a review of literature that examines economic and linguistic data as related to the economic value of learning the dominant language among immigrant populations.

Chapter 4 analyzes linguistic practices among members of the day labor community in their everyday interactions. I first introduce the concept of performative acts and discuss its application to the performance of bilingualism and other identities. I discuss the techniques that individuals use to construct a bilingual identity and situate themselves socially with the social hierarchy of the Day Labor Center. With the use of the concept of performatives, I discuss how having English skills and/or being able to convince others of one's skills is imperative for gaining social capital. This includes the ways that workers present themselves as being bilingual or as a language learner, assert their cultural citizenship, and define social boundaries between groups.

Chapter 5 discusses employment negotiations at the Day Labor Center within the framework of previous research on gatekeeping encounters. I will explore the strategies that both workers and employers use to promote themselves favorably and facilitate these interactions, which often include the assistance of a language broker. Analysis is divided in two major sections. First, I examine the techniques employers use in their implementation of the sometimes overlapping and sometimes contradictory categories of rapport, solidarity, and co-membership. Second, I analyze the rapid techniques that workers use to present an institutional self, calling on trustworthiness, physical presentation, trade skills, language abilities, documentation, and race.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents some concluding thoughts on the difficulties encountered in drawing social boundaries in the study of intercultural communication and language contact. I propose a model for rethinking how points of contact are defined in the drawing of boundaries and categories of identity. I also identify unresolved issues and suggest several paths for future research.

CHAPTER 2
Setting and Methodology

This chapter will introduce the reader to the Day Labor Center where this research was conducted and situate the program within the community context that motivated and facilitated its establishment. Drawing on interviews with workers, volunteers, and church members, in addition to personal observations as a result of participation at the Day Labor Center, I present this overview of the Center's origins and development. Because my research was conducted during the Center's first year of operation, it is important to understand the local dynamics of this program as an emerging organization in the process of self-definition.

More specifically, I will first discuss the neighborhood conditions that resulted in the implementation of the Center and the process that led to its aperture, coupled with a description of its daily operation. I will introduce the reader to the members of this community, including individual descriptions of several key actors. The following section addresses motivations for conducting research in the day labor community as framed within Cameron et al.'s (1992) concept of empowering research. I will discuss my role as a researcher within the community as related to my research activities and the objectives of this ethnographic project. Lastly, I will outline the process of data collection through participant observation and interviews upon which I base analysis in subsequent chapters.

Origins

The Day Labor Center[1] is part of a larger local social movement with a history of immigrant rights activism in Tucson, Arizona. In Van Ham's (2006) analysis of what he terms 'immigrant advocacy,' he examined three organizations in Tucson in the early 2000s, contextualized within several decades of local advocacy for immigrants, migrants, and refugees in the Arizona-Sonora borderlands.[2] Van Ham uses the concept of 'civil religion' to describe the advocacy that individuals do on behalf of and with immigrants as conforming to two basic tenets:

1. Immigrant advocates believe in the inalienable worth of each human being.
2. Immigrant advocates believe that when a state is not in right relations with ultimate concern, its subjects have the onus of discerning and correcting government error. (2006, p. 162)

The individuals and organizations that contributed to the establishment of the DLC were certainly motivated by these tenets; immigrant day laborers lacked a safe place to negotiate employment in a dignified way. In other words, the creation of the Center at Hope Christian Church was motivated by the idea that all people have inalienable human and worker's rights regardless of their place of origin or legal status.

Although the Day Labor Center discussed here is not a specifically 'religious' organization in the sense that the majority of participants do not belong to Hope Christian Church, the Center is sponsored by and housed in a church with an established activist tradition. The organizers of the DLC were intentional in never inquiring into workers'

[1] I will use the generic pseudonym of "Day Labor Center," "DLC," or "the Center" throughout to refer to the program here described.

[2] Although the Day Labor Center is part of this broader movement, I have chosen to mention related institutions only tangentially and with pseudonyms in order to maintain the anonymity of the people and organizations involved.

legal status, yet by collaborating with immigrant day laborers, the activists and activist organizations involved in the Center took a stand on governmental policies that have limited immigrants' participation in the official economy.

In Fine's (2006) exhaustive study of worker centers across the United States, she defines such centers as "community-based mediating institutions that provide support to low-wage workers" (p. 2). Fine uses the concept of worker centers broadly to describe several different types of organizations—including day labor centers—that do advocacy work and often provide additional services such as legal counseling, leadership training, or English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. They work with a variety of employment sectors where workers are often victims of employer abuses such as restaurant workers, janitors, farm laborers, domestic workers, and factory workers.

The workers that these organizations serve are overwhelmingly members of minority and immigrant populations and many worker centers have emerged in response to the lack of institutions for immigrant workers that promote their integration and economic security. Of the 137 centers Fine surveyed,[3] 122 worked specifically with immigrant populations in their various missions to provide services, do advocacy work, and facilitate organization. Fine notes it is often difficult for transnational migrants to invest in the development and establishment of worker centers because of their transitory status; this is especially true for undocumented migrants, as are many the workers at the

[3] Fine (2006) found that 22% of these centers had faith-based organizations as their parent organizations, as was the case with the Day Labor Center in this study. In contrast with many other church-affiliated worker centers, membership at Hope Christian Church was not correlated with membership in the Day Labor Center; none of the workers are parishioners although some of the volunteers are.

Day Labor Center in the current study. Day labor centers are considered a specific subset of worker centers in their function of matching workers and employers.[4]

Addressing a local issue

In Tucson, day laborers historically gathered in the neighborhood near Hope Christian Church as early as the 1960s when the Arizona State Employment Office operated one of many Casual Employment Offices just a few blocks away from where the Church is located. In these early years, employers and their contractors often transported workers by bus to the Marana area, approximately 25 miles to the northwest, to do agricultural work. Day laborers were also hired for other types of temporary labor within the city limits of Tucson and the surrounding area. After the Casual Employment Office closed in the mid-1980s, day labors and their employers continued to gather informally on street corners in the early morning hours and sometimes into the afternoon in the neighborhood surrounding where the employment office had formerly been located.

Previous to the creation of the DLC, workers waited for potential employers on nearby street corners and in front of the Church, competing with each other in a system that could best be described as survival of the fittest. This part of the city is known for its high crime rates and drug activity; some workers reportedly feared being victims of violent conflicts while waiting for work on the street. While the opening of the Day Labor Center did not eliminate violence and conflict between workers and others in the

[4] For information on the National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON), a resource that seeks to improve the lives and work conditions of day laborers by supporting the organizations that collaborate with them, see www.ndlon.org.

neighborhood,[5] workers interviewed agreed that they preferred the more formalized setting of the Center and the organization and safety that operating out of the Church provided.

There were several problems that affected the surrounding neighborhood as a result from this informal employment system. As workers stood waiting on sidewalks and corners, they created trash that was left in front of private homes. Private property such as fences were damaged from workers leaning against them, and, because of a lack of sanitary facilities, men were relieving themselves wherever they could. There was also a preschool located on the Church's property and workers often stood just opposite the fence that surrounds the school playground, making parents, teachers, and students uncomfortable.

Raúl, a middle-aged Latino who grew up in the neighborhood, related how the presence of day laborers had affected him personally and how some neighbors had reacted unfavorably to the Church's outreach programs and the people they served. Before the DLC opened, he had sold the house he owned directly in front of the Church as a result of the problems caused by workers and the homeless people[6] who spent time on and around church property. Although Raúl expressed his admiration for the work that Hope Christian did with immigrants in the community and more specifically through the Day Labor Center, he spoke first-hand about the burden placed on the surrounding neighborhood that had led him to sell his house. Raúl was pleased to see the organization

[5] There were three known incidences of stabbings on and around Church property during the Day Labor Center's first year of operation. None of the stabbings took place during the Center's regular business hours, but workers from the Center were involved and some were seriously injured. There were also several incidences of volunteers asking individuals to leave the property when they were seen carrying knives.
[6] The Church has a separate outreach program that serves the homeless.

provided by the Day Labor Center and how the order it provided had improved the neighborhood.

Another problem resulting from this informal employment situation on the street corner was that workers had few resources at their disposal to claim unpaid wages or report other employment abuses. Wages were often not negotiated with employers before going out on jobs or were paid according to the employers' assessments of the workers' output on a given job at the end of the day. Especially in cases when no official agreement was made, it was all too easy for an employer to underpay or withhold pay completely at his or her own discretion.

In addition to facing potential employer abuses as a result of these unmonitored employment arrangements, workers also feared Border Patrol raids while waiting for work. Several workers related accounts of being caught and deported by the Border Patrol (and eventually returning to Tucson) or making a run for it and getting away; regardless, undocumented day laborers always needed to be on guard when soliciting employment or even just walking down the street. The Church's former pastor observed that in the ten years leading up to the opening of the Center, the Border Patrol's and city police's attempts to get day laborers off street corners ebbed and flowed with the political climate and neighborhood complains to the city council.

In summary, the Church and affiliated organizations that will be discussed below identified the creation of a Day Labor Center as a viable alternative for day laborers by supporting the payment of fair wages to workers, facilitating the documentation of employment abuses, and providing a safe place on Church property where workers could

wait for work. The Center would strive to get workers off the sidewalks in front of private residences and provide employers a place to park away from traffic while they negotiated with workers. Workers would also have restroom facilities, garbage disposal, and basic supplies for operating the Center.

Getting started

In response to the abovementioned issues resulting from day laborers' continued presence in the neighborhood, Hope Christian Church began a dialogue with day laborers, neighbors, other religious and community organizations, and local law enforcement about how best to meet the needs of day laborers and other members of the community. In 2000, Hope Christian Church, in collaboration with other local churches and non-profit organizations, began the process leading up to the implementation of the DLC by securing funding from a national religious organization and dialoguing with local community and religious leaders about the best place to house the program. The Church, in collaboration with the Economic Justice League, the Development and Advocacy Institute, Legal Rights Alliance, and the Tucson Police Department, began meeting and dialoguing with workers in order to find an alternative for workers who were waiting for jobs on nearby street corners. The program began with the assistance of these non-profit and religious organizations that work with human rights issues, immigrant advocacy, and labor issues. During its first year of operation, the Day Labor Program also worked closely with the local police as part of a short term community policing initiative.

In January of 2006, in preparation for the opening of the Day Labor Center, church and community volunteers and activists began to approach workers on neighborhood corners in the early morning hours to talk with them about their possible participation in the Center. In order to facilitate these encounters, volunteers brought coffee and donuts to workers, discussed the opening of the Center, and invited them to participate in meetings at the Church. The objective of these informal discussions was to get the workers involved in the planning of the Center, participate in leadership development activities, and encourage them to take ownership in the creation and implementation of the Center. Members of the above organizations, including the TPD, participated in these meetings.[7] Clara, a volunteer involved in the initial planning, said that although there was no indication on the part of the workers that they were willing to take on leadership roles during this stage, there was also no resistance on their part in regard to the program. She felt that through the Church's consistent presence and initial outreach, they gained the respect and trust of the workers.

Clara explained that one of the greatest difficulties in getting workers involved in the creation of the Center was the lack of consistency in who the workers were that participated in the initial planning phases. The day laborers in Tucson who would potentially benefit from the opening of the DLC are an inherently transitory group. Due to the irregularity of employment and their on-and-off presence in the neighborhood, it was difficult to achieve consistency in the participation of the workers in the initial

[7] Workers were initially hesitant to collaborate with the police fearing any connection they might have with the Border Patrol, yet to date, there remains a positive and respectful relationship between the TPD and the DLC.

planning process. The Church and collaborating organizations had originally hoped that that workers would take on a bigger role in the day-to-day operation of the Center but, as time passed, it became more and more apparent that volunteers would need to continue to accompany workers on a daily basis, perhaps in part because of this original top-down model that imposed the program on the workers, rather than the Center emerging from them as a group. It was also important for volunteers to be present in the event of an encounter with the Border Patrol some other emergency situation.

Hope Christian Church is a small progressive and ethnically diverse congregation with a long history of community activism through programs and projects involving refugee and immigrant rights, humanitarian aid in the border region, and services for the homeless. A central component of their mission is to advocate for social and economic justice in both the local and global community. Hope Christian Church and its members were the principal actors in instigating and implementing the Day Labor Center. The Church initiated outreach with day laborers and community organizations and secured funding for the operation of the program. The original planning committee was comprised almost entirely of members of the congregation, and some of the long-term volunteers were also Church members.

The Economic Justice League is a small regional non-profit organization whose office is located in Tucson. The focus of their work is on research, education, and advocacy activities that seek to benefit economically marginalized populations such as immigrants and low-wage earners. An employee and an intern at the EJL collaborated as volunteers in the Center's daily operation and organizational planning. The Development

and Advocacy Institute is a religiously affiliated national organization that works in development, service, and social justice projects. A primary component of the Tucson branch of the organization is work on behalf of immigrant rights and border issues. An employee who works with border and immigration issues collaborated with the DLC on organizational issues, documenting employment abuses, and helping workers collect back wages. The Legal Rights Alliance is a grassroots advocacy organization that promotes and defends the legal and human rights of immigrants through abuse documentation and educational programs in Southern Arizona. Members of this organization also worked individually with day laborers to document employer abuses and help recover back pay. Employees, interns, and volunteers associated with these three organizations collaborated with members of Hope Christian Church in the initial planning of the Day Labor Center and its subsequent implementation and operation.

The Tucson Police Department also collaborated with Hope Christian Church in the creation of the Day Labor Center. In the summer of 2006, the TPD began a special community policing project in the surrounding neighborhood with the objective of reaching out to immigrant populations that were often hesitant to contact local law enforcement. This project was implemented in order to conduct outreach in the neighborhood where the Church is located, in part due to the high number of undocumented immigrants living in the community who are often hesitant to contact the police regarding crimes such as domestic violence, theft, or drug-related activities. The police officers involved in the community policing project knocked on doors and spoke with members of the community with the objective of establishing an open and trusting

relationship in response to the high crime levels in this district. Several officers assigned to the project attended DLC organizational meetings at the Church and formally introduced themselves to the day laborers as a community resource. When the Center opened, they worked in collaboration with the Church to push the workers off the sidewalks and onto Church property, as will be described below.

Ultimately, the goal of the Day Labor Center was to establish a safe place for workers and employers to negotiate employment while maintaining a healthy relationship with the surrounding neighborhood. With a grant received from national religious organizations and private donors, the Church was able to construct a restroom and storage facility to meet the operational needs of the program. The Day Labor Center officially opened in the fall of 2006 in order to provide a safe place for workers and employers to meet and arrange short-term employment.

Daily Operation

The Day Labor Center opened its 'doors' on September 18, 2006, setting up a table under a tree between the Church parking lot and the street. The first week that the Day Labor Center opened, 2-4 volunteers were on hand each day and would walk around the blocks adjacent to the Church in effort to recruit workers to come to the Center. Volunteers told workers that the police was going to begin to give tickets for loitering to people waiting for work on the edges of Church property and other nearby street corners. The second week that the Center was open, the bicycle police working with the community policing project began to approach workers and warn them that the following week they would

receive tickets for loitering. By the third week of operation, most workers had relocated to the Church parking lot. This transitional process gradually pushed workers onto Church property and gave volunteers the opportunity to explain the program and help them sign up for work at the Center. Volunteers also began to approach employers' vehicles on the street and encouraged them to come into the Center to pick up workers. There were two populations that volunteers had to convince to use the Day Labor Center: workers and employers. Without both, the program could not exist.

The Day Labor Center was in a formative stage of organizational development while I was conducting my research, and as a result, the dynamics of job negotiation changed numerous times. Based on other day labor center models, a raffle system is used in an attempt to create an equal opportunity for employment based on a combination of chance and persistence. At 6 a.m. all workers are given a numbered ticket and the matching ticket is placed in a jar.[8] Based on the raffle system a numbered list is created daily that dictates the order that workers go out on jobs.

When the Day Labor Center first opened there were several volunteers on hand each day that assisted in the operation of the Center. Volunteers are a mixture of Church members, community activists, student interns, and employees of organizations sympathetic to the establishment of the Day Labor Center. In the beginning, the workers themselves were only tangentially involved in daily operation of the Center but a small

[8] As part of the original system, a raffle was drawn every hour to choose 5-10 men for a short list of workers to go out on jobs. Those workers whose names were drawn would stay on the list for the duration of the morning. At 10 a.m., when the Center officially closed, all workers who had signed up and had not gone out on a job were placed on a priority list for the following morning. This priority list had precedence over the raffle and workers who had not gotten work the previous day had the opportunity to go out on a job before those who had either gone out on a job the previous day or had not been at the Center. This system was modified many times; its more permanent incarnation will be explained in Chapter 5.

number of workers participated in organizational meetings that met monthly during the first months of operation. Over the course of the Center's first year, there were fewer community volunteers involved in its daily operation; one or two volunteers would be present on a given day. Workers began to take on greater responsibility in the daily operation of the Center, running the raffle and sometimes negotiating with employers.

The 'Center' is really the Church's parking lot, the small restroom/supply building constructed specifically for the program, and the portable supply box and table that serve as the office. Hand-painted sandwich boards saying "Worker Pick-up" with large red arrows pointing into the Church parking lot are set up each day at the entrances and on street corners on the edges of Church property. Volunteers with orange flags stand at the entrances to the parking lot, encouraging employers to drive in and negotiate employment with workers in the parking lot rather than on the street.

The Day Labor Center is officially open weekdays from 6 a.m.-10 a.m. and many workers also congregate during the same hours on the weekends although the Center is not officially open. Anywhere from 25 to 75 workers sign up for the chance to go out on jobs on any given day and from 10 to 50 workers go out on jobs. The number of workers who get jobs varies greatly from day to day and is influenced by factors such as the season of the year and the weather.

Potential employers are encouraged to pull into the parking lot, and a volunteer approaches their vehicle in order to negotiate which worker(s) will go out on the job. The employer has the option of either requesting a specific worker that he or she knows or taking the next person on the list. Employers often also request workers with specific

trade or language skills. I call this entire process “drive-through interviews” because of the physical logistics of the interaction (i.e. employers rarely get out of their vehicles to negotiate employment, but rather expect volunteers and workers to come to them when they pull into the parking lot) and also because the entire interaction takes place in about as much time as it takes to get a hamburger at a fast food restaurant. Although workers are most often hired on a daily basis, jobs can turn into short-term employment situations that can last anywhere from a few days or a week to several months. A more detailed description and analysis of employment negotiations is found in Chapter 5.

Negotiating space

Regardless of the safety and protection provided by the Day Labor Center, there is still a sense of competition among the workers themselves and with other members of the wider neighborhood community. Competition is manifested not only in terms of employment but also in terms of territorial ownership. The space that the DLC occupies complicates the objective of the program because it is a crossroad for a diverse mixture of people. The grounds have been locally interpreted as communal property, in part because the Church has always been welcoming to immigrants, homeless, and anyone else in need. Since the Center itself is very loosely contained in a parking lot, it is difficult to monitor the comings and goings of the members of the community and keep out those who are not there to participate in the program. A small group of individuals allegedly involved in small-scale criminal activities (e.g. drugs, gangs, etc.), saw the space as their turf, which initially resulted in conflicts between these individuals and both volunteers and workers.

An unintentional consequence of pulling the workers into the Center's official boundaries was that workers were forced to directly interact with this other group. The ensuing socialization between these groups often made it difficult for volunteers to identify and remove problematic individuals.

Adding to the local milieu is Hope Christian Church's twice-a-week outreach program for the homeless and needy that welcomes anyone to take a shower, get a clean change of clothes, and eat breakfast. An unofficial but important aspect of the program is that it provides an informal space for socialization among the homeless community within the safe confines of the Church courtyard. Many of the workers from the Day Labor Center regularly take advantage of the free meal and clothing provided through the program and the homeless will occasionally sign up for work at the Center, although they rarely go out on jobs. While it is beyond the scope of my research to examine the interaction between these two groups, I have casually observed interactions between the homeless program's clientele and the members of the Day Labor Center. In some sense there is an overlap between these two groups, but in another sense they are very separate.[9] Many newly arrived immigrants depend on services for the homeless in the first days when they arrive in Tucson before finding a place to live and often continue to take advantage of food provided through religious and social service organizations even

[9] I have had several conversations with immigrant day laborers who have asked why these homeless people who are U.S. citizens and have legal access to employment are not working and depend on charity for part of their well being. For these men, it is inconceivable to have the proper documentation to work and not take advantage of it. Through their regular interactions with the homeless at Hope Christian Church, they do realize that many of the homeless have severe problems with addiction and mental illness. There seems to be a generally indifferent coexistence between these two groups that are often separated due to the inability of Spanish and English speakers to communicate with each other, but the situation it not entirely free of conflict.

when they are better established. This is especially true during periods when day laborers have had little luck securing employment.

Participants[10]

As mentioned above, day laborers in Tucson are an inherently transitory group, making it difficult to definitively describe this population. Because their employers come and go based on need, economic conditions, and the perceived safety of working with immigrant day laborers,[11] they too were transitory in their participation in the Center. Although the volatility of these populations makes it difficult to make generalizations, in this section I will describe what seemed to me to be the most important characteristics of the workers, employers, and volunteers in this setting, followed by narrative descriptions of a sampling of individual members of the community. In doing so, I find it necessary to first introduce the terminology used throughout this work.

I will use the term *Latino*[12] inclusively to refer to people of Latino/Latin American heritage regardless of their place of birth. I do this especially in my discussion

[10] All names used throughout are pseudonyms.

[11] Unsurprisingly, employers preferred to hire workers they knew to be qualified and responsible, trying to avoid hiring men with substance abuse problems or those involved in criminal activity. When professional relationships between workers and employers were established, employment was often negotiated off-site by phone or in person. Many employers wanted to avoid the public employment encounters facilitated by the Day Labor Center, fearing for their own safety when hiring workers that were overwhelmingly undocumented. In January of 2008, Arizona's Governor Janet Napolitano (D) signed an employer-sanction law that would punish employers that knowingly hired undocumented workers. Although there were no confrontations with law enforcement at the DLC as a result of this law, many employers expressed their concern about repercussions for themselves and workers. This, in combination with a downturn in the economy—and more specifically the housing market—led to a sharp decrease in employment at the DLC in 2008. There were only two known instances of the Border Patrol following vehicles leaving the Center in June of 2007 and June of 2008; both occurrences seemed unrelated to any systematic crackdown on employers or workers.

[12] I have chosen to use the 'unmarked' masculine form (rather than Latino/a, Latina/o, or Latin@) throughout when referring to collective groups of people, in part because the vast majority of members of the day labor community are in fact male.

of employers, the members of this community with whom I had the most limited interaction and about whom I was largely unaware of their place of origin or personal histories.[13] I will use the terms *Chicano* and *Mexican American* interchangeably throughout to refer those of Mexican heritage born in the United States.[14] Workers from outside the U.S. primarily refer to themselves in regard to their country of origin (i.e. *mexicano*, *guatamalteco*, *cubano*) or more collectively as *la Raza* which is used in the same way I use the term Latino. I will use the term *Anglo* as shorthand for Anglo American to mean a person of European ancestry born in the United States. The workers use numerous terms in Spanish to refer to Anglos (e.g. *norteamericano*, *americano*, *güero*, *gabacho*, *gringo*, and their respective feminine forms).

When describing people born outside of the U.S., I will use the term *immigrant* rather than migrant; with this term I mean to convey the dual concepts of both migrant and immigrant—i.e. (im)migrant. I like the implied multiplicity of the term immigrant that simultaneously includes both of these concepts because those who come to the U.S. often change their personal identification over time. Most day laborers in this study come to the U.S. seeing themselves as migrants with the intention of returning to their country of origin, some 'become' immigrants through a change in intention to settle permanently[15] through long-term residency (whether documented or not), and some

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[13] My personal interaction with employers was limited to brief encounters in my role as a volunteer during employment negotiations.

[14] As I will discuss in Chapter 5, some workers used the term Chicano to refer to those they perceived as assimilated/established immigrants. I will make special note when the term is used in this way.

[15] This is often coupled with getting married and having children after arriving in the United States. I am not aware of any day labors at the Center who were accompanied by wives or children that had migrated with them or that they had sent for after getting established; an exception is found with young adult male sons who sometimes accompanied their middle-aged fathers.

change back and forth through both their own agency and due to reasons outside of their own control. For example, Mariano, a day laborer originally from El Salvador, planned to stay in the U.S. indefinitely, but was deported to El Salvador in the fall of 2007. He identified himself as an immigrant, but the state, through his deportation, redefined him as a migrant.[16]

Workers

The majority of workers at the Day Labor Center are Latin American immigrants, all of whom are men with very limited exceptions.[17] Workers are primarily from Mexico, but there is also a presence of Chicanos, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Hondurans, and Cubans. There are also limited numbers of workers from other ethnic/racial backgrounds (e.g. Anglos, African Americans, and Native Americans) who sign up for work; this is often as a result of the Center's physical proximity to the Church's program for the homeless. The majority of Latino day laborers are monolingual Spanish-speakers (approximately 80%) and others have varying degrees of bilingualism in Spanish and English.[18] A small number of workers from Mexico and Guatemala also speak indigenous languages but many were hesitant to reveal their indigenous backgrounds, seemingly because it marked them as being doubly foreign. Over 95% of Latino workers at the DLC were immigrants, and I chose not to speculate about their

[16] It is unknown whether Mariano has attempted to return to the U.S. or not.
[17] There was only one women who regularly signed up for work at the Center. See (68) in Chapter 5 for a brief discussion of Leticia.
[18] See Chapter 4 for more extensive discussion of levels of bilingualism and its linguistic capital in this setting.

legal status. It was the Day Labors Center's policy to not inquire as to the workers' legal status.

Because of its proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border (65 miles), Tucson is a jumping off point for many undocumented immigrant workers where they often stop to get their bearings after crossing the border and before moving on to other parts of the U.S. where they might have family or employment contacts. Although there is a core group of workers at the Center from varying countries of origin, there is a steady influx of very new arrivals. Workers from the bordering Mexican state of Sonora were more likely to regularly commute back and forth across the international boundary, sometimes as often as on a weekly or monthly basis depending on their legal status and the distance from their families. I divide the workers and their peers at the day labor community into the following groups described below: old timers, immigrant settlers, and transitional migrants.

Old Timers

Within the day labor community there is a subgroup that I call the "old timers." This group includes workers, homeless, and others who have historically frequented this neighborhood for informal employment, business, and social interactions. One of the old timers is Alex, a middle-aged Latino who is an U.S. citizen that lives nearby and helps run a curio shop with his family. He is usually immaculately dressed and sees himself as a local leader although the workers do not necessarily see him this way. Alex describes himself as a former drug addict and regularly comes to spend time hanging out with the

other men at the Center although he never goes out on jobs and rarely signs up for work. While several workers and volunteers suspect that he is still using drugs and alcohol based on his sometimes erratic behavior, he takes pride in the work happening at the Center, saying that he comes to "animar a la Raza" (*encourage his people*). Alex does this by serving as a quasi carnival barker, loudly whistling and calling out in Spanish to cars passing by, asking how many workers they need, and occasionally yelling obscenities at cars that do not stop to pick up workers. Alex says that he has been in the neighborhood for over 20 years and has a definite territorial connection to the space. Although he initially offered his support to those involved with the Center, he also began to encourage workers to jump the list and not follow locally established rules shortly after the Center opened. Gertrudis, a Church volunteer, confronted Alex in the first months the Center was open and told him that he either had to support the Center's rules or that he could not be on Church property. This ultimately resulted in Alex toning down his aggressive job promotion techniques and agreeing to follow the rules. He still comes to the Center on a regular basis although his presence is not free of conflict.[19]

Another one of the old timers was El Chucho, a homeless man who often slept under blankets huddled against the walls and in the doorways of Church buildings. El Chucho had also been in the neighborhood for many years and was well-known to workers, other homeless people, church volunteers, and the local police. El Chucho regularly and falsely claimed to be employed by the Church to do cleaning and maintenance and would come to the Center on a daily basis. Unlike other homeless

[19] Alex was permanently banned from the Center in the spring of 2008 because of his disrespectful behavior toward volunteers.

people who only come to Hope Christian Church twice a week for the homeless outreach program, El Chucho came to socialize with workers, often asking for money to buy beer and sometimes volunteering to clean the bathroom. In some sense he was a mascot for the other workers who give him handouts and tried to chide him into bathing on the days that the homeless program was open. El Chucho also never went out on jobs, but was a constant presence at the Day Labor Center. He died as result of long-term alcoholism exacerbated by living on the streets in November of 2007.

Some workers are old timers, such as Alonso, a Mexican American from Arizona who had served in the U.S. military. Alonso was equally comfortable in Spanish and English; he took on a leadership role among the workers and would sometimes serve as a language broker[20] (i.e. unofficial translator) during drive-through interviews. Alonso was similarly at ease laughing and joking with volunteers or other Chicanos in English or with newer immigrants in Spanish. Alonso took the initiative to develop a MySpace webpage on a computer at the public library to promote the DLC, although it never got official approval from the Church to go on-line.[21]

Immigrant Settlers

Calling on Chavez's (1991) classification of undocumented immigrants, I see this second group, settlers, as having incorporated themselves into the local community; in effect 'imagining' themselves into membership through their settlement and incorporation.

[20] See Chapter 5 for a more extensive discussion of the concept of language brokers.
[21] The Church was hesitant to openly promote the DCL in the media, fearing a backlash from anti-immigrant groups that day labor centers in other parts of the country have confronted.

Nemesio is a Salvadoran immigrant in his mid-forties who has been in the U.S. for about 20 years. After living in San Francisco and other parts of California, he eventually ended up in Tucson and has been there for several years. He has three young children and one adult son, all of whom live in the San Francisco area. He lives with his current wife in Tucson. Nemesio is Spanish dominant, but is comfortable using English with numerous interlocutors and would also sometimes assist other workers as a language broker as a result of his relatively high level of bilingualism. He has extensive social and employment networks that have helped him establish relationships with numerous employers. In the summer of 2007 he made a trip to California to visit his children for an undetermined period of time; his emotional leave-taking with workers and volunteers indicated a strong connection with the community.[22]

Saturnino is in his early forties and originally from Chiapas, Mexico. Before coming to Tucson, he lived in San Mateo in northern California and briefly in Los Angeles before coming to Tucson. He has been in Tucson for 11 years and is married to a Mexican American woman who is English dominant, proudly reporting that he has taught his wife a great deal of Spanish. Saturnino is highly integrated into the community and comes to the Day Labor Center only sporadically because he has enough employment contacts to find work in other places. For Saturnino, the Day Labor Center is both a backup for when other work is unavailable and a space for informal socialization.

[22] Nemesio ended up returning to Tucson just a few weeks later to take care of his ailing wife.

Saturnino was actively involved in adult ESL classes offered at a community center[23] and became involved in political activism as a result of his participation in these classes.

Beto, a 33-year-old worker from nearby Magdalena, Sonora, likewise married a U.S. citizen in Tucson and had four children in the 15 years he has lived there. Although his wife and children regularly go to Mexico to visit his family, Beto never makes the trip with them, fearing that he would not make it back into the U.S. with his family. As a member of a mixed-legal-status family, Beto's settlement in Tucson was reinforced through his perceived inability to visit extended family in Mexico, despite the fact that the rest of his immediate family was able to cross the border and return without difficulty. He was confident with his English and observed his children growing up to be English speakers; he expressed both regret and pride that his youngest daughter had an increasingly difficult time communicating in Spanish and was highly proficient in English.

Nico is in his late fifties and has been in Tucson for six years; he is originally from Hermosillo, the capital of the neighboring state of Sonora, Mexico, where all of his immediate family remains. He has been coming to the U.S. on and off since 1985 and had been deported several times. It is often difficult for Nico to get work at the Center; many employers refuse to hire him because he is much older than the other workers. Nico depends heavily on his network of personal contacts with employers to get work.

Mariano (mentioned above) emigrated from El Salvador to Mexico at the age of 20 as a result of the violent political conflict in his country. He lived in Chiapas for 17

[23] Saturnino's involvement in ESL will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 3.

years, and eventually left for Ciudad Juárez where he lived for six years. Frustrated with a lack of work in Juárez, he went back to San Salvador for a short time but then decided to come to the United States. When I met Mariano, he had been in Tucson for two years and was planning on staying indefinitely. He spoke nostalgically of Chiapas, which he identified as his adopted home, but made no indication of wanting to return to live there or in El Salvador permanently. Although he had no family in Tucson, he proudly spoke of setting up his own home in a small apartment and was very interested in learning English as a way of having more employment opportunities, dreaming of someday being self-employed. He was a dedicated leader at the DLC and donated significant time and energy to the program, a role that sometimes led to conflicts with other workers who did not share his vision of what it meant to be devoted to the Center's operation. Although Mariano was the least established of the men described in this group, he imagined himself to be a settler and had fallen out of contact with family in El Salvador and Mexico.

Transitional Migrants

Chavez (1991) explains that some undocumented immigrants never leave the transitional phase that begins when they first cross the border. This manifests itself in different ways with the individuals discussed in this section. Pablo is in his mid-forties and is originally from Veracruz, Mexico. He migrated with his immediate family to Nogales, Sonora, the Mexican border town just 65 miles south of Tucson. For two years he traveled back and forth from Tucson and Nogales to visit his wife, children, and granddaughter once a

month. In the approximately 25 trips he made through the desert on his way back to Tucson, he reported never having any problems getting across, with the exception of once being the victim of a failed attempt at robbery. Before beginning to migrate to Tucson, Pablo had made an attempt at a business selling *mole* in Nogales. He said it failed because the residents of Nogales were not used to eating this popular dish from southern Mexico. His new goal was to save up $10,000 to get a traveling cart equipped to sell *birria*, fare found more commonly in northern Mexico. Pablo gave this very articulate analysis of the economic situation that motivated his migration to the U.S.:

(1) Si no hubiera necesidad de la mano de obra en los Estados Unidos no estuviéramos aquí. […]. Estemos con falta de- de libertad de independencia económica, siempre vamos a seguir así. El pueblo mexicano siempre va a estar oprimido por el sistema capitalista que está imperando en México. Pues así nos tienen con la bota encima y no puedo decir que es este país, no puedo decir que es Japón, no puedo decir que es Europa. Es toda la comunidad internacional de los grandes empresarios que así nos tienen. El gobierno de mi país se presta al juego de ellos, entonces por ese motivo estamos aquí porque no podemos. Una empresa de tortas no puede competir contra McDonald's en México. (6/12/07, church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora, Mexico)

Pablo's life and family were in Nogales although he lived and worked in Tucson. In the fall of 2007, Pablo stopped coming to the Day Labor Center.

Daniel, born in Tabasco, but having lived nearly all of his life in Chiapas, Mexico, came to the U.S. for the first time at the age of 54. I met him after he had been in Tucson for two years. Daniel had left his entire family behind in Chiapas; he had come to the U.S. with hopes of recuperating his economic dignity. Having worked his entire adult life for the electric company in Mexico and being the owner of a successful tortilla-making business; he confronted bankruptcy due to an economic downturn in Mexico in 1994. Daniel was another leader at the Day Labor Center, although much more so through his

encouraging speeches than through collaborating with the daily operation of the Center. He enjoyed attending organizational meetings and weighing in on all matters related to the Center's operation. He felt well-equipped to take on a leadership role at the Center as a result of being a union man in Mexico, professing that he understood what it meant to make a commitment to an organization. During a very emotional interview in March of 2007, he said that if he did not start making more money, he would return to Mexico by the end of the year. He had no intention of making a life in the U.S. and, true to his word, Daniel left that fall.

Manuel is near thirty years old and originally from Chiapas. In 2001, Manuel had first come to the U.S. following his seven brothers to North Carolina to find work. While employed by a construction company doing roofing work in North Carolina, Manuel suffered a terrible accident that severely damaged one of his hands. Through a legal aid organization, he sued the construction company and was able to get the rehabilitative treatment he needed. After his ten month ordeal in North Carolina, he returned to his wife and children in Chiapas for several years. Back in Mexico he claimed to have lived "la vida loca" (*the crazy life*), quickly spending the money he had made in the U.S. on a car, house, and other luxuries. When I met Manuel in the spring of 2007, he had been in Tucson for a year and planned to return to Mexico in a few months for a period of six months and then come back to the United States, unsure if he would return to Tucson. As of May of 2008, Manuel was still in Tucson and trying to save up more money before returning to his family.

Víctor, from Camargo, Chihuahua (just over 200 miles south of El Paso, Texas), was 18 years old when I met him and had just migrated to the U.S. for the second time. On his first trip to the U.S. at the age of 16, he had worked on an isolated ranch in Arizona with Anglo employers. Although he had a generally positive experience working there, after a dispute with his female employer he returned to Mexico. I interviewed Víctor in May of 2007 when he had only been in Tucson for three weeks. At the time of the interview he said he had no intention of staying in Tucson because he did not like being so far from his family. Now a year later in 2008, Víctor is very involved in the DLC, is making an effort to learn English, and attended the May Day march for immigrant rights. He is much more involved in the local community. Víctor has the potential of becoming a settler. He is single and away from his family, and little-by-little is adapting to life in the United States. The two factors that seem most likely to influence his continued presence in the U.S. are continuing to find work and his further integration into the community through extended social networks.

Employers

There are many employers that come to the Day Labor Center on a regular basis and have developed personal relationships with individual workers. Most employers hire workers for landscaping and construction jobs, sometimes serving as subcontractors for larger businesses. Other employers come to pick up workers for one-time jobs such as yard work at private homes, moving jobs, or special events. Employers who come to the Center are generally Latino and Anglo men and occasionally women (less than 10%).

Slightly more than half of employers are Latino and slightly less than half are Anglo. A very small portion of employers are from other ethnic or national backgrounds but none of these individuals hire workers on a regular basis.

Latino employers are generally bilingual but can be found across a broad range on the bilingual continuum from monolingual in English to monolingual in Spanish. While all Anglo employers are English dominant, some can speak limited amounts of Spanish, seemingly as a result of their ongoing contact with Spanish-speaking workers. Isolated instances of non-native English-speaking employers from other regions of the world (e.g. Middle Eastern, Eastern European, Indian, African, and Asian)[24] have also been observed.

Because my interactions with employers were very brief and limited to helping negotiate employment with workers, my understanding of their background is impressionistic at best. I include no specific information here on individual employers because of my lack of extensive interpersonal contact with them. Although I did have a cordial relationship with several of them, none of them were aware of my research agenda.

Volunteers

Volunteers at the Day Labor Center are a mixture of Latinos and Anglos and are necessarily bilingual due to the nature of their role as language brokers (i.e. translators).

[24] On one occasion a deaf Anglo employer came to pick up workers, I helped him negotiate employment with several workers by writing in English and then verbally translating into Spanish for the workers and vice versa.

There is a minimum of one bilingual volunteer at the Center at all times to help negotiate employment and interpret between workers and employers. Approximately 4/5 of the volunteers are women. Some volunteers are parishioners of Hope Christian Church and others are community volunteers, usually affiliated with local organizations such as those discussed above.

The Day Labor Center's principal volunteer when it first opened was a man who himself was a very recent immigrant to the U.S. from Mexico. Ramón was severely injured while crossing the border in the summer of 2006 and Hope Christian Church assisted him during his recovery. Ramón said he had been active in community organizing in Mexico and immediately got involved in the operation of the Center. Through his affiliation with the Church and because he was not able to pursue outside work due to his injury, all parties quickly began to rely on Ramón for the day-to-day operation of the Day Labor Center. He opened the doors to the Church at 6 o'clock every morning and set up the Center's supplies outside, staying until 10 o'clock to close down the Center at the end of the morning. He was usually the first person to approach vehicles when they pulled up and would get support from bilingual volunteers if the employer did not speak Spanish.[25] A dynamic was rapidly established where Ramón was the de facto person in charge and other volunteers were there to assist him. It was all too easy for other volunteers and workers to push off responsibility onto Ramón because he was more than willing to take it on. While this situation eventually became problematic in terms of fostering leadership development among the workers and spreading responsibility among

[25] Ramón was monolingual in Spanish but began to study English during his time in Tucson.

the other volunteers, it was advantageous to have one consistent volunteer in charge because it created stability during the Day Labor Center's first months of operation. In some ways Ramón's contribution fit with the Church's goal of having the workers themselves run the Center because Ramón was an immigrant in search of employment, although he did not identify himself as a day laborer. After the Center had been open for three months, Ramón left Tucson and returned to Mexico; volunteers were forced to take on greater individual responsibility in the daily operation of the Center.

Gertrudis is a Chicana in her late fifties and is the primary volunteer from Hope Christian Church involved in the DLC. Gertrudis's father was a day laborer in the late 1920s and she explained that having this personal connection with the workers motivated her to volunteer with the program. A secondary goal for her collaboration was her desire to improve her already very fluent conversational Spanish. When asked about why she got involved in the DLC, she expressed her belief in putting her faith into action:

(2) It's part of living your faith, right? How do you say you believe in these things when you aren't rolling up your sleeves and doing something about it? (6/27/07, participant's office, interview, Gertrudis, 59)

As a Church elder, Gertrudis is the most influential Church member involved in the Day Labor Center and often acted as a go-between on numerous issues as they arose between workers, volunteers, and the Church. A social worker by training, Gertrudis had much to offer in getting the Center off the ground.

Clara is originally from Colombia and came to the U.S. as an adult where she completed her graduate studies. As an employee of the Economic Justice League, Clara, was involved in the organizing committee of the DLC and helped recruit workers in

collaboration with members of the Church in the months leading up to the Center's opening. Sabrina is a graduate student, originally from Uruguay, working on a graduate degree in social work. As an intern at the Center she was very involved in the day-to-day operation of the program. Polly, an Anglo from Montana, was just out of college when she came to Tucson and worked fulltime at the Church for a year through a volunteer program. Polly was tentatively working on improving her Spanish and increasingly became more involved in the DLC in the year she spent working with both this program and the homeless outreach program at the Church.

My own contact with the Day Labor Center began serendipitously during its first week of operation when I came to the Center in the capacity as a volunteer at the recommendation of a personal contact from an affiliated organization. I am an Anglo woman in my early thirties, originally from Minnesota, and a fluent speaker of Spanish. At the time the DLC opened, it was in need of bilingual volunteers to help negotiate employment between workers and employers and assist with the general operation of the Center. Of the small group of Church members who were originally involved in the daily operation of the Center, there were few who were bilingual.

In sum, the organizations and individuals that coalesced in the creation of the Day Labor Center did so in response the activist/religious community's perception of the needs of the workers and the neighborhood. Although the workers themselves were relatively absent in the initial planning process of the DLC, they did contribute to the program through their daily participation and planning input. The Church and its volunteers provide the logistical and organizational support necessary for the program

and serve as a clearing house for directing day laborers toward outside resources available for legal aid, medical attention, social services, and educational resources. Not only is the Day Labor Center a place for workers to connect with employers, but it has become a meeting place for new and established members of the community to socialize and build social networks in their daily search for employment.

Research motivations

According to Murillo (2004), ethnography "can never be innocent nor neutral, since it is embedded in a political and moral process," the origin of this academic genre lying in the study of colonial subjects (p. 155). Mindful of the historical positionality of ethnography, I was initially hesitant to pursue a research project with a 'marginalized' community because of the inherent power imbalance resulting from being in the privileged position of an outside researcher. I am frankly uncomfortable with the idea of collecting (and potentially exploiting) the experiences of an underprivileged population for the sake of academic knowledge making. On the other hand, as an activist and a student of border theory and sociolinguistics, I am sympathetic to the socioeconomic inequalities that Spanish speakers and, in particular, Spanish-speaking immigrants face in the United States. In attempt to address this academic conundrum, I situate this research within a framework of interaction between more powerful and less powerful actors. I believe that academic research has the potential of being a tool for understanding and ultimately attempting to rectify inequalities while humanizing the experiences of the subjugated.

Mignolo (2000) explains that the goal of border thinking or border gnosis "is to erase the distinction between the knower and the known, between a 'hybrid' object (the borderland as the known) and a 'pure' disciplinary or interdisciplinary subject (the knower), uncontaminated by the border matter he or she describes" (p. 18). My research seeks to build on this concept of border gnosis, not by limiting the focus of study to a subaltern group in isolation, but rather by examining the interactions between multiple actors that represent a heteroglossia of voices from a variety of backgrounds in the process of intercultural exchange and contact. According to Mignolo, "Border thinking from the perspective of subalternity is a machine for intellectual decolonization" (p. 45). While I do not claim to write from a subaltern perspective, I seek to tease out the making of meaning that results from the interactional exchanges that occur within the setting of the Day Labor Center. Gal (1989) cautions that anthropologists must be aware of their complicity in dominant discourse and their powerful position in relation to those that they study; I have tried to keep this present throughout the current research project.

With this research, my goal is to identify and analyze the language ideologies and language practices that inform and order immigrant workers' social experiences in relation to their employers and greater society. I take inspiration from Zentella's (1997) concept of "anthro*political* linguistics," that she defines as an effort:

> to understand and facilitate a stigmatized group's attempts to construct a positive self within an economic and political context that relegates its members to static and disparaged ethnic, racial, and class identities, and that identifies them with static and disparaged linguistic codes. (p. 13)

Immigrant day laborers in the current study identify speaking English as having a tremendous amount of capital that is connected to employment opportunities and social

and economic success. Resulting discourses that emerge from dominant ideologies create an internal hierarchy that assigns differential values to individuals according to their language repertoires. By examining language practices—more specifically, the performance of bilingualism—in interactions between immigrant workers and their employers, I seek to identify how individuals from dominant and subordinate groups use these practices to reenact and negotiate their understanding of social hierarchies. My goal is to examine how dominant ideologies reinforce social inequalities through their application in everyday language practices.

Cameron et al. (1992) have proposed a framework for conducting "empowering research" on language with the triple goal of conducting research "on, for and with" one's participants. The authors emphasize the importance of using interactive methods that do not objectify participants, recognizing and integrating participants' own agendas, and sharing the knowledge created with the participants involved in the project. These authors call on researchers to go beyond the role of researcher/advocate and integrate participants in the production of knowledge, facilitating participants' access to the knowledge created through research.

Cameron et al. discuss "research for" in terms of the advocacy roles that researchers perform. Similarly, Labov (1982) argues that linguists incur a debt with their participants; they have an obligation to make the knowledge accumulated through their research available to participants and use that knowledge to the benefit of the community when needed (p. 173). Although not directly related to my own research agenda, I was

called upon to participate in a national lobbying effort[26] for immigration reform in Washington, D.C. in 2007 as a result of my involvement with the Day Labor Center in Tucson. In this role I was able to recount the personal stories and employment struggles of day laborers that I had come to know as a researcher.[27] My role as both an advocate and as a volunteer within the daily operation of the DLC is a personal attempt to pay back the debt incurred with this community through their participation in my research.

According to Frazer (1992), empowering research should create spaces for participants' own agendas and not be limited to the agenda of the researcher. Through my participation as a volunteer at the Day Labor Center, I was involved in addressing some of the workers' and volunteers' concerns both related and unrelated to the operation of the DLC. This part of my involvement was in no way unique from activities that other volunteers performed.[28] In the individual interviews I conducted with workers and volunteers, we also discussed the problems and challenges at the DLC and tried to identify ways of responding to these issues. As a result of these discussions, we were more prepared to bring forth concerns and solutions regarding organizational issues at subsequent meetings.

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[26] The event was called *Human Rights for All: Community Advocacy Days* and was coordinated by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

[27] I believe this type of advocacy on behalf of undocumented immigrants is especially important because it is often impossible for these individuals to make the journey on their own behalf. On a number of occasions I also acted as a spokesperson or organizational interpreter with television and newspaper reporters and representatives from national and local non-profit and religious organizations who visited the Day Labor Center. In this role I tried to incorporate the workers themselves into these interactions while acting as a facilitator and/or interpreter between said parties.

[28] Volunteers have participated in organizational meetings with workers where we discussed and then implemented official rules, the use of membership cards, and identified interest in ESL classes. Volunteers are available to help workers translate written correspondence in English, make phone calls in English, orient workers to available social services, provide ad hoc English classes, mediate interpersonal conflicts, call medical or law enforcement personnel in emergency situations, etc. These duties are in addition to volunteers' primary role of accompanying workers in employment negotiation.

Harvey (1992) reminds us that empowering research is just as much about awakening the consciousness of the powerful as it is about awakening the consciousness of the powerless. I identify four potential audiences for my research: 1) the workers themselves; 2) the Church, its volunteers, and affiliated organizations; 3) political activists and policy makers; and 4) the academic community. This dissertation is, of course, most clearly directed at the fourth group, but I am mindful of the importance of creating appropriate mediums and spaces for the dissemination of my research with the first three groups. I have informally discussed my results with the members of the DLC community throughout the writing of this dissertation, a process that has been invaluable in my understanding and interpretation of findings. I hope to present my findings more formally to the Church and the DLC community and am currently in dialogue with a group of researchers at the University of Arizona planning a community presentation of our various research projects conducted in the border region. I see policy makers as the powerful interlocutors Harvey identifies that I hope to eventually address through continued research with linguistic minorities. As Zentella (1995) reminds us, "there is no language without politics" (p. 15).

While I do situate my study in the context of intercultural contact between immigrant workers, their employers, and the volunteers at the Day Labor Center, the workers themselves are admittedly the primary focus of the study. With this ethnographic project, I am undoubtedly concerned with documenting the workers' experiences, but by using intercultural contact as my theoretical framework of analysis, I hope to avoid the pitfall of describing this group and their experiences in a social vacuum. The literature on

Spanish and Spanish-speakers along the U.S.-Mexico border (cf. Sánchez, 1992-1996; Jaramillo, 1995; Hidalgo, 1995) and the use of Spanish in the U.S. (cf. Mendoza-Denton, 1999; Bills, 2005) has generally focused on Spanish speakers in isolation, examining the result of ethnolinguistic contact rather than the point of contact itself. A rather limited number of studies (cf. Hill, 1993, 2001a; Zentella, 2003; Daily, Giles & Jansma, 2005; Schwartz, 2006) have discussed Anglo uses of Spanish and their attitudes and interaction with Spanish speakers, but this relatively new field of inquiry is often based on anecdotal accounts rather than ethnographic analysis (an exception is found in Barrett, 2006). The aim of my research is to probe interactions at the point of contact between Latino immigrant, Mexican Americans, and Anglos as they coalesce in the negotiation of employment at the Day Labor Center. By focusing on the process rather than the result of contact, I hope that my research will contribute to our greater understanding of the social dynamics of intercultural communication.

The role of the researcher

Bernard (2006) divides practitioners of participant observation into two categories: *observing participants*, "insiders who observe and record some aspects of life around them," and *participating observers*, "outsiders who participate in some aspects of life around them and record what they can" (p. 347). While I identify my research and myself more clearly with the latter, as one of several volunteers at the DLC, I also identify with the former. The primary focus of my research is on the interactions that occurred between workers and employers at the Center, but because volunteers at the Center were also a

pivotal part of employment negotiations, I consider myself to be an insider, although in a more limited sense. In a pilot study on intercultural language contact conducted at a non-profit organization in Tucson, Arizona (DuBord, 2006), I found that being a peripheral member of the community (i.e. I was both a researcher and adjunct faculty member at this organization) was extremely useful not only in gaining access to the community, but also gave me greater insight into what it meant to participate in a contact situation.

The study of intercultural communication makes us rethink the concept of insider and outsider. While researchers are inherently outsiders regardless of their affiliation with the community they study, the inquiry into intercultural communication makes the meeting place between insiders and outsiders the focus of analysis. Conducting ethnographic research as a participating observer seemingly also implies the creation of a contact situation between people (researcher and participants) from different backgrounds, whether those differences are based on language, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, educational obtainment, nationality, or some other social marker. As an Anglo woman, raised in an educated middle-class background in the Midwestern United States, I was an outsider to the workers. Yet being a fluent Spanish-speaker made me a member of their language community[29] and my participation as a volunteer made me a member of the Day Labor Center community itself. I recognize that my dual role at the Day Labor Center as both a volunteer and a researcher allowed me to act as a participant (as a volunteer and language broker in job negotiations) in situations of intercultural language contact while I simultaneously observed said contact. I propose that the framework used

[29] By 'language community,' I simply mean that we speak the same language (i.e. Spanish), without reference to a speech community as has been described by Labov (1972).

to analyze contact situations should also be applied to the interactions that occur between researchers and participants because of the inherent social distance (and simultaneous interactional proximity) between these parties.

According to Rampton (1992), the researcher's positionality (both figurative and literal) in relation to the researched should be obvious to her or his audience in an attempt to arrive reflexively at objectivity. While I agree that it is of utmost importance to make the researcher present in the writing of ethnography, we must recognize that objectivity is not simply achieved by writing oneself into the scene. Likewise, Murillo reminds us that qualitative researchers "make up part of the scene which they are viewing" (2004, p. 157). In some sense we might ask: How can one observe oneself in the role of the researcher? In my dual role as a volunteer/researcher I often confronted this dilemma as I found myself in the middle of many of the employment negotiations, filling the role of a broker or translator between workers and employers. Yet I was keenly interested in how all participants (myself included) interacted in these situations.

It could be argued that there was not enough distance between the participants and myself as a researcher in the interactions I observed in order for me to collect more 'objective' data. While I do recognize that my extensive participation in employment negotiations is potentially problematic, it also uniquely situated me to observe said negotiations. I do not claim to be a full participant in these negotiations in the sense that I was not looking for work nor was I trying to employ a worker. There was little direct consequence for me personally in my role as a negotiator; nonetheless, my participation did help me understand the process and forced me to learn (and follow) the informal rules

of negotiation. Undeniably, my participation also influenced the unspoken rules of negotiation as I brought my personal perception of fairness to the figurative bargaining table.

Research activities

A primary motivation for conducting research at the Day Labor Center was my desire to identify a setting where time spent within the community could be productive in some way for the members of the community. This was especially important to me because there were seemingly limited direct benefits from my research for participants who would contribute to my study. On the other hand, my work as a volunteer was useful in the establishment and general operation of the Center. As a researcher/volunteer, I spent roughly eight hours a week at the Center during its regular early morning hours of operation in addition to attending organizational meetings, social events, and conducting interviews. I estimate having 500 hours of contact with participants from September 2006-August 2007 when research was conducted. In the academic year of 2007-08 during the writing of this dissertation, I have continued to volunteer at the Day Labor Center, although to a lesser degree. This on-going involvement in the community has been indispensible in codifying and interpreting data because I was able to informally discuss my analysis directly with members of the community.

As in any ethnographic study, building a trusting relationship between the researcher and participants is essential for the researcher to gain a greater understanding of the community. It is also important for participants to have the opportunity to decide

where, when, and to what extent the researcher is welcome in the community. The first two months I spent at the DLC were in the role of a volunteer. In this capacity I was in close contact with the workers themselves in addition to employers, representatives of community organizations, and volunteers who collaborated in the establishment of the Center. Although I was not officially conducting research in this initial phase, these first months of contact with the community were crucial for me to observe and participate in the workings of the Center while building trust with participants.

After these initial months of observation/volunteering, I began to informally discuss my research plans with other volunteers and workers about the most appropriate way to conduct research. I presented a research proposal to the Church council and continued to discuss my research agenda with the DLC's organizing committee and the workers. With the official approval of the Church council, I submitted my research proposal to the Human Subjects Protection Program at the University of Arizona. After receiving approval from the university, I officially brought my proposal to the workers in organizational meetings in order to get their final approval. In the presentation of my research proposal to workers, I explained my research in broad terms, focusing on documenting the development of the Day Labor Center and collecting individual accounts of workers' employment experiences in Tucson—including language abilities and the role of language in gaining employment.

Other volunteers from the Center were also present at the meetings when I officially explained my research plan and showed their support for the project. The workers themselves demonstrated varying degrees of support. Unsurprisingly, workers

with whom I had developed the closest personal relationships were the most supportive of my research. Several workers cited their pride in having their efforts in the development of the Center documented. In some sense, my presence in the role of a researcher validated the workers' participation in the Center, i.e. their participation was of significant importance to merit study. Other workers were more hesitant in giving their approval. Their concerns were generally related to maintaining anonymity and how the data would be used.[30]

As a collective group of workers and volunteers, it was decided that I could informally observe the day-to-day operation of the DLC and make audio recordings of organizational meetings[31] and individual interviews with the consent of participants. There was to be no use of video recording or photography to document the Center's activities. Ultimately, the workers as a group approved my research project knowing that participation was voluntary on their part and that individuals had the right to define the terms of their engagement in my research (e.g. choosing to participate in interviews, allowing recording or not, etc.). Based on these parameters, my research objective was to obtain a data set that would include observations of natural interactions between participants, informal conversations, and more structured interviews.

Participant observation

[30] Their hesitation can be linked to workers' very realistic need to protect their anonymity because of the undocumented status of many members of this community.

[31] Recordings from these meetings have not been included in the analysis of this dissertation. Some meetings attended were not recorded when participants were hesitant to give their consent.

Through participant observation at the Day Labor Center, I was able to establish personal relationships to varying degrees with workers, volunteers, and employers. My role as a volunteer at the Center and my regular presence allowed me to gain participants' trust and achieve a level of familiarity as an active member that made it possible to observe the workings of the DLC in an unobtrusive way. As Johnstone explains:

> Participant observers spend time developing roles for themselves in the groups in which they are interested, and then more time as group members, filling one or more roles as insiders and simultaneously making systematic efforts to come to understand what is going on in the group from the perspective of other group members. (2000, p. 82)

Because I participated in employment negotiations and the daily operation of the Center, I was more readily able to understand and interpret the data I collected. If I had not participated in the role of a volunteer, it would have been difficult to observe these interactions and explain my presence. With Bernard's (2006) outline of the objectives of participant observation, he stresses: 1) its advantages for allowing the researcher into a variety of social settings, 2) reducing the effect of the researcher in the community, 3) facilitating the formulation of socially appropriate questions, 4) understanding and interpreting data, 5) gaining access where it otherwise may not be permitted (pp. 354-56). These methodological motivations for participant observation succinctly explain the importance of integrating oneself as much as possible in the community and have proven to be valid in this project.

Bernard further explains that, "Participant observation involves going out and staying out, learning a new language (or a new dialect of a language you already know), and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can" (2006, p.

344). While I certainly did integrate myself as a researcher in an unfamiliar environment, I did so without removing myself from my own social network or my academic and work responsibilities as a graduate student. More simply put, I slept under my own roof each night. The concept of participant observation assumes that the researcher will submerge her or himself in the local community through involvement in daily activities with the members of the community, integrating oneself into a 'foreign' environment. Although I did not leave home to conduct research, I did integrate myself into a community that was unknown to me before beginning the research project through my participation in a microcosm of the city comprised of immigrant workers and their employers. My research was limited in the sense that I had extensive contact with workers at the Center, but had virtually no contact with them outside of this setting.[32] I did have greater interaction with other volunteers outside of the Day Labor Center due to our overlapping social networks through academic settings, work, and friendship.

There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages to the structure of my research. I was only able to interact with workers in the context of the Day Labor Center and my interactions with employers were limited to an even greater extent because of the very brief encounters they had with workers and volunteers at the Center. Conducting research without leaving home has allowed me to continue in my role as a volunteer (and observer) after officially finishing data collection. My continued participation during the

[32] It would have been difficult for me to interact with workers outside of the Day Labor Center, especially as a woman. Not only would it have been inappropriate for me to accompany workers on the job, it also would have been inappropriate to socialize with them in their homes because the majority of workers lived in shared apartments with other male immigrants. Most workers, particularly those in Tucson without their families, reported participating in an extremely limited number of activities outside of the home, in part due to their fear of being intercepted by the Border Patrol. They generally limited their activities to necessary shopping and a few attended local churches.

analysis and writing phase of my research has been useful in being able to resolve questions with participants and maintain personal ties with them during the process of 'cementing' participants as social actors on the written page. Some of the primary actors in the community have gone, new ones have arrived, and relationships between the members have changed and evolved. The story of this community is told as the way things 'were,' while in many ways it is about the way things 'are.' My analysis is based on a past that is intimately connected to the ongoing present of this community.

The setting for my participant observation was limited to the Day Labor Center and activities related to its operation (e.g. meetings, training sessions, social gatherings). As mentioned above, some workers were understandably reluctant to be recorded in this setting because of their often precarious employment and legal status. As a result of this limitation, note-taking was the only means available to record my observation of job negotiations. The fact that primary observations were based on notes rather than recordings, necessarily limits their accuracy. Yet, participation observation conducted in this way is not unproblematic for the researcher.

In Harvey's (1992) discussion of the use of covert recordings of drunken speech in her research in the Peruvian Andes, she defends this controversial technique as necessary in comparing unguarded speech in informal settings in contrast with more formal interviews. Although I made a conscious decision not to make any covert recordings in my own research, Harvey raises an important methodological point: researchers have the authority to make the decision whether or not to put something on record in numerous ways that participants are often not fully aware of.

> Once an anthropologist begins to write, not only material such as my examples of drunken speech but also the casual conversations, comments and practices of everyday life are put on the record, whether or not a tape-recorder has been used. In this sense, although I would agree that the method is problematic, it is important to recognise that the problem arises from the relationship between representation and authorship in anthropology as a whole […]. [I]t is the relationship between the researcher as member of a particular and powerful social group and that of the researched as members of less powerful groups that constitutes *all* data collection, covert or overt, as problematic. (original emphasis, 1992, p. 81)

Admittedly, although I discussed my research plan with leaders among the workers and volunteers at the Day Labor Center, not all members of this community were fully aware of the participant observation component of my project. The employers involved in job negotiations knew nothing of my research agenda and were unaware that they were being observed in this way during their 'public' interactions with workers and volunteers.[33] Many of the participants were also not fully aware that I would write field notes based on my informal conversations with them and the interactions I observed, in part because they became accustomed to my presence.

Johnstone (2000) reminds us that observations can also be unintentionally covert when new participants come into the research setting without knowing the researcher's agenda and also when participants who are aware of the researcher's agenda forget that the researcher is there in the role of an observer (p. 89). By recognizing that these observations are covert in a general sense because participants do not know what I am subjectively choosing as 'data'—even when they do realize that they are being observed—it is pertinent to problematize my privileged role as an outside observer and

[33] This is not unlike previous research on service encounters (cf. Valdés, García & Storment, 1982; Bailey, 1997, 2000; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002).

knowledge maker. Conducting formally recorded interviews (discussed below) gave me the opportunity to continually reassert my research agenda in a public way when recruiting participants for interviews. This was especially important due to the constant turnover in workers in this setting.

Interviews

From March of 2007 to August of 2007, 19 individual interviews were conducted with 13 workers, 4 volunteers, the Church's former pastor, and a former employee of the Casual Employment Office. Interviews with workers, volunteers, and outside informants generally lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. Recorded interviews were transcribed by research assistants. Not all workers wanted to participate in interviews and they were not pressured to participate if they demonstrated hesitation. Some workers would approach me and ask if I wanted to interview them after seeing their peers participate.

Interviews with workers were held in the Church courtyard in the late morning hours after the Center had closed. I recruited participants from the men that had not gone out on jobs on a particular day. Most of these interview participants were workers with whom I had developed a personal rapport through regular interpersonal contact at the Center, although on a few occasions I interviewed men with whom I had more limited familiarity. Because of the extensive amount of downtime at the Center while workers are waiting for employers, I had ample opportunity to engage in innumerable informal conversations with individual workers, groups of workers, and other volunteers. Based on

these conversations and my work as a volunteer at the Day Labor Center, I was able to establish a congenial relationship with many workers that lead to their agreeing to participate in interviews.

At the time of interviews with workers, I gave participants a written description of my project in Spanish which I also paraphrased orally,[34] explaining that I was conducting a research project for my dissertation at the University of Arizona. I explained that I was interviewing workers to learn about their personal histories and what their experience had been living and working in Tucson. I also explained my interest in their ability to speak English and how it affected their employability. After learning about the project, participants were asked to sign the approved consent form giving me permission to conduct the interview and additional permission to make an audio recording. In all interviews with the exception of one, participants gave me permission to make audio recordings of interviews. In the case of the worker that did not want to be interviewed, he gave me permission to take notes during our conversation.[35]

During these interviews with workers, I asked general questions about personal background (place of origin, age, language background, time spent in Tucson or other parts of the U.S.) and more specifically about work experiences, the job market, employer-worker relations, and the importance of language skills on the job and in the

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[34] All workers that participated in interviews were Spanish dominant, yet many of them had low literacy levels and were uncomfortable reading in Spanish. Because of this, I always asked participants if they would prefer for me to explain the project orally rather than expecting them to read the description of the project.

[35] In retrospect I realize that I had not developed the necessary rapport with Rubén to conduct this particular interview (3/29/07). Since then I have gotten to know this worker on a more personal level and am confident that if I were to ask to record him at the time of this writing (May 2007) that he would agree to be recorded. This experience served as a reminder of the importance of knowing participants more intimately before conducting formal interviews and/or making recordings.

community. I also asked about their experiences (or lack thereof) studying or learning English, the value they placed on studying English, and their motivation (or lack of motivation) to do so. The workers often discussed many of these topics with little or no prompting and were generally eager to tell their stories. They often shared very emotional personal stories about missing their families, their economic reasons for coming to the U.S., and dramatic border crossing stories. All interviews with workers were conducted in Spanish. The transcriptions from these interviews give voice to the participants in their own analysis of the intersection of language and the job market.

With the exception of the interview with Rubén mentioned above, most interviews were informal and relaxed. While the interviewees usually did most of the talking, they often also asked me personal questions about myself or about issues related to the DLC, living in Tucson, or learning English. In casual conversations with workers during the Center's operating hours, it was very common for workers to ask me very direct questions about my personal life. At first these questions took me off guard—yet I soon realized that if I wanted to workers to be open with me about their lives that I needed to reciprocate and therefore always tried to be as open as possible in answering their questions. While these types of conversations generally did not happen during interviews, having informal conversations before recording interviews undoubtedly helped establish rapport and promote openness in the interview setting.

The interviews I conducted with volunteers and outside community members focused on their experiences at the Day Labor Center or working with day laborers in other settings. I asked them about their observations and evaluations of interactions

between themselves, workers, and employers. Some of these interviews were also useful in understanding the planning process that went into opening the Center and the role of the Church, local non-profit organizations, and the police in getting the program started. These interviews were also recorded and were conducted in the offices of the participants, at my home, and in one case, at a restaurant. The interviews were conducted either in English or Spanish depending on the preferred language of the participant.

The data collected from participant observation and interviews described here is the primary source material for the following three chapters of analysis on the local linguistic ecology, the performance of bilingualism, and gatekeeping encounters. Data resulting from participant observation will be used to describe informal conversations with participants, interactions between members of the community, and job negotiations as they occurred at the Center. Quotations from interviews will be used in the discussion of locally constructed discourses about the value of language and bilingualism, and also in the interpretation of the dynamics of said job negotiations and the role of language in the workplace and community.

This chapter has introduced the reader to the local context from which the Day Labor Center emerged and the primary actors involved in its creation and operation. I discussed the researcher's motivations for conducting research in this community and my role within the community. The research activities here described resulted in the proceeding ethnographic analysis of the local linguistic ecology, the performance of bilingualism and other identities, and the discursive practices of gatekeeping encounters.

CHAPTER 3
Linguistic Ecology

Ideologies are social constructions that shape and order our understanding of society. With this chapter I will explore how language ideologies emerge from the interplay between dominant and non-dominant discourses, ideologies that structure and inform our understanding of often invisible social hierarchies. Through a discussion of the role of language in defining membership in the nation, I seek to demonstrate how ideologies structure and reproduce the discourses of membership and exclusion. As a result of the dominant discourse connecting language and nation in the United States, English is assigned a significant amount of social and linguistic capital at both a local and national level. My analysis will probe workers' acquisition of dominant ideologies and how they evaluate the perceived value of learning English in relation to their experiences as workers in the informal labor market. I will discuss locally constructed discourses resulting from the acquisition of dominant ideologies as related to: 1) speaking English is identified as a path to socioeconomic success, 2) social barriers and discrimination are linked to not speaking English, and 3) learning English is identified as a response to both of the former. I conclude this chapter with a review of the literature on the economic value of bilingualism, particularly among immigrant populations, as a way of interrogating the economic 'truth' of dominant ideologies surrounding the linguistic capital of bilingualism in the United States.

Language ideologies

Language is a social practice that cannot be separated from reality, but rather informs the construction and perception of reality. Gal explains that ideologies structure our understanding of the social world in "the way in which meaning, and thus language, serves to sustain relations of domination" (1989, p. 359). Linguistic ideologies, then, are founded in existing social power structures and reproduced through them as a means of maintaining relations of domination. Not all members of society have access to dominant discourses because controlling access itself is a means of controlling ideology. Languages other than English are often devalued through other institutional practices (e.g. English immersion programs in schools, employment hiring practices, media representations) that are informed by dominant ideologies (Lippi-Green, 1997). These practices also devalue the speakers of these languages. Therefore, linguistic ideologies are representations that construct the intersection of language and humans in the social world, i.e. "a mediating link between social forms and forms of talk" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). Using language a certain way does not form social groups or identities without ideological mediation; rather, the socioeconomic status of language is negotiated and interpreted through the filter of ideologies.

Lippi-Green (1997) defines ideologies as the "promotion of the needs and interests of a dominant group or class at the expense of marginalized groups, by means of disinformation and misrepresentation of those non-dominant groups" (p. 64). According to this framework, linguistic ideologies act as a form of covert discrimination that aggrandizes dominant groups and maintains systems of inequality. For example, the

linguistic ideology found in the U.S. (and many other countries) of *one nation = one language* favors monolingual speakers of standard English at the expense of those that speak other linguistic varieties (such as Chicano English or African American Vernacular English), those who have a first language other than English, or those that do not speak English at all. This ideology reinforces discrimination against groups and individuals that do not meet the standard by constructing them as foreign, un(der)educated, and/or unemployable.

Because ideologies are disguised as 'truth' or commonsensical in their ordering, description, and evaluation of society, it is often difficult to recognize ideologies as social constructions. Multiple ideologies are often simultaneously at work, leading to their sometimes contradictory nature that is simply a reflection of the contradictory nature of society itself. The following example from Woolard (2002) illustrates the coexistence of competing language ideologies that informs the understanding of the current study.

In her analysis of seventeenth century language ideologies in Spain after the official expulsion of Moriscos, Woolard (2002) identifies two distinct discourses surrounding the issue of the integration of remaining Moriscos into Spanish Christian society. The first ideology sought to maintain a racially-defined binary between Christians and Moriscos by naming language, culture, religion, and genealogy as fixed entities. In contrast, a competing ideology promoted an assimilationist[36] view based on a belief in the dynamic quality of language and culture that could absorb the integration of

[36] While seemingly more moderate from our contemporary perspective, it should be noted that the assimilationist position was based on the superiority of Christianity and Spanish over Morisco religion and language and the ultimate need for assimilation.

out-groups who attempted and were given the opportunity to assimilate. Within these two conflicting early modern Spanish language ideologies, language is an iconic representation of membership in Spanish Christian society; yet each ideology is manifested in different ways. The example of the assimilation of Moriscos in Spain demonstrates the possibility of conflicting ideologies that are based on the same general framework (i.e. to be a Spaniard, one must be Christian and speak Spanish). According to the assimilationist view, it was possible to 'become' a Spaniard, but according to the 'biologically' driven ideology, the only true Spaniards were those established through direct bloodlines.

Woolard's (2002) study is of particular interest because of the startling similarity between ideologies in Renaissance Spain and contemporary language ideologies in the United States with regard to the status of Spanish speakers and their assimilation/integration into the national imaginary. The racialization that Woolard describes as making a 'biological' or racially-based connection between social, cultural, and linguistic traits mirrors the experience of Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. If the 'truth' of discourse is seen to emerge from a natural (i.e. biological) process, then it is more difficult to question. Language ideologies then function as a part of social processes disguised as truth, which make them more difficult to question. Woolard defines racialization as "the growth of an explicit ideology that locates significant social difference in characteristics viewed as natural, essential, and ineradicable because biologically given" (2002, p. 457). She explains that while Moriscos wanted to learn Spanish, opportunities were not always available because systems of social segregation

dictated their exclusion from positions of authority that were reserved for Spanish Christians; these institutionalized practices restricted Moriscos' integration into dominant society.

Dominant ideologies thus defined Moriscos as being unable to adapt or assimilate; their Muslim religion and 'foreign' language were seen as negative attributes that were racialized because they 'inherently' prohibited their integration. This is parallel to what has occurred in the Southwestern United States, where Spanish and Spanish-speakers were erased from the historical landscape and recreated as being foreign, when in fact Mexicans and the Mexican nation-state had earlier ties to the region than Anglos or the United States (cf. Brady, 2002). The construction of Moriscos as foreigners in Spain similarly required the erasure of their eight-hundred-year presence and influence as the symbolic dimension of the Reconquista, or Christian re-conquest of Spain. Similarly, Spanish and other languages in the U.S. are racialized because they are seen as a defining trait that linguistically, culturally, and racially separates Latinos/as (or other linguist groups) from Anglos, enabling their exclusion from the national imaginary.

Linguistic ecology

The following discussion on linguistic ecology lays the groundwork for understanding the coexistence of multiple (and sometimes conflicting) ideologies. I use the concept of linguistic ecology to reinforce the interaction between dominant and local discourses in shaping the development and assimilation of language ideologies, with particular interest in how discourses of language capital are (re)produced. In *The Ecology of Language*

(1972), Haugen calls for the study of language within the context of the environment in which a language exists. With the concept of 'ecology of language,' he argues for the study of the interaction between language and its environment—comprised of speakers' understanding of the relationship between their own and other languages in combination with how a language interacts socially within the societies where it is used. Language ecology, then, is socially constructed by those that learn, use, and ultimately diffuse it.

Newly arrived immigrants, such as many of the participants in the present research, negotiate their own place in the linguistic ecology through a process that seeks to reconcile the sometimes contradictory nature of competing ecosystems found in sending and receiving communities. Their understanding of their own positionality (e.g. documented vs. undocumented, permanent vs. temporary) informs their participation in and adaptation to this change in environment. According to Haugen, language behaviors are not static, but rather are the result of linguistic perceptions that are constantly redefined through interactions and institutions contained within this linguistic ecology. In the case of Spanish-English contact in the Southwest, it is pertinent to examine the wider social context of social hierarchies and interactions that influence speakers and their use of both languages. The ideologies and institutions that make up the linguistic ecosystem are both the backdrop and stage directions that influence the scripting of face-to-face interactions.

Martínez (2003) has noted that linguistic ecosystems are mutually determined by infrastructure and superstructure. He defines infrastructure as the socioeconomic institutions that determine and govern language contact and interaction (e.g. schools,

government, business) and superstructure as the ideologies that simultaneously explicate social and institutional imbalances of languages and their speakers (e.g. attitudes, stereotypes, definitions of ethnolinguistic boundaries). Infrastructure motivates the superstructure, which in turn ratifies the infrastructure. Infrastructure and superstructures cyclically inform linguistic praxes that reflect and/or contest these structures. Linguistic ecosystems, then, act as an ideological filter through which language passes in the construction of social order. Philips (2004) expands the concept of ecology by suggesting that ideologies are layered within an ecosystem of ideas that allows for the interpretation of coexisting and/or competing ideologies. Her model explains the spread of disparate linguistic ideologies from economic centers to peripheries in a way that imitates the spread of plants from one ecological system to another; new ideologies do not necessarily replace old ones, but rather coexist and/or compete with existing ideologies. This permits the possible overlap of multiple ideologies that can be oppositional and/or complementary.

Understanding how ideologies create divisions and connections between languages and their speakers is a useful framework for examining language contact situations and the role of language in erecting, ratifying, testing, and contesting inter-group boundaries. Gal and Irvine (1995) name the three semiotic processes of iconicity, recursiveness, and erasure as linguistic ideologies that 'recognize' difference and link language to social groups, shaping both individual and group identity. Through *iconicity*, linguistic features are deemed to be inherently representative of a group's social attributes. The link between a group's language and its social/cultural characteristics is

understood to be a natural connection. A related example of iconicity is found in the construction of racial categories or national identities that link particular social/cultural and/or physical traits as being intrinsically or 'naturally' linked with members of said groups. This process links languages and specific language varieties with their speakers; language is thus understood as a representative trait that marks speakers' social memberships. For example, the ideology that names Spanish in the U.S. as disorderly and a threat, demonstrates iconicity as a representation of the disorder and threat of the Latino/Mexican body (Weber, 1994; Gutiérrez, 1996; Sheridan, 2002; Brady, 2002; Flores, 2003). The construction of language ideologies that negatively link a language with a specific population is a means of reinforcing racial inequalities when explicitly racial discourses are disallowed (Hill, 2001b). The Spanish language thus serves as an icon for Latinos that are perpetually defined as the foreign Other.

The second process Gal and Irvine (1995) discuss is *recursiveness*, a "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level," like "fractals" that are reflected onto multiple levels (p. 974). Following this definition, recursiveness is a reflective process that can range from an expansive societal level of oppositional relationships and can also be repeated at a minute interactional level that reproduces the same oppositional relationship. Therefore, recursiveness is continually reinforced through similar oppositional relationships ranging from interpersonal, inter-group, or broader societal oppositions. The reproduction of an oppositional relationship depends on differentiation between groups that allows groups or linguistic varieties to be defined in opposition to other groups or varieties. The contrast between groups allows for

an oppositional definition. An example of this is the idea that there is an unadulterated variety of Spanish or 'Real Castilian Spanish' that is superior to 'Border Spanish,' but that 'English' is better than 'Real Castilian Spanish' due to its superior status in the global socioeconomic market.

Finally, the process of *erasure* simplifies intra-group differences, creating an imagined sense of homogeneity, in effect ignoring or overlooking internal variation. This essentializing process works simultaneously with recursiveness to define unified group boundaries in opposition to other social groups. The erasure of intra-group heterogeneity makes possible the drawing of a boundary around a specific group or language. For example, an essentializing discourses names English as the only 'American' language while ignoring the fact that there are substantial numbers of Spanish speakers (not to mention speakers of other languages) within the boundaries of U.S. territory since the U.S. acquisition of large portions of the Southwest in the eighteenth century. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexicans who were native to the region were invited to naturalize without attention to the language they spoke.[37]

In the context of the Day Labor Center, we can see how these three processes are simultaneously at work, sometimes in contradictory ways. Among the workers, the inclusive internal construction of the concept of 'la Raza,' locally defined as people of Mexican or other Latin American origin or heritage,[38] names ethnicity and heritage as a unifying factors through a process of iconicity. This process is recursively reinforced

[37] This is not uncomplicated because of deferential understandings of which Mexicans were qualified for citizenship, i.e. Whites, Mestizos, and Indians where not uniformly granted the privilege of citizenship.
[38] At the Day Labor Center, the term 'la Raza' is often used to refer to Central Americans, Mexicans, and Chicanos. La Raza does not refer only to race or ethnicity, but to a broadly defined concept of in-group membership as defined by language, origin, cultural background, etc.

through interactions with Anglos that creates an oppositional relationship between 'Gringos'/English speakers and 'la Raza'/Spanish speakers. This process erases intra-group diversity among members of 'la Raza' such as country of origin, citizenship, or language ability. I believe that because of this iconic representation that locates Latinos as being members of the same racial/ethnic group and concurrently erases intra-group difference, it is especially offensive for immigrant workers when they suffer employment abuses and social rejection at the hands of Chicanos or more established immigrants; it is interpreted as an internal construction of socioeconomic hierarchies that reinforce inequality between U.S. Latinos and immigrant Latinos. These actions contradict the unifying project of the social construction of 'la Raza' because Chicanos and more established immigrants[39] are perceived as being both outsiders and insiders. The ideology of the iconicity of 'la Raza' is continually constructed and contested through interactional events that both unite and divide Chicanos and immigrant Latinos.

At the Day Labor Center, the process of erasure makes it all too easy for outsiders to conflate Spanish speakers, day laborers, poverty, illegality, and delinquency and drug use as being synonymous with membership in the day labor community. Although the Center is separate from the Church's mission to assist distressed migrants and the homeless, these populations are often lumped together without distinction.[40] Similarly,

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[39] The term Chicano is often used at the Day Labor Center to refer to immigrant Latinos that are more established in the U.S. in addition to the more dominant usage of this term that refers to U.S-born Latinos. See Chapter 5 for a further discussion on the conflictive relationship between newer immigrants and more established or U.S.-born Latinos.

[40] In March of 2008, a local television station did a story on the employment of undocumented workers at Hope Christian Church with regard to the employer sanction law passed in January of the same year. They used footage of homeless people eating breakfast at the Church to illustrate part of their story, making no distinction in the makeup of these two populations, in effect erasing a profound inter-group difference.

because there was a spatial overlap in the day laborers and those involved in drug and other small-scale criminal activity,[41] many workers felt the need to fight off the label of criminality. The workers were all too aware of the process of iconicity that could potentially define *day laborer = criminal*. Workers did not define their undocumented employment or border crossing as immoral or criminal acts, but rather necessary evils. In contrast, they negatively evaluated substance abuse, drug activity, or violent crimes. In informal conversations and interviews with the workers about how to improve the Day Labor Center and address problems, they repeated talked about how a few bad apples could spoil the image of the entire group. This is a direct reaction to the ideology of iconicity and an acknowledgment of the possible negative effects of this semiotic process.

Day labors respond to the discourse of 'illegality' in reference to immigrant workers with a discourse that justifies their economic need for undocumented entry. Pablo identifies his unauthorized border crossing and participation in the informal labor market as illegal, yet recognizes the economic system that necessitates and encourages his actions:

(3) Para todo necesitas dinero. Entonces hay que buscar la manera de ganárselo sin afectar a nadie. Yo siento que- que violo la ley pero pues siento también que es necesario hacer la vivencia porque también hace falta mucha mano de obra aquí en los Estados Unidos y yo aporto lo poco que puedo y me gano el dinero. Sé que es ilegal pero tengo que arriesgarme por mi familia, pues ellos tienen que comer. (6/12/07, church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora)

[41] Workers often explicitly complained about men who hung out near and at the Center without any real intention of participating in the program because they created a negative image of the community. There was much open speculation that many of these individuals were involved in the sale of drugs. The self-identified serious and responsible (i.e. non-criminal) workers tried to distance themselves as much as possible from their conflation with this group.

In (3), Pablo recognizes that he is breaking the law through his undocumented employment, but justifies his actions by stating that it does not adversely affect anyone. He positively recasts his 'illegality' by emphasizing his contribution to the U.S. economy and responsibility in providing for his family.

In the related example here, Daniel calls for a greater police presence in response to the problematic individuals who persistently caused problems at the Center:

(4) Mi objetivo es estar aquí- vine aquí para trabajar para ganar el pan diario para mí y mi familia y a mi casa donde yo vivo. […]. Entonces como yo no debo nada pues, no temo nada. Entonces por eso yo soy de la idea que aquí debe de estar la policía para erradicar todo lo malo. Entonces si yo me pongo en contra [la presencia de la policía] es porque tengo algo en temor de ellos. Sé que estoy haciendo algo malo. ¿Ya vio? (3/27/07, church courtyard, interview, Daniel, 56, Chiapas, Mexico)

Although Daniel also says that he is doing something bad (i.e. having crossed the border without documentation), he explains that he has nothing to fear from the police.[42] Both Pablo and Daniel are responding to the discourse of 'illegality,' in effect, contesting the ideology that links undocumented workers with criminality/illegality. They recognize the ideologies whereby outsiders erase the many distinctions among undocumented immigrants by reconstructing themselves through discourses of being responsible and law-abiding, i.e. productive members of society.

It is obvious that the three processes of iconicity, recursiveness, and erasure work together in constructing group membership and defining social boundaries. As part of their adaptation to their new environment, immigrant day laborers absorb and contest

[42] As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the Day Labor Center had a good relationship with the local police. Workers that followed locally established rules and were not involved in any criminal activity saw the police as a relatively innocuous force while at the Center.

various ideologies as they negotiate their place in the locally and nationally defined community.

The discourse of language and nation

Language is a crucial component in the construction of national identity and definition of figurative and literal boundaries; language boundaries are part and parcel of the creation of 'imagined communities' as famously described by Anderson (1983). In the United States, the English language has accrued a tremendous amount of social and economic capital due to its central role in defining the nation. Those who do not speak English or speak 'substandard' varieties consequently face greater socioeconomic challenges and discrimination (Lippi-Green, 1997).

In order for English to maintain this privileged status, the discourse of language and nation must be produced and reproduced in the imagining of the nation. Ochs (1990) defines discourse as a set of norms and expectations that relate language to context that speakers and interlocutors draw on to produce and make sense out of language. Although the domains of discourse are shared by all members of a speech community, not all members have the same access to discourse. Linguistic minorities that do not speak English or that speak stigmatized varieties of English are, in some sense, unwillingly compliant in the dominant discourse that justifies their exclusion because of their inability to participate in the conversation in a way that will be heard. Yet through their social and linguistic exclusion, they come to identify a need for linguistic assimilation as

part of integration. Part of this socialization process is understanding discourse, and through discourse, understanding social order.

According to Foucault (1972), all societies control the production of discourse; prohibitions determine what kinds of discourse are acceptable. The idea of true discourse seeks to legitimate itself by not recognizing the process through which 'truth' is conceived. Access to certain kinds of discourse is controlled as a means of controlling discourse itself, e.g. those who do not speak English are unable to challenge the link between language and nation. Bakhtin (1981) recognizes the social stratification of language as a means of demarcating social level. In discourse, linguistic stratification is a way to express meaning and belief systems that reinforce social hierarchies.

The iconic linking of language as a symbol of citizenship emerged in the U.S. in the nineteenth century where *state* = *nation* = *people* (Hobsbawm, 1990). Leeman (2004) explains that non-English languages were initially used in official government discourse as a marker of ethnicity among European immigrants (i.e. 'ethnic Whites'), signaling their ability to eventually assimilate into Whiteness. In the twentieth century, the labels of "Spanish" and "Hispanic" constructed Latinos as being racially and ethnically different despite their legal status that officially classified them as White (Haney López, 2000). Leeman explains that it was in this way the tripartite of phenotype, language, and culture were collapsed into a single category that marked Latinos as being essentially different from Whites.[43] As opposed to European immigrants, U.S. and foreign-born Latinos were

[43] According to Leeman (2004), ideologies that have historically informed the structure of the U.S. Census have effectively constructed all languages other than English as not fit for public consumption (i.e. home languages) and as indicators of race and/or ethnicity, e.g. Hispanic = Spanish-speaking origin. Through the acquisition of English, it is possible for immigrant groups of European ancestry to 'become' White, while

marked as different, with language being an unshakable trait, regardless of language ability, i.e. one could be 'Spanish' or 'Hispanic' without actually being a Spanish speaker.

I argue that dominant language ideologies use this 'inherent' link between language and race/ethnicity in two ways that subjugate Spanish speakers in both inclusionary and exclusionary discourses. On one hand, one must speak English, and only English, for full membership in the nation (e.g. Arizona's Proposition 203 that outlawed bilingual education in 2000); on the other hand, access to the English language is limited through official policies that limit the boundaries of membership in the nation (e.g. Arizona's Proposition 300 that required recipients of public education to show documentation of legal residency in 2006). According to Del Valle (2003), advocates for the further officialization of English try to prohibit minority groups from being powerful voting blocs by limiting their participation in elections and education by making English the only acceptable language in these contexts. These groups garner support due to their rhetoric that promotes the learning of English as an *inclusive* action because it supposedly supports greater inclusion by giving all people incentive to participate and share in the 'national language' (Woolard, 1990). Such groups contend that English as a national language is threatened by the presence of other languages. They reject the validity of the use of languages other than English in official contexts, implying that it creates a wider ethnolinguistic divide that prevents linguistic minorities—who are almost always also defined as racial/ethnic minorities—from fully joining the 'American' fold.

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the category of Hispanic has been relegated to being 'almost' White because speaking Spanish or having Spanish-speaking ancestry is quintessential to this 'ethnic' definition.

Language policies are actions of political power that can be manipulated to the advantage of one group or another. This is what happened with Prop O in 1984 in San Francisco, California where ideologies of inclusion were manipulated to construct the idea of having only one official language (i.e. English) as an inclusive act (Woolard, 1990). Woolard explains that the argument against the use of bilingual voting ballots was manipulated in a public discourse that stated that the use of multiple languages prevented rather that encouraged citizen participation. Thus, the ideology of iconization created the equation of *one nation = one language* that prevented the integration of multiple languages. When a language is perceived as problematic and divisionary rather than an opportunity or a resource (Ruiz, 1988), it can lead to conflict and social division. In this way, language policies are mechanisms used to situate language within a hegemonic structure that determines who has access to power (Tollefson, 1991).

Arizona's Prop 300 is an example of how state policies are used to exclude language minorities from membership in the nation. This proposition prevented undocumented college students from paying in-state tuition and denied their access to financial aid. More importantly to this research, Prop 300 also denied undocumented adults access to Arizona Adult Education programs and the Family Literacy program.[44] Although the arguments surrounding Prop 300 were couched in terms of guaranteeing that state resources were reserved for authorized citizens of the 'imagined' community, Prop 300's opponents identified the law as an exclusionary tactic that marginalized the

[44] The language of Prop 300 granted these educational privileges, "only to adults who are citizens or legal residents of the United States or are otherwise lawfully present in the United States. This […] shall be enforced without regard to race, religion, gender, ethnicity or national origin" (http://www.azsos.gov/election/2006/Info/PubPamphlet/english/Prop300.htm, retrieved 4/18/08, 3:58 pm).

undocumented without truly addressing the broader immigration issue.[45] Several workers from the Day Labor Center who were long-term members of the community were forced to drop out of adult ESL classes due to the change in law. In addition to reinforcing undocumented immigrants' subordinate status, Prop 300 proved to be a barrier to linguistic assimilation. The restrictions imposed by Prop 300 were voter-approved measures to further prevent undocumented immigrants' membership in their 'imagined' community.

In her discussion of "language panics," Hill (2001b) unpacks the racializing discourses that are covertly propagated in initiatives such as California's Prop 227 (otherwise known as English for the Children) that demonized bilingual education. The media firestorms that result from these kinds of policies reinforce the domination of Whiteness and the subordination of linguistic minorities that are overwhelmingly recognized to be people of color. Arizona's Prop 300 emerged from what is simultaneously a language and moral panic in its identification of undocumented immigrants as being ineligible for educational resources, subsequently limiting their access to English-language learning and educational opportunities in general. This two-tiered process pushes undocumented immigrants further outside the boundaries of the nation. Restricting English-language acquisition is thus a means of restricting membership in the nation and constructing barriers to linguistic and social assimilation. Immigrants' status as marginal members of larger society is reinforced through their

[45] A snide critique of Prop 300 in the *Tucson Weekly* stated, "Those illegal immigrants may still be in the state, but by gum, *at least they're gonna stay ignorant*" (original emphasis, Nintzel, 2007, p. 19).

official and unofficial exclusion from a range of social, employment, and educational venues.

Ullman (2004) explains that discourses of language and nation rely on the perceived necessity of speaking English for membership in the nation that excludes Latino immigrants from the national imaginary, coupled with the desirability of a docile workforce that does not speak English. These seemingly contradictory discourses are mutually beneficial in their definition of the nation and membership in it (Sheridan, 2002; Flores, 2003). The symbiotic relationship between the two discourses emphasizes the need to learn English while restricting access to learning English; this is allowable within the complexity of the linguistic ecology that reinforces existing social hierarchies.

According to Grillo (1989), the relationship between language, power, and politics constructs a dominant ideology that pits two or more languages against each other, producing dominant languages which then subordinate other languages. Grillo asserts that "Language is seen as an important vehicle for the transmission of ideology, as something through which ideology is embodied, and in which, more problematically, it is embedded" (p. 196). Thus, apparent 'language problems,' such as undocumented immigrants seeking access to English language classes, contest immigrants' subjugated status as invisible members of the nation. Those who do not possess this linguistic form are illegitimated, and are excluded from domains of power. Day laborers are situated at the most informal end of the economic market and their place is both determined and reinforced by their liminal access to the market. The general paucity of language skills in

the ‘authorized’ language (i.e. English), reinforces their subordinate socioeconomic status.

Linguistic capital

Speaking a particular language or variety provides access to certain resources and therefore linguistic practices themselves become resources. In other words, languages have varying amounts of linguistic capital in different settings. According to Bourdieu (1991), linguistic capital is determined by the power of the group that uses a certain language or variety which is reinforced institutionally through schools, the job market, government, etc. Other scholars such as Gal (1989) and Woolard (1985) have expanded on this model to describe individuals’ agency to resist and respond to the hegemonic structure that Bourdieu describes. Building on the pervasive discourse of language and nationhood discussed above, I will explore how discourses about the social, economic, and symbolic capital infused in language contribute to dominant English language ideologies. In this section I will examine the discourses of linguistic capital in relation to how the Spanish-speaking day laborers in this study take on dominant linguistic ideologies through their socialization to and participation in these ideologies. Their locally defined evaluation of linguistic capital represents both participation in and a contestation of dominant language ideologies.

Bourdieu (1975) defines discourse as a symbolic asset through which linguistic competence functions as capital. The acquisition of dominant language forms determines access to the linguistic market. There are various types of capital that are interconnected

in the construction of social hierarchies based on both literal and figurative market commodities (Bourdieu, 1991). *Economic capital* references commodities with real market values while *cultural capital* refers to the knowledge and skills garnered through educational or other institutions; *symbolic capital* refers to the accumulation of prestige as result of the accumulation of these first two kinds of capital. These three forms of capital gain value within the context of what Bourdieu calls a 'field' or 'market.' Bourdieu's concept of *linguistic capital* is produced in conjunction with the aforementioned types of capital and refers to the cumulative value language acquires in a particular environment.

Members of a community share similarly conceived notions as to the value of language in a particular setting as a result of dominant discourses. Newcomers learn and internalize discourses, ultimately becoming perpetrators of the inculcation of said discourse as part of their participation in a new habitus. Bourdieu defines language habitus as "a permanent disposition towards language and interaction which is objectively adjusted to a given level of acceptability" (1975, p. 655). Thompson (1991) explains that Bourdieu's concept of habitus refers to a set of dispositions that predispose individuals to perform certain actions and formulate attitudes according to unspoken social norms (p. 12-13). This set of attitudes or postures is acquired through a process of *inculcation* learned over time through everyday lived experiences. This is similar to Schieffelin and Ochs's (1986) concept of language socialization that is defined as socialization through and to the use of language as a result of the continual accumulation of experiences produced in social interactions. The environment in which dispositions are

acquired *structures* them, i.e. different social groups acquire accordingly different sets of dispositions as a result of the milieu in which they are acquired. These dispositions are *durable* in that the individual unconsciously bears them throughout her or his lifetime. Lastly, dispositions are *generative* and *transposable*[46] because they are capable of producing an unlimited spectrum of practices in new and different social settings.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is not unlike that of ideologies, a socially constructed superstructure that informs infrastructure and social practices. Immigrant day laborers bring with them a language habitus that is modified and adapted in reaction to and as a result of an individual's interactions in new social settings. This malleability of habitus allows for its co-creation through social interaction with both in-group and out-group members, continually reconstructing habitus in response to new linguistic and social markets. Many of the immigrant workers at the Day Labor Center are in the process of adapting their understanding of language capital as a result of the change of habitus that occurs through migration. Numerous workers reported that they never had any interest in learning English or saw any value in learning English before coming to the United States.[47]

The current study has been greatly informed by Ullman's (2004) ethnographic research in Tucson and in Mexico with undocumented Mexican immigrants that participated in adult ESL classes in Tucson. Her participants also uniformly saw no need to learn English previous to coming to the U.S. As a result of immigration, the day

[46] All italics in this paragraph indicate Bourdieu's use of terminology as discussed by Thompson (1991).
[47] It should be noted educational levels among workers were generally very low and the majority had never had the opportunity to formally study English before coming to the United States. Carliner (2000) found that Mexican immigrants to the U.S. have obtained an average of eight years of schooling previous to immigration, lower than any other immigrant group.

laborers in the present study find themselves in a linguistic community that is situated in a new marketplace. This requires the adaptation of their habitus to allow for the valorization of learning English. Through their inculcation to the habitus encountered upon arrival, immigrants identify learning English as having tremendous linguistic capital and being central to socioeconomic success. Their understanding of the habitus changes again with greater integration and adaptation when they realize that learning English does not guarantee success.

The value placed on learning English is bound up with living in the U.S. rather than a perceived benefit for returning to one's country of origin with English skills. In Norton's (2000) study of immigrant ESL learners in Canada, her participants' investment in speaking English was entwined with their daily experiences of being the immigrant Other. Their language practices, and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward learning English, were often in reaction to outwardly imposed identities. Although immigrants in Ullman (2004), Norton (2000), and the current study all recognize the value of learning the dominant language (i.e. English), their access to language learning and levels of motivation are informed by their marginalized status.

Among the 'rules' formulated through the negotiation of language habitus is the definition of the legitimate language. Bourdieu (1991) explains that legitimating language is a process of continual negotiation of authority. Through the repetition of this negotiation, the power of legitimate language is defined. The state in turn ratifies the dominant language and imposes it on the habitus of the individual (e.g. through language policies). The legitimate language must be continually constructed as legitimate not only

by those who speak it and have access to its acquisition but also by those who do not speak it yet recognize its value. Recognition of the value of a 'legitimate' language is part of integration into the linguistic community, which reinforces the status of the dominant language. According to Arteaga (1994), the dominant status of English in the United States is constructed in tandem with the construction of Spanish as being both foreign and inferior:

> English carries with it the status of authorization by the hegemony. It is the language of Anglo America and of linguistic Anglo Americans, whether or not they be ethnic Anglos. […]. Spanish is a language of Latin Americans, south of the border and north. Across the border, Spanish is a Third World language; here it is the language of the poor. (p. 12)

In the United States, English is continually (re)defined as the legitimate language as noted in the above discussion on language and the construction of the nation. The fact that the status of English continues to be debated despite the fact that it is not under any real threat—at neither a national nor international level (Spolsky, 2004)—is a reminder that legitimate languages must be continually negotiated and reaffirmed over time.

Discourses that are possible within the habitus interact with the linguistic market in the production of language practices. Thompson explains that "Linguistic utterances or expressions are forms of practice and, as such, can be understood as the product of the relation between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market" (1991, p. 17). In other words, the intersection of 1) the template of social and linguistic parameters acquired through the habitus and 2) the value of language determined by the linguistic market, are the context from which language practices emerge. Therefore, speech acts and language attitudes are the result of this combination of exposure to a certain language habitus as

determined by the language field (or market) where acts and attitudes are produced. Speech acts acquire a certain value, which is determined by the context of their production and the linguistic capital of their speakers.

Similarly, an individual's linguistic capital is determined by the other kinds of capital the individual possesses. For example, an undocumented Mexican day laborer who is a monolingual Spanish speaker has less linguistic capital than an upper-class monolingual Spanish-speaking Mexican who comes to Tucson for a shopping excursion.[48] While both of these hypothetical individuals may have equally limited English skills, the economic, cultural, and symbolic capital of the upper-class shopper creates a parallel linguistic market where Spanish is an appropriate language for commerce. In Tucson this situation is visible in numerous commercial settings (e.g. grocery stores, malls, etc.). It is common to see bilingual clerks in businesses that serve a socioeconomic range of Spanish-speakers in Tucson, yet the visibility of these kinds of encounters vary according to their levels of social authorization.

Agency and ideologies

'Unauthorized' immigrants both affirm and contest dominant ideologies in their acquisition and valorization of English. They affirm English's dominant status and their need to conform to this ideology while contesting their exclusion from the discourse that links language and nation. At the Day Labor Center, the use of the 'authorized' language

[48] Ullman's (2004) participants reported feeling more authorized to use English in their roles as consumers (i.e. in stores) than on the job, although the public performance of imperfect English did put them as risk as being identified as undocumented.

(i.e. English) is not required because of the legally ambiguous status of both day laborers and their employers. The covert nature of this employment setting allows for the use of an 'unauthorized' language (i.e. Spanish). This affirms the subordinate status and socioeconomic position of undocumented workers because they are kept at a distance from official authorization. In Gal's (1989) discussion of the role of individual agency as a cultural practice, she contends that the presence of hegemony suggests the possibility of counter-hegemony whereby individuals or groups from subordinated populations contest dominant discourses. Speech is not only a reflection of social organization, but rather speakers have individual agency in speech as a social practice as a result of the connection between identity, contexts, and speech.

The following analysis of immigrants' discourses on the economic and social capital of English is an attempt to explore how individuals who are officially excluded from membership in the nation contest their marginal status; as Hobsbawm (1990) suggests, adhering to discourses of nationalism is a means of asserting one's membership in the nation. With the examples that follow, I argue that the immigrant workers in this study absorb, propagate, and contest language ideologies through their socialization to and participation in the local community of practice.

The concept of community of practice is a useful tool for analyzing social organization around a collective endeavor such as the Day Labor Center's objective of matching workers and employers. Eckert (2000) uses the concept of 'community of

practice'[49] to describe how individuals come together around a shared objective or activity. Because of its focus "on the day-to-day social membership and mobility of the individual, and on the co-construction of individual and community identity" (Eckert, 2002, p. 40), the social unit defined as a community of practice enables us to analyze the dynamic social structure of the DLC and individuals' agency within it. Within this model, interaction defines social meaning and is mutually constructed by the participants. This interaction is informed by the constraints of internally and externally defined social organization. For example, undocumented workers loosely organize themselves around their need for economic integration while external forces simultaneously grant or deny said integration in cyclical patterns. Yet individuals have some agency in defining their place in a community and are able to adjust their positionality within a group based on their expression of affiliation through social interaction.

Eckert's model is useful for explicating locally constructed discourses of language capital because of the continual renewal of membership in the day labor community as a result of the highly transitory nature of this population. I discuss the habitus that immigrants assume in their assimilation and reaction to dominant language ideologies as part of their introduction into this local community of practice. Not only does the day labor community—and more broadly cast to include the immigrant community in general—face constant renewal through the lose and gain of members, its members continually rework their individual roles of agency and positionality in relation to other

[49] This is distinct from Labov's (1972) concept of 'speech community,' defined as a group of people whose members share the same linguistic attitudes, e.g. ideas about prestige or stigma. The members of this community do not necessarily share the same speech patterns, but recognize—albeit subconsciously—the norms of the community. This is a more static notion of community than Eckert's practice-based orientation.

in-group members and the wider community. Local discourses as related to the value of language reflect the cyclical process of insertion as a reaction to exclusion.

In his study of undocumented Mexican and Central American immigrants in San Diego, California, Chavez (1991, 1992) explains that experiences of incorporation into the local community shift and change over time. Most of the immigrant workers at the Day Labor Center are in what Chavez terms as the transition phase rather than the incorporation phase of settlement, few have brought family members with them and many have plans to return to their countries of origin, with a few exceptions. As discussed above with regard to the exclusionary tactics of Prop 300, "A society that is unwilling to 'imagine' undocumented settlers as part of the existing society places limits on their incorporation" (Chavez, 1991, p. 262). By denying undocumented immigrants access to English language classes, this kind of educational policy limits their ability to integrate. Yet, adopting the dominant ideology that names learning English as essential for socioeconomic integration into U.S. society is one of the ways that undocumented immigrants 'imagine' themselves as members of a community. Seeking out alternative venues for learning English (self-study, personal contact with English speakers, library resources, etc.) is one of the ways that undocumented immigrants can contest their erasure from the national body.

Local discourses on the importance of English

The members of the Day Labor Center subscribe to a common ideology that identifies speaking English as bearing the essential linguistic capital for achieving economic

success, despite evidence to the contrary from observations of job negotiations and personal anecdotes from workers. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, workers with specialized trade skills and more established social and employment networks are economically compensated for their experience while bilingual workers are not directly compensated for their language skills. Yet a prevailing discourse persists among workers that names Spanish monolingualism as a hindrance to economic integration. With this section I will outline prominent discourses among workers on the linguistic capital of bilingualism. These discourses are prevalent among individuals with little or no knowledge of English and less so among those who have invested time and effort in English-language learning. Newer immigrants identify English as a tool for economic success and as a means of creating opportunities for personal advancement in business. Linked to this idea, speaking English is seen a weapon in defense against potential abuse on the job by both employers and bilingual coworkers.[50] Speaking Spanish is also linked to having a burdensome social stigma that could potentially be avoided as a result of learning of English. Learning English is identified as having sufficient linguistic capital to justify the investment of time and money to its study. Lastly, more established members of the community that had learned varying amounts of English through study and interpersonal contact with English speakers tended to downplay the economic effect of bilingualism in the job market. This reinforces my conclusions that learning English does not have the economic impact or value that very low-level or non-English speakers assign to it.

[50] These discourses are very similar to what Ullman (2004) found with undocumented English-language learners in Tucson.

English for economic success

In casual conversations with workers and other volunteers at the Day Labor Center, learning English repeatedly came up as the most desirable skill a worker can obtain in order to be economically successful. This echoes what Ullman (2004) found in her research with undocumented Mexican immigrants in Tucson. She divides her participants' motivations for learning English into two categories:[51] more recent immigrants identified learning English as the key to economic success while immigrants who had been in the U.S. for longer periods see learning English as a way to defend one's self against being taken advantage of on the job. Workers at the Day Labor Center, particularly those who are more recent arrivals, single out learning English as being more important than learning advanced trade skills such as carpentry or plumbing. Workers also saw learning English as a tool to protect themselves against employment abuses. Ullman suggests that leaning English is a tangible goal that undocumented immigrants can work toward in opposition to the near impossibility of obtaining citizenship. For undocumented workers, securing legal documentation is increasingly difficult, and so learning English becomes an alternate path for membership (albeit partial) in the nation.

In (5), an informal consensus is observed among the workers about the importance of learning English. Community volunteers active at the Center also

[51] It should be noted the participants in Ullman's study were identified through their participation in English classes at a community center in Tucson. It is to be expected that individuals who have dedicated the time and energy into taking formal English classes do so because they have recognize some sort of social or economic value in the learning of English. It would be interesting to compare Ullman's results more directly with a greater cross-section of immigrants who have not taken English classes due to lack of interest or opportunity.

contribute to this discourse of the linguistic capital of learning English and several have taught English classes to the workers of varying degrees of formality.[52]

(5) During an informal discussion with six workers, three volunteers, and a church pastor about the kinds of activities that could be introduced at the Day Labor Center in terms of gaining employable skills, there was general agreement that learning English was of greater interest than learning trade skills. Marco, a young recent immigrant from Mexico, suggested that taking English classes was essential for advancement in the U.S. Another young worker, Diego, who has been in the U.S longer, said that classes were not necessary and that he knew people that had learned English through their interactions with English speakers. Diego gave the example that if you were out on a job and needed to buy a pack of cigarettes but did not know how to say what you wanted, you just had to jump in and do it however you could to get your point across. (1/26/07, church parking lot, observation)

The difference between Marco's and Diego's opinions about the best way to learn English appears to be a reflection of their presentation of individual personas. Marco is a shy young man who is very respectful of the operation of the Day Labor Center and its personnel and always wants to 'follow the rules.' He would often sit and talk with more experienced workers and other young men that were also committed to the orderly operation of the Center. Diego was the leader of a trio of young men that would come to the Center and blatantly flaunt their disregard for the rules established by the Center and occasionally worked to actively undermine the Day Labor Center's operation. It is perhaps unsurprising that Marco would favor a more formal, controlled setting for

[52] Although volunteers suggested the implementation of the teaching of trade skills as part of the Center's developmental goals, there was little interest from the workers. All community volunteers (with the exception of Ramón) spoke English which enabled them to engage in informal instruction of English at the Center. The majority of volunteers are female college graduates with little to no expertise in trade skills. Teaching English was a productive activity in which many volunteers felt prepared to engage. Despite the fact that many workers had extensive experience in specialized trades, they demonstrated little initiative to organize this kind of training, likely related to lack of materials, facilities, and compensation.

learning English while Diego favored a more informal, need-based orientation to learning English.

Regardless of differences in opinion about the best way to learn English, there was agreement among the workers that learning English was important and required individual effort regardless of how it was learned. They identified language skills as having greater value than trade skills in the economic market. In the organization and development of the DLC, workers repeatedly requested the implementation of English classes. Especially after the passage of Prop 300, there was limited opportunity for workers to find formal classes in the community. Because their social circles were generally limited to the home, work, and the Day Labor Center itself, many workers felt that they had little access to personal interaction with English speakers. Community volunteers at the Center and employers were often among the few English speakers with whom workers had regular interpersonal contact.

Another discourse coexists with that of the importance of English over other trade skills; workers identify a lack of English as the primary factor holding them back from economic success. This contributes to the discourse of the need for learning English as lending itself to broader opportunities for individual entrepreneurship as seen in both (6) and (7) with Manuel and Mariano respectively:

(6) Yo no sé el inglés pero si supiera inglés ya anduviera en mi propia compañía porque hay muchos que no saben trabajar pero saben el inglés. Eso es lo que les ayuda a ellos. Yo he andado con muchos contratistas que no saben trabajar. Me preguntan cómo le van a hacer aquí, cómo se le puede hacer a ese trabajo y yo les doy la respuesta, pero yo no me arriesgo a trabajar [solo] porque no sé inglés. (6/19/07, Church meeting hall, interview, Manuel, 29, Chiapas)

Manuel bemoans the fact that speaking English as the only skill that some employers have despite their apparent economic success. In (7), Mariano connects his lack of professional mobility with not speaking English:

(7) Tiene que ver mucho el idioma aquí porque sabiendo uno el idioma, le digo, para agarrar los trabajos. […]. Si yo supiera el idioma no crea que estuviera aquí, no, porque pues lo primero que hiciera ver- procurara ver un troque o asociarme con alguien que tenga para moverme. Sabiendo todo el trabajo para qué- ¿Por qué va a andar uno sufriendo? ¿Por qué? A ver como soy yo- ¿De qué me sirve que sepa, digamos, tanto trabajo si no sé el idioma? […]. Si [voy] con una persona que hable español y si la persona que nomás sabe el inglés y entras al trabajo- ¿Y cómo le voy a hacer para decir o negociar con él? No puedo. Solamente que- que ande una persona conmigo que hable el idioma pero todo el tiempo tengo que estar así. (3/6/07, church courtyard, interview, Mariano, 45, El Salvador)

Mariano is a highly skilled worker, who had extensive experience in several trades, yet he identified his lack of English as holding him back because he could not get the kind of work he was qualified to do, thus limiting his opportunities in terms of which employers he could work for.

In (8), Mauro explains that his lack of English had prevented him from establishing long-term relationships with English-speaking employers. Mauro expressed interest in taking English classes and when I asked him if it was important to learn English, he responded, saying:

(8) Sí yo pienso porque me va a dar más oportunidad de trabajo y porque va a haber más entendimiento con el patrón directamente. Y porque va a haber socialismo con la persona de- de- de hacer duradero la- los trabajos; no corto tiempo en donde ellos decidan nada más. ¿No? Me sirve porque muchas de las veces ya no. El trabajo lo que- lo hacen a uno- que uno renuncie de los trabajos, deje uno los trabajos. Sí, no, porque no entiendes el inglés. No comprendes. (3/22/07, church courtyard, interview, Mauro, 36, Sinaloa)

Mauro connects speaking English with facilitating a positive work relationship with employers. We have seen that the members of this community are very keen to acquire

English language skills because they identify it as being an opportunity to work independently, secure better employment, and increase understanding and trust with employers. These discourses contribute to the local understanding of the linguistic capital of speaking English as leading to greater opportunities for economic integration and personal success. This corroborates dominant discourses that name speaking English as necessary for social and economic integration. As part of their experiences of adaptation to life in the U.S., workers assimilated the discourse of the necessity of English for membership in the nation. Although undocumented immigrants' membership in the nation is often defined by its marginality, through the acquisition of dominant discourses, immigrants stake a claim on the possibility of their participation in the nation.

Problems related to not speaking English

Related to the discourses of learning English equating socioeconomic success, many workers associated a lack of English with vulnerability in the workplace at the hands of both employers and coworkers.

(9) In an informal discussion with several workers at the Day Labor Center about how to best take advantage of resources at the Center, one young worker stressed the importance of offering English classes because it would expand the pool of possible employers. He identified an economic advantage of working for Anglo employers saying, "La Raza no paga bien, los güeros son quiénes pagan más" (*Latinos don't pay well, gringos are the ones who pay more*). (2/6/07, parking lot, observation)

This young man saw learning English as being the key to getting work with desirable employers. Workers repeatedly attested that work conditions and pay are better with

Anglo employers than with Chicano/Mexican employers.[53] This also contributes to the discourse on the importance of learning English in order to secure employment with Anglo employers. Speaking English is seen as a gateway to a better kind of employment.

(10) He escuchado comentarios de que hay patrones norteamericanos que tratan mal pero a mí no me ha tocado. Me ha tocado más con los mexicanos que con los norteamericanos. Ni un norteamericano me ha tratado mal hasta ahorita. A mí me han pagado, me han dado de comer, me han dado agua…suficiente agua…me han ofrecido llegando la comida y- y sí me ha tocado casos de uno que otro mexicano con los que me iba a trabajar pues. Más bien por el problema del idioma pues, yo prefiero irme con un mexicano aunque me trate mal. (6/12/07, Church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora)

Pablo feels trapped working with Mexican employers because he does not speak English; he cites better conditions with Anglo employers in terms of on-the-job treatment, food, and water, which is of particular importance when working in the dry heat of the Sonoran desert. It is unsurprising that monolingual Spanish-speaking workers often have less experience working with Anglo employers than bilinguals do. Yet there was a general consensus among workers that they received better treatment on the job with Anglos based on their sometimes limited experience. Working with Anglo employers is identified as more quickly propelling day laborers toward finding a place of employment where their work was valued and respected.[54]

In response to the reiteration of the discourse that named Anglos as more desirable employers, especially among monolingual Spanish speakers, I asked Mauro, who did not speak English, if he had a hard time communicating with employers that did not speak Spanish.

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[53] This is of course not universally true as employment abuses have been documented with a wide array of employers. See Chapter 5 for a more extensive discussion of the often conflictive relationship between new immigrants and more established Latino employers and workers.

[54] See (52) in Chapter 5 for Beto's discussion of wanting his work to be recognized and appreciated.

(11) Sí, me costó mucho trabajo porque en ocasiones yo estuve solo con [los patrones gringos] directamente pero ya señalándome, apuntándome hacía el trabajo y sabiéndolo hacer un poco y no mucho pero que requería cómo ellos lo quisieran. Era fácil, era fácil. Lo difícil para mí era que el [trabajador] mexicano que le entendía el inglés nos manejara a su modo a su antojo. Y esas eran las personas que ganaban más que los que hacíamos el trabajo. (3/22/07, church courtyard, interview, Mauro, 36, Sinaloa)

Mauro is unbothered by needing to communicate through gesturing with English-speaking employers. On the other hand, Spanish speakers, such as his bilingual coworker in this account, are identified as being abusive. Monolingual workers often expressed trepidation about getting hired alongside their bilingual peers. They cited instances when bilinguals had taken advantage of their role as language brokers to cheat their peers out of their deserved pay. In (11), Mauro felt pushed around by his bilingual coworker because of his linguistic disadvantage. Not speaking English is thus identified as a 'danger' because one is not able to 'defend' oneself at the hands of English speakers.

Workers identify not speaking English as drawing a linguistic boundary around their social world in Tucson. There is a significant Spanish-speaking population in Tucson[55] that allows for horizontal social mobility within certain spheres. Yet Spanish monolinguals, especially those who are undocumented, have to learn to negotiate these linguistic boundaries in the community. In (12) and (13), Mariano and Pablo respectively feel limited in their roles as consumers because they do not speak English:

(12) Cuando yo entré al país no salía ni a las tiendas a comprar porque no sabía el idioma. Hay muchos dicen, ¿qué hacía yo cuando iba a comprar? Me quedaba en la puerta esperando a ver quién entraba que hablaba el español y que hablaba inglés para entrar para comprar, que me lo comprara él porque para decirte la verdad, habemos muchos, la mayoría ¿no? Pues, él que no sabe el idioma se

[55] The U.S. Census Bureau found that 29.1% of Tucson's population speaks Spanish (http://factfinder.census.gov, retrieved 4/29/08, 10:11a.m.).

> agüita pues no puedes entrar porque ¿cómo le vamos a hacer o en muchas partes también de que todas las cosas que compras vienen en inglés? ¿No? Y no sabiendo [inglés] uno, para mí- para mí es un punto muy importante, es lo primero. (3/6/07, church courtyard, interview, Mariano, 45, El Salvador)

Here Mariano describes the coping techniques he developed to compensate for not speaking English; learning to identify bilinguals that he could call on to assist him in negotiating service encounters. Waiting outside the door with the hope of finding a language broker (i.e. informal translator) from a random bilingual is representative of his wait for social integration. Not speaking English made Mariano feel powerless in everyday social interactions. Language is again and again cited as a barrier for social and economic integration.

Pablo also notes that not speaking English limits him as a consumer in terms of the spaces that permit his integration:

(13) Hay veces que me quiero meter a un McDonald's y muchas veces hay gente que habla español en los McDonald's pero te quedan mirando. Así le preguntas, "*Speak Spanish*?" "*No, only English*." O sea, sientes que […] te están haciendo menos. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces en Food City no pasa así. Yo cuando voy a comprar al Food City le pregunto a cualquiera si habla español, "Sí," me dice, "¿Qué se te ofrece?" (6/12/07, Church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora)

Pablo cites being shut out of one of America's primary symbols of consumerism, McDonald's, yet finds a space that accepts and promotes his integration as a consumer in Food City.[56] He recognizes that Food City does not represent mainstream American

[56] Food City is an Arizona budget supermarket chain that markets extensively to the Latino population. They carry numerous products that cater specifically to the Latino community and have many bilingual employees available to serve their Spanish-speaking customers. It is noteworthy that when viewing the store's webpage one must first choose to proceed in English or Spanish (www.myfoodcity.com, retrieved 4/29/08, 10:33 a.m.), thus marking the consumer as a potential member of the Spanish-speaking community. This is not true of Food City's parent company—Basha's, a more upscale supermarket chain—whose website has no information in Spanish (www.bashas.com, retrieved 4/29/08, 10:35 a.m.). Language is clearly linked to socioeconomic class and defining boundaries between different kinds of consumers.

culture in the same way that McDonald's does, yet is relieved that there is this public space for him to act as a consumer. Pablo identifies this dual system of consumerism as limiting his full integration in the community.

Commitment to learning English

A very concrete demonstration of the economic value that workers identify with learning English was demonstrated by Mariano in his purchase of the popular course *Inglés sin Barreras*. This do-it-yourself English language program is widely advertised in the Spanish-language media and its target audience is the Latino immigrant community. Mariano explained that the "curso" (*course*) cost $1,800 and he had negotiated payment in monthly installments. He excitedly told me about the CDs, DVDs, books, dictionaries, and games that came as part of the package (2/2/07). The price of the course is incredibly expensive, especially for a day laborer with an unreliable source of income.[57] The program's marketing success relies on Latino immigrants' collective quest for socioeconomic mobility while living in the United States; it depends on and reproduces the discourse that learning English as crucial for expanding social integration and employment opportunities.[58]

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[57] Just a month later, Mariano said he was already behind on his payments. The company had called him and said that they were going to charge him interest (3/1/07). Other workers recounted exchanges with door-to-door salesmen selling *Inglés sin Barreras*, and being able to negotiate the price.

[58] The makers of *Inglés sin Barreras* acknowledge the misleading message of their advertising in a small-print disclaimer on the website that warns, "Los resultados de cualquier mètodo [sic] dependen de la persona y de su esfuerzo. Aprender inglès [sic] no implica o garantiza empleo" (*The results of any method depend on the person and his or her effort. Learning English does not imply or guarantee employment*) (http://www.inglescursos.com/1/prequal.jsp?CLK=8042114501216982&kw=ingles_sin_barreras&redirected=Index&CLK=8042114501216982&CCID=&QTR=&ZN=&ZV=&KY_T=, retrieved 4/21/08, 2:51 p.m.).

Other workers used a combination of techniques for self-study such as checking out books from the local library, seeking out English-speakers for informal practice, using English on the job, talking with their neighbors, listening to the radio, etc. Yet their access to English-speakers and ESL classes was often very limited. Both Saturnino[59] and Félix had been actively involved in adult education ESL classes administered at a local community center, making the commitment to be there two hours a night, four nights a week. According to Félix, it was not only a major commitment to take the classes, but it was also difficult to get into the class:

(14) Félix related how difficult it had been to get into his ESL class because there were many more people that wanted to sign-up than the number of spaces available. Not only did it take a great deal of commitment to attend eight hours of class a week, but it took a combination of luck and initiative just to get into the class. After having his name on a waiting list, Félix was only able to get into a class because he made a call to the office of the community college from his cell phone while waiting in a long line to register. His wife unsuccessfully tried to register. Félix wished that he had more opportunities to practice his English but happily related the experience of working with an employer that knew a little Spanish and wanted to learn more. They had worked out an informal exchange of teaching each other new words in their respective languages. (4/12/07, parking lot, observation)

Félix was motivated to learn English after settling in Tucson with his wife and three elementary-school-age children. He was very proud of his kids' progress in school[60] and their English although he did worry that the youngest ones were becoming more resistant to speaking Spanish. The following month after our conversation in (14), Félix explained how Prop 300 had truncated his opportunity to study English.

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[59] Saturnino once got out of sequence with his English classes because he got caught by the Border Patrol and was deported. By the time he made it back to Tucson he had missed the deadline to sign-up for the next class (3/8/07, individual interview).

[60] Félix and his wife had attended teacher conferences at their children's school and he proudly boasted about his children's achievements. Their involvement in the children's school suggests a high level of social integration into the community.

(15) When I asked Félix to tell Lorenzo (who was interested in taking ESL classes) about his experiences studying English, he told us that he had to drop out of his English classes because of Proposition 300 and the new requirement for proof of residency. He was very disappointed because he was in the fourth level of classes and was pleased with how much he had learned. Félix explained that of the 37 people in his class, only 6 remained that could show documentation. His English instructors had told the ESL students that they could continue to come to classes, but there was no guarantee that they would be safe from the Border Patrol. Félix said that no one wanted to take their chances. (5/29/07, parking lot, observation)

Both Félix and Saturnino had to drop out of their ESL classes because of the proof of residency requirement implemented with Prop 300. Others such as Lorenzo never had the opportunity to begin formal study. It is clear that such legislation blocks participation and integration. It is noteworthy that Saturnino was one of the few day laborers who dared to participate in political activism at the local level during the immigration reform debate in 2007. His participation in student leadership at his ESL classes gave him the confidence and know-how to seek out other day laborers in terms of signing petitions and encouraging them to attend informational meetings. With his removal from ESL classes, his political activism died away, an indirect benefit for English-only language policy makers.

Although few newly arrived immigrants have the economic and social network resources to continue independent studies of English, they contest their exclusion from the English-language community, and thus dominant society, through their participation in a discourse that links English-language learning and socioeconomic success. Staking claim on the possibility of learning English is a way of 'imagining' themselves into membership in the community. In the words of Ullman, "*Learning English is an act of*

agency, regardless of whether people actually earn more money because of it" (emphasis in original, 2004, p. 212).

Lack of economic compensation for bilinguals

Despite the prevalent discourse that names learning English as having significant value in the informal labor market, workers seldom received compensation for their language skills. This is a trend that both English-speaking and non-English-speaking workers identified. When I asked Pablo, a monolingual Spanish speaker, if English speakers earned more on the job than those that did not speak English, he reported that he had not seen a difference, but recounted the following anecdote about a bilingual worker that tried to take more than he deserved:

(16) Elise: ¿Usted ha visto que aquí los patrones pagan más a las personas que hablan inglés o es que- más o menos igual?

Pablo: Una vez fui con [un trabajador bilingüe] y nos dieron igual pero el señor [el patrón] también no entendía mucho. Inclusive él, al momento que nos pagó, me dio sesenta dólares y al otro amigo le dio los setenta pero al amigo le dijo que cambiara el billete porque yo le escuché que dijo que cambiara el billete y que me diera *five* dólar a mí y *five* dólar a él. Bueno pues, le dijo a él, "Gracias, gracias." Entonces nos bajamos y cuando vi que se iba a guardar los setenta dólares le dije, "si quieres yo aquí tengo los cinco dólares" y se me quedó mirando. "Mira si quieres para que no vayas a cambiarlo aquí traigo los cinco dólares. Dame los diez." Y ya como no queriendo ya le di los cinco. (6/12/07, church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora, Mexico)

Pablo does not report that employers pay bilingual workers more, but rather that bilingual workers take advantage of monolingual workers and trick them out of the wages that they are due. This is similar to what Mauro reported in (11) above that bilingual coworkers

mistreat their monolingual coworkers.[61] Bilingual workers are often constructed as tricksters that are out to take advantage of their monolingual peers rather than facilitate communication.

Bilingual workers that were more established in the U.S. were reluctant to make a connection between their language skills and socioeconomic success. Beto had lived in Tucson for 15 years with his wife who is an English-dominant Mexican American. He explained that he had taught her great deal of Spanish and vice versa. When I asked Beto if he thought he got more work because he spoke English, he downgraded the importance of his language skills as being comparable having transportation and maintaining social network contacts:

(17) Yo te voy a decir la verdad. […]. Él que quiere trabajar trabaja y no son excusas entonces. A mí no me ha afectado nada, a mí no me ha afectado nada porque como te digo, si el trabajo no lo consigo aquí, le busco ¿Me entiendes? Le busco. No ando a pie, yo tengo carro aquí, tengo un teléfono. Todo el tiempo conozco a gente. Como te digo, a mí no me afecta, no me afecta, no creo todavía. […]. Entonces esa ventaja [de hablar inglés] es muy buena al igual que el carro y el teléfono. ¿Me entiendes? Eso es muy buena ventaja porque, porque ya no pierdes la comunicación con nadie. (6/15/07, church meeting hall, interview, Beto, 33, Magdalena, Sonora)

Beto has been successful in his social and economic integration into the community and does not need to come to the Day Labor Center often because of the employment network he has constructed in Tucson over the years. He avoids saying that he has accumulated any real economic benefit from speaking English, but rather the combined total of having a vehicle, a phone, and an employment network have contributed to his success. Speaking English does facilitate the acquisition of these network builders, but speaking English, in

[61] See also (36) in Chapter 5 for a similar example.

and of itself, does not result in economic success. Workers that were more established in the community and spoke English to varying degrees seemed to have experienced a change in habitus upon the realization that learning English had not been a cure-all for their socioeconomic maladies. Other kinds of social capital were needed for economic success and they discovered that language was not the only barrier that prevented integration.

In (18), Omar identifies speaking English as being a gateway to working for Anglo employers, who are reported to pay better than Latino employers. Again, speaking English is not what earns the worker more money, but facilitates his employment in a more appealing environment.

(18) Elise: ¿Usted piensa que los patrones pagan mejor a los que hablan inglés o es más o menos igual? ¿No le pagan más a uno por hablar inglés?

Omar: No, o sea, para mí pienso que si te dice un güero, "Te voy a pagar a nueve" Bueno a nueve aunque yo sepa inglés, no sepa inglés. Ese gringo te trata bien o sea no te está apurando. […]. Tú vas y que vas a limpieza, es más tranquila la chamba y a veces haces más de ocho horas, a veces haces diez horas, a veces nueve horas. Te traen tu lonche y te pagan bien. (4/26/07, church courtyard, interview, Omar, 39, Chiapas)

Ullman (2004) found that learning English did not necessary result in higher pay, although it could result in having jobs where workers were more publicly visible and therefore less likely to be abused by their employers. Ullman mentions that the bilingual immigrants that she interviewed also commented that speaking English sometimes resulted in job discrimination because employers often expect bilinguals to perform additional tasks without being rewarded. This is the case with bilingual workers at the

Day Labor Center. They cite having greater responsibilities on the job for which they do not receive compensation.

Language and place

Omar is from a Zapotec-speaking family in Southern Mexico. Although his parents spoke Zapotec as their primary language, Omar had stopped speaking Zapotec as an adult, explaining that he did not like to speak it anymore. Although his parents spoke 'their' language, he no longer spoke 'his' language. This evaluation stresses the persistent link between language and identity, even when a language is lost or abandoned. At the time of the following interview, Omar was contemplating returning to his family in Mexico because he had not earned as much as he had hoped in Tucson. His 20-year-old son also worked at the Day Labor Center and planned to stay longer despite being separated from his own wife and child in Chiapas. Omar explained that he would have little need for English upon his return to Mexico:

(19) Omar: Entonces todos aprenden [inglés] poco a poco. Mira, como yo, o sea yo me referencia para qué quiero el inglés. Sí, ese de que me sirve, aquí, sí, me sirve. […]. Aquí, pero allá en mi país, ni modo que le hable a mi esposa inglés. No sabe. Ni modo que le hable en inglés. Mi papá puro su idioma [zapoteco] habla. Tengo una tienda [en Chiapas]. Nadie habla inglés. Vas a una tienda, puro español, puro español. No hablan otro idioma, puro español.

Elise: Sí bueno, allá es diferente para usted que está pensando en regresarse. Para los que piensan quedarse aquí pues eso es otro rollo, ¿No?

Omar: Exactamente, que aprovechen ellos y vayan a la escuela. Tienen más posibilidades de conseguir trabajo porque hablas inglés. Te dan trabajo rápido. (4/26/07, church courtyard, interview, Omar, 39, Chiapas)

Omar had previously worked in Miami for several years before returning to Mexico and ultimately arriving in Tucson. He was proud of the English he had learned in Florida but

saw little value for English in reference to his impending return to Chiapas. Yet, the value of speaking English was very much connected with place. Speaking English only had linguistic capital within the context of his residency in the United States. Outside of this context, English lost its value. A language's capital is understood through the filter of the local ecology. Transnational migrants adjust their understanding of the language habitus not only according to perceived personal benefits, but also in terms of their sense of permanence and relationship with a particular place.

The immigrant workers in this study had no access to acquiring English before coming to the U.S.[62] Ullman (2004) found that in Mexico learning English was identified as an elite privilege and not applicable for those seeking the low-wage employment that most immigrants find in the U.S. (p. 118-119). Víctor is a young man from northern Mexico who was already in the U.S. for the second time at the age of 18. During his first experience of migration, he had been employed by Anglo ranch owners and had lived in relative isolation on the ranch. Because his employers spoke Spanish, he explained that he originally had little motivation to learn English:

(20) Víctor: A mi parecer yo- es mejor trabajar con americanos.

Elise: ¿Así era en el rancho donde trabajabas antes?

Víctor: Americanos, sí

Elise: ¿Pero hablaban español?

Víctor: Hablaban español, sí. Eran americanos pero hablaban muy bien el español porque esa gente siempre ha traído indocumentados, inmigrantes. […]. No me interesaba el inglés, más que todo, a mí no me interesaba. Y ya es cuando ahora que andas acá fuera [en la ciudad]. En ese instante no me interesaba porque están

[62] The only exception is occasionally found in younger workers with higher levels of education who had formally studied English in school. None of these men felt that this limited contact with English in the classroom had prepared them in any way for coming to the U.S.

> lo patrones que hablan bien el español. O sea no te interesa ¿Sí me entiendes? Y acá que te subes al *bus* y- y que te dicen en inglés que tienes que meter primero pedir el *day pass* y luego meter los dólares, que te dicen ellos. Te explican pero tú piensas que te están regañando o que te están diciendo, "No sabes" o "Mira que eres ah-" Casi es necesario [aprender inglés] la mera realidad pero, es como digo, ya será un poquito más delante donde- ya agarrar un poquito más de noción. (3/18/08, church courtyard, interview, Víctor, 18, Camargo, Chihuahua, Mexico)

As previously mentioned, Víctor had only been in Tucson for three weeks at the time of this interview. In the year following the interview, Víctor made an effort to learn English through informal classes at the Day Labor Center and through interactions with employers on the job. His disinterest in learning English on the ranch changed rapidly upon his arrival in Tucson. On the ranch, his Anglo employer had bought him a self-study course for learning English, but it was not until he found himself in the city where he lived much more independently that he identified a need for learning English.

As was mentioned above, Saturnino was well established in Tucson and had been active in ESL classes at a local community center. When I asked him if he thought that it was important to speak English in order to get more work, he said:

(21) Saturnino: Es muy importante hablar inglés es muy importante, pues. Es tan necesario que- Pues, es el- es el habla de aquí, pues. Entonces los- tenemos necesidad de aprender hablar inglés, aunque no mucho. Ni si quiera para entender el trabajo pero sí, sí es muy importante. Vienen muchos patrones que quieren personas que hablen inglés simplemente solo para ir a agarrar la pala. Pero como ellos no quieren tener esa dificultad de tener que explicar, entonces ellos no hablan español. Nosotros somos los que tenemos la necesidad de aprender hablar inglés.

Elise: Y cuando usted está por ahí en la ciudad, como en las tiendas o con los vecinos y todo eso, ¿hace falta mucho inglés también o casi siempre se encuentra una persona que hable español o como lo encuentra usted?

Saturnino: Pues, pues por lo regular aquí en- aquí en el estado de Arizona la mayoría es de habla hispano. Sí, esta pues. Para otros estados es más difícil. (3/8/07, church meeting hall, interview, Saturnino, 41, Chiapas)

Saturnino vacillates between saying that speaking English is important and that you really do *not* need English to get the job done in reference to the physical labor that most day laborers do. He recognizes that the burden is placed on Spanish-speakers to facilitate communication with their English-speaking employers, even when many jobs do not require any kind of extensive explanation or communication. Saturnino acknowledges that learning English is useful, but goes on to say that there are so many Spanish-speakers in Arizona that he always finds other Spanish speakers when he needs them. Saturnino recognizes the high expectations for immigrants to learn English, but identifies few rewards. His indifference seems related to his ability to use Spanish extensively in the community. Similar to Beto in (17), through Saturnino's extended experience living in Arizona, he recognizes that speaking English is valuable, but does not guarantee success.

In sum, the immigrant day laborers in this study rapidly assimilate the dominant language ideology that names speaking English as necessary for membership and participation in the nation. Their belief and participation in the dominant discourse that links speaking English with socioeconomic success fades over time as they struggle with the difficult task of learning English. Those that ultimately do acquire English realize that they are still left on the margins of socioeconomic participation. Locally formulated discourses among these immigrant workers begin to change on an individual level as workers realize that their investment in dominant ideologies *and* language learning garners relatively little returns. These more established immigrants are more discreet in their articulation of their changed understanding of the limitations of English language acquisition, seemingly in avoidance of disturbing the local interpretation of language

ideologies as a means of maintaining their privileged status as bilinguals as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In her research with Puerto Ricans in New York City, Zentella (1997) likewise found that learning English guaranteed neither academic nor socioeconomic success. The participants in my study are at yet a greater disadvantage than Zentella's participants because, as undocumented adults, they have almost no access to educational institutions and are also more limited in their employment options. Undocumented workers are also limited in their social networks; fearing confrontations with the Border Patrol, they are hesitant to participate in the broader community. This further limits contact with English speakers.

We have seen that dominant discourses of language acquisition and integration give a false hope to immigrant populations seeking the ever-elusive 'American Dream.' By subscribing to these discourses, immigrants search for a place, albeit acknowledged as marginal one, in the imagined community. Through their participation in these discourses in the local community of practice found at the Day Labor Center, workers ingest and regurgitate a dominant ideology that does little to nourish their own development.

The economic value of learning English: Immigrants, language, and earnings

As an epilogue to the discussion of the discourses of linguistic capital of bilingualism among day laborers in the present study, I conclude this chapter with an overview of demographic research on the link between acquiring another language and increases in earnings. While there have been conflicting outcomes in the economic analysis of the

value of learning English (i.e. gains in earnings among immigrants as correlated to their knowledge and/or acquisition of the dominant language), there is a general trend that immigrants, regardless of their starting point in English or level of education, do steadily acquire English and do increase their incomes as their language ability in English increases.

Although it is beyond the focus of this research to examine the specific levels of English proficiency of the immigrant workers in this study, it is noteworthy that Carliner (2000)[63] found that Mexican immigrants (as compared to other immigrant groups) have the highest rates of not speaking English well (32%) and not speaking English at all (42%) in their first three years in the United States (a total of 74%).[64] Despite speaking less English upon arrival, Mexican immigrants were found to have similar rates of gaining English language skills when controlled for other variables, e.g. age upon arrival, education, and years since entry (see also Espinosa and Massesy (1997) for an analysis of consistent language assimilation among Mexican migrants in the U.S.).

In an analysis of immigrant wage earnings in correlation with English skills, Gonzalez (2000) found that an increase in the acquisition of oral skills in English (understanding and speaking) increased earnings by 17%, while literacy skills (reading and writing) increased income by only 12%.[65] The differential value of these skills appears to be a reflection of the concentration of immigrants in blue-collar jobs that have few literacy requirements. Gonzalez suggests that despite these relatively small economic

[63] These results are based on U.S. Census data from 1980 and 1990.
[64] This compares with other immigrants from other Latin American countries who had slightly lower rates of speaking English 'not well' (32%) and 'not at all' (27%), totaling 59%.
[65] Gonzalez's results are based on data from the 1992 National Adult Literacy Survey.

returns for learning English, immigrants acquire English for social reasons as part of a process of acculturation. This report indicates that immigrants acquire significant oral skills during their first twenty years of residency and then continue to acquire literacy skills in the following years; this is despite the lower level of economic returns on acquiring English literacy skills as compared with oral skills. Gonzalez suggests that acquiring oral skills is easier than acquiring literacy skills. Although Gonzalez does not address the reason for the disparity in acquiring oral versus literacy skills, we can assume that gaining oral skills is more easily facilitated through face-to-face interactions with English speakers in the community and on the job, especially for those with relatively low educational backgrounds and who work in manual labor/unskilled jobs.[66] Adult immigrants often have limited access to acquiring literacy skills through ESL classes which limits their ability to acquire literacy skills as we have seen with Prop 300 in Arizona.

Another important factor in the oral/literacy divide is the low level of educational attainment before coming to the United States. Gonzalez notes the educational level for Hispanics is 3-5 years lower than that of other immigrant groups. Mexican immigrants had the lowest percentage of English skills as self-defined as 'well' or 'very well' as compared to all other immigrant groups (65% oral skills, 48% reading, and 26% writing). Gonzalez found that the most significant factors for acquiring English skills were number of years in the U.S., educational attainment, and completion of ESL courses.[67]

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[66] This of course is not the same for all immigrant groups, especially for those that live in ethnic enclaves.
[67] Gonzales (2000) notes that immigrants that enrolled in ESL classes but did not complete the course actually had statistically lower earnings than those that did not enroll in ESL classes at all. This is perhaps

Chiswick's (1991) study of undocumented immigrants[68] demonstrates that although most Mexican immigrants arrive in the U.S. without speaking any English, they are able to acquire some English within a few years. Mexicans had a 2% increase in speaking ability for each year of residence in the U.S. as compared to 7% for immigrants from other Latin American countries. Among Mexicans in the U.S. for three or more years, only 11% could read English 'very well' or 'well' as compared to 37% of other nationalities. Chiswick found that undocumented immigrants earned 2-3% more for each additional year of schooling as compared to previous studies that showed that documented workers earned 3.5-4% more per year of schooling. Yet he found no statistical differences between Mexican and other Latin Americans in terms of earnings in correlation with language ability. Speaking English did not improve earnings as compared to reading English when other factors are controlled (a 37% and 42% increase in income for Mexican and other Latin American men, respectively).

Looking specifically at returned migrants in Mexico, Espinosa and Massey (1997) found that migrants without documents actually had better English abilities than their counterparts with U.S. residency status. It has become increasingly difficult for undocumented migrants to visit their countries of origin in recent years as compared to the period of 1987-94 when Espinosa and Massey collected their data; the fact that it is

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most closely correlated with settled immigrants in my study who did not identify greater employment opportunities as a result of learning or studying English.

[68] Chiswick's analysis is based on surveys conducted with 836 undocumented male immigrants detained in the Los Angeles area. 84% were from Mexico, 11% from Central America, 2% from South America, 3% from Canada and the Eastern Hemisphere. The use of a survey in a detention setting leads to the question if those apprehended are over-representative of immigrants with lower English-language skills, this due to the likelihood that those with higher English-language skills are more likely to go undetected by the authorities in the community.

easier for immigrants with documentation to travel back and forth could indeed lead to lower levels of English because of their ability to travel freely and spend significant periods of time outside of the United States. For example, Félix explained that he was unable to visit his family nearby in Northern Mexico because of his lack of documentation. He is married to a U.S. citizen and his children were born in the U.S. Therefore, while his immediate family is able to visit his extended family in Mexico, Félix himself is unable to make the trip for fear of permanent deportation and the ramifications it would have for his wife and children. As an interpretation of Espinosa and Massey's findings, I suggest that undocumented immigrants are more likely to become entrenched in local social networks because they face greater restrictions on their international mobility. As suggested by Ullman (2004) and participants in my study, speaking English is not only a way to defend oneself on the job, but also in the community. Speaking English therefore acquires greater capital for undocumented immigrants, as opposed to documented immigrants who have a lesser need to use English in 'self-defense' and as a means of justifying their integration.[69]

Espinosa and Massey (1997) found that having school-aged children in the U.S. also increased English proficiency. At the Day Labor Center, most men were not accompanied by their families, yet the few men who were accompanied by their spouses and children were much more likely to be actively pursuing English language courses, e.g. Saturnino and Félix, both of whom had children living in Tucson. This is not coincidentally coupled with the fact that these individuals had spent much longer periods

[69] Documented immigrants, of course, also identify learning English as having linguistic capital, yet revealing themselves to not be English speakers is less threatening than it is for undocumented immigrants.

of time in Tucson and were, in Chavez's (1991) terms, settlers in the process of incorporating themselves into the broader community.[70] Espinosa and Massey critique efforts to limit undocumented children's access to public education because it, in effect, lowers their parents' level of English proficiency and ultimately, their ability to earn higher wages and be self-sufficient.

I find Saiz and Zoido's (2005) analysis a useful point of comparison between immigrants and the general U.S. population in their study of the value of bilingualism among college graduates in the United States. They found that college graduates that are bilingual earn 2-3% more than those who do not.[71] Learning Spanish has a lower value (1.7%) than other languages such as French (2.7%) although the greatest returns came from speaking German or another language such as Russian or Asian languages (4%). The low value of speaking Spanish is exacerbated in regions with large numbers of Spanish speakers due to a greater 'supply' of Spanish speakers. When comparing these statistics it is important to emphasize that Saiz and Zoido's (2005) results were based on a survey of individuals with tertiary education which puts the educational attainment of those surveyed well above the general native-born and immigrant populations in the United States. The authors contend that there is a greater amount of human capital expended in learning a foreign language than its labor market value when compared with additional educational obtainment. Saiz and Zoido's analysis of earnings potential for

[70] As mentioned previously, Saturnino was one of the few members of the DLC that was politically active during the immigration reform debate in the spring of 2007. Language learning and political activism were linked as a part of his settlement/incorporation process.

[71] This compares with an 8-14% increase in earning for each additional year of schooling (i.e. graduate schooling).

bilingualism in college graduates is startlingly similar to Chiswick's (1991) findings with undocumented immigrants' earnings according to bilingualism.

The similarity of these finding among such disparate populations suggests that bilingualism has a similar economic value across socioeconomic categories and employment sectors. This sort of comparative analysis that examines the linguistic capital of English-dominant and Spanish-dominant bilinguals—especially due to the paucity of data on non-Latinos' levels of Spanish ability[72]—could be a productive site for interrogating the social and economic capital of Spanish and more specifically, Spanish-English bilingualism for Latinos and non-Latinos alike.

[72] Leeman (2004) explains that in the U.S. Census, no effort has been made to gather data on individuals' proficiency in languages other than English when those languages are not part of their ethnic/racial heritage, e.g. Anglos' proficiency in Spanish. This reinforces dominant ideologies linking language and race/ethnicity; Anglo English speakers are reinforced as the statistically unmarked category. One of the few sources of data on Anglo levels of Spanish proficiency in found in Teschner (1995) where it was found that only 5 percent of Anglos gain a fluent level of Spanish proficiency through interaction with their Spanish-speaking peers in El Paso, Texas. There is true void in the literature on language contact in the Southwest that examines non-Latinos' opportunity to learn and use of Spanish in the communities where they live.

CHAPTER 4
Performing Identity

In the previous chapter, I discussed locally and nationally constructed discourses of the importance of learning English for economic success and social integration as a framework for understanding the current chapter's discussion of individuals' language practices used in the negotiation of identities and social status. Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) concise description of how ideologies inform language practices in the construction of identity serves as an outline for the discussion that will follow on the linguistic practices individuals perform in the construction of identities:

> Ideology is the level at which practice enters the field of representation. Indexicality mediates between ideology and practice, producing the former through the latter. Performance is the highlighting of ideology, through the foregrounding of practice. Yet it is also important to keep these processes conceptually distinct. What we find repeatedly in studies of language and identity is a clear difference between cultural ideologies and social practices: cultural beliefs about how people of various social backgrounds should, must, or do speak and act (generated through indexicality) are generally reductive and inflexible while the actual linguistic and social practices in which people engage in specific social contexts (including the display of practices of performance) are highly complex and strategic. (2004, pp. 381-382)

In this chapter I will discuss language and identity formation through an analysis of the performances of bilingualism and how multiple identities are constructed in conjunction with language-based identity through social interaction. The performance of bilingual identities does not necessarily correspond with dominant ideologies or language ability, but is informed by them. The performance of bilingualism is the link between language ideologies discussed in Chapter 3 and the role of language in negotiating and determining access to employment that will be discussed in Chapter 5. Performing bilingualism is part

of the process of organizing locally defined social hierarchies and participation in the informal labor market.

The performance of bilingualism is part of the construction of a locally pertinent identity that inserts immigrants into the local social and economic environment without abandoning the identity brought with them across the border. This heteroglossic transformative process is interactional and multidirectional. Other members of the community, such as employers and volunteers, also use language and other social markers as a sign of affiliation and disassociation in positioning themselves within the local social structure. Affiliation and accommodation do not necessarily mean sharing an in-group membership or identity, yet these processes are important for the drawing of boundaries and the building and maintaining of social hierarchies.

Following Butler's (1993, 1997) understanding of performatives as being repetitively constructed through multiple discursive practices that are not limited to formulaic phrases, I will explore how bilingualism and other social identities are repetitively constructed. The construction of a linguistic identity is a discursive process through which the subject produces the self and whose identity is simultaneously produced by others. Like other kinds of identities, the link between language and identity is a social construction whereby the individual negotiates affiliation and disassociation with other groups as part of the process of constructing both the individual and social self. I am particularly interested in the performative acts that individuals use to contest dominant ideologies that inform the realization of linguistic identities, such as seeking out opportunities to acquire a new language or claiming access to another language when

access has been blocked or denied. Focusing on the agency of individuals in their shaping and contesting of linguistic identity boundaries forces us to reflect on identity as a social construction. More specifically I will examine the performance of both bilingualism and the language learner as a means of socially situating one's self in the local community. I continue with a discussion of performances of cultural citizenship that seek out spaces of socioeconomic integration when legal integration (i.e. documentation) is not available. Lastly, I look at local responses to these abovementioned performances whereby tangential members of this community sometimes resist and reject the agency of these performances. By rejecting immigrants' performative insertion into the local community, outliers seek to differentiate themselves from (undocumented) immigrant populations.

Language and identity

Language and identity are intimately linked in a dialectal process whereby each process reciprocally creates the other. According to Ochs (1990, 1993), the individual constructs his or her own identity while that identity is simultaneously constructed by others. Having a certain social identity does not result in the production of a specific way of speaking, nor does speaking a certain way produce a specific social identity, but rather the construction of identity is a collaborative endeavor. Identity is not constructed in a vacuum, but rather through interaction. Ochs (1993) suggests that identity construction based on the socialization perspective is the result of a combination of acts that are socially recognized behaviors, and stances that are socially recognized attitudes. Through

these acts and stances, identities are constructed through language and reciprocally, language constructs identity.

Ochs (1990) uses the social construction model of identity that emphasizes its dynamic formation through dialogue with other individuals and society in general. The application of this model in contexts of inter-group communication and in the formation of boundaries between social groups demonstrates how group identity construction requires both an Us and Them to have both integrative and oppositional affiliations. The projection of certain acts and stances onto specific identities is not inevitable because individuals are able to variably construct their individual identity through the realization of acts and stances. Ochs calls for the application of this model in the context of intercultural contact which can result in the blurring of identity boundaries. This model echoes Butler's concept of performative acts of identity (1993, 1997) where the individual's identity is constructed through one's own actions that are in continual negotiation with the imposition of identity though others' actions and perceptions of identity as will be discussed below.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) suggest that identity construction is a heteroglossic discursive process whereby the negotiation of identity occurs not only between individuals or discrete entities, but also through the internal processes of self-definition. It is necessary then to see identity construction as the result of a never-ending process that involves a combination of imposition, acceptance, rejection, and negotiation. Therefore, the construction of identity is neither inevitable nor controllable because the

discursive process that it entails is inherently shaped and contested through continual negotiation.

In *Growing Up Bilingual* (1997), Zentella examines the bilingual linguistic development of five Puerto Rican girls in the social context of the broad linguistic community of practice of Puerto Ricans in New York City. In this setting, bilingualism, in its numerous forms, is a marker of in-group identity for bilinguals of varying abilities. Zentella found that the children in her study formed multiple identities in various contexts over time and in various ways. The individual has agency in forming his or her identity through its continual (re)construction, yet identities are also externally imposed. The construction of identity is influenced by how society perceives the individual.

In her research with rural New Mexican women, Gonzales Valásquez (1995) emphasizes the importance of the dialectal relationship between interlocutors when individuals choose linguistic forms. While setting can provide a referential framework for determining language choice, in-group and out-group membership proves to be the most important factor for negotiating identity. Language choice becomes an index of group membership that takes precedence over domains of use. In "How to Tame a Wild Tongue," Anzaldúa (1987) addresses the mutual construction of identity through the dialectical exchange of language(s). Reminiscent of Gonzales Valásquez's (1995) emphasis on the role of the interlocutor in determining language use and in-group membership, Anzaldúa emphasizes the role of language in creating spaces for cultural acceptance. Identity is constructed through in-group acceptance but also through out-group rejection. The dialectal process that uses language as a marker of cultural

boundaries is wrapped up in a complicated exchange of agency and lack of control. For Anzaldúa, language is a badge of identity that marks its speakers' identities.

Mendoza-Denton (2002) warns against essentializing constructions of identities in sociolinguistic analysis. Identities are not static, but rather are in constant flux. Individuals encounter various interlocutors in varied settings that inform how they construct themselves in relation to others. Recognizing individual agency in the creation of identity is crucial for understanding identity construction according to ever-shifting domains. Similarly, Tabouret-Keller (1997) explains that each person has a multi-layered set of identities defined through a combination of social limitations, interactions, and individual desires. Languages and identities serve to demarcate boundaries, whether they are based on nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, or otherwise. Individuals have a degree of agency in the languages with which they identify that does not necessarily correspond with an ability to speak that language (e.g. individuals may identify with a heritage language that they do not speak or may speak a language with which they do not recognize as a marker of social identity).

Ochs (1993) explains that not all social identity construction is successful, especially when one is in the process of acquiring a language (i.e. both first and second language acquisition). This failure could be the result of not knowing how to perform a certain act or stance, but just as importantly, not knowing how acts and stances are linked to social identity. This is seen in the current research when workers unsuccessfully attempt to present a bilingual persona due to extremely low English-language skills. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) define speech acts as "acts of projection" whereby

individuals construct and represent the link between language and identity. There are certain constraints to an individual having access to particular group that are defined as follows:

> (a) one can identify the groups;
> (b) one has both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyze their behavioral patterns;
> (c) the motivation for joining the group is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or lessened by feedback from the group;
> (d) we have the ability to modify our behavior. (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p. 323)

In immigrant communities such as those found among Latino immigrants to the U.S., (a), (c), and (d) are the most feasible in terms of linguistic agency. In Norton's (2000) study of adult immigrant students of ESL in Ontario, not having access to native speakers and lack of camaraderie with them was a significant obstacle to immigrant women's success and motivation for learning English. The majority of immigrants' interactions with English speakers were encounters where these English-language learners and their interlocutors had uneven power differentials (e.g. on the job). At the Day Labor Center, workers can identify a group into which they would like to insert themselves (e.g. English speakers) and have the motivation to do so (as discussed in Chapter 3). Yet, they do not always have access to English-speaking groups or the means to modify their behavior (i.e. learn English) because of lack of social interaction and educational resources. Despite these obstacles many individuals seek out opportunities to discursively engage with English speakers and also have innovative techniques for language learning through both self study and more formal educational settings.

In *Acts of Identity*, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) sought to differentiate their study from Giles's contemporary work on accommodation theory (cf. Giles et al.,

1973; Giles & Powesland, [1975] 1997) and focus more on how perceptions of group identities construct boundaries between groups rather than through discursive interaction. With this project I hope to examine how identity formation *and* accommodation inform each other as individuals act with agency in the construction of identity.[73]

According to Argenter (2000), identity construction depends on the drawing of boundaries between groups that could be based on language, ethnicity, nationality, etc. Individuals access a Bakhtinian heteroglossia of linguistic resources in the process of building and testing these inter- and intra-group borders. Using this framework, we can suppose that individuals also develop or seek out linguistic tools, such as bilingualism or the use of various dialects in attempting to gain entrée with a particular group. As Tabouret-Keller (1997) explains, individuals must have a combination of motivation and access that allows them to act with agency in their identity construction as part of a process that identifies them with (or conversely disassociates from) a particular group. New immigrants at the DLC are very much in the process of identifying the most productive linguistic tools for getting the job done and what they must do to acquire these tools.

Pavlencko and Blackledge's (2004) nuanced discussion of language and identity in multilingual contexts includes three types of identities:

> *imposed identities* (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), *assumed identities* (which are accepted and not negotiated) and *negotiable identities* (which are contested by groups and individuals). (original emphasis, p. 21)

[73] Linguistic accommodation with be addressed more directly in Chapter 5 in the discussion of gatekeeping encounters.

This suggests that individuals have varying degrees of agency in the construction of identity over time that is informed by a particular historical moment and also by the hegemonic forces behind the imposition of certain labels. For example, regardless of how an immigrant worker feels about the use of terminology such as 'illegal immigrant' or 'illegal alien,' he is still powerless to contest deportation when an authority figure (e.g. Border Patrol agent) identifies him as such. This identity is discursively constructed and imposed through multiple sources (e.g. legal discourses, political speeches, mass media outlets, popular images, etc.) to the point that immigrants use the terminology of 'illegality' in self definition.

In contrast, assumed identities are those with which individuals are usually comfortable and do not contest because they are legitimized by dominant discourses, e.g. Mexican immigrant workers are a hard-working source of unskilled manual labor, although this discourse does coexist[74] with a discourse that names Mexican immigrant workers as lazy (cf. Flores, 2003; Sheridan, 2002). Lastly, negotiable identities are those which individuals and groups can combat and defy and therefore have greater agency in their construction, e.g. choosing to identify with a certain language identity such as being bilingual or monolingual and taking steps to acquire this identity.

In Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) discussion of language and identity, they name language as the most malleable and penetrating symbolic recourse that contributes to construction of identity. Identity is defined as "an outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of

[74] See Chapter 3 for a discussion on the complex nature of language ecologies that allow for overlapping and conflicting discourses/ideologies.

similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy" (p. 382). Identity, then, is the result of constant negotiation between oppositional forces that define group membership and boundaries. Language is both a representation and measure of similarity and difference and a instrument through which boundaries are reproduced. The following discussion of performative utterances is a theoretical starting point for examining the ways in which individuals use language practices, bilingualism in particular, in both defining group membership and attempting to gain access to new social domains. I will use this framework to analyze how individuals 'perform' bilingualism and others social identities.

Performative acts

Austin (1975) defines performative acts as the realization of an action that occurs through the enunciation of words. In other words, language carries out or performs the action; language does not describe the action, but rather *is* the action. Austin explained performative utterances as speech acts that "bring into being or enact that which they name" (Inda, 2000, p. 75). Austin makes a distinction between constative utterances (factual statements) and performative utterances whereby the speech act itself is "the doing of an action" (Austin, 1975, p. 5). His much cited examples of performatives include formulaic utterances such as 'I do' (within the ritualistic context of a wedding ceremony) or 'I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*' (as part of the act of christening a ship with a bottle of bubbly) (1975, p. 5). These performatives are judged on their felicity (success) or infelicity (lack of success). For example, if three children are playing at

getting married (respectively taking on the roles of bride, groom, and minister), the performative utterance of saying 'I do' would be infelicitous because it does not take place within the ritualistic confines of what is defined as a marriage ceremony nor with the proper participants, despite the fact that they might act out the entire ceremony.

According to Austin, it is necessary to follow an exact—and often ritualistic—procedure in order to arrive at the desired result. An imitation of a performative act can occur (e.g. within a play) that is a parasite of a real performative act and depends on the existence of the true act. Derrida suggests the opposite; the true performative act is only possible as a result of the possibility of parasitic imitation. According to Derrida, language is inherently and necessarily repetitive in its production:

> an utterance can only take place if it is iterable, if it can be repeated, quoted, or cited. And a performative in particular only works if it is a recognized quotation of a regular formula; that is, language is performative in the sense that it doesn't just convey knowledge but performs acts by its citation or repetition of established ways of doing things with words. (Derrida as paraphrased by Inda, 2000, p. 85-86)

In other words, a performative must make reference to a previous discursive manifestation in order for the performance to be effective. While Austin and Derrida referred to performatives as part of formulaic discourses (ceremonies, plays, etc.), other authors have extended the definition of performatives in their analysis of the social construction of identity through discursive practices.

Following a more broadly defined concept of performative utterance in the context of the Day Labor Center, the saying of the phrase, 'I speak English,' takes on different levels of felicity in terms of demonstrating kinds of language ability. If a native Spanish speaker says in Spanish, 'Hablo ingles,' (*I speak English*) it could be understood

as a merely constative utterance of fact, but if a native speaker of English makes the same statement in Spanish, he is performing the ability to speak Spanish while simultaneously uttering a constative statement. It also follows that if a native Spanish speaker says, 'I speak English,' she is performing her bilingualism through the use of that language as a central component of a speech act. Accordingly, the use of certain language varieties or the demonstration of various language abilities relates the performance of a bilingual identity, which receives a certain socioeconomic value or capital as discussed in Chapter 3. It is therefore debatable that any statement is a purely constative utterance because speech acts inherently carry signifiers (through the performance of an utterance) that mark speakers as members of certain language communities according to dialect, register, pragmatics, etc.

Butler expanded the application of performatives to include the discursive social construction of gender in *Bodies That Matter* (1993) and later in her discussion of hate speech (broadly defined as discursive acts such as pornography, cross burning, and military policies banning homosexuals) in *Excitable Speech* (1997). In both cases, Butler emphasizes the inherently citable nature of performatives, as Derrida (1981, 1988) had proposed earlier in his discussion of performative utterances, and the need for performatively repetitive acts that construct social categories such as gender. According to Butler, the concept of interpellation—the process of simultaneously addressing and naming a subject (e.g. saying, "It's a girl!" at the time of a birth)—is part of a process that performatively constitutes a subject. In other words, the construction of gender occurs through performatives beginning with the naming of gender at the moment of

birth, yet gender is also discursively constructed and reconstructed throughout one's lifetime through the collective experiences that are defined through linguistic interactions.

Performatives that signify the body both define and produce the body in a cyclical process that is socially and historically informed. In order for a performative to create a situation where interpellation is accepted as 'natural' (e.g. the definition of categories of race or gender), it must be continually reiterated. The construction of race or gender as a natural or biologically given category is a type of speech act or performative that defines the subject. Race is not 'real' until it has been performed; therefore, a speech act is necessary to make race a significant category. The repetition of the interpellation of race is necessary to make it appear as if it were a natural/biological category. A performative act of race requires a historical referent of degradation in order to have a functional definition. Inda (2000) and Mirón and Inda (2000) have applied the concept of performatives to the socio-historic construction of race in response to the popular belief that race is a naturally occurring biological category. According to Butler, "the act of gender constitution does not so much bring into being what it names, as it continually produces, through the reiterative power of discourse, the thing that it regulates" (as paraphrased by Inda, 2000, p. 87); Inda (2000) argues that the same can be said for racial performativity. Both gender and racial constitutions are never-ending due to the nature of such social constructions that are continually contested, affirmed, altered, and reconstituted. There is a tendency to construct the concept of race as if it were a natural entity (i.e. biologically determined) although race is a social construction. This

construction has been used to maintain socioeconomic hierarchies that privilege certain 'races' over others (Mirón & Inda, 2000).

If the racing of bodies is never complete, this suggests that racialized groups are not inherently passive interlocutors to the discursive process of racial performativity, but rather "[t]he resignification of the racial body […] takes place through the appropriation of the power to name oneself and set the conditions under which the name is employed" (Inda, 2000, p. 95). Although the resignification of terms such as 'queer' or 'Chicano' suggests that gendered and raced bodies have agency to contest and reconstruct dominant discourses, Butler (1993) warns that the historicity of such terms can never be completely controlled; interpellation is not controlled by the subject defined by interpellation. In other words, although social actors who proudly define themselves as queer or Chicano are active agents in the discursive construction of their identity, they can never completely sever the link to subordinating discourses. I suggest that bilingualism is similarly constructed through discursive practices whereby the individual is both active participant and receptor of social constructions of bilingualism that are continually evaluated in relation to dominant language ideologies.

This leads us to the question of what exactly qualifies as a speech act. Butler (1997) includes acts such as pornography (as a manifestation of sexism) and the act of cross burning (as a manifestation of racism) as speech acts. By understanding the construction of race as the result of the reiteration of speech acts, as presented by Mirón and Inda (2000), it implies that these types of actions define how ideas or messages are transmitted. Race is constructed through the speech acts that define racialized subjects.

This line of thinking leads us to ask, to what point can we expand the definition of speech act? Can we also consider institutional actions (e.g. language policies) as speech acts because of their effect of (re)producing group and individual identities? I believe that it is valuable to use an expansive definition of speech act in order to examine how identities are constructed in multiple manifestations in diverse contexts.

With the analysis that follows on the construction of bilingualism and language identity as a performative act, I use the Derridian concept of the repetitive nature of speech (and performatives in particular) as defined in an acutely local sense at the Day Labor Center. As discussed in Chapter 3, bilingualism is highly valued and has been identified with leading to more and better employment opportunities. Due to the rapid nature of job negotiations and intense competition for work, it is to bilinguals' advantage to perform and validate their bilingual abilities within the local community before negotiating work with actual employers. This internal ordering of job candidates facilitates the matching of workers and employers when English-language skills are requested. Because of the constant loss and renewal of workers at the Day Labor Center, local social hierarchies are continually performed for and by new members of the community to allow for their integration. Demonstrations of bilingualism and other identities, then, are repetitively performed as part of the construction of the local social order.

I will apply the above framework of performatives to the following discussion of the various performances of identity as related to being bilingual, taking on the persona of a language learner, constructing cultural citizenship, and Othering the Other. I believe

that this framework is particularly appropriate for the discussion of newly arrived immigrant communities in the process of negotiating their various identities (whether ethnic, racial, national, linguistic, etc.) through discursive practices that are continually adapted according to place, experience, and perceived positionality. Probing the experiences of individuals in the dynamic social context of immigration and circular migration will allow for a discussion of the dynamic nature of identity formation. I am by no means suggesting that the discursive construction of identity is limited to individuals experiencing markedly new experiences through migration or other highly transitory social processes, but rather that language and identity are continually contested and constructed for members of all groups, regardless of social status. My intention in examining the construction of identity in said environment is to reveal, through the analysis of performativity, the continual (re)negotiation of positionality through intercultural contact.

Performing bilingualism

By studying the construction of language and identity as a performative and fundamentally interactional discursive process, I propose a framework that is applicable to identity construction in both in-group and out-group language practices. Non-native speakers in a foreign land must grapple with their own acceptance, rejection, or adaptation of dominant language ideologies and practices. Dominant social groups often react to minority-language speakers through performative acts that simultaneously

subordinate these minority groups and reaffirm their own privileged status.[75] Dominant members of society may also choose to reach out linguistically to speakers of minority languages (e.g. formally learning Spanish or through direct interaction with Spanish-speakers), yet are able do this from a place of privilege.

So then, does acquiring or attempting to acquire a new language require acquiring a new identity? How are new identities performed or projected through discursive and interactional practices? If identity is discursively constructed through performative acts, the speaker has agency in acquiring a language and defining his or her relationship to that language; at the same time, figurative and literal interlocutors inform and influence the construction of said identity.[76] The process of identity formation through language acquisition and linguistic identity is differentially constructed depending on the social context, motivation, and levels of access to the language. Speakers of minority languages seeking access to a majority languages (e.g. Spanish-speaking immigrants in the Southwest seeking socioeconomic integration) will necessarily have a different relationship with the majority language than will speakers of majority languages seeking access to minority language (e.g. Anglos in the Southwest learning Spanish for educational or employment purposes). Language-based identity is conjoined with other

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[75] I call to mind a personal communication with a member of the academic community in a discussion of my research who told me she was uncomfortable with highly visible Spanish-language advertising (e.g. billboards) because she saw it as an indication of Latinos/as' lack of linguistic and cultural assimilation. She qualified her statement by saying that she was perhaps bigoted in her opinion but was unapologetic in her rejection of the appropriateness of Spanish in public spaces. This example demonstrates a performative of the subordination of a linguistic (and ethnic/racial) minority group as part of an in-group conversation between members of the English-as-a-native-language community. This type of discourse simultaneously privileges (native) English speakers as being the unmarked norm for linguist conformity while subordinating Spanish speakers as being disorderly in their unwillingness and/or inability to conform to this standard.

[76] See Lippi-Green (1997) for a discussion on how pervasive ideologies related to non-native accents and non-mainstream varieties of English construct and subordinate speakers of these varieties.

kinds of identity such as ethnicity and citizenship in the performance of bilingualism, which dictates that members of different social groups will have varying experiences of language and identity depending on their place in social, economic, legal, ethnic/racial hierarchies. The tug-of-war between language-based identification and rejection extends to both Latino immigrants and U.S. Latinos in their negotiation of identity (Bejarano, 2005).

Although it is difficult to accurately describe the bilingual continuum that exists among the workers at the Day Labor Center due to the ever-changing composition of the community, I estimate that 5-10% of workers are relatively highly functioning bilinguals and approximately 10-15% have more basic English skills. The remaining workers are monolingual Spanish speakers.[77] I have observed the use of English on the part of workers as a form of social positioning that establishes language abilities and differentiates bilinguals from monolinguals. Bilingual workers use English in greetings, when they sign in at the Center and in casual conversations during periods of down time. Lower-level bilinguals typically only use English in greetings and simple questions, although they will sometimes try to engage low-level Spanish-speaking volunteers or monolingual English-speaking volunteers in conversation.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I am not concerned with the measurement of bilingual competency, but rather how language, and specifically bilingualism, is part of the discursive construction of identity. I will loosely group individuals into categories such as highly functional bilinguals, lower functioning bilinguals, and monolinguals. I

[77] A small portion of these individuals may also speak indigenous languages although, as previously mentioned, most were hesitant to reveal this part of their background.

use these categories not as a measure of proficiency, but rather as a means of making comparisons between individuals in the context of interpersonal interactions. In Baker's discussion (2001) of the definition of bilingualism, he reminds us that the ideal of 'balanced bilinguals' and bilingualism in general is an abstract concept; bilinguals have different language competencies as a result of using language productively and receptively in varying domains with distinct interlocutors. Although Baker does proceed to dissect and discuss the many shades of bilingualism, it is beyond the scope of the present investigation to provide a descriptive analysis of the levels of bilingualism in this community. At the Day Labor Center, there is a broad range of abilities and experiences with different varieties of both Spanish and English. My focus will be on how these abilities are projected as part of the performance of identity.

Much of the time that workers and volunteers spend at the Center is spent participating in informal conversations which provide ample opportunities for individuals to demonstrate their bilingual abilities. There are long periods of downtime while waiting for employers to arrive when workers and volunteers stand around, sometimes drinking coffee or smoking cigarettes, and talking in small groups or pairs. Spanish is the dominant language for conversation among workers and in general between workers and volunteers. The use of English on the part of workers occurs with both volunteers and other bilingual workers, especially with the small minority that is English dominant or monolingual in English. When two or more volunteers are present they will often speak English among themselves (with the exception of the few community volunteers that are Spanish dominant or when monolingual Spanish-speaking workers are also included as

interlocutors). On occasion there are a limited number of monolingual English-speaking workers with whom both bilingual workers and volunteers will engage in English. The following discussion of the interactions that occur in this setting will examine the performative acts that individual use to situate themselves socially by reproducing and contesting self-imposed and externally assigned identities.

Publicly speaking English at the Center elevates the status of bilingual workers and positively marks them as having a tangibly desirable job skill that employers specifically seek out. This distinction between monolinguals and bilinguals is often clearly marked well before drive-through job interviews when workers must demonstrate the validity and sincerity of their claims of having specific job skills with potential employers. If other workers and volunteers are already aware of a bilingual worker's linguistic abilities, it is unlikely that he will face competition or contestation from workers with lesser English skills during negotiations with employers.

In (22), Samuel asserts a bilingual persona through a performative act in English that differentially situates himself as having desirable language skills. He does so for the benefit of both Spanish- and English-speaking members of the community, regardless of whether or not they understand the literal meaning of his performance.

(22) During an informal discussion between myself and five monolingual Spanish-speaking workers about an upcoming organizational meeting, Samuel, a highly bilingual Salvadoran American,[78] approached me and interrupted the conversation in progress. He greeted me by saying, "What's up?" and continued to engage me in conversation in English about his latest work experiences. I greeted Samuel and tried to return to the previous conversation, but the other men deferred to Samuel's desire and ability to speak to me in English by stepping back a few paces and silently observing the conversation. They waited patiently until I was

[78] Samuel was born in the U.S. but spent part of his childhood in El Salvador.

> able to finish the exchange with Samuel in English[79] and return to the original conversation. (2/6/07, parking lot, observation)

By interrupting our conversation and addressing me personally, Samuel presented himself as an established participant in the day labor community. Although I had previously had numerous conversations with Samuel in Spanish—our established language of communication—he chose English as the language for this exchange. His informal rapport with me in my role as a volunteer demonstrated that he was an established member of the day labor community. This interaction simultaneously differentiated him from the other workers and excluded monolinguals from the conversation, a speech act which established him as a fluent bilingual in the eyes of the other workers. The following illustrates what happened during another interrupted conversation with different interlocutors:

(23) Arturo, a monolingual Spanish-speaker, stopped by the Day Labor Center on his bike during the 6 o'clock raffle and greeted me with a handshake. As I started to talk to him (in Spanish), we were interrupted by Mike, a monolingual Anglo worker, who only spent a few weeks at the Center looking for work as he attempted to gather together enough money to get home to California. Arturo seemed to melt away as a result of the interruption and when I turned to look for him to continue our conversation, he was gone. Nemesio, a bilingual worker, had given Mike an orientation (in English) as to how the raffle worked, but Mike wanted to talk to me directly and make sure he understood the rules. Mike then went on to tell me part of his life history and how he had eventually ended up in his present circumstances needing temporary work. [80] (3/27/07, parking lot, observation)

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[79] In my dual role as researcher and volunteer, I tried to be consistent when responding to my interlocutors in the language in which they addressed me, letting them take the conversation lead in terms of language choice.

[80] The few Anglo and African American workers that signed up for work at the Day Labor Center had a tendency to engage volunteers in the telling of a personal narrative of the events leading up to needing to get work in this setting, which was often the result of homelessness, trouble with the law, or running out of money when traveling. Their narratives seemed to try to explain away the shame and/or discomfort of looking for work in the company of undocumented immigrants. Newly arrived migrants, on the other hand, told narratives of border crossings and arrival, often framed as a triumph over adversity and the noble search for economic betterment.

This is another case of an English speaker taking precedence over a Spanish speaker, interrupting a conversation and, in effect, eliminating a monolingual Spanish speaker's participation. In this case, the interruption is more extreme because the first interaction was not only interrupted, but aborted. These sorts of interruptions were very common, especially on the part of English-dominant individuals who would interrupt conversations in Spanish that they were unable to understand or participate in without regard for the exclusion of Spanish-speaking participants. Mike also devalued Nemesio's orientation to the Day Labor Center by seeking out an explanation from an Anglo volunteer.

The scarcity of monolingual English-speaking workers at the Day Labor Center puts them at a disadvantage in terms of being able to situate themselves within the locally defined rules of operation. Spanish is the unmarked or default language in this setting. Non-Spanish speaking workers did not have the same access to social networks with workers or employers. They were unable to contribute in organizational discussions and would often call on bilingual workers (such as Nemesio in (23) above) or volunteers to help them negotiate the limited bureaucracy of the Center. In (24) an Anglo worker had to adapt his participation in the operation of the DLC to compensate for not speaking Spanish:

(24) A new English-monolingual Anglo worker quickly developed a technique for participating in the early morning raffle conducted entirely in Spanish. He could not understand the numbers that were called out and compensated by keeping himself within the inner circle gathered around the organizational table and visually examining each ticket after the number was shouted in Spanish by the worker running the raffle. When he realized that his number had been called after inspecting the ticket, he said his name. The secretary of the day that was writing up the worker list did not speak English and was not able to understand him; he passed the list to the Anglo worker in order for him to fill in his own name. The

> Anglo then carried on a loud and boisterous conversation (in English) with Nemesio after the raffle was complete. (3/14/08, parking lot, observation)

Although such interactions were somewhat uncommon, they demonstrate that English-speaking workers were allowed to participate in the system despite the language barrier and were able to develop techniques for compensating for their inability to speak Spanish. English-dominant workers were often quite uncomfortable negotiating social interactions at the Center, but were unapologetic in their use of English or lack of Spanish. Performances of being an English speaker served as a demonstration of individuals' entitlement to employment opportunities through a program that was not intended to serve this population. It is important to note that the participation of English monolinguals at the Day Labor Center was always very brief. Whether it was due to the lack of employment opportunities or their lack of integration into the social structure of the DLC, English monolinguals never spent more than a few weeks looking for work before moving on. The few English-dominant bilinguals that continually frequented the Center were Latinos. Anglos' use of English in this very Spanish-dominant environment reinforces the dominant language ideology that allows for the use of English in almost any situation.

Not only do highly functional English speakers (whether they are bilingual or monolingual) perform their English skills as a way of situating themselves within the local social hierarchy for status and employment, so too do low-level bilinguals use the skills they have to differentiate themselves from others with even lower-level English skills. This is the case in (25), where Carlos performed his bilingualism for Francisco.

(25) In an informal conversation in Spanish, Carlos (approx. 30) explained to Francisco, a monolingual Spanish-speaker (approx. 60) the importance of speaking enough English to defend oneself on the job. Carlos proceeded to list off a string of words that he knew in English such as: work, money, tree, etc. He then performed for Francisco a mock conversation with an employer that demonstrated how to negotiate for pay. Carlos was extremely difficult to understand in English (he has a pronounced lisp, a heavy accent, and limited English resources), yet Francisco was duly impressed with Carlos's language skills and said that he wished that he knew more English too. (12/28/06, parking lot, observation)

In this example, Carlos establishes himself as an English-speaker in Francisco's eyes, despite the fact that he speaks English at a very low level. In this way, Carlos gains social capital in the eyes of another worker. In the event that these two workers were to compete for a job where speaking English was desirable, Carlos would have the upper hand because he had already convincingly constructed himself as an English speaker in Francisco's eyes. We see how the typical hierarchy of expertise based on age was inverted as Carlos becomes the 'expert' in terms of his English skills and councils Francisco on what he needs to know.

In this section we have seen that workers perform their bilingualism and language abilities as a means of socially situating themselves within the day labor community. Because bilingualism is rather limited in this setting, workers regularly and repetitively perform this identity as a means of differentiating themselves from monolingual workers in preparation for extremely competitive employment negotiations. The repetition of these performances is necessary because of the rapid turnover of workers and employers at the Center resulting in the constant renewal of the audience taking in the performance. Bilingual workers of all abilities continually reestablish their bilingualism in a display of their linguistic capital. Related to performances of bilingualism are performances of the

language learner, as described in the following section. By taking on the identity of an English-language learner, monolingual and low-level bilinguals demonstrate that they are on the path to taking on a bilingual identity.

Performing the language learner

Pavlenko's (2004) analysis of immigrant autobiographies in the United States from the late twentieth century in comparison with works from the first quarter of the century shows that more recent immigrant authors often prominently portray their painful linguistic journey as part of a process of adaptation and negotiation of a hybrid identity. This is in contrast with earlier narratives that focused on individual efforts leading to success, often glossing over the process of learning English and adapting to new linguistic ideologies. Pavlenko explains that the relative linguistic intolerance of the later part of the twentieth century in combination with newer immigrants' status as racial/ethnic minorities has made linguistic and cultural assimilation a more trying process.[81] Immigrant workers at the Day Labor Center assimilate dominant language ideologies and seek out opportunities for taking on a bilingual identity, even when language learning options are severely restricted as discussed in Chapter 3. Because most workers in this environment are undocumented, they face greater challenges in terms of

[81] Pavlenko (2004) acknowledges that the European immigrants authors that made up her earlier corpus did not face as harsh discriminatory practices as did other immigrant groups (e.g. Asian or Latin American) due to their status as White ethnics. Although many European immigrants (Jews, Central and South Europeans) were not initially regarded as White, they had privileged status over 'true' racial minorities which accorded them the possibility of 'becoming' White (Sacks, 1994). These groups also befitted from being legally defined as White (Jacobson, 1998).

socioeconomic integration than do other immigrant groups due to their precarious legal status.

Workers in this setting are actually more likely to see themselves as migrants with plans of returning to their place of origin. Therefore linguistic and social assimilation involves a complicated negotiation of perceived value of short-term investment over an often undefined period of time. Although learning English has always been crucial to the Americanization process, Pavlenko (2004) attributes this shift in immigrant narratives to a shift in dominant linguistic ideology that names linguistic assimilation as a central component of 'successful' adaptation and acculturation. Newer immigrants are also distinct from earlier groups due to their negotiation of a hybrid identity and the maintenance of stronger ties with sending countries. In Giampapa's (2004) discussion of Italian Canadians and the exchange between imposed and negotiated identities, she explains that transnational identities are both locally and globally defined. There is an overlaying of identities such as ethnicity, language, gender, age, and religion; each of which is negotiable to different degrees. According to Giampapa, "[t]he act of claiming identities and claiming the spaces of identity is a political act" (2004, p. 193). It follows that staking claim on English-language learning as part of one's immigrant identity is a political act, especially for the undocumented.

Ullman (2004) addresses the variable of being undocumented in her study of adult English language learners in Tucson in comparison with other immigrants groups whose documented status informs their language experience. Undocumented immigrants have unique needs and motivations for language learning that are bound up in inserting

themselves into an unauthorized space. She explains that her participants "[…] appear to be the knowing subjects that Foucault talks about. That is, they self-consciously perform linguistic identities that they hope will shield them from deportation" (Ullman, 2004, p. 63). For Ullman's participants, learning English is a form of protection on the job and in the community. They see learning English as a means of avoiding exploitation and blending in. Speaking English is a means for the Mexican transmigrants in her study to take on a Chicano/a persona; in effect, constructing a presumed identity based on language acquisition when legal channels for documentation are unavailable.

The participants in Ullman's study differ from mine in the fact they were all students in an ESL program and had therefore already made a conscious decision to make learning English a priority. They had identified English as having significant linguistic capital and were acting on this through their participation in the formal classroom setting. The few long-term Tucson residents who participated in my study (e.g. Félix had lived in Tucson with his family for 11 years) had language-learning experiences that were very similar to those in Ullman's study and had actively participated in ESL classes themselves.

Norton's (2000) study of immigrant English language learners in Ontario suggests that the power differential between language learners and the interlocutors they encounter in the community informs learners' ability to speak. Norton found that learners' relationship with the English language was dynamic and constantly negotiated as they resisted externally imposed identities. Ullman (2004) calls on Norton in her discussion of the performance of identity as being continually open to redefinition and change.

Kinginger also suggests that "the efforts of language learning [must] be situated with respect to the ideological and sociopolitical processes which both constrain and enable (re)negotiation of identity" (2004, p. 220). Kinginger's key participant Alice, an American language student in France, located her learning experience abroad within the context of her growing access to informal social networks. Alice continually reconstructed her motives for language learning as her identity and relationship with France and the French language transformed throughout her experience. As part of the process of learning a new language—especially while living in the culture of the language studied as immigrants do—one's identity is in constant negotiation through self-perception and projection and as result of interactions with others and their acceptance or rejection.

Not only do workers make an effort to learn English in traditional classroom settings and through self-study, they learn to identify other community resources at their disposal in an effort to become English-language learners, a step that could ultimately lead to taking on a bilingual identity. Omar, the worker of Zapotec origin previously mentioned in (19), was enthusiastic about the possibility of volunteer-taught English classes at the Church. He had begun learning English while living in Miami and was frustrated with some of the other workers' lack of interest in coming to these classes as he explains here:

(26) Omar: Quería yo aprender más, otro poquito más, pero nadie quiere venir. Nadie quiere venir. Vine como dos veces nomás, tres veces, y nomás uno o dos venían. Ya no quisieron venir a la clase.

Elise: […] Entonces sería bueno si de alguna manera se podía hacer. No sé si sería mejor hacerlo por la mañana. ¿Qué piensa usted? […].

> Omar: En la tarde, por ejemplo, a las cuatro de la tarde porque a esa hora ya la gente casi ya viene a trabajar. Lo más que vienen a trabajar es a las dos, dos y media, tres. Llegas a tu casa, en lo que te bañas, comes, a las cinco de la tarde que te vengas a la escuela. A las siete ya te vas a tu casa. Muchas veces a muchos les da miedo. Como yo le dije, yo me venía en bicicleta. […]. A muchos les daba miedo venir para acá andan rondando la migra y les da miedo salir. Yo voy a ir a ver qué dicen y quiero aprender otro poquito. (4/26/07, church courtyard, interview, Omar, 39, Chiapas)

In his description of how a day laborer could fit English classes into a typical day,[82] Omar suggests that English could be part of one's daily routine. He identifies attending English lessons as being important enough to risk confrontation with the Border Patrol. For undocumented immigrants in Tucson, just walking down the street or going into a shop can potentially result in an encounter with "the Migra." Because of this, many workers seldom venture outside a very small radius that includes their homes, the DLC, and work sites. The act of leaving one's home to attend language classes takes on greater meaning when contemplating these potential dangers.

Being a language learner is not limited to the formal classroom setting as is demonstrated in the following example with two very new immigrants at the DLC. In an extended conversation with two Honduran immigrants, Ramiro (a very articulate young man from near Trujillo, Honduras) and Enrique (his traveling companion from near Tegucigalpa, Honduras), they revealed that they had only been in Tucson for a week. Ramiro and Enrique approached me after overhearing a conversation I had with a Cuban worker, asking what is like to get a visa to come to the U.S. if you are from Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic. In the discussion that followed we talked about the

[82] Especially during the hot summer months, day laborers often get picked up for work before 6 a.m. and are done by early afternoon.

different kinds of status these three groups have in the United States. The conversation segued from politics and immigration to adjusting to being in Tucson:

(27) After a light-hearted conversation where Enrique and Ramiro asked for advice about some of the basic English they would need to meet an American girl, the conversation shifted to learning English in general. Ramiro had studied English in high school in Honduras but Enrique hadn't studied it at all. They proceeded to ask several questions about the meanings and pronunciations of words in English in reference to some failed attempts at communicating with English speakers in Tucson. Enrique broached the subject of the use of "vos"[83] and commented that it was not used locally. When I asked if they thought the Spanish in Tucson was very different from their Spanish, they didn't think so, but then went on to discuss several lexical differences between Mexican and Honduran Spanish (e.g. "fresa" vs. "fresilla"). They were both effervescent in their enthusiasm in their adventure of coming to the U.S. but still had not found work in the week that they had been in Tucson. (4/24/07, parking lot, observation)

Ramiro and Enrique were eager to negotiate their place in their newly encountered environment. This conversation demonstrates the multiplex process of adaptation that new immigrants confront in terms of language and relation to other groups. They were in the process of negotiating their place as Honduran immigrants in relation to other immigrant groups, knowing that Mexicans make up the biggest group in Arizona. Ramiro and Enrique were also trying to work through the subtleties of the experiences of other Latin American groups as compared to their own. Their adaptation to the language situation was a multilayered process where their use of Spanish was suddenly marked in comparison with Mexican (and Chicano) Spanish and they immediately identified

[83] The second person personal pronoun "vos" and its corresponding verbal forms are used in many countries in Latin America, particularly in Central America and the Southern Cone (Stewart, 1999). With limited exception, "vos" is neither used in Mexican Spanish nor in the Spanish of Southern Arizona. Using "vos" in Tucson would mark a speaker as being Central American and make him or her more vulnerable if confronted by the Border Patrol. Central American migrants confront added risk if their country of origin is identified upon deportation; they will not merely be deported 65 miles away at the U.S.-Mexico border in Nogales, but all the way home. This is what happened to Mariano when he was deported to El Salvador in October of 2007. His deportation was especially egregious because he had lived in Mexico for 23 years (in Chiapas and Ciudad Juárez) before coming to the Arizona and had few social and familial connections left in El Salvador, identifying himself as more "chapaneco" (*from Chiapas*) than Salvadoran.

gaining English skills as providing them access to social spheres that would otherwise be off limits. Not only did they ask about specific words (related to how to meet American girls), but what did American woman look for in a man in general and what would attract them to Latino men. Although perhaps in an adolescent way, they were trying to dissect language and communication in their newly encountered surroundings. They were looking past mere translation in their attempt to make a transition.

In (28) and (29) below, Saturnino and Lorenzo respectively discuss the process of learning English in the work place. Although both of these men did value formal classroom instruction,[84] they both recognized that being a language learner does not only occur in classroom settings. Here they discuss the strategies they use on the job to expand their English repertoires.

(28) Yo siempre presto atención a las pláticas que están haciendo en inglés y de repente, pum, oigo una palabra y ya voy y le digo, "¿Sabes qué? Esa palabra, ¿Qué significa?" Y ya, ya me dice, "Pronúnciamela." […]. Porque dicen [los patrones] "Haz esto, haz el otro." Te lo dice en inglés, entonces agarra tú, empieza a grabar y a repetir lo que te dijeron, y como lo estás haciendo, sabes que eso es para otra ocasión. Eso te va a servir. (3/8/07, church meeting hall, interview, Saturnino, 41, Chiapas)

Here Saturnino hints at the cooperative effort of learning English when he cites an employer telling him to repeat new words in English. In (29) Lorenzo explains that this type of interaction can go both ways; some English-speaking employers also want to learn Spanish.

(29) Soy muy curioso. Me mata la curiosidad a mí. Pos les pregunto, "¿Cómo se llama esto?" o "¿Cómo se dice así?" o "¿Cómo dijo?" Y ya también uno les da la confianza a ellos de preguntar "¿Y en español, cómo se dice?" […]. Yo creo que

[84] As discussed in Chapter 3, Saturnino was active in ESL classes; Lorenzo expressed interested in signing up for ESL but was unable to do so because of Prop 300.

> eso es, este, que de los dos bandos, se puede decir que tanto unos que de aquí que quieren aprender español. (5/15/07, church courtyard, interview, Lorenzo, 37, Chiapas)

Being a language learner and becoming bilingual requires interaction with English speakers. Knowing how to take advantage of these sometimes limited interactions is part of becoming a language learner.

With the examples in this section, we see that members of this community take on the identity of language learner in various settings. Omar explains above that although participating in English classes can be risky, the risk is worthwhile. Ramiro and Enrique quickly recognize that they are language learners in two senses, learning the subtleties of local Spanish while beginning to test the waters in English. Lastly, Saturnino and Lorenzo explain their own efforts in language learning on the job. They recognize that learning English as an interactive process that requires individual agency and initiative.

Performing cultural citizenship

According to Mirón, Inda, and Aguirre (1998), immigrants accumulate cultural citizenship through the expansion of cultural capital that gives them greater agency in their new environment. Because of the transnational movement that often defines migration, especially between Mexico and the U.S., immigrants seek additive measures for gaining cultural capital that allow them to access cultural traditions across international boundaries. For the Latino immigrant high school students surveyed with regard to English Only legislation in Mirón et al. (1998), it was important to maintain Spanish as they acquired English because of their place and agency within the

'translocality' of Santa Ana, California. For these youths it was necessary to have access to multiple cultural repertoires through local and transnational incorporation.

> It is only by becoming polyglots that [new immigrants] can better navigate in spaces that transcend the nation. […]. What we are working with here, then, is a notion of citizenship that goes beyond legalistic definitions to encompass the more informal aspects of how people are integrated into their cultural milieus, which, in this case [California's Proposition 227][85] is not confined to just one national space. (Mirón et al., 1998, p. 660)

Similar to the students in Mirón et al., the workers at the Day Labor Center claim the right to learn and speak English through the agency they demonstrate in their efforts to acquire English (despite a lack of institutional resources)[86] and through interactions with English speakers (despite limited social settings available for contact); yet they are unapologetic in their identification with Spanish.

Cultural citizenship is described as "a range of social practices which […] claim and establish a distinct social space" when traditional venues for expression of citizenship are unavailable (Flores & Benmayor, 1997, p. 1). Bejarano (2005) explains that both Mexican immigrants and Chicanas/os are often highly invested in their Mexican heritage as part of their cultural citizenship, especially when they cannot claim U.S. citizenship or are in the process of pursuing citizenship. Those with U.S. citizenship use this status to assert their legitimacy (p. 53), while those without citizenship or another form of legal protection (e.g. visa or residency) must construct an alternative type of citizenship. At the

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[85] Also known as "English for the Children," this proposition effectively outlawed bilingual education in favor of English immersion programs in 1998. This proposition laid the path for Prop 203 that likewise eliminated bilingual education in Arizona in 2000.

[86] As mentioned in Chapter 3, several workers at the Day Labor Center dropped out of ESL classes and others that were interested in taking English classes were not able to start as a result of Prop 300. Various techniques were used to overcome this barrier such as individualized study, impromptu and semi-formal English lessons at the Church, and conversational practice at the Center and on the job as discussed above.

Day Labor Center, Mexican (or Central American) identities are performed both in opposition to and in tandem with U.S. Latino identities. As Ullman (2004) found, it is sometimes beneficial for undocumented immigrants to take on a Chicano identity as a means of claiming space or validity, yet they must negotiate this performance in dialogue with other multiple identities.

In Rosaldo's (1999) discussion of cultural citizenship, he argues that "analysts need to anchor their studies in the aspirations and perceptions of people who occupy subordinate social positions" (p. 260), focusing on "vernacular" conceptualizations of citizenship. Ong (1996) contests Rosaldo's definition of cultural citizenship for its implication that subjugated groups can confront hegemonic forces through the expression of their cultural citizenship. She refers to cultural citizenship as:

> the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within the web of power linked to the nation-state and civil society. (Ong, 1996, p. 738)

Following Ong's definition, I understand cultural citizenship as a performance of identity that allows alternative means for individuals to claim space and place in reaction to hegemonic forces that attempt to define them as being outside of the national narrative. Immigrants and other groups that call on cultural citizenship do so as part of the discursive construction of identity. Just as Butler (1997) and Inda (2000) described the performance of gender and race that is dually constructed by individual agents in interaction with powerful social discourses, through cultural citizenship, marginalized

groups contest national discourses that exclude them from the nation-state while never being able to fully escape the influence of these discourses.

As previously discussed with (3) and (4), undocumented immigrants contest labels of 'illegality' through the economic justification of their migration that is often linked to family responsibility. By constructing oneself as a responsible 'citizen,' the implication of 'illegality' is rejected even when the terminology may not be.[87] Learning English and taking on the identity of a language learner are other ways of claiming local rights by actively pursuing linguistic integration. In his discussion of the imaginary of globalization, García Canclini (1999) explains that citizenship is determined through cultural and economic consumption; identities are defined by the economic market and not by the State. Undocumented immigrants that participate in the informal (i.e. unauthorized) economy do so as part of their participation in a global community that pushes them across international boundaries in search of economic resources. Their cultural citizenship is linked to their participation in the market and claiming spaces for participation. As part of their performance of cultural citizenship, immigrants see language as a tool for gaining access to greater participation in an economic citizenship, while simultaneously carving out a domain for participation through social interaction.

Although undocumented immigrants seek social and economic integration through their performances of cultural citizenship, this does not necessarily assure their incorporation. This kind of citizenship necessitates a performance for one's figurative and literal interlocutors. Speaking English is one way that cultural citizenship can be

[87] Many undocumented immigrants in my study referred to themselves collectively as 'ilegales" (*illegals*).

manifested. Yet when language skills have not been acquired or are in the process of acquisition, the undocumented call on other resources to facilitate the performance of integration. When physical appearance allows an individual to disassociate himself from the label of Latino or immigrant,[88] he acquires an additional form of protection. Not only is legal/documented status bound up with nationality and language, but also in the physicality of race. In (30) and (31) Mariano identifies his physical appearance and demeanor as tools that he can use for his personal protection in potential encounters with the authorities.

(30) Mariano, with his ponytail of light brown hair, long sideburns and mustache, does not fit the stereotypical images of an immigrant day laborer. His face is weathered yet fair, an image perhaps more expected from an Anglo rancher than a day laborer from El Salvador. He is reserved and serious, unwavering in his commitment to the DLC community. Leo, in contrast, has a dark complexion, is short and rotund, always smiling and making friendly small talk. Commenting on Mariano's physical appearance, Leo joked that all Mariano needed to do to pass for an American (i.e. Anglo) was to learn English.[89] After an extended discussion between Leo and Mariano about how they go about seeking opportunities to use English in the community and on the job, Mariano related an anecdote of a close call with a Border Patrol agent. In acknowledgment of the connection between physical appearance and outward perceptions, he explained how he was able to disguise his lack of English because of his appearance. Mariano was in a car with a group of men that was stopped by the Border Patrol. When they all had to get out of the car, his companions told Mariano to laugh along with their conversation in English even though he didn't understand; knowing he could physically pass for American (i.e. Anglo) because of his appearance. Mariano laughed mischievously in the telling of the story about how the plan had worked and they continued on their journey without incident. (2/20/07, parking lot, observation)

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[88] See Ullman (2004) for a discussion of how migrants passing through official border crossings perform various identities that facilitate their passage.

[89] Although Mariano and Leo have similar language abilities in English, Leo was much more likely to try to engage in conversation in English with English-dominant volunteers. As discussed in Chapter 3, Mariano made the commitment to learning English through signing up for a payment plan with the autodidactic ESL program *Inglés sin Barreras*. This is a much more private way to go about language learning, yet his discussion surrounding the purchasing and payment for the course are part of Mariano's performance of being a language learner.

In this conversation, we see the intimate connection between physical appearance and language. Mariano was able to use his physical appearance to 'pass' for Anglo in a way that would be impossible for Leo. Leo had expressed a keen interest in learning English through interaction with English speakers which is perhaps the result of having few other tools to perform citizenship if his legal status and/or country of origin were questioned. Leo's physical appearance put him at greater risk for being stopped by the Border Patrol in the community; gaining conversational skills in English was a way that he could defend himself. Because of the intimate connection between language and legal status, learning English is a means for attempting to contest this connection when other 'tools,' such physical appearance, are unavailable. English is a used as a defensive weapon by those in the vulnerable situation of being an immigrant with undocumented status.

Mariano also identifies portraying an affect of confidence as a necessary part of one's personal performance.

(31) Cuando uno ve a una autoridad, no hay que darles a demostrar, verdad, que uno tiene miedo o que uno anda. La verdad no hay que darles a demostrar porque si uno lo da rápido- Yo le digo que he entrado a Phoenix, he entrado como cuatro veces y no me han agarrado. Y hay- sí he visto a la inmigración, he entrado a las tiendas y ahí están parados ellos. ¿No? Al ver lo que, o digamos, o se te olvida y te saludan hay que contestar porque saben que aquí hay mucha gente que tiene aquí años y no saben el idioma verdad. […]. Verás como digo, es el caso que, porque dicen "Ah no sabe inglés, no es de aquí." (3/6/07, church courtyard, interview, Mariano, 45, El Salvador)

Mariano recognizes that language is not as a true indicator of cultural or legal citizenship: it is possible to be a long-term resident without speaking English and vice versa. By demonstrating fear, one performs a lack of authorization. One must learn to negotiate language ability, physicality, and affect in the cumulative performance of the self.

Performing social boundaries: Othering the Other[90]

It is impossible to separate the complex interrelation between ethnicity, nationality, and language in the formation of identity in terms of both in-group and out-group membership. Boundaries are established and tested according to practices and perceptions of similarity and differences. These locally defined group memberships inform the ordering of local social hierarchies. In her study with Mexican and Chicano students at an Arizona high school, Bejarano (2005) found that students situate themselves among people they identify as being similar to themselves; they perform cultural identities through their varying styles as a part of the individual and collective construction of identity:

> These varying processes of 'differencing each other' for identity's sake and for acceptance are primarily revealed through their language use. […]. Placed together, language use and the preference for national U.S. citizenship in U.S. society promotes distancing through in-school social hierarchies, internal colonialism, and 'Othering' less 'Americanized' groups. Collectively they provide the fuel that leads Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os to discriminate against each other. (p. 126-127)

Bejarano (2005) names the school environment as the setting where young people create identities and broader social hierarchies are reproduced. Similarly, in Mendoza-Denton (1999), Latina gang members explicitly correlate the use of English and Spanish as pertaining to the specific identities of Norteña or Sureña. Language identification and loyalty is an important defining factor of group membership that is reinforced by other

[90] I take inspiration for this subtitle from a panel at the Western Social Science Association's annual conference in 2008 entitled, "The Other/Other: A discussion on how oppressed people, when given privilege from the dominant society, oppress one another," moderated by Helen Giron-Mushfiq.

more outwardly visible markers (e.g. clothing, make-up, etc.) that construct boundaries between members. Likewise, the Day Labor Center provides a public space where the members of this community not only come together with the explicit goal of getting work, but where social hierarchies are reproduced through interpersonal interactions. Not only are these hierarchies played out in interactions between employers and workers,[91] but other members of the community—documented workers, the homeless, and other undocumented immigrants—seek to distinguish themselves from undocumented day labors, in effect impeding others' attempts at asserting their cultural citizenship.

Latino day laborers with an authorized legal status (e.g. citizenship, residency, work visa, etc.) will sometimes emphasize this status as a means of differentiating themselves from their undocumented peers. Eduardo, a Latino in his early thirties, has alluded to having "papeles" (*legal documents*) on numerous occasions in order to contrast his personal status vis-à-vis the assumed status of day labors as undocumented. Eduardo speaks very good English, although Spanish is his dominant language.

(32) Eduardo arrived late one morning when there were very few workers left at the Center and struck up a conversation with me (in English) about a successful job from the previous week where he made $350 in six days. He expressed his satisfaction with the work he had secured as a result of the DLC. As we discussed the Center's operation, he made several comments about the other workers as a group, repeatedly referring to them as Mexicans, saying that they especially had benefited from the organization of the Day Labor Center. As we stood talking in the middle of the parking lot, the workers physically distanced themselves from our conversation. Eventually another worker approached Eduardo and Eduardo dismissively told him, "Estoy platicando con ella" (*I'm talking with her*). The other man backed away after he was scolded. (2/13/07, parking lot, observation)

[91] This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

Throughout this conversation, Eduardo differentiates himself from the other workers through the language he uses (English with me, Spanish with the worker) and through the Othering of the rest of workers by referring to them as Mexicans, i.e. shorthand for 'those without papers.' On several occasions, I observed Eduardo bring up his documented status (having 'papers') during discussions of workers' encounters with the Border Patrol in the community saying that he had nothing to fear because of his legal status.

Speaking English is often locally constructed as a shortcut for documentation; immigrant workers can use this skill to construct a locally viable persona that has no need to fear local (police) or federal (Border Patrol) authorities. In (32) and on other occasions, Eduardo differentiated himself from undocumented workers by continually referring to the security of his own legal status, a form of protection that undocumented workers do not have. His use of English builds on this persona and works to distance him from monolingual Spanish-speaking workers and those that do not have documentation or perhaps have false documentation.[92] Thus, speaking English and having official papers are often bound together—one reinforcing the other—in the construction of identity. Another example is found in Pascual, a Mexican immigrant who has lived in the U.S. for over thirty years and had obtained permanent legal residency. He often took out his Arizona driver's license in an unsolicited display of documentation, distinguishing himself from undocumented workers when signing in at the DLC.

[92] Many workers openly admit to having "papeles chuecos" (*dirty papers* = false documents) or inquire as to where they can be acquired. Arturo once told me about agonizing over the decision to get fake papers or not (1/5/07). Although it was relatively inexpensive to get fake papers and could lead to higher and more consistent wages at a permanent job, it was considered risky because getting caught with false documents would almost certainly result in deportation and having your record stained in the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) system.

Not only do 'documented' individuals perform their status in relation to the 'undocumented,' but other undocumented immigrants who are not day laborers also seek to distance themselves from the social stigma of this kind of work. As discussed in Chapter 2, Ramón, a Mexican migrant who received assistance from Hope Christian Church after being injured crossing the desert, was the Day Labor Center's primary volunteer during its first months of operation. Although Ramón's status was similar to the majority of day laborers in that he lacked documentation, he made an outward effort to differentiate himself from the workers. He recounted being a community organizer in Mexico and confidently took on a leadership role at the Center. On numerous occasions Ramón voiced his concerns about putting the Center's operation in the hands of the workers themselves, citing their lack of preparation for said responsibility. Ramón did not identify himself as a day laborer and never attempted to go out on any jobs through the Center, even when in dire financial straits. After beginning to work for a local non-profit organization and making friends in the immigrant activist community, Ramón began to dress differently when at the Center, using more formal clothing augmented by an orange construction vest that identified him as a volunteer and a name tag from the organization where he was working.[93]

Just as the way one speaks is an expression of affiliation, so too are the clothes one wears a visual expression of personal style and group affiliation (Mendoza-Denton, 1999; Eckert, 2000). Following Bourdieu's (1991) 'embodiment of identity,' Giampapa

[93] Other volunteers never wore any special clothing to distinguish themselves in their role as volunteers. Although it should be noted that because the majority of volunteers were Latinas or Anglos of both genders, their race/ethnicity and/or gender were enough for them to distinguish themselves from workers.

(2004) explains that, for Italian Canadians, identity is outwardly expressed through multiple discursive practices such as language, dress, and physical presentation. Her participants were able to highlight or deemphasize different aspects of their identities accordingly as they negotiated their relationship to the 'center' and 'periphery' that was constantly redefined in reaction to social movement between mainstream Anglo and Italian Canadian communities. This process allowed them to "challenge the undesirable imposed identities and attempt to reconfigure what is valued and what is legitimate" (2004, p. 215). Ramón's transformation from injured migrant to vocal community activist[94] was accompanied by a social distancing from the workers at the Day Labor Center. On one occasion the division between the workers and Ramón was particularly obvious when a young Mexican American volunteer from an affiliated organization came to the DLC to help workers document employer abuses (10/27/06). As Ramón and the other man sat talking, physically distanced from the workers, some of the workers began to make jokes about how they both looked like they had soft hands because they were used to doing office work. Ramón had successfully performed the identity of a white collar worker, having convinced both workers and local community organizations of this persona. As part of the process he also dissociated himself from the masculinity of hard physical labor, yet had cultivated the image of an organizer and activist.[95]

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[94] Ramón was interviewed by a local T.V. station about immigrant issues and spoke out in a way that most undocumented immigrants would be hesitant to do. Local and national media outlets visited the Day Labor Center on several occasions and although many workers were willing to speak with reporters, most were unwilling to be photographed or be identified by name.

[95] Ramón's performance socially alienated him from the other workers. Eventually he lost respect in the DLC because of a lack of reliability. Ramón returned to Mexico in November of 2006 and was reportedly working with activist organizations on the Mexican side of the border.

The 'Othering of the Other' is manifested in several ways as individuals seek to distance themselves from populations they deem to be inferior or threatening. As mentioned previously, there is an overlap in the homeless and day labor populations at Hope Christian Church. Not only did they occupy the same space, but they also sometimes overlapped in their access to services. A few homeless people would typically sign up for work and many of the day laborers would go into the Church for a free meal or a change of clothes.[96] The homeless situation was perplexing for many of the day labors. They would often ask: if the homeless were citizens,[97] why didn't they simply go out and get jobs? In trying to make sense of the situation, day laborers situated themselves as being industrious and tenacious. Seeing the homeless as lacking those qualities seemed to be the only explanation. The homeless also situated themselves in relation to day laborers, trying to make sense of the situation in a way that also allowed them to maintain their own sense of dignity, as seen in the following example:

(33) A middle-aged Anglo homeless woman was in the parking lot waiting for the Church doors to open early one morning while Sabrina, Mariano, and I were standing and talking next to the Day Labor Center's coffee pot. She observed us from a distance for several minutes, seeming to contemplate serving herself a cup of coffee or perhaps engage us in conversation. Eventually she started yelling (in English) that citizens pay taxes and illegal immigrants don't have the right to come to this country to get work and take advantage of the system, social security, jobs, services, etc. Trying to avoid a direct confrontation, we did not respond to her outburst. I merely nodded in acknowledgement of her presence, at which point

[96] The homeless outreach program's primary focus was providing showers, food, and clothes for those in need. Day laborers seldom used the shower facilities which were seen as a service only for the 'truly' homeless. It was socially acceptable however for workers to get a meal and clothes. A small number of workers refused to partake in any way, seeing this and other types of charity as being below them.
[97] Most of the homeless population at Hope Christian Church is Anglo American, Native American, and African American.

> she strode up to the table, served herself a cup of coffee,[98] and went to wait for the doors to open. (12/28/06, parking lot, observation)

Although this individual appeared to be mentally unstable, she clearly articulated some of the sentiment that circulated (although normally in a more guarded fashion) among the homeless people at the Church. In the same way that the day laborers projected their work ethic in order to paint themselves in a favorable light in comparison with the homeless, the homeless fell back on their status as citizens as a way of legitimating and differentiating themselves. This was a performance of difference on both parts.

Individuals call on and negotiate multiple identities in their day-to-day interactions. The performances of these various identities, such as bilingualism or cultural citizenship, are bound together in a presentation of the self that is constantly in dialogue with imposed categorization, be it from specific individuals or broader social structures. Individual agency is not always enough in the performance of identity. Performance is understood through the filter of discourses that individual actors contest and affirm through their actions. Identities are under constant negotiation due to their discursive construction that is continually shifting and being redefined. In the performance of identity, the individual projects an image of the self or of his or her affiliation with a particular social group. Having the authority to construct the self and contest dominant discourses in terms of language or legal status requires individual and social agency. Yet, success is never complete because of the need to continually define and defend the desired projection of the self.

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[98] The irony of this encounter was that the workers themselves were paying for her cup of coffee; they paid for these supplies out of their own pockets.

CHAPTER 5
Negotiating Employment in an Intercultural Context

The goal of this chapter is to explore the inner workings of the face-to-face employment negotiations that I have dubbed "drive-through job interviews" at the Day Labor Center. My analysis will examine the techniques that workers, employers, and their intermediaries use in negotiating employment in this semi-institutional setting that is marked the extremely rapid nature of the transaction. First, I will discuss how rapport and co-membership are established as a way of establishing trust between participants. I suggest that employers use these techniques to maintain and emphasize a power differential over day laborers. Secondly, I will tease apart how the institutional self is projected in this decidedly un-institutional setting. Using categories of analysis that have been presented by previous researchers, I will analyze the techniques participants use as shortcuts for causing a favorable impression when time is of the essence.

The previous two chapters focused on the local construction and elaboration of a language discourse among day laborers that names speaking English as being vital to economic success (Chapter 3) and how individuals perform bilingualism in tandem with other identities as a means of carving out a space for themselves locally (Chapter 4). With this chapter, I will explore the discursive practice of job negotiations as an interactional manifestation of broader social hierarchies. As part of this process, workers project a stance in attempting to secure a job while employers simultaneously foist a status on workers in relation to themselves. Together, employers and workers discursively produce the other through their interactions that both affirm and contest social hierarchies. I will examine the shifting positionality that both parties assume in the negotiation of

employment: projecting solidarity as a rapport-building exercise or projecting distance to demarcate social boundaries and power differentials.

I will first introduce the concept of gatekeeping encounters and contextualize these interactions within the locally established rules of operation at the Day Labor Center. This is followed by a brief discussion of the role of language brokers as part of employment negotiations in this often intercultural context, with the addition of some methodological reflections. This chapter's analysis will be divided in two major sections. I will focus first on the rapport-building and social-distancing techniques that workers and employers use to both facilitate negotiations and maintain unequal power differentials. The second part of analysis looks at the presentation of an institutional self in the accelerated context of drive-through interviews, examining the techniques that workers use to quickly present themselves as favorable candidates in the eyes of potential employers.

Gatekeeping encounters

The concept of gatekeeping encounters,[99] first discussed within the field of sociolinguistics by Erickson and Shultz (1982), refers to an interaction whose outcome is either the granting or denying of access to an institution. Schiffrin defines gatekeeping interviews as "asymmetric speech situations during which a person who represents a social institution seeks to gain information about the lives, beliefs, and practices of people outside of that institution in order to warrant the granting of an institutional

[99] The terms "gatekeeping encounter" and "gatekeeping interview" are used synonymously in the literature.

privilege" (1994, p. 146). In comparison with the present analysis, the study of gatekeeping encounters has generally been applied to more formal and institutionalized settings such as: college counseling (Erickson & Shultz, 1982; Fiksdal, 1988, 1990), job interviews (Roberts & Sayers, 1998; Scheuer, 2001; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 2002; Kerekes, 2005, 2006, 2007), mock interviews in job training programs (Akinnaso & Seabrook Ajirotutu, 1982; Gumperz, 1992; Sniad, 2007), professional promotion practices (Holmes, 2007), oral exams for doctors (Roberts & Sarangi, 1999; Roberts, 2004), citizenship interviews (Baptiste & Seig, 2007), health care procedures (Martínez, forthcoming), and in protective order interviews with survivors of domestic abuse (Trinch, 2001, 2007).

Although the gatekeeping encounters described above vary greatly in their format and end goal, they all fit within the following definition:

> In its simplest form, [the gatekeeping interview] is prototypically manifested as an interrogative encounter between someone who has the right or privilege to know and another in a less powerful position who is obliged to respond, rather defensively, to justify his/her action, to explain his/her problems, to give up him/herself for evaluation. (Akinnaso & Seabrook Ajirotutu, 1982, p. 119-120)

According to Akinnaso and Seabrook Ajirotutu (1982), job interviews are typically defined by their very specific objective and normally consist of a formal speech interaction that was prearranged. They explain that interviews are in the problem-solving conversational mode where conversation centers on the exchange of information with regard to a defined theme. The goal of the conversation is to arrive at a successful outcome, i.e. making a match between a worker and an employer. There is an inherent power imbalance in job interviews because the interaction is controlled and defined by

the interviewer, who is the employer or the employer's representative. This imbalance is often exacerbated when the interviewee belongs to a minority group that does not have the same access to dominant or 'standard' speech conventions (cf. Akinnaso & Seabrook Ajirotutu, 1982; Gumperz, 1992; Fiksdal 1990; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 2002). Kerekes (2006) demonstrates that interviewees who do not share the same ethnolinguistic background as their interviewers do have other resources to call upon—such as projecting trustworthiness and establishing rapport—as a means of shortening the distance between themselves and the interviewer. Yet minorities do face greater institutional barriers during gatekeeping interviews than individuals from majority groups (Roberts & Sarangi, 1999).

Kerekes's (2005, 2006, 2007) research on job interviews at a temp agency in California has similarities with this current research at the Day Labor Center because, in both settings, interviewees are looking for short-term employment. The interview setting at a temp agency is more formally structured, as has traditionally been analyzed in the gatekeeping literature, in comparison with a day labor center where interviews are much more informally structured. Yet, in both settings, interviewees are perhaps similarly under less pressure during each interview than they would be in an interview for long-term employment. In other words, there is less at stake if the interviewee does not get the job. For day laborers, there are multiple opportunities each day to attempt to negotiate employment. Although each individual gatekeeping encounter at the DLC has less riding on the outcome than would a job interview for long-term employment, the cumulative effect of continually negotiating employment places workers in a precarious economic

situation. Gatekeeping encounters, then, are a repetitive process that day laborers must reenact daily.[100]

One of the goals of the Center is to provide an institutional framework that supports both workers and employers in the process of employment matching. Before the existence of the Center, there was little (official) institutional framework that governed the dynamics of interaction. Previously, employers and day laborers had casually negotiated employment on nearby street corners. While the Center has no real authority over employers or in monitoring the employment resulting from drive-through interviews, it does provide a space where outside observers (community volunteers and other workers) act as witnesses to the terms and conditions agreed upon.[101] My discussion of these interviews, then, seeks to evaluate said encounters in this semi-institutional setting.

In more formal job interview settings, the interviewer often already knows something about the interviewee (résumé, application, etc.), while the interviewee may know next to nothing about the interviewer. This differs from the Day Labor Center where the employer and worker are often unknown to each other unless they have worked together previously.[102] Therefore both parties arrive at the figurative bargaining table with little or no knowledge of each other. Job interviews are necessarily a two-way street:

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[100] This is not unlike day laborers' performance of bilingualism (see Chapter 4) that must be continually renewed and reenacted as members of the community come and go.

[101] The Day Labor Center assists workers who have suffered employment abuses by referring them to local non-profit organizations that help them attempt to recover back wages or resolve other grievances. Noting employers' license plates is done specifically in case the employer should need to be contacted for these reasons, yet the Center does not specifically track employers based on complaints or problems. There is much more informal system whereby workers warn each other about potentially abusive employers.

[102] Exceptions are found through informal social networks among workers and employers where workers will recommend their peers to employers they know.

employers have the prerogative to choose employees, but employees must decide if they want to work for a potential employer. For day laborers, this process is intensified by the extremely rapid negotiation of employment and fierce competition from other workers concurrently attempting to convince employers of their qualifications. The worker must quickly decide if he should accept the job, knowing that that if he turns down an offer, there are often twenty or more others workers ready to take his place.

Locally established practices

Although there were a number of changes in the rules of operation at the Day Labor Center over the year when this research was conducted, I will begin with a description of how the most long-lasting version of the system functions. Each morning at 6 a.m. the workers hold a raffle where each man receives a numbered ticket. Tickets are randomly drawn and a list is written up that establishes the order that workers will go out on jobs. A worker is given priority and placed at the top of the list before any of the individuals whose names are called in the raffle if he had offered his services as a volunteer at the Center the previous day (e.g. managing the list, cleaning the bathroom, taking out the trash, etc.). When the Center first opened in September of 2006, community volunteers ran the raffle and managed the list. Over the course of the first year of operation, workers became more involved in the running the raffle and eventually took it over.[103] They also

[103] When the Day Labor Center first opened, a raffle was drawn every hour in order to make up a list of 5-10 workers. The idea was that workers who could not get to the Center early because they lived far away would still have a chance of going out on a job. Three months into operation, the raffle was done away with by the consensus of the workers and replaced by a first-come-first-serve system for drawing up the list. The Church mandated a change back to modified raffle system after several months of the first-come-first-serve system because workers began arriving earlier and earlier, some arriving shortly after midnight to begin the

eventually began to collaborate with community volunteers in managing the worker list. Managing the list and helping negotiate employment (i.e. brokering) was difficult for many workers; it required having basic literacy skills in Spanish, having the leadership skills to negotiate between other workers and employers, and being willing to give up a day's work in order to volunteer.[104]

Before the Day Labor Center opened, many workers solicited employment on nearby street corners just a few blocks from the Center's current location. Jobs often went to the man who could get to the truck first, had a personal connection with an employer, or was able to convince the employer that he was the right man for the job (e.g. due to his physical size, speaking English, having specific trade skills, etc.). Remnants of the street corner system were difficult to discard and the raffle system was installed in an attempt to create a more balanced work environment where more workers would have chance of getting a job. There is often tense competition among the day laborers and a tendency to crowd around vehicles without regard for the list when employers pull into the parking lot. In order to create a semblance of fairness that also respected the history of day laborers in the neighborhood, workers, in collaboration with community volunteers, established a set of rules that dictated the order the workers were sent out on jobs. With this in mind, this list established by the raffle is negotiable in three circumstances: 1) when the employer selects a specific worker that he knows from previous work, 2) when

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sign-up list. The 6 a.m. raffle system described above was a compromise and was in effect when job negotiations discussed in this chapter were observed. This system is still in place at the time of this writing in April of 2008.

[104] While it is very helpful for brokers to be bilingual in order to negotiate with English-speaking employers, it is not a requirement for serving as a broker because many employers speak Spanish and there are always bilingual volunteers present to help with the process.

the employer requests a worker who speaks English or has a specific trade skill, or 3) when the employer has some other specification for going out on the job (e.g. the worker needs to have his own vehicle for transportation or have legal documentation to work in the U.S.). Therefore it is to the benefit of the worker to develop as many different techniques as possible to make a connection with employers that could result in employment.

I use the term "drive-through interviews" to describe the interactions that occur between potential employers and workers, often with the assistance of language brokers. This term was chosen because the physical logistics of the interaction (i.e. employers rarely get out of their vehicles) and also because of the rapidity of the entire interaction, which often takes about as much time as it does to go through the drive-through window at a fast food restaurant.[105] When employers pull into the parking lot, a group of workers generally approach the vehicle at the same time as the broker/volunteer. Some of the more fluent English-speaking workers often greet the employer (both Anglos and Latinos) in English and ask what kind of job he is trying to fill, thus filling the role of a language broker in a way that is self-serving; the worker preemptively proves to the employer that he speaks English, in case the employer needs a bilingual worker. Center-sanctioned brokers try to be the first person to interact with the employer and help negotiate drive-through job interviews; they encourage both employers and workers to

[105] This use of this term was solidified as result of a remark from an older Latino employer when he pulled into the Church parking lot. As I approached his vehicle in my role as a language broker, he rolled down his window. He joked that he wanted eggs and toast, effectively noting the similarities between picking up a worker and ordering food in a drive-through (4/17/07).

follow the order established by the list and rules that the workers themselves had agreed upon.[106]

Employers who do not speak Spanish often ask for at least one English-speaking worker to translate between the employer and other workers. Therefore, being bilingual is a job skill that allows workers who are further down on the list to have priority. This is important because only about one third of workers who sign up on a given day typically go out on jobs.[107] Workers who had already established themselves as English-speakers in the broader context of the Day Labor Center might then have to demonstrate their English proficiency to employers and justify their priority over other workers. The ability to speak English is a job skill that often facilitates the acquisition of employment and therefore has very tangible linguistic capital within the day labor community, as was discussed in Chapter 3.

Although it would be relatively easy for employers to probe the level of language proficiency of the workers through conversation, they seldom do so. This contrasts with situations where employers are looking for workers with specific trade skills, in which case they will often ask a series of questions (either directly to the worker or through a broker) about the depth of the worker's experience. Employers will also size up the worker physically, assessing his age, size, strength, and general appearance. It is not

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[106] Many employers are accustomed to picking any worker they wanted and some resent the rules collectively established at the Center. Not all employers want to pull into the Church parking lot and take the next person off the list. As a result, some workers continue to wait on nearby street corners for employers that do not want to use the Center.

[107] This rate is approximate for the Day Labor Center's first year of operation from September 2006-September 2007. In its second year of operation, the rate of employment decreased significantly to approximately 20%. This decrease in hiring rates appears to be connected to a general downturn in the economy and more specifically to a downturn in the housing market (i.e. less construction jobs). Also, in January 2008, an employer sanction law went into effect in Arizona that penalized employers who knowingly contract undocumented workers; this has likely scared off many potential employers.

uncommon for an employer to blatantly refuse the next worker on the list because he is deemed to be too old, too small, or appear to be untrustworthy. Similarly, workers also size up employers: avoiding those who have a bad reputation with other workers, employers who are unwilling to disclose details about the kind of work or amount of pay, or employers who offer less than the $8/hour rate that the workers mutually agreed upon as the minimum. But, in the end, there is almost always someone who is willing to go out on every job, regardless of the conditions.

Workers and/or brokers will often ask several questions of employers as part of the drive-through interview as a means of gaining more negotiating power and securing the employer's word.[108] In (34), Nico states that he prefers to always negotiate with an employer before taking a job. He explains that it is to the advantage of both the worker and the employer to establish the employer's expectations and needs in order to make a satisfactory match:

(34) Nico: Muchos [trabajadores] nomás se suben, nomás se suben. No saben cuánto que es lo que van a hacer, cuánto le van a pagar.

Elise: Sí, sí, por eso es tan importante preguntar todo eso.

Nico: Por eso le digo, muchos [patrones] se me enojan, "¿Por qué? ¿No quiere trabajar?" [Yo les digo], "¿Cómo me voy a- como me voy a subir a su- a su trabajo- ¿Qué es lo que voy a hacer si tú me llevas a un trabajo y no lo sé hacer? ¿Verdad que te vas a enojar?" Pues no. Vale más preguntar y lo voy a hacer o- o lo voy a hacer.

Elise: Sí, sí […]. Ellos deben querer llevar a alguien que sabe hacer ese trabajo.

Nico: Por eso- por eso le digo, pues. Vine a preguntar, "¿Qué es lo que voy a hacer, Señor? ¿Cuánto me va a pagar?" "¿Usted no quiere trabajar?" "Quiero

[108] Volunteers at the Day Labor Center encourage workers to ask the following questions: What kind of work is it? How much do you pay an hour? How many hours will the job last? Other questions that workers sometimes ask are: Where is the job? Do you provide lunch? Will you bring me back to the Center at the end of the day? These negotiations have the goal of empowering workers to actively engage in determining the terms of employment before accepting a job in order to defend against employer abuses.

> trabajar pero voy a pregu- perdone la pregunta. ¿Por qué me voy a subir a su carro nomás y verá que- y si no sé? ¿Verdad que va- va a batallar usted pa' enseñarme? Pues sí." ¿Entonces por qué le voy a decir? ¿No pues? No sé pegar ladrillos, yo sé pintar la casa, yo sé- Vale más hablar con la verdad. (5/18/07, church courtyard, interview, Nico, 59, Hermosillo, Mexico)

As Nico discusses here, the worker contests the power differential between himself and the employer by attempting to set the parameters for employment. He emphasizes the importance of the worker's honesty with the employer in terms of his trade skills, but in return expects employers to be forthright in the terms of negotiation. While the employer is at a definite advantage, especially in times of intense competition when work is scarce, the worker must balance the terms of employment and the desirability of the employer. Although it can be to their benefit to negotiate favorable terms, workers are often hesitant to engage potential employers in extensive negotiations, knowing that the employer may bypass him in favor of another worker that will accept less or completely forgo negotiation when taking a job.

Employers sometimes request workers with legal documents, especially if the job site is outside of Tucson, where there is a greater possibility of being stopped by the Border Patrol. Because of Tucson's proximity to the border—and its status as a jumping off point for migrants crossing the border through the open desert—there is significant Border Patrol presence in the region.[109] Both employers and workers know that undocumented immigrants should avoid areas frequented by the Border Patrol. When employers request workers with documents, ID, or papers, it is usually because they will

[109] On one occasion an employer requested workers who could go just across the border into Nogales, Sonora, to work for the day. He was able to find workers with the necessary documentation who were willing to cross into Mexico to work.

be traveling outside the city limits. There are usually three to five men who are able and willing to go out on these kinds of jobs.

The level of competition to secure employment varied from day to day and month to month. Yet there is a constant tension between trying to establish a fair and orderly system that favors all workers, and at the same time respects the individual's need for economic survival. In interviews, many workers expressed their frustration with disorder at the Center because it makes it difficult to equitably distribute employment. Beto directly equates the lack of order with employers *and* workers not respecting the locally established minimum of $8 per hour:

(35) Beto: Si la gente estuviera como en un lugar acá y que llegaran los patrones pues ya- ya nada más se les llamaría por lista y no estarían todos amontonados. ¿Me entiendes? Se mira muy feo eso.

Elise: Sí eso siempre-

Beto: Se mira muy feo porque al ver eso, ellos también van a querer pagar lo que a ellos se les antoje porque somos demasiados. ¿No? A éste le doy siete y se sube y sabes que sí se sube. ¿Me entiendes? Yo no me subo ni por ocho a veces. ¿Me entiendes? No me gusta ganar ocho porque sé trabajar. […]. Jamás voy a andar regalando trabajo […]. Es que hay mucha gente que, como te digo, que ahí con total de agarrar treinta, cuarenta dólares para lo que ellos necesitan, ya van a ganar y a ellos no, me entiendes, y ya nomás quince para ellos. Y- y- y hay gente abusona pues. Por ejemplo, sí hay muchos patrones que son muy abusones y lo miran necesitado y ya te quieren dar siete [la hora] o cincuenta dólares para todo el día. ¿Me entiendes? Eso no va a estar bien. Ganas más en un McDonald's trabajando en la sombra sin hacer lo que uno hace en construcción y todo eso y hay unos que sí se van por cincuenta dólares en construcción y es una chinga con el pico y la pala. ¿Me entiendes? Y hay- hay cosas injustas. (6/15/07, church meeting hall, interview, Beto, 33, Magdalena, Sonora)

Beto has identified his labor as having a specific value, but recognizes that some workers and many employers do not place the same value he does on the work day laborers do. Workers must maintain the delicate balance between getting work and receiving a fair

wage for their efforts. The transitory nature of the day labor population makes this all the more challenging; there is almost always another worker willing accept less to make enough money to move on to somewhere else in the U.S., someone who has not found work in days or even weeks, or someone who wants to make just enough to get back home. It is difficult for workers to collectively enforce locally established rules in terms of operation and wages because of the constant turnover among workers. Without a doubt, numerous leaders have emerged over time at the Center, yet defining the responsibilities and the boundaries of workers' membership in the collective is a constant struggle.[110] When discussing how to improve the Center, workers consistently stated that there is a need for greater order and organization, yet personal economic gains often win out in this situation of survival of the fittest.

Language brokering

In the analysis that follows I will use the term broker to refer to the community volunteers and workers who act as negotiators/mediators as part of drive-through interviews. Their roles are complex as they act as both language and employment brokers in addition to being rule enforcers with workers and employers during the often chaotic negotiations. Although brokers often act as interpreters between English-speaking employers and Spanish-speaking workers, their role goes beyond translation as they

[110] Leaders among the workers, with the assistance of community volunteers, chose to implement the use of membership cards in June of 2007 in an attempt to define these boundaries and enforce compliance with locally established rules.

strive to maintain a balance between maintaining fair practices in assigning work to day laborers and insuring that employers follow locally established rules.

At the DLC, community volunteers are typically seen as being the primary broker and workers understand them to have greater authority to enforce the Center's rules, although the rules were established by the workers themselves.[111] Although community volunteers generally take on greater responsibilities in operating the Center, the workers that occasionally offer their services as brokers have a more difficult role to negotiate because they need to avoid appearing self-serving in their intentions. Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1987) found that intercultural language mediators must do a lot of face work that is dependent on the mediator's identification with his or her interlocutors. Workers who take on the role of broker have to expend greater effort than community volunteers to save face with other workers and employers because it is important to maintain good standing with both parties in order to gain future employment. Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp explain that mediators usually have greater cultural and/or personal affinity with one or other of their interlocutors. This is another important difference between worker and volunteer brokers: worker brokers are exclusively Latinos and community volunteer are a mixture of U.S. Latinos, foreign-born Latinos, and Anglos. As was previously discussed, workers are predominantly Latinos and there are slightly more Latino than Anglo employers. Therefore there are varying degrees of intercultural difference between all parties.

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[111] Most of the community volunteers are female, which gives them a decided advantage in enforcing rules and brokering employment. While it is outside the focus of the present analysis, it is interesting to note that many workers and volunteers have commented that it is easier for women to maintain order at the DLC. For a male worker or employer to disrespect a female volunteer is perceived as a grave offense, although it is certainly not unheard of.

The concept of language brokering has traditionally been limited to the translation, interpretation, and mediation that bilingual children and adolescents do for older monolingual family members and other adults (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse 1995, 1996; Faulstich Orellana, Dorner & Pulido, 2003; Hall, 2004; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Weisskirch, 2006); exceptions are found in Knapp-Potthoff & Knapp (1987), Radloff (2004), and Martínez (forthcoming) who examine adults in brokering situations. The concept of language brokers needs to be expanded to describe the interpretation and negotiation that bilingual workers and volunteers do for monolingual workers and employers. By excluding adults from the analysis of language brokering, the mediation that adults do in situations of informal translation has been left practically unexplored. Mediation is an integral part of the linguistic work that bilinguals do on behalf of monolingual Spanish-speaking workers at the Day Labor Center.

As Radloff (2004) demonstrated in her analysis of Arab accounts as language mediators in Chicago, mediators (i.e. brokers) help negotiate business interactions, not only in terms of literal translation, but also in terms of helping clients understand and navigate locally established norms and procedures for best business practices. At the DLC, bilingual workers take on the role of broker by directly negotiating employment based on the worker list; yet many workers, regardless of language ability, also take on a brokering role in a more informal way by negotiating employment for family members, friends, and newly arrived immigrants.[112] This very informal kind of brokering serves as

[112] There is an unspoken system that gives priority to very new arrivals to make sure that they are able to get their financial bearings and meet their most basic economic needs. Workers that draw a good number in the raffle might exchange tickets with another worker in greater financial need.

a safety net for individuals who are in desperate need of getting a day's work. In some sense, brokers themselves are pseudo-gatekeepers because of their intermediary role in facilitating and influencing the outcome of employment negotiations.

By observing interactions between potential employers, workers, and brokers in drive-through interviews, my data suggests that bilinguals have both the privilege and burden of mediation in the negotiation of work assignments and on the job. Being a language broker may begin at the Day Labor Center, but also carries over to the job site. Bilingual workers report that although they often receive more job offers, they also take on the role of the mediator on the job to facilitate communication between other workers and employers, sometimes resulting in tension between the bilingual worker and his peers. Monolingual workers, such as Víctor in (36), sometimes feel threatened by the brokering that bilingual workers do when they suspect the broker has his own self interests in mind. This happens both at the Center and on the job:

(36) Víctor, who has incipient English-language skills, lamented an experience he had with a bilingual co-worker on a job. He said that he did not like working with bilinguals because they were like a "segundo jefe" (*second boss*) and ordered you around all the time. He related a story to a group of workers about a bilingual worker who tried to trick him when the employer placed him in charge of making change and distributing pay among the rest of the workers. Víctor understood that the bilingual worker was trying to trick him out of the wage the boss had indicated that each worker should received and Víctor was able to make sure that he was paid the $80 that he was owed. (3/18/08, church parking lot, observation)

Monolingual Spanish-speaking workers sometimes distrusted bilingual workers[113] because they saw them as tricksters trying to take advantage of monolinguals' lack of English.[114]

While it is beyond the scope of this analysis to discuss the role of brokering on the job, it is important to note that brokering encompasses many different kinds of work that bilinguals do for their own benefit and the benefit of others. When I asked Tommy, a bilingual Chicano worker originally from California, if he thought he got more jobs because he was bilingual, he said that he did but qualified this by saying that it was really because he was a U.S. citizen. Tommy explained to me that although being bilingual was advantageous to securing more jobs, it could also create stressful situations. He said that sometimes monolingual workers think that bilinguals are putting on airs when they translate for the employer and tell other workers what to do on the job (1/2/07). So, although speaking English does create more job opportunities, it can create greater job responsibilities and potential conflicts that are usually not compensated monetarily in comparison with what monolingual workers earn. Gaining linguistic capital through bilingualism also comes at a price.

Limitations of methodology

Academic inquiry into gatekeeping encounters presents a number of challenges to researchers because of the inherent power imbalance between the participants and the

[113] See also (11) and (16) in Chapter 3 for related comments from monolingual Spanish speakers that distrust their bilingual peers.
[114] This relates to how newer immigrant workers often felt victimized by Chicanos and more established immigrant employers that will be discussed below.

potential outcomes in most gatekeeping settings (e.g. getting a job or gaining access to an institution). Previous studies have focused on both simulated and real interviews in a variety of settings as a means of balancing gaining access while trying not to negatively impacting the business at hand. Some researchers have avoided recording actual interviews, acknowledging that their presence could negatively affect the outcome of high-stakes interview situations. With this in mind, several studies have focused on simulated job interviews as part of job training programs (cf. Akinnaso & Seabrook Ajirotutu, 1982, Gumperz, 1992; Roberts & Sayers, 1998; Sniad, 2007). Roberts and Sayers (1998) recognize that the simulated nature of mock interviews could very well alter the dynamics of actual interviews by lowering the stakes of the interaction; yet they suggest that this effect was mitigated in their research by the presence of recording equipment that created a proxy source of tension. Gatekeeping has also been studied in authentic interview settings such as Kerekes's (2005, 2006, 2007) study of job interviews at a temporary employment agency and Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz's (2002) study of Pakistani employees asking for government funded training. Likewise Fiksdal (1988, 1990) examined actual advising interviews with foreign university students in the United States. She suggests that more authentic data is collected when recording prearranged visits (such as the college advising interviews she studied) where there was a preexisting commitment between the interviewer and interviewee (1988, p. 6), rather than creating a simulated interview for research purposes.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, I was unable to make recordings of job interviews at the Day Labor Center due to the sensitive legal status of many of the participants. The

analysis that follows in the remainder of this chapter is based on notes from participant observation[115] in combination with individual interviews with workers that contributed to the analysis of drive-through job interviews. I fully acknowledge that there are disadvantages to depending on field notes rather than audio or video recording, i.e. my analysis is necessarily of a macro nature (e.g. language choice, etc.), and without the advantage of being able to conduct a precise conversation analysis based on recorded speech. The advantage of my methodology was that there was little to no effect on the participants based on my presence. Although my research was approved by the members of the community and I explained that I would be observing these types of interactions, participants generally accepted my role at the Day Labor Center as that of just another community volunteer.[116] Keeping these limitations and advantages in mind, I will now proceed with the analysis of drive-through job interviews.

Rapport and co-membership

Due to the condensed nature of drive-through interviews, workers and employers must quickly establish a rapport (which is often mediated by a broker) while both parties simultaneously evaluate the demeanor and physical presentation of the other to determine if both the employer and the worker are desirable. Workers not only turn down job offers due to unfavorable terms of employment, but also because they deem the employer to be untrustworthy. Previous research on establishing rapport and co-membership in

[115] As a community volunteer at the Day Labor Center, I was often in the midst of many of the drive-through interviews in the role of the broker.

[116] This too is not unproblematic because of the unintentionally (or perhaps intentionally) covert nature of participant observation where participants forget the role of the researcher (cf. Harvey, 1992). This is especially important to note in this setting because of the rapid turnover in participants.

gatekeeping interviews has focused on the techniques that interviewees use to gain a favorable evaluation from their interviewers. My findings indicate that co-membership can be used to further empower already more powerful interlocutors. In other words, it is possible for employers to construct co-membership with workers to justify their substandard treatment. In contrast with previous studies that have focused primarily on interviewees' techniques for establishing co-membership, I focus my analysis on how employers construct co-membership and build rapport.

The concept of trustworthiness has been identified as a subcategory of rapport (Kerekes, 2006), but I suggest the need to more clearly separate out the concepts of co-membership and trust. I also use the concept of solidarity in reference to the ways that employers align themselves with or distance themselves from workers. In this section, I will look at the concept of co-membership in drive-through interviews in contrasting situations of intra-group and inter-group negotiations with Latino and Anglo employers. I will reserve the discussion of trust and establishing trustworthiness as part of my subsequent discussion of the presentation of an institutional self.

Kerekes (2006) has identified trustworthiness and with it, the construction of co-membership, as important factors for securing employment in job interviews. She found that interviewees look for ways to establish co-membership (e.g. shared educational backgrounds, work ethic, family responsibilities such as motherhood) as a method for interviewees to shorten the social distance between themselves and their interviewers. According to Fiksdal (1998), rapport refers to the relationship built through conversation; it is a mutually constructed process. Building rapport is a strategy for constructing

positive face when one seeks approval. Fiksdal draws on Brown and Levinson's positive-face strategies that are used to build rapport in job interviews: seeking agreement, finding a common ground, avoiding disagreement, and joking (cited in Fiksdal, 1988, p. 6). Likewise, Kerekes (2005) found that interviewees that used chit-chat were able to establish co-membership and were ultimately more likely to be successful, i.e. get hired.

Co-membership, then, is mutually constructed through interactions where the burden is on the interviewee to establish co-membership and identify him- or herself with the interviewer (Kerekes, 2006). Yet, as observed at the Day Labor Center, employers also often do face work to project a relationship of co-membership in order to establish rapport with workers that ultimately leads to a positive work environment. This is especially true with negotiations without the need for language broker, i.e. when both employer and worker speak the same language and can directly communicate with each other. When a broker is involved in the transaction, exchanges are typically much shorter and there is less effort from both parties to establish co-membership when interlocutors are more obviously from different ethnolinguistic groups. As will be discussed at length below, workers often have a very negative perception of Latino employers; in response, some Latino employers use appeals to co-membership as part of the negotiation process. Other employers deliberately emphasize a lack of co-membership with workers as a means of guarding the distance between themselves and workers that reinforces the power imbalance.

In gatekeeping encounters, power differentials between interlocutors often reinforce inter-group boundaries when the interviewer and interviewee are from different

ethnolinguistic groups or social classes. Although speakers from different social groups may say something with essentially the same semantic meaning, those that are physically perceived differently (e.g. in terms of their race or gender) are apt to find that the way they express themselves is also perceived differently (Kerekes, 2005, p. 127).[117] At the Day Labor Center, it is especially challenging for Anglo employers and Latino workers who do not speak the same language to establish rapport. Co-membership is almost out of the question because of the socioeconomic abyss that often separates the two, yet this does not preclude attempts to bridge this gap through other means.

Through the introduction of the concept of solidarity as a part of rapport, I seek to demonstrate that attempting to establish rapport does not necessarily imply the establishment of co-membership or vice versa. As mentioned above, it is possible for an employer to call on co-membership to justify adverse treatment of workers (i.e. "If it happened to me, it should happen to you."). On the other hand, rapport and co-membership are certainly not mutually exclusive. I suggest that demonstrating solidarity is a possible means of establishing rapport when constructing co-membership is not available. By this I mean that it is possible for employers to demonstrate solidarity with workers by creating a favorable work environment while maintaining a social distance and avoiding constructing co-membership. Some of the rapport-building activities observed were: linguistic accommodation, language co-membership, immigrant co-membership, and shared worker experience. Rapport-building techniques are not always

[117] Kerekes (2005) identifies several ways for interviewees to compensate for perceived differences, such as physical presentation (e.g. dress) or understanding verbal cues (i.e. anticipating what kind of answer the interviewer wants).

felicitous. In other words, interlocutors may or may not respond with reciprocal attempts to maintain and build on rapport. Also, establishing rapport does not necessarily determine the outcome of drive-through interviews.

Rapport, solidarity, and linguistic accommodation

The work of establishing rapport happens at both ends of an employment transaction, where both employers and workers collaboratively share the task of creating a collegial discourse. This is much easier to accomplish when the employer is a Spanish speaker as we see in the following interaction:

(37) A Latino employer came to pick up a worker that was not there. He said that he was looking for a long-term employee, "de planta, si trabaja bien" (*permanent, if he works hard*). I called the name of the next worker on the list, a young recent arrival from Mexico. The employer said he was really looking for a worker he knew and he might come back later. He was very friendly and encouraging with the group gathered around his truck, saying that he hoped that they would all find work. Neto responded to the employer's friendly tone, joking, "Estamos buscando quiénes nos adopten" (*we're looking for someone to adopt us*). This made the employer and the workers around the truck laugh. He wished everyone good luck and repeated his desire that they all find work, adding he might come back to later to pick up a worker. Although he did not take any workers, he left the men with a light-hearted attitude. (2/6/07, parking lot, observation)

Neto rapidly recognizes the employer's rapport-building techniques of directly conversing with workers and encouraging them with the possibility of finding employment, and more specifically with his mention of the possibility of getting hired for a long-term job. Neto responds with a joke that acknowledges the employer's invitation to participate in rapport-building and builds on it. This employer's indication that he was hoping to hire workers in the future suggests that this was a preemptive exercise in

establishing rapport; he demonstrates solidarity when encouraging workers in their often frustrating pursuit of employment.

In Scheuer's (2001) analysis of white collar job interviews in Denmark, he found that successful applicants were able to recontextualize the job interview through the personalization of their professional experiences. Making jokes during the interview and using other informal styles allowed applicants to project an identity that reflected their social background in a way that complimented and enhanced their personal résumés (Scheuer, 2001). In (37), Neto marks himself as understanding the rapport-building activities that are necessary between worker and employer and distinguishes himself from the other workers gathered. His use of humor with the employer in the above example allowed him to stand out, which would give him the advantage the next time the employer came to the Center.

I follow with a discussion of an Anglo employer's use of the rapport-building technique of convergent linguistic accommodation, i.e. attempting to communicate directly with workers in Spanish. She does this as a means of attempting to demonstrate solidarity with workers *without* an attempt to establish co-membership.

(38) A middle-aged Anglo woman spoke to me (in English) in my role as a broker, explaining that she wanted two workers for a moving job. She confided that she was glad to see the Center was organized because she had been nervous to hire workers. She explained that the last time she had picked up workers, several men had tried to jump into her vehicle as she pulled into the parking lot. The employer went into great detail about what she needed to move (three very heavy desks) and she would pay $10/hour but it would only take about three hours. She repeated several times that it would be very heavy lifting and took a hard look at the next two workers on the list when I called their names. They were both young, one was very big and the other was smaller but looked strong. After I translated the specifics of the job into Spanish for the workers, she repeated to them several times "espaldas fuertes" (*strong backs*) with an exaggerated friendly tone and

> pantomimed a body-building pose of flexing muscles and then patting her back as a means of reinforcing her verbal message. Although her Spanish was very limited, she had the confidence to use it to directly communicate with the workers. She hesitantly stepped back when the two young workers approached her and her vehicle, but then continued with the transaction and addressed the workers directly in her limited Spanish, trying to explain that she wanted them to enter her van from the back. The side door to her van did not open, so she opened the rear door and the workers climbed in without directly addressing the employer in any way. She thanked me several times and happily went on her way. (3/20/07, parking lot, observation)

In (38), the employer makes an effort to use her rudimentary Spanish to address the workers in a situation where she could have chosen to conduct the entire transaction in English with the assistance of a broker. Through linguistic accommodation, she attempts to build rapport with the workers through direct interaction in their language, hinting at a possible attempt on the employer's part to convey a sense of solidarity. In her study of interviews with survivors of domestic abuse, Trinch (2007) suggests that English speakers with limited Spanish may use Spanish with monolingual Spanish speakers as a way of establishing common ground when interlocutors may have little else in common. This is particularly meaningful in the presence of language brokers whose role is defined by the linguistic work they do in facilitating communication between interlocutors that do not speak the same language (Trinch, 2007). In other words, if is not semantically necessary for low-level bilinguals to accommodate to his or her interlocutor's language, the use of the interlocutor's language must serve another function. Although the use of Spanish by a low-level bilingual can be part of an attempt to build rapport or demonstrate solidarity, it may actually hinder communication if the intended massage is garbled due to lack of linguistic proficiency.

In (38) above, the employer's direct interaction with the workers through her limited use of Spanish demonstrates linguistic accommodation on her part in an attempt to reduce the language barrier while she simultaneously warns them of the difficult nature of the job. Trinch states that in domestic abuse interviews with advocates, the use of "Spanish—for non-Latino, barely bilingual interviewers—acts as a linguistic device that can build an advocacy identity" (2007, p. 490). Similarly, the use of Spanish by potential employers at the Day Labor Center seems to be an attempt to project the identity of being an approachable, good-humored, and desirable boss. This is not unlike Hill's (1993, 1998) discussion of the use of Mock Spanish in the Southwest where Anglos use pseudo-Spanish to directly index a laid back, jocular style while indirectly indexing the racial privilege of Whiteness.[118]

The interaction in (38) above is also marked by the employer's discomfort. She first confided in the broker that she was nervous about picking up workers and was grateful for the broker's presence. As part of the negotiation she drew back physically when confronted with face-to-face contact with the workers and then wanted them to crawl into the van through the rear door rather then come through the passenger door. Both of these actions suggest a physical and figurative distancing that maintained the unequal power differential between her and the workers. Making workers ride in the back of a truck or enter a vehicle through rear when not necessary was seen as a disrespectful act on the part of employer.[119] Making workers ride in the back of a vehicle (especially

[118] Hill's analysis is focused on the use of this register with Anglo interlocutors; see below for Barrett's (2006) discussion of the use of limited Anglo Spanish with Spanish dominant interlocutors.

[119] While there was not always space for workers inside vehicles, especially when multiple workers went out on a job, it was generally accepted that workers should travel inside the vehicle because it would make

when there is space inside), is a very physical way of demarcating a lack of co-membership and emphasizing the unequal status of the employer and the worker.

Although the use of Spanish in (38) appears to be an attempt at rapport building, it is not an exercise in establishing co-membership in the way Kerekes (2006) observed in successful job interviews. Here, the employer projected a superior status to the workers and they made no attempt to directly interact with her in Spanish in response to her performance of a limited Spanish repertoire.[120] Trinch (2007) also observed a lack of direct response from monolingual clients when volunteer advocates attempted to communicate with them in limited Spanish. In both my data and in Trinch, Spanish speakers chose to continue to communicate through brokers rather than directly respond to the linguistic accommodation of 'barely bilinguals,' to co-opt Trinch's terminology. Linguistic accommodation does not necessarily result in the establishment of co-membership or rapport. Not only is it necessary to interrogate attempted accommodation through the use of Spanish, but also the lack of direct response in Spanish. The majority of workers at the Day Labor Center do not have sufficient language proficiency to extensively respond in English to attempts to speak Spanish by Anglos and so they utilize other techniques, e.g. avoiding direct interaction or sometimes making fun of Anglos' Spanish, to discredit unauthorized or unwanted Anglo Spanish.

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them less visible. On one occasion I observed Saturnino refuse a job when an employer told him to get in to the back of a pick-up truck even though there was room for several people in the double cab. The employer angrily replied to Saturnino's refusal to ride in the back saying, "If they don't have papers, what can they expect?" (4/5/07).

[120] The workers might have also felt uncomfortable with negotiating employment with a female Anglo employer, which was somewhat unusual at the Center.

I suggest that we need to further interrogate Trinch's claim that the use of Spanish by barely bilinguals "might at least temporarily diminish the interference that results from the language barrier and the presence of the interpreter" (2007, p. 488). Trinch suggests that humor that can result from Anglo's limited use of Spanish may lighten a potentially stressful situation.[121] But it does raise the question, is the use of Spanish by barely bilinguals as entertaining for Spanish monolinguals as it is for Anglos? Does this sort of use of Spanish lighten the mood for Spanish-speakers in the same way that it does for English speakers? The female employer in (38) expressed her nervousness at picking up workers from the Center; her use of Spanish in an exaggerated way can be interpreted as an attempt to combat her own nervousness through an exaggerated and humorous performance of her limited Spanish ability. The lack of response these kinds of very low proficiency uses of Spanish often receive suggests that Spanish-speakers do not always delight in being receptors of the use of Spanish by low-level or barely bilinguals. I do not mean to suggest that Anglos are never well-intentioned in their attempts at speaking Spanish in authentic ways, but rather that such attempts are not universally well-received.

In his analysis of Anglos' derogatory uses of Spanish with Spanish-dominant interlocutors in an Anglo-owned Mexican restaurant, Barrett (2006) suggests that "By using a little Spanish rather than full Spanish,[122] Anglo speakers may be *attempting* to index a sympathetic stance toward Latinos without *actually* indexing a position of

[121] It is worth noting again that Trinch (2007) observed gatekeeping interviews with survivors of domestic abuse, which is a very different setting than the drive-through interviews at the Day Labor Center.
[122] Barrett (2006) explains that Anglos that are highly fluent in Spanish indexically communicate solidarity, e.g. Barrett himself was labeled as a "burrito" (i.e. "white on the outside pure beaner on the inside," p. 178) by his Anglo co-workers because of the solidarity he demonstrated with Latino coworkers through his use of fluent Spanish.

equality or solidarity. This is, of course, an entirely Anglocentric view of the functions of Spanish" (emphasis added, p. 200). He further explains that Anglos indirectly index their own racial superiority and Spanish speakers' inferiority by projecting an identity and stance that attempt to corroborate these inequalities. Certain Anglo uses of Spanish such as 'Mock Spanish' (the insertion or adaptation of Spanish lexical items in ways that are incomprehensible to monolingual Spanish speakers) or 'foreigner talk' (simplified speech, gestures, and/or increased volume) sever the indexical link between Spanish-speakers and their language, thus limiting Spanish-speakers' agency to make connections between their own identity and language. In (38), the employer uses 'foreigner talk' with the workers through the use of simplified speech and repetition ("espaldas fuertes") in combination with exaggerated gesturing. According to Barrett (2006), the index linking Mock Spanish with Anglos' laid back and easy-going style is not conveyed to monolingual Spanish interlocutors, but rather Anglos' lack of desire or ability to speak Spanish.

Early research on linguistic accommodation (cf. Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Giles & Powesland, [1975] 1997) suggested that a speaker's desire for potential rewards, such as social approval, motivate linguistic accommodation. The amount of accommodation and effort expended is dependent on the need of the speaker to receive approval from his or her interlocutor. Conversely, interlocutors were found to respond more positively to speakers that expended greater effort to accommodate and did so without external pressure. Yet when the more powerful interlocutor (an Anglo employer in this case) symbolically subverts the established linguistic hierarchy by accommodating

to a less powerful interlocutor by using the less powerful language—a process Bourdieu (1991) refers to as "strategies of condensation"—it is not a true inversion of the hierarchy. Bourdieu explains that this is:

> possible whenever the objective disparity between the persons present […] is sufficiently known and recognized by everyone so that the symbolic negation of the hierarchy […] enables the speaker to combine the profits linked to the undiminished hierarchy with those derived from the distinctly symbolic negation of the hierarchy—not the least of which is the strengthening of the hierarchy implied by the recognition accorded to the way of using the hierarchical relation. (1991, p. 68)

In other words, it is not *despite* the power differential between the Anglo employer and the Latino worker that the employer accommodates to a less powerful interlocutor, but rather *because* of this power differential. The negotiation of the hierarchy is purely symbolic because the more powerful individual speaks from and as a result of his or her position of power without actually subverting this inequality. The workers knew that this Anglo employer was not trying to truly cultivate a space for social or linguistic co-membership, but rather that they were being addressed from a place of power. This process is illustrated at the Day Labor Center when employers, especially those who are not native speakers of Spanish, go out of their way to communicate with workers in Spanish.

I do not mean to imply, nor do I believe that Bourdieu implies, that these speakers are intentionally condescending with their interlocutors and, in fact, many have an expressly communicative and/or rapport-establishing goals in their use of Spanish. Although the following example is from outside the realm of drive-through interviews,

the following encounter from the Day Labor Center is pertinent to the present discussion of Anglo uses of Spanish:

(39) When a group of teachers visited the DLC as part of an educational tour of the borderlands with a local non-profit organization, I observed an Anglo woman as she struggled to communicate directly with workers in Spanish in an explanation of what had motivated her to make the trip from Minnesota to learn about immigration and take this experience back to her community. She eventually got her message across with a few corrections from the workers followed by several comments about her Spanish not being that great. (6/20/07, parking lot, observation).

The woman in (39) used her labored Spanish when she could have chosen to fall back on one of the many informal interpreters present to communicate with the workers. This effort gained her the floor, but her extra effort of using Spanish was not highly valued among the workers. For Anglos with limited Spanish skills that are not in regular contact with Spanish speakers, there seems to be a widespread belief that any effort to use Spanish should be highly regarded and socially rewarded. Spanish-speaking immigrants do not have the same experience with their own attempts to use English. In other words, individuals with limited English skills know that they are rarely rewarded for their efforts to speak English and the use of imperfect English could potentially single them out as immigrants. Learning Spanish for Anglos is an elective form of bilingualism that is often highly rewarded in social and employment setting, in other words, it carries greater linguistic capital. Immigrant Latinos usually have more instrumental motives for learning English that might lead them to judge unnecessary demonstrations of basic bilingualism unfavorably.

By using Spanish to interact with workers, English-dominant Anglos (and others) do temporarily subvert the hierarchy that names English as the dominant language. This

being said, even though their Spanish may be very rudimentary, Anglos are sufficiently well-situated on the socioeconomic and racial/ethnic hierarchy to use Spanish poorly without diminishing their privileged positionality. In contrast, immigrant workers that are very low-level or barely bilinguals are in the precarious position of attempting to hide their Spanish or limited English because it simultaneously marks them as being foreign and undocumented.

So, can we say that Anglos are "damned if you do, damned if you don't," in terms of their use of Spanish with Latinos? Do all Anglo uses of Spanish imply the reinforcing of social inequality? I don't think this is necessarily true; Anglo uses of Spanish need to be contextually analyzed. To quote Hill: "In Bakhtinian terms, Southwest Anglo Spanish manifests not an exchange with an interlocutor whose voice is heard in its fullness, but a form of parody" (1993, p. 139). The point here is that 'Anglo Spanish' is a form of parody, not the use of Spanish in and of itself. Here, and in her later work on Mock Spanish (1998), Hill refers to this kind of Spanish being used "in limited and specialized ways that support a broader project of social and economic domination of the Spanish speaker in the region" (1993, p. 146). Barrett (2006) retakes Hill's discussion of Anglo Spanish with Spanish-speaking interlocutors, suggesting that the indirect indexicality of the elevation of Whiteness is also reinforced through parodic uses of Spanish with Spanish speakers. I believe that the distinction must be made in terms of how the Spanish-speaking interlocutor is engaged and to what end. According to Bakhtin (1981), parodic stylization is the result of dual processes of the use of multiple "languages" and

belief systems while highlighting the falsity or hypocrisy of “languages” as differentiated from the speaker’s voice (p. 315).

As seen with the Anglo employer in (38) and with English-dominant advocates in Trinch (2007), monolingual Spanish speakers did not directly respond to barely bilinguals’ attempts at communication when the presence of a language broker was there to facilitate semantically meaningful communication. It is very possible that Spanish speakers interpret unnecessary attempts at ‘barely’ speaking Spanish as actually undermining authentic communication. Conversely, at the DLC there were Anglo employers that never made any attempt to speak Spanish but made an effort to establish solidarity with workers in other ways:

(40) An Anglo employer that had particularly good rapport with workers and volunteers at the Center had an on-going hiring relationship with several specific workers. He came to the Center after a period of absence to check in with the men he regularly contracted, explaining that he had been out sick the previous week. He spoke at length with Julio, a soft-spoken bilingual man that was one of his regular workers, about the scarcity of work available for the day laborers. He expressed his regret that he had not had enough work to be able to hire his regular workers. (4/17/07, parking lot, observation)

This employer made a special trip to the Center as a rapport and solidarity maintaining activity that demonstrated that he was sympathetic and concerned about their need for work despite have not having any work to offer. Linguistic accommodation is therefore not a necessary prerequisite for establishing solidarity.

In both (38) and (39), we see indifferent and critical responses to Anglo attempts at convergent accommodation through the use of Spanish. In these two examples, attempts to use Spanish seemed to be based on the popular notion that any attempt to use Spanish is welcome and positively evaluated by Spanish speakers. Cargile, Giles, and

Clément's (1995) reworking of previous research on linguistic accommodation in situations of ethnolinguistic contact makes a distinction between "objective accommodation"—which refers to *actual* language shifts, whether convergent or divergent—and "subjective accommodation" with regard to how speakers *perceive* accommodation. A resulting value mismatch between objective and subjective accommodation is noted in persistent efforts to communicate in the interlocutor's language coupled with a lack of positive assessment or response. Cargile et al. (1995) use the term "divergent convergence" to refer to linguistic minorities' rejection of linguistic accommodation on the part of members of the dominant language group through minorities' use of the dominant language in response (e.g. English Canadians trying to speak French and receiving a response in English from French Canadians or Castilian Spanish speakers trying to speak Catalan and receiving a response in Spanish from Catalans).[123] In these examples, minority speakers converge to their dominant language interlocutors and simultaneously push them outside the boundaries of their own ethnolinguistic group. Cargile et al. qualify that these types of interactions should be examined in terms of the relationship between speakers, the context of the interaction, and the language norms of said situation (1995, p. 199).

Bilingual Latino employers were very adept at accommodating to their interlocutors, many of who spoke in Spanish with Latino workers and in English with Anglo volunteers as illustrated in the following example:

[123] As a bilingual Anglo living in the Southwest, I have often found that bilingual Latinos will respond in English to my own 'unauthorized' use of Spanish. On a personal note, this has made me somewhat hesitant to use Spanish in the community with Latinos that are unknown to me for fear of offending.

(41) A Latino employer pulled over to the curb on the street just outside of the Church parking lot. Three workers approached the truck, addressed the employer in Spanish, and convinced him to pull into the parking lot. I helped the next two workers on the list negotiate the details of employment in Spanish. After arriving at agreeable terms of employment with the workers, the employer switched to English to ask me several questions about the Center and how it worked. (2/1/07, parking lot, observation)

This highly bilingual employer first establishes rapport/co-membership with the workers through direct negotiation in Spanish then switched to English to ask the broker questions not specifically related to the job at hand. There are several possible interpretations to this switch: A) the employer first aligned himself with the workers and then pushed the non-native Spanish-speaking broker outside the boundaries of ethnolinguistic membership by addressing her in English (i.e. divergent convergence), B) he made the switch to English with the broker to distance himself from the workers and establish rapport/co-membership with the broker, or C) the employer was simply convergent in accommodating his various interlocutors' dominant languages. Although it is impossible to pinpoint the conscious or unconscious motivation for said switch, it is important to recognize the possible overlay of sometimes contradictory stimuli for linguistic accommodation.

Solidarity and distance with Latino and Anglo employers

Despite the fact that Anglos are not always readily invited to participate in Spanish-speaking encounters as a result of the abovementioned divergent convergence, Anglo employers are able to access Spanish from a place of privilege in a way that immigrant workers cannot do with English. New immigrants often have limited access to English-

speaking social networks (cf. Menjívar, 2000; Norton, 2000; Ullman, 2004). The situation is distinct for Latino employers with limited Spanish skills. They are sometimes hesitant to speak with workers in Spanish if they are heavily English-dominant and workers are quick to judge employers that are perceived to be Spanish-speaking Latinos that 'choose' not to use Spanish on the job and in the community. Yet, workers often positively evaluate Anglo attempts to learn Spanish. Conversely, they criticize Latinos that do not use Spanish because it is identified as a tactic of social distancing. This helps explain differential evaluations of Anglo and Latino Spanish in relation to divergent and convergent linguistic accommodation. Saturnino related a positive experience working with an Anglo employer that wanted to learn Spanish:

(42) Me ha tocado mucha- mucha gente, un muchacho que se llama Michael, de la fuerza aérea, de los veteranos. Pues él, él casi no habla- no habla español. Yo iba para allá con él a hacer unos trabajitos, nomás a ayudarle. Porque dije, no, qué bonito que él quiere aprender a hablar español. "¿Cómo quieres que te enseñe?" le decía, yo pues ya- yo sí lo trataba yo como de 'tú' porque me decía, "No, no me trates de usted," dice, "porque me siento más señor." Sí, muy buena gente, y él me decía más, "¿Cómo se dice esto en español?" y ya le decía yo. Y él me decía, "*Eh, ok, you're right*," y se lo apuntaba. (3/8/07, church meeting hall, interview, Saturnino, 41, Chiapas)

Previously in the same interview, Saturnino had criticized Latinos that make fun of people learning English and saw this employer's efforts to learn English to be respectful and valuable. The reported reciprocal use of the informal address form of *tú* suggests a level of respectful informality and familiarity between Saturnino and Michael. This kind of language exchange also obviously contributes to establishing rapport and solidarity on the job. When Michael, the employer, valued Saturnino's language background and assigned Saturnino the task of teaching him English, it inverts the power differential and

demonstrates respect for both Saturnino and his language. Similarly, Mariano commends Anglo efforts to learn Spanish:

(43) Hay muchos [patrones anglos] que trabajan de diario- trabajan con gente [latina], entonces por eso es que mucho patrón que estudia también el español porque […] agarran trabajadores de fuera. Por eso aquí muchos que practican el español, o sea, compran- yo he visto a muchos, a muchos me he topado con gringos pues que iban leyendo libros en español, que van viendo ahí o otra cosa o yo he escuchado a muchos de que- de que ponen música en español y son gringos, son gabachos. No que a veces- a veces solo oyen pero ahí están poniéndole y poniéndole. Sí, poquito a poquito ellos van quedando ya y van sabiendo lo qué- qué- qué quiere decir. Van entienden, pues, le van agarrando poco a poco. (3/6/07, church courtyard, interview, Mariano, 45, El Salvador)

Mariano positively evaluates Anglos who learn Spanish in relation to the effort and dedication they exert. This is markedly different from Mariano's negative evaluation of Chicanos that do not speak Spanish. This dual discourse reveals a connection between ethnicity/race and language: it is unnatural for Anglos to speak Spanish, yet commendable when they do; conversely, all Latinos should naturally speak Spanish and are negatively evaluated when they do not. When I asked him if the Chicano employers he had worked for all spoke Spanish, Mariano replied saying:

(44) Sí, sí, casi todos pero hay muchos que pues, son muy, deste, como les dijera, egoístas más bien dicho, porque sí son chicanos y que hayan, digamos, se hayan criado aquí o muchos han nacido aquí, pero su familia es de allá y saben el idioma, el español, y siempre les enseñan el español siempre. Entonces hay muchos de que- porque tienen años aquí, ya se acostumbraron al idioma en inglés y saben el español. No quieren ellos compartir el español ya con otra persona que no sabe el idioma. Ya no quieren hablar el idioma de uno ya de allá. Puro inglés y eso tiene mucho, porque, o sea, que yo digo que es- que es una egoísmo porque si alguien- alguien, digo, sabe el español, sabe el inglés y el español, entonces si viene una persona que no sabe el idioma, el inglés, y si sabe el español pues ¿Como por qué no le va a enseñar, verdad, algo de lo que sabe? Y eso es lo que se debe pues. (3/6/07, church courtyard, interview, Mariano, 45, El Salvador)

Mariano evaluates Chicanos that do not speak Spanish with other Latinos as being selfish in their linguistic exclusion of Spanish-dominant Latinos.[124] He criticizes both their lack of willingness to speak Spanish and lack of willingness to share (i.e. teach) English with Spanish monolinguals. Urciuoli (1996) explains that when Spanish-dominant individuals are forced to speak Spanish, rather than allowed to defend themselves in English (regardless of proficiency), "they are robbed of the chance to acquire symbolic capital" (p. 170). Mexican students in Bejarano (2005) also reported feeling belittled by Chicano students that could speak Spanish but choose not to as an exclusionary practice. In sum, language choice in terms of both divergent and convergent accommodation can be viewed as either exclusionary or inclusionary tactics, preventing or promoting rapport building, depending on the context of the interaction.

Co-membership without solidarity

There is a palpable tension between day laborers and Latino employers with regard to co-membership in "la Raza" in terms of how loyalty and solidarity are defined. Workers were critical of their compatriots and ethnically identified in-group cohort, i.e. "la Raza," who they evaluated as building themselves up on the backs of newer immigrants. The term Chicano was used to encompass both U.S.-born Mexican Americans and assimilated or more established Latino immigrants. Saturnino had a two-part definition of the term Chicano: "son gente que ya vinieron desde hace rato, son personas que empezaron aquí" (*they are people that came here a long time ago, they are people that started here*)

[124] It should be noted that Mariano seems to ignore that many Chicanos, in fact, simply do not speak Spanish.

(3/8/07). Many workers were very critical in their evaluation of Chicano or Latino employers in comparison with Anglo employers. Pablo describes this tension between newly arrived immigrants and more established immigrants in the following way:

(45) Los patrones más malos que hay aquí en el Centro son los mexicanos. La propia raza de uno no pagan bien, te traen mucho a prisa a hacer las cosas y este amigo [un patrón anglo], no, este amigo, desde que me subí, desde que me subí al troque me dijo a mí, "No me gusta trabajar rápido. Yo quiero las cosas bien pero despacio pero bien hecho." […]. La mayoría de las personas, entonces mexicanos, que ya están arreglados aquí, que tienen ya residencia permanente, unos que ya son ciudadanos, ven a la raza de uno, o sea ellos se creen más superiores a uno por el hecho de que ya están arreglados aquí. No, entonces no. Te tratan mal, no te dan comida a veces, te pagan poco, te quieren dar menos de ocho dólares la hora, te- te hacen trabajar a prisa. Ellos cobran caro pero le pagan poco al- al indocumentado siendo que en algún tiempo ellos fueron indocumentado y este pues y no sé a qué se deba que nos traten así siendo la raza de uno. […]. Son más gente que- que al igual que yo, al igual que todos, sufrieron para cruzar el desierto. Pero siento que no deben de hacer así. (6/12/07, church courtyard, interview, Pablo, 43, Sonora, Mexico)

Pablo identifies co-membership with Latino immigrant employers that makes these employers' lack of solidarity particularly painful.

In drive-through interviews, Latino employers sometimes call on this co-membership in order to justify *not* accepting the terms of employment collectively agreed upon by the workers. (46) and (47) below, describe negotiations with two employers that do just this:

(46) A Latino employer parked in the Church lot, got out of his car, and told me (in English) that he needed two workers. When I asked how much he would pay an hour for the job, he said $7/hour. I explained that the workers had collectively agreed on $8/hour as a minimum but the employer politely replied that he could only pay $7. The negotiation was interrupted by another employer pulling into the parking lot, and the first employer said he would wait for me to talk with the other employer first. When I came back, the first employer justified paying $7/hour by saying that he had only earned that much himself in the last several years and could not pay more. Claudio and Mariano were the next two workers on the list and they rejected the offer. The employer then switched to Spanish and explained

to the workers that he could not pay more than $7 because that is what he used to earn. Two other men who were much lower on the list jumped at the offer. The employer touched me on the shoulder apologetically as he left and thanked me. (3/20/07, parking lot, observation)

A similar encounter happened with another employer:

(47) A Latino employer asked for one worker for a landscaping job, saying that he would pay $7/hour. When I explained that the minimum agreed on by the workers was $8, he seemed to want to enter into dialogue with me and explain his reasoning. I repeated that the workers had decided on $8 as the minimum among themselves. He continued to justify paying less than the locally established minimum, saying that he would pay $10/hour for cement work or for a bricklayer's assistant, qualifying that it depended out how hard someone worked. "No todos trabajan bien…van al baño o a buscar agua" (*They don't all work hard…they go to the bathroom or go looking of water*).[125] I repeated several times the minimum established by the workers but the employer wanted to continue to discuss the issue. He said that it took him four years to get to the point where he made $10/hour and everyone starts low, adding that he was willing to pay more (going up to $8 or $9/hour) if the worker put a lot of effort into the job. A large group of workers had gathered around the truck which put the employer in the advantageous position of knowing that there were many available workers and that surely someone would go out on the job for $7. Nemesio and Mariano were closely observing the negotiation and I asked them what we should do. Mariano was firm that no one should go for less than $8 and Nemesio said to send out an older worker that had just arrived from Mexico,[126] which is what we did. After the employer pulled away, Nacho commented from where he was sitting on the curb that he was the kind of boss that did not pay well. (4/3/07, parking lot, observation)

[125] It is interesting to note that the employer in (47) cites personal needs as a waste of time rather than other possible reasons for not working, e.g. sitting around, talking, etc. I observed this kind of complaint on another occasion from two employers (one Latino and the other Anglo) that came together to hire two workers. They explained that the job would be heavy work with a shovel, i.e. "back work," and stressed several times that they should be good workers (4/10/07). On yet another occasion, an employer complained that the last time he had hired workers they wanted a break after just two hours and asked for sandwiches, water, etc. (4/5/07). This type of comment on the part of employers appears to be an indication of the kind of 'institutional self' they expect from their workers, e.g. hard-working, compliant, without personal needs. See the following section for a more extensive discussion of workers' projection of an institutional self in drive-through interviews.

[126] See footnote 112.

Although the employer in (46) is much more affable than the employer in (47), both gave extensive justifications[127] as to why they did not want to pay the established minimum rate of $8/hours. By likening themselves to the workers through their own personal experiences as low-wage earners from the same background, these two employers attempt to establish co-membership with the workers. These appeals to co-membership are used to justify paying a lower wage. Therefore, constructing in-group membership is used to rationalize a *lack* of solidarity—not paying the wage collectively stipulated by the day laborers—rather than agreeing to accept the workers' parameters. The first employer in (46) directly addressed the workers in their language and explained his reasoning for not paying the wage they wanted. He could have chosen to continue to communicate through the broker and avoid directly confronting the workers' established rules, but instead used an appeal to co-membership to rationalize the proffered wage.

Just as Bejarano (2005) found in the conflictive relationship between Mexican and Chicano students at Altamira High School, day laborers found discrimination at the hands of Chicanos or more established Latino immigrants to be particularly aggrieving because it was seen as an assault on "la Raza." Bejarano (2005) found that Chicanos became what Freire terms "sub-oppressors" in their discrimination against Mexican students. According to Freire:

> the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors." […]. This phenomenon derives from the fact that the oppressed, at a certain moment of their existential experiences adopt an attitude of "adhesion" to the oppressor. (1998, p. 47)

[127] Drive-through interviews were normally defined by being very rapid exchanges and employers would frequently become impatient when negotiations took too long or if they had to wait for another employer to finish negotiating. The fact that these employers took the time to give extensive justification for paying a lower wage marks these interactions as being distinct from the norm.

At the Day Labor Center, Latino employers were often more likely than Anglo employers to openly refuse to pay the minimum rate established by the workers.[128] Workers often cited preferring to work for Anglos, explaining that they paid better and treated workers better on the job. As was discussed in Chapter 3, this was a motivating factor for learning English. Matt, an Anglo volunteer at the Day Labor Center, suggested that the disparity in wages between Anglo and Latino employers could also be explained by the fact that Anglo employers were likely more financially stable and therefore able to pay their workers at higher rates, whereas many Latino employers—especially those who were immigrants themselves—likely did not have as much disposable capital to increase workers' wages (3/27/07). Saturnino's analysis contributes to this idea with his observation that Chicano employers are often middlemen that must answer to Anglo superiors:

(48) El chicano, sí, te exige porque él- es él que le está yendo a trabajar al gringo, él. Su patrón es el gringo y cuando directamente te viene a traer el gringo, él- él paga bien. O sea, ellos no. No, ellos van a decir, "Van a hacer eso, van a-" ¿No? ¿No? Si no lo terminas [los gringos] todavía te pagan lo que te dicen y el chicano, él está dependiendo del gringo. (3/8/07, church meeting hall, interview, Saturnino, 41, Chiapas)

[128] This does not preclude the fact that there were numerous Anglo employers that refused to pay the minimum but, as a group, they were more likely to acquiesce to paying $8/hour than were Latino employers. Agreeing to pay the minimum was especially common among employers who were new to the Day Labor Center and were unfamiliar with the going rate for day laborers. Because many Latino employers were themselves immigrants, they were more likely to have had personal experience working as day laborers and which likely influenced their perspective of what day laborer should earn. Some workers complained that former day laborer that had become employers often had a dated concept of what they should pay based on what they had earned in the distant past.

Recognizing the resulting antagonism between Latino employers and workers, Saturnino had this to say in (49) about workers needing to be conscious to not follow the same path when they are in a position to contract other workers:

(49) De los que, sí, ciertamente se portan un poquito mal son los chicanos y los mismos paisas de uno que ya tienen- que ya tienen tiempo aquí. Ya son residentes y- y agarran ya pues trabajo y vienen y ellos son los que te quieren pagar siete dólares cuándo es un trabajo de diez dólares, nueve dólares. […]. Yo que ya sé cuánto más o menos por una casa, cuanto es más o menos. […]. Yo a veces cuando me ha tocado dos personas, que he agarrado a dos personas o una persona si me toca uno. Siempre casi le doy como la mitad de lo que gano. Sí, a muchos, para ayudar. Pero eso, sí, le digo, "Sabes que un día te va a tocar a ti y no sé. Nada más te lo quiero decir. Haz lo mismo, sí, porque esa es la forma en la que nos vamos a poder ayudar. Pero si yo te estoy ayudando y tú no te acuerdas que alguien te ayudó cuando te viniste para acá y al ratito viene otro que tiene necesidad y tú no lo ayudas de esa forma- ¿A dónde vamos?" Porque eso es lo que necesitamos, ayudarnos los unos a los otros, sí. (3/8/07, church meeting hall, interview, Saturnino, 41, Chiapas)

Similarly, Daniel explains the difficulty of working for an employer who used to be his peer on the job. He laments that more established immigrants perpetuate the cycle of oppression by taking advantage of newer immigrants. In (50), he recounts how his former co-worker justifies low payment when he is in the role of employer by saying that he himself had suffered and so must others:

(50) Tratan de desquitarse lo que les pasó a ellos. ¿Verdad? […]. La mayor parte de los mexicanos así piensan. ¿No? "Es que tú tienes que sufrir porque así sufrí yo y ahorita yo te voy a pagar cinco dólares porque cuando yo vine a mí me pagaban cinco." […]. Entonces yo creo que eso es injusto, estábamos diciendo, yo a veces- yo le digo a un señor que estaba trabajando con él, arreglando trailas, cajas de móviles este, y él es de México. Primero anduvimos los dos como trabajadores con el mismo patrón. Después él se independizó y ya se volvió patrón y se volvió cabrón. Se volvió malo. Entonces yo le decía, "Oyes tú, ¿por qué cuando andamos [con el mismo] patrón decía, 'Hey ya no trabajar porque el patrón no nos da más'? ¿Y ahora por qué me hace trabajar una media hora más y no me la paga? ¿Eh? ¿Pues por qué no traes algo de comer? Pues quiere que yo traiga lo mío pues y antes decía, '¿Por qué no nos da el patrón?' ¿Eh?" Y me dice, "No, Daniel, pero es que debemos tomar en cuenta que así me hicieron a mí también." "¿Y yo qué

> pinche culpa tengo que a ti te haya pasado así?" "No, fíjate, yo cuando empecé, me daban cinco dólares la hora- cinco. Y por eso yo te voy a pagar cinco." (3/27/07, church courtyard, interview, Daniel, 56, Chiapas, Mexico)

Daniel is highly critical of this employer and the cycle of oppression that more established workers perpetuate as "sub-oppressors."

Bejarano explains that "By locating Mexicans in a socially lower stratum, Chicana/os can now successfully move upward toward 'Whiteness,' which is grossly mistaken for success. Not surprisingly, Mexicans became the more oppressed in the process" (2005, p. 158). Bejarano explains that among the Arizona adolescents in her study, differential language use is a crucial tool for defining group boundaries and maintaining social distance between Chicanos and Mexicans. This is what happened in the following example when an employer forcefully established his different linguistic status (through the use of English) in combination with a deliberate display of wealth (i.e. highly valuing his vehicle):

(51) A Latino employer pulled into the Church parking lot in a sparkling clean black pick-up truck. He was in a bad mood and his gaze swept over the parking lot in search of workers he might know. When he addressed me (in English), I asked him if I could send out the next person on the list. There were workers bustling toward the passenger side of the truck and the employer aggressively yelled out the window, "Don't touch the truck!" in English as they jostled for a position next to the window. I translated into Spanish, yelling over the top of the truck to the workers on the other side that they needed to step back and not touch the truck. Diego was the next person on the list; he cockily sidled up to the driver's window and directly addressed the employer in Spanish, asking how much he paid an hour. This made the employer more disgruntled and he responded (in Spanish) that it depended on how hard he worked. At this, Diego refused the job and walked off. Simón was the next person on the list and he ended the transaction by jumping in the truck without bothering to find out what kind of work it was or how much it paid. (2/2/07, parking lot, observation)

This employer was English dominant but very capable of communicating in Spanish. His apparent familiarity with day laborers (i.e. looking for a worker that he already knew) suggests that he is acquainted with this population and would know that workers are overwhelmingly Spanish dominant. For someone with the ability to directly address the workers in Spanish and to choose not to do so by way of his forceful directive in English, suggests a distancing that accentuates his place of power. The employer's bristling at Diego's inquiry into wages shows him to be unwilling to negotiate or give his word on a set wage. His rejection of the negotiation process gave the message that workers would be lucky to get any kind of job at any rate. This message was confirmed by Simón taking the job without any sort of negotiation. Unsuccessful drive-through interviews (i.e. when employers and workers could not agree on the terms of employment) would often circumvent the established procedure which regularly put the employer at the advantage of choosing a worker who would accept less or not negotiate at all.

In job interviews, the interviewer has control over the interviewee in determining the format and organization of the exchange; the more powerful position of the interviewer determines that he or she has the right to ask questions and the interviewee is limited in his or her ability to control the interaction or ask questions (Akinnaso & Seabrook Ajirotutu, 1982). It should be noted that one of the goals of the establishment of the Day Labor Center was to empower workers to actively define the terms of their own employment. Workers and brokers together contested this traditional definition of gatekeeping interviews by directly asking employers about the details of the job (e.g. wage, kind of work, and length of job). Workers sought to find a balance between

obtaining information that was beneficial for their self-protection while maintaining a congenial rapport with employers. Asking too much of employers is often perceived as a very face-threatening act and therefore had to be done with a certain amount of subtlety. When brokers were involved in the negotiation, workers were able to be more passive in their participation in exchanges that were potentially face-threatening for employers. Brokers, then, take on the burden of facilitating face threatening acts; the fact that they are not personally invested in these encounters (i.e. they speak on behalf of someone else seeking employment) allows them to be more direct with employers. In response, employers would sometimes refuse to answer questions about details of employment, maintaining their power differential and, in effect, saving face. In some instances, employers preferred to bypass the assistance of a broker altogether and wanted to negotiate directly with the worker in private. This technique allowed employers to avoid needing to save face in the eyes of the broker and other workers if the employment terms offered did not meet minimum standards.

This sort of lack of solidarity on the part of in-group members of "la Raza," as seen in (50) and (51), contributes to a discourse that names a preference for working for Anglo employers. In (52), Beto explains that he has had more problems with Latino employers (e.g. not paying what they owe), in contrast with his experience with Anglo employers, which he evaluates favorably:

(52) Esa gente, que muchas veces te queda a deber, […] es la propia gente de uno. ¿Me entiendes? El mismo color de uno, la propia raza de uno. Son los que te quedan a deber a veces. ¿No? A veces por- porque los güeritos, los americanos, nunca. A lo contrario, se han portado de lo mejor. ¿Me entiendes? […]. Todos [los patrones anglos] me han salido muy buenas personas. Han salido buenas personas y tan agradecidos del trabajo que haces, agradecidos. Eso es lo más

> importante porque hay muchos que ni eso te agradecen, ni siquiera las gracias te dan después de la chinga que te metes trabajando todo el día. Perdón por la palabra pero así se dice porque hay veces que tú sales bien mal. ¿Me entiendes? Después del trabajo duro, pues, trabajo pesado, el trabajo pesado es el que- que ya cuando te pagan y te dan las gracias. Está bien, de perdida gracias, es muy importante para mí. (6/15/07, church meeting hall, interview, Beto, 33, Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico)

Beto identifies a desire for gratitude and respect from his employers. As seen in this section, building rapport between employers and workers is achieved through a complicated overlay of accommodation and co-membership; this ultimately boils down to respecting and valuing the work day laborers do. We have seen that employers have an inordinate amount of power over workers due to lack of oversight and the relatively clandestine nature of the day labor population and the kind of work they do. It is in the workers' best interests to carefully evaluate the employers' projection of rapport and solidarity to gauge their desirability. Other studies on gatekeeping interviews have suggested the importance of interviewees' techniques for rapport building as being vital to success. Yet, in this setting, where self-preservation is of the upmost importance for avoiding abusive employment situations, interviewees are also acutely cognizant and critical of how employers construct or demolish rapport.

In sum, rapport, co-membership, and solidarity are often in conflict in employment negotiations. The employers who have the most favorable relationships with workers call on a combination of the three in their interactions with workers. We have seen that it is possible to cultivate rapport through linguistic accommodation without attempting to establish co-membership. And conversely, it is possible to reference co-membership and build rapport in the justification of a lack of solidarity. In the highly

informal labor market found at the Day Labor Center, employers use these techniques to reinforce their powerful status over workers in this somewhat hidden space.

Presentation of an institutional self

In formal job interviews, interviewees are often expected to give elaborate answers in the form of narratives in response to interviewers' questions (Gumperz, 1992). The information conveyed in narratives is often not the end goal, but rather the performance itself. I argue that because traditionally defined narratives are not available to workers due to the logistical constraints of drive-through interviews and language barriers, workers have developed other techniques that are shortcuts to presenting themselves as favorable candidates.

Through the examination of the discursive practices that workers use with employers, often with the meditation of brokers, I will demonstrate that the construction of an institutional self is a multiplex process that includes the presentation of a trustworthy persona, physical presentation (size, strength, dress, etc.), specialized trade skills, language ability (speaking Spanish, English, or being bilingual), and having legal documentation. I take the presentation of an institutional self as being a projection of a personalized performance that presents the worker in a positive light in the eyes of the employer. Experienced workers are more adept in engaging potential employers in conversations that allow them to present themselves favorably in terms of their abilities

and expertise.[129] For day labors, carrying tools, wearing appropriate work clothes and boots, or even having a vehicle, can serve as effective props for conveying hirability. The collective discourse portrayed through the worker's physical and verbal presentation of the institutional self determines the employer's perception of his desirability as a potential worker.

In their analysis of authentic intercultural gatekeeping interviews between native English-speaking British interviewers and non-native English-speaking Pakistani interviewees, Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (2002) examine interviewees' use of narratives accounts of their professional experiences in determining felicitous outcomes. They found that through the telling of narratives that present an 'institutional self,' the interviewee seeks to demonstrate that he or she meets the needs of the hiring organization. According to Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz, interviewees who are able to construct said narrative are ultimately more successful. In formal job interviews, interviewees are expected to give elaborate answers to interviewers' often indirect questions, demonstrating both their understanding of the question and their ability to formulate an appropriate answer (Gumperz, 1992). Narratives in and of themselves are not the goal, but in both the telling and through the context conveyed in the telling, narratives serve to demonstrate skills or experiences that the candidate believes that the employer desires.

> For a successful interview to take place the narrative explanation must become the locus of the projection of an institutional self. For the institutionalised 'I' to be developed a narrative must be told that selects details from a person's life for a

[129] Inexperienced day laborers are more likely to directly jump into an employer's vehicle without attempting negotiation.

> telling that transforms the personal 'I' into an account that meets specific institutional requirements. (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 2002, p. 35)

Successful interviewees are able to present an institutional self through their construction of a narrative, i.e. relating previous experiences in ways that highlight their desirability as an employee.

At the Day Labor Center, the telling of narratives necessarily occurs in an abbreviated fashion because of the time constraints that demand very direct questions and answers. Employers seldom want extensive descriptions of work experience. If they are looking for workers with specialized skills, employers will often ask very specific questions about a worker's experience. Employers will size up the worker physically, assessing his age, size, strength, and general appearance as potential employees. It is not uncommon for an employer to refuse the next worker on the list because the worker is deemed to be too old, too young, too small, or appear to be untrustworthy. Similarly, workers size up employers, as was discussed in the previous section on rapport-building. Workers try to avoid employers who have a bad reputation with other workers, who are unwilling to disclose details about the kind of work or amount of pay, or who offer a lower wage than the $8/hour that the workers have mutually agreed upon as the minimum. But in the end, there is almost always someone who is willing to go out on every job, regardless of the conditions. As discussed in (51) with Diego, when a worker is too aggressive in his inversion of the power differential between employer and worker (e.g. asking too many questions of the employer), the worker risks aborting the negotiation because he does not respect the accepted frame of the interview setting—the

interviewer controls the format of the interview and has the ultimate right to ask questions.

In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the presentation of an institutional self in drive-through interviews by examining how workers project several aspects of their 'institutional' persona in order to gain employers' favor and secure employment. After examining the overriding concept of trust, I will analyze the physicality of the institutional self, and finally the use of bilingualism and documentation for securing employment in drive-through interviews.

Trust

Related to the rapport-building techniques discussed in the previous section, workers must present themselves as being trustworthy. Not only should workers demonstrate that they understand and comply with the power differential between employer and employee as discussed above, but they should also demonstrate that they are to be trusted on the job. In a field where employment is arranged based on rapidly formed first impressions, word-of-mouth recommendations, and social network connections, it is important for workers to project a trustworthy persona to both employers and their peers. I see the establishment of trust as an amalgamation of the traits that both workers and employers present to each other in order to quickly negotiate employment. Although there are various subcomponents of trust that will be discussed in the following sections, each carrying a different weight depending on the context of the interaction, trustworthiness is an essential component of the employment negotiation.

Kerekes (2006) identifies trustworthiness as being crucial for success in job interviews. Interviewers and interviewees interactively co-construct trust as they do in the construction of rapport or co-membership. Kerekes found that co-constructing trust was more important than having shared ethnic or language backgrounds between the interviewer and interviewee. Linguistic and ethnic minority job candidates were most successful when they gained the trust of the interviewer. In more formal job interview settings, such as those discussed by Kerekes, the burden is on the interviewee to project a trustworthy persona. Not only is the workers' trustworthiness discursively constructed, so is that of the employer. At the Day Labor Center, the employer must also prove himself or herself as trustworthy although the interviewee always carries the greater burden. It is possible for workers to present themselves as credible through the personalization of face-to-face interactions that allow both parties to arrive at a shared understanding of trustworthiness.[130]

In the following example, an employer explicitly spells out what his expectations are for workers in terms of being trustworthy on the job:

(53) A Latino employer pulled into the Church parking lot and agreed to take four workers from the list, but wanted to get a look at them. He got out of his truck and addressed the big group of men in Spanish who gathered around when the workers' names were called out. After approving the first four men, the employer explained that he owned a company and that if he liked someone's work there was

[130] Brokers also had to prove themselves to be trustworthy by demonstrating fairness (i.e. impartiality and willingness to follow and enforce rules established by workers) and selflessness (e.g. offering their services without economic compensation) in the eyes of both workers and employers. It was common for employers and workers to ask community volunteers what they were paid or what kind of cut the Church took for facilitating these transactions. All parties are pleased that wages went directly to the worker at no cost to the employer or worker. There are a number of for-profit temporary day labor centers in Tucson that charged a significant finder's fee for their services that could be up to half of the total cost to the employer. Employers preferred a system where they paid a lower total amount but the worker earned more than they would at one of these other labor centers.

> the chance that he would contract them over a long period of time, but also made very clear that he didn't want anyone smoking [presumably marijuana] or drinking on the job. (12/19/06, parking lot, observation)

In (53) the employer gave three criteria he used for evaluating workers: 1) physical appearance, 2) work output, and 3) appropriate behavior on the job. The combination of these criteria spelled out what a worker needed to do to meet the employer's expectations with the possibility of getting long-term employment. In a sense, employers must 'trust' that a worker's physical appearance will match up with his ability to complete the task at hand, he must 'trust' that the worker has the trade skills or language ability he professes to have, and so on. The workers' presentation of an institutional self addresses what they perceive the employer's expectations to be.

The employer in (53) wanted to see if the workers 'looked' trustworthy and like hard workers. Having a respectable appearance works in tandem with fitting employers' expectations in terms of age, size, perceived physical strength, etc. On the flip side, workers also made rapid judgments about employers and whether they should be trusted or not. In (54), a new employer must also demonstrate his trustworthiness to a worker:

(54) An Anglo man pulled into the Church parking lot, got out of his car, looking unsure of what he was supposed to do next. I walked over to talk to him and asked if he wanted to hire some workers. He said that he needed one worker to help rip out tile and asked what the standard pay was. Eventually the workers realized that he was there to hire a worker and a small group gathered around. I translated what the employer needed into Spanish to the workers and the employer added to my explanation by elaborating in Spanish, using the appropriate terminology for the kinds of materials they would be working with and the details of the job. The next worker on the list hung back on the edge of the crowd observing the employer's interaction with the group. After hearing his explanation of the job and the terms of employment, he stepped forward and accepted the job. (1/16/07, parking lot, observation)

In this example, the worker stood back in order to inspect the employer before deciding to take the job. Many workers use this technique with employers who were unknown to them and/or were new to the Center, as is the case with this negotiation. The worker who was in line to take the job chose not to identify himself until he fully understood what the job would be and had a chance to observe the employer. The employer demonstrated that he was willing to pay a fair price for the job, was clear about what kind of work the job would entail, and his advanced language ability in Spanish made him a desirable employer.[131] It was not uncommon for workers to silently observe brokers conduct an entire negotiation with an employer and the employer's interaction with other workers before coming forward.

Nearly a year after the interaction observed in (54), there was much less work available at the Day Labor Center, which greatly diminished workers' ability to pick and choose employers based on their perceived trustworthiness. The following drive-through interview in (55) exemplifies the level of desperation among day laborers when two workers disregarded warnings from their colleagues and the warning signs an employer displayed:

(55) An Anglo employer with a notorious reputation for being disrespectful to workers and paying low wages pulled into the parking lot with the music blaring out the open window. Garbage spilled out of the cab of the truck when a worker opened the passenger door. Two workers who were new to the Center ignored the other workers repeatedly calling out, "El Diablo, El Diablo" (*the Devil, the Devil*), the nickname that this employer had received due to his reputation. The employer didn't seem to understand what the workers were yelling, but said in a sarcastic tone, "I thought you guys didn't like to work for me," in response to the two

[131] Most Anglo employers that would attempt to communication in Spanish did so at a very rudimentary level. This employer is an exception because of his much higher level of fluency and extensive job-related vocabulary. Some monolingual Spanish-speaking workers were hesitant to take jobs with Anglos that did not speak any Spanish because of the conflicts that could result from miscommunication.

> workers that jumped into his truck. The employer peeled off before the broker could approach him or any formal negotiation could be done. (11/27/07, parking lot, observation)

This employer flaunted his reputation for being untrustworthy, knowing that competition was so stiff for work that surely someone would take the job. The employer 'trusts' that the workers will get the job done, regardless of what the job entails. The workers' unrestricted availability for the job puts them in the very vulnerable position of being susceptible to exploitation. Example (54) reminds us that although it is to the employer's benefit to demonstrate his trustworthiness, as seen in example (55), there is always someone willing to go out on the job despite unfavorable conditions. The very few instances when I observed employers who were unable to find workers willing to take a job were when there was greater abundance of employment opportunities. In lean times, employers' need to present themselves favorably decreased, as we see with El Diablo.

We have seen in (53)-(55) that it is important for both workers and employers to establish trust, but in a field where social networks and personal connections can make all the difference in securing employment, it is also necessary for workers to do the work of building and maintaining the trust of their peers at the Center, as seen with Tommy below:

(56) Tommy, a highly bilingual Chicano worker, was brokering a job with an Anglo employer. The employer did not speak any Spanish and asked for a worker with a driver's license. Tommy, a U.S. citizen and quite possibly the only worker present with a driver's license, quickly passed off the worker list to me as a means of absolving himself of brokering responsibilities. This freed him to be legitimately assigned to go out on the job according to the Center's rule. Through his conversation in English with the employer and displaying the physical proof of his driver's license, Tommy gained the trust of the employer, but also had to pass off the responsibility of explaining to the other workers gathered around the employer's truck why he had been assigned to this job. I explained to the rest of

> the workers in Spanish why Tommy was going out on the job, which was rapidly accepted as the proper course of action. (1/2/07, parking lot, observation)

Here we see that gaining the employer's trust should be accompanied by gaining the trust of other workers and volunteers. If one segment of the community feels that a job has been unfairly assigned (e.g. an employer choosing the worker he or she wants without following the list, a worker jumping a vehicle without regard for whose turn it is, or a worker claiming to have skills he does not really have), it often results in conflict. Tommy passed his authority as a broker back to me, in order to legitimize his getting the job based on his language skills and citizenship status within the context of the rules of the Day Labor Center.

Tommy was able to maintain the trust of his peers because of his previous performances of bilingualism and citizenship at the Day Labor Center. Tommy is English dominant, but also quite fluent in Spanish. It was not uncommon for him to engage in conversations in English with Anglo volunteers, the few other highly bilingual workers at the Center, or the almost exclusively English-speaking homeless people that received services at the Church. Tommy and Alonso, workers who were both Chicano veterans, would often loudly discuss their travels and experiences in the armed services in English, an act that effectively 'performed' their U.S. citizenship. As discussed in Chapter 4, these kinds of performances established local hiring hierarchies among workers that facilitated drive-through interviews when employers wanted English-speaking or documented workers as seen in (56). The employment opportunities resulting from this privileged status contributed to the discourse that named speaking English as being central to economic success (see Chapter 3). While gaining U.S. citizenship or some sort of

temporary documentation was almost impossible (especially in the short term) for the majority of the workers at the Day Labor Center, learning English was seen as an attainable goal that these sort of negotiations reinforced.

Physical presentation and trade skills

Perhaps the fastest way for employers to evaluate workers is by their physical appearance, which can include their size, age, apparent strength, dress, etc. There is a certain resignation among workers if an employer rejects a worker because of his physical appearance; workers seldom contest such a decision on the employer's part, even when given the opportunity to do so:

(57) Two young workers, Roberto and Carlos, were the next men on the list and came forward when a Latino employer asked for two workers. The employer didn't like the looks of Carlos because he was fairly short and scrawny. He agreed to take Roberto because he was bigger and looked stronger. The employer directly asked Carlos if he was strong and if he would work hard, giving him a chance to argue that his physical size did not have to define his ability to work. Carlos nonchalantly shrugged his shoulders without much interest in pursuing the job. Paco, an older worker (approx. 50), began to engage the employer telling him that he would take the job. Paco is tall and broad-shouldered and seemed to fit the prototype for what the employer was looking for. It was impossible for the employer to know what the rest of workers knew about Paco, that he could be very manic and was generally believed to be mentally unstable.[132] When Paco went to start his truck that he would drive to the jobsite, I quietly warned the employer that Paco was someone that had caused a lot of problems with employers. The employer responded that he didn't think that it would be a problem. (2/13/07, parking lot, observation)

Here, Carlos acquiesces to the suggestion that he is too small or too weak to do the job. Although the employer gives Carlos the opportunity to convince him that he is still able

[132] On previous occasions other workers had refused to go out on jobs with Paco.

to do the job, Carlos does not respond to the invitation.[133] Paco was one of a minority of workers who had their own vehicles, which employers often seemed to interpret as a sign of prestige or stability. His physical presentation was that of an experienced and strong worker, and his enthusiasm and direct negotiation allowed for successful self-promotion despite an explicit warning from the broker of his problematic temperament.[134] In (57), we see that it is difficult to contradict the 'evidence' of physicality in the construction of the institutional self. Yet it is not impossible to change one's physical appearance with the motivation of self-promotion. Pascual, an older worker with very grey hair, was once refused for a job because the employer labeled him as being too old. He returned the next day with his hair dyed jet black (to the hilarity of other workers), but did have greater success in getting jobs as a result of this change in physical appearance.

Physical appearance often trumps other kinds of presentation of the institutional self. Employers sought out a certain kind of physique[135] which the workers learned to use to their advantage when competing with their peers. Thus the presentation of the physical body becomes a kind of discourse in and of itself that works in combination with other kinds of qualifications:

(58) An Anglo mother and daughter, ages approximately 60 and 40, requested a worker with carpentry experience to assist in converting a small shed into a dog house. They asked for someone who spoke some English and I identified a young

[133] When employers overly emphasized that a job involved very heavy labor, workers were sometimes hesitant to take the job. This happened on several occasions, especially with foreign-born employers from places other than Latin America, who seemed to have a different cultural framework for what was the appropriate way to negotiate temporary employment.
[134] Paco was temporarily banned from the Center on a few occasions because he jumped into vehicles without following the order established by the worker list and encouraged others to do the same.
[135] Polly, a volunteer at the DLC, and, Bob, a personal acquaintance who once hired a worker at the DLC, both likened the negotiation between employers and workers to Johns picking up prostitutes as they had observed when traveling in Thailand and Cuba respectively. Bob did not return to the DLC because the dynamics of the exchange made him very uncomfortable.

> man, Julio (about 25 years old), who was near the top of the list and told me that he had carpentry experience and directly told the women that he spoke English. The women rapidly dismissed him by saying that they wanted someone with more experience. When I suggested an older worker who said he had experience and spoke English, the women said he was too old (approximately 50 years old). Edgar, a much bigger and stronger-looking man of about the same age as Julio, engaged the two women in conversation in English, saying he had experience in carpentry. The employers wanted to take Edgar on the job and they asked me what the going rate was. I explained that the minimum rate was $8/hour for general labor but that if they wanted someone with carpentry skills, the worker should be paid accordingly. They fretted at this suggestion and began to backtrack, saying that no specific skills were required. The older woman said that she herself would do the job if she were a man. At this point Edgar left with the two employers before publicly establishing the wage he would be paid. (8/21/07), parking lot, observation)

In this example we see that physical traits overlap with other components of the institutional self such as experience and language ability. These two employers obviously wanted to choose Edgar over the other workers because he met their expectations of what a worker should look like in terms of size and age, in combination with his successful performance of English. After the two women left with Edgar, a small group of workers laughed about the various requirements the women had requested (age, size, strength, language ability, and trade skills) and the fact they only wanted to pay $8/hour. Nemesio commented that he would not work for people like them: they wanted an English-speaking carpenter but wanted to pay the going rate for a Spanish-speaking general laborer. This group of workers identified having both trade and language skills as being worthy of economic compensation.[136] Although the employers in (58) wanted someone with specialized skills, the description of the job was ultimately reduced to needing

[136] Workers often made the distinction between "labor" (i.e. unskilled work) and more specialized work such as bricklaying, roofing, carpentry, or tiling. General laborers expected to earn $8/hour, while more specialized work could earn up to $14/hour, although this was somewhat unusual.

someone with physical strength. The employer's comment that she would do the job herself, were she a man, suggested that physical strength was a greater priority than specialized skills. By first requesting specialized skills and then diminishing the importance of these skills, these employers classified the job as requiring strength rather than knowledge or experience as a means of justifying paying a lower wage.

Employers often constructed workers' strength in terms of their stamina and dedication to getting the job done. Not only should a worker be physically strong, he should have a good work ethic and not complain:

(59) A middle-aged Asian woman requested a strong worker to move cement block. Osvaldo, an older Cuban worker who is tall and skinny with pop bottle glasses, was next on the list. When he came forward the employer bluntly rejected him as being too old. She hand-picked Luis, who is much younger but overweight, his appearance suggesting that he could put some brute force into the job. She stressed that it was going to be hard work and that he had to be strong. As she was leaving, she declared, as if in warning, "I don't want any cry babies." (6/22/07, parking lot observation)

It was not unusual for employers to judge workers' hirability based on the physical presentation. This works in combination with work output expectations and the seriousness of the worker. This discourse of the uncomplaining and strong worker is imposed not only externally by employers, but is also reinforced through an internal discourse among lay labors that highly values hard work.

(60) While passing the time in the Church parking lot, a group of workers joked about an incident when several men had gone out on a job together. One of the workers abandoned the job because it was too physically demanding. The workers gathered laughed at this man's weakness and inability to complete the job. (12/19/06, parking lot, observation)

The man who abandoned the job lost face in the eyes of the other workers because his action demonstrated a lack of strength and stamina. His peers negatively evaluated him

for not completing a job. In (61), a worker is the direct recipient of his peer's jeers for not finishing a job:

(61) A Latino employer directly negotiated a job with Bartolo without the help of a broker but then came back an hour later. He told me that Bartolo didn't want to work and he would need another worker. A half hour later, Bartolo came walking back to the Center and there was much teasing and laugher because the employer had said that Bartolo did not want to work. Later, one of the workers explained that the employer had wanted Bartolo to clean a carpet outside and Bartolo thought it was below him to do this kind of work. (4/19/07, parking lot, observation)

Not only are workers critically evaluated by their peers for not working hard enough, as in (60), but also for thinking that they are above doing a certain kind of work, as in (61). Mariano, who repeated emphasized his skills as a "maestro" (*master craftsman*), was often criticized by other workers for cherry-picking high-paying specialized jobs and turning up his nose at lowering-paying work doing unskilled labor. Being a hard worker was a desirable trait; again, because reputation was essential to getting work in a system that relied heavily on word-of-mouth. It was thus important to avoid face-threatening situations, such as being accused of being weak or not hard-working.

The most extensive drive-through interviews occur when an employer needs a worker with highly specialized skills. Workers must be prepared to respond in a way that demonstrates their experience and knowledge related to the desired trade skills:

(62) A Latino employer (approx. 30) asked the volunteer (in English) for a worker with experience using a forklift. When the broker began explaining (in Spanish), the employer also switched to Spanish and addressed a group of workers. Mateo, a respected worker (approx. 45) came forward and told the employer directly that he had experience. The employer asked four specific questions about his experience while closely observing Mateo's response and physical appearance. Mateo responded with his own questions about the details of the job and the kind of machinery he would operate. Based on Mateo's detailed and technical

> description of his experience, the employer was convinced and he got the job. (2/13/07, parking lot, observation)

This employer probed Mateo's level of experience in an exchange that lasted approximately ten minutes, a very extensive drive-through interview in comparison with the norm. Mateo is successful not only because he is able to appropriately and respond in detail to the employer's questions, but also because he builds on his professional persona by asking questions. Scheuer (2001) suggests that successful interviewees often demonstrate interdiscursivity through the personalization of professional experience by using and informal style in white collar job interviews. I suggest that the opposite is happening here. Day laborers are perceived to be an informal and inexperienced workforce. To compensate for this, Mateo constructs a professional persona by his account of personal experience and by maintaining a dialogue with the employer. To more effectively do this, he bypasses the broker and directly negotiates with the employer in the performance of his expertise.[137] By asking questions about the job, Mateo further reinforces his professionalism and experience and distances himself from the default identity of general laborer.

Language

Workers who have already established themselves as English speakers in the broader context of the Day Labor Center must then demonstrate their English proficiency to employers during drive-through interviews and justify their qualifications over other workers. The ability to speak English is thus a job skill that can facilitate the acquisition

[137] Mateo would have been unable to do this if the employer did not speak Spanish.

of employment, which has contributed to the discourse that names English language skills as being essential for economic success. When an employer requests a worker who speaks English at the Day Labor Center, what is implied is that he or she wants an English-Spanish bilingual worker. This is especially true when there are other workers going out on the job and it will be the bilingual worker's responsibilities to interpret for monolingual Spanish-speaking workers.

Bilingual workers often interpret the request for an English-speaking worker as an invitation to 'perform' their language ability through direct conversation with the employer. Telling an employer through a broker that one is bilingual is generally not sufficient to convince the employer of one's ability, although it does happen on occasion with very low-level bilinguals (see (65) below where Teodoro admits to lying about his ability to speak English). During drive-through interviews, lower-level English speakers will present themselves to potential employers seeking English-speaking workers only when more fluent bilinguals are not present. Some workers are less confident with their limited English abilities and tell the broker (often in Spanish) that they speak English and avoid directly having to speak to the employer. Others will more boldly call out, "I speak English" or "I speak a little English" to the employer and if possible, try to engage the employer by asking questions about the job, an exchange that serves the dual role of negotiating the conditions of employment and demonstrating one's English skills.

Just as the physicality and technical preparedness of a worker must be performed, so must language abilities. Bilingual workers often try to engage Anglo employers in conversation in English as a way of demonstrating their language skills. This contrasts

with workers with specialized trade skills (see above) that are often called upon to explain their work experience and preparedness for a job through direct questioning from the employer. In Scheuer's (2001) analysis of authentic job interviews, he found that interviewers invited applicants to orally recast their credentials in a way that did not simply serve to *inform* (i.e. they verbally recounted information already available to interviewers in written applications), but rather to *perform* their credentials. Thus, the interview becomes a performance of professional qualifications where the interviewee must demonstrate her or his understanding of the communicative context of the interview by use of the appropriate linguistic style. At the Day Labor Center, English is the appropriate code for demonstrating bilingualism because Spanish is the assumed default language among workers.

Employers who do not speak Spanish will often specifically ask for workers who speak English, but this is not always the case. It is well-understood among workers that although non-Latino employers may not ask for English-speaking workers, it is to workers' advantage to present themselves as such:

(63) An employer who the workers identified as Arabic asked the broker for a worker for a moving job. Lauro, a monolingual Spanish speaker and the next worker on the list, came forward. Pedro, who was two slots down on the list, spoke directly to the employer in English, asking what kind of work it would be and how much he would pay. The employer said to the broker, "Oh, he speaks English, I want to take him." Pedro got the job over Lauro. (4/17/07, parking lot, observation)

As discussed in Chapter 4, it is important for workers to establish their language abilities and trade skills locally before negotiating with employers, in situations such the one seen here. Pedro had previously performed his bilingual abilities in the community through the public performance of English in conversations with other English speakers. Part of his

on-going construction of a bilingual identity was his public discussion of his participation in adult education ESL classes. It is important for both the worker's peers and volunteer brokers to know that a worker is bilingual before drive-through interviews. The preemptive performance of bilingualism justifies Pedro's action. Lauro does not speak Spanish and was unable to contest Pedro's performance with a performance of his own. Employers ultimately have the final say in who gets the job and so it is to a worker's benefit to directly address employers in English in order to present themselves in a favorable light.

Although the employer in (63) was not specifically looking for a bilingual worker, he was pleased to find one. In (64), speaking English is identified as a specialized skill when very specific instructions are to be given:

(64) An Anglo employer got out of his car and explained to the broker that he needed a worker to help set up a drip irrigation system and would pay $40 for 1-2 hours of work. He wanted someone who spoke English and recognized Nemesio (a highly bilingual Salvadoran) from previous work. The employer said he needed someone that could follow his instructions. He asked Nemesio a couple of questions in English, testing his language skills and Nemesio explained that he had set up irrigation systems in the past. He got the job. (6/19/07, parking lot, observation)

The possibility of earning between $20 and $40/hour is a very high wage for a day laborer[138] and Nemesio had to prove to the employer that he was worth it. In (64) we see the overlap between language and trade skills being a valuable combination. Having an extensive social network, as Nemesio did, was also beneficial because he was known to many employers. Yet, speaking English is the most important skill that this employer

[138] Workers often expected to get paid more per hour on short jobs like this to make it worth their while. If a worker went out on a short job in the morning, it was unlikely he would find more work to occupy him the rest of the day.

identifies in order to be able give explicit instructions and trust that the worker will quickly and fully understand.

Sometimes monolingual Spanish-speaking workers would complain about bilingual workers getting jobs in situations such as (63) when English-speaking workers were chosen to do uncomplicated unskilled labor. It was common to hear workers make laments such as, "¿Por qué necesito hablar inglés para agarrar una pala?" (*Why do I need to speak English to pick up a shovel?*). In reaction to what they saw as unnecessary favoritism toward bilingual workers, sometimes very low-level English speakers would try to get these jobs. Teodoro, who had very limited English skills, gave an explanation of these kinds of encounters that emphasizes the performative aspect of convincing an employer of one's bilingualism:

(65) Elise: ¿Usted se atreve [aceptar un trabajo] si piden alguien que habla inglés? ¿Piensa que sabe bastante para- para irse en uno de esos trabajos? ¿Sí?

Teodoro: Sí, "*Yeah, me speak English*," le digo [risa], con que no hable pero voy. ¿Cómo se dice 'mentira' en inglés?

Elise: *Lie*.

Teodoro: *Lie*. Una *lie*. (3/20/07, church courtyard, interview, Teodoro, 28, Obregón, Sonora, Mexico)

For Teodoro, in order to be competitive, you must be able to perform a bilingual identity for the employer, even when that performance is extremely marginal in its authenticity. He admits that he does not, in effect, speak English, but the performance of the phrase, "Me speak English," is potentially enough to convince his interlocutor of a bilingual identity that he does not truly have. Although the majority of workers are quite frank about their language and trade skills when employers inquire, Teodoro's comments

suggest this is not always the case. During one drive-through interview, an employer also acknowledged that workers sometimes claim to have skills they do not really have, joking that, "Si busco un doctor, de repente, todos son doctores" (*If I ask for a doctor, all of sudden, everyone's a doctor*) (12/19/06), but exaggerating or lying about qualifications seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

As part of an interview with Víctor, we discussed an incident that had happened earlier that same day when a worker had gone out on a job saying that he was bilingual when he actually spoke and understood next to no English. When they got to the job site, the employer realized that the worker did not speak English and called the Center to complain and ask for help interpreting over the phone. In (66), Víctor criticizes workers that claim to have either trade skills or language skills that they do not really have:

(66) Víctor: Otra cosa es que si dice, "Necesito un pintador y un chalán." 'Tonces ahí sí. Yo no sé pintar, pero es chalán, no es pintor, es chalán. Ahí es cuando yo- yo no sé, yo puedo ir con él porque yo soy ayudante nomás del pintor […]. Ahí puedo ir yo y con confianza y con seguridad, puedo hacer lo que ellos me pidan. Pero si dicen un pintor, uno que ponga pisos, uno que haga casas. Yo no sé hacer eso. ¿Pa' que meterme en problemas? El caso es que si no sabes una cosa y no la haces bien, el caso es que el patrón, pa' la otra, ya no va a venir aquí porque te agarran de mentiroso-

Elise: Bueno pues eso como- me molesté un poco con éste que se fue por la mañana que dijo que hablaba inglés y-

Víctor: ¿Para qué dicen eso? Si no saben, hay otras personas que a lo mejor no han trabajado toda la semana y saben poco inglés. Esa persona es la que puede caer ahí, o sea, otro no, otro. Ése nomás lo dijo, nomás por agarrar trabajo […]. Y si tú ves aquí en el Centro hay como cuatro, cinco que hablan el inglés bien, o sea, esos son los yo digo deben de tener un poquito más de- ¿Cómo se llama? De oportunidad, o sea, levarte a uno- a uno que hable inglés si te toca un patrón que no habla nada español. Se lleva uno de inglés y a uno- a uno que hable inglés y a uno que hable español. (3/18/08, church courtyard, interview, Víctor, 18, Camargo, Chihuahua, Mexico)

In the end, it is generally to the worker's detriment to tell an employer that he has skills that he does not have because he risks not getting paid and being abandoned at a faraway job site. In addition, he limits the possibility of future employment with a specific employer in a competitive job market where workers' reputations and social networks are heavily relied upon to secure employment. This is important, not only in order for workers to establish an ongoing relationship with employers, but also with other workers. If a worker is known to be hardworking and truthful, other workers are more likely to recommend him to employers.

Documentation, language, and race

In this final section of analysis, I will briefly present examples of the performance of documentation or citizenship as part of the presentation of an institutional self. Having documentation was a stipulation for employment for some employers, and workers had varying techniques for performing their legal status. On numerous occasions, employers at the Day Labor Center requested workers with some form of documentation or a certain legal status, ranging from having a driver's license, work visa, or U.S. citizenship. Some employers would regularly request workers with 'papers' while others only did so when the job site was out-of-town, fearing confrontations with the Border Patrol.[139] There were usually a few workers with papers of varying degrees of authenticity and an even smaller

[139] The Day Labor Center had almost no interaction with the Border Patrol with the exception of an incident in June of 2007 when two agents parked their car in front of the Center. A volunteer spoke with the agents but no actions were taken against workers or volunteers. In June of 2008 that Border Patrol followed a vehicle leaving the church parking lot, unknowing that the occupants were from a collaborating non-profit organization. Workers reported that the BP would occasionally come by the Center in the afternoons when the Center was closed when workers were not supposed to be on Church property.

number of workers that were U.S. citizens such as Alonso and Tommy who were both born in the United States. There were also a few non-Latino workers that were U.S. citizens that would also sign up for work for short periods of time.

Physical proof of documentation is not always necessary when workers have other tools to rely on. Alonso is a highly bilingual Chicano, equally comfortable in Spanish and English, which he uses to stand in for physical documentation in the next example:

(67) A bilingual Latino employer came to the Day Labor Center requesting a worker with papers and, more specifically, with an Arizona driver's license. Alonso came forward and stated very emphatically in English "U.S. citizen." Although he does have a driver's license,[140] he was not asked to take it out. He got the job. (2/26/07, parking lot, observation)

Alonso successfully used his language skills in English as proof of his legitimacy and was chosen for the job. While not all high-level bilingual workers at the Center are U.S. citizens, there is an unsurprising correlation between time spent in the U.S., speaking English, and having papers. Alonso is the most the highly bilingual worker at the Center and this, without a doubt, has worked to his advantage in securing employment.

Because it was unusual for workers at the Day Labor Center to have a driver's license or other form of documentation, those who did used them as part of the performative construction of hirability, often in conjunction with a bilingual persona. As previously mentioned, Pascual, an older worker that had become a U.S. citizen as an adult, would often show his Arizona driver's license to the volunteer who was signing in

[140] Alonso had previously shown me his license as part of the narration of his life history. Again, this is a preemptive 'performance' of Alonso's qualifications that favorably situates him in beating out other workers for jobs.

workers. Documentation was never required of any worker upon signing in; this outward and unsolicited display of documentation, served to separate Pascual from the majority of other workers who did not have documentation.

In the example that follows, race stands in for documentation, and being Anglo is enough to get the job. Julie is an Anglo employer who would frequently take groups of 4-8 workers out for a couple of hours of work delivering fliers door to door and preferred hiring workers with papers because the jobs were often outside Tucson's city limits. Leticia, a bilingual Latina and the only women who regularly signed up for work at the Center, often acted as Julie's broker and would choose the workers for the job.[141] Eric was a young Anglo worker who spent about a month signing up for work at the Center.[142] In (68), we see that it is possible to inadvertently perform citizenship or documentation, purely on the basis of perceived racial identity.

(68) Leticia was in the process of picking out workers with papers to go with Julie on a job delivering fliers in Sierra Vista[143] and needed just one more worker. Julie pointed at Eric and asked Leticia if he was White. Leticia explained to Julie that he was but that he didn't have an ID. Julie replied saying that it didn't matter as long as he looked White. (5/15/07, parking lot, observation)

Eric's very fair complexion and blond hair made him stand out to Julie as a potentially documented worker, yet the fact that he was at the Day Labor Center made her question his Whiteness. Julie's words remind us that race is not necessarily a color, but rather a social classification. Latino workers that would go out on jobs with Julie all had to carry

[141] Julie was the only employer I ever observed hire Leticia or any of the very limited number of women who would sign up for work at the Center.
[142] Eric had previously alluded to having problems with the law as part of a previous job; this seemed to be the reason he was trying to get work at the Day Labor Center rather than in the formal job market.
[143] Sierra Vista is an Arizona town 75 miles southeast of Tucson and near the U.S.-Mexico border where there is a heavy presence of Border Patrol.

documentation, but Eric's physical appearance and ethnic/racial identification as being White overrode the need for documentation. Not only is language bound up in citizenship and legality as we have seen above, but so is racial classification. The physicality of Eric's Whiteness trumps the need for proof of documentation.

We have seen that drive-through interviews are a complicated dance, sometimes following strictly choreographed rules of negotiation, and other times chaotically improvised. Both workers and employers take on the burden in portraying themselves favorability in order to facilitate felicitous employment negotiations. In the first section of analysis, we saw that employers use a mixture of techniques to display overlapping and sometimes contradictory stances of rapport, solidarity, and co-membership. Linguistic accommodation has been identified as one of the tools that individuals use to build rapport, yet accommodation does not necessarily imply solidarity with one's interlocutor. In the second section of analysis, we see that workers have several techniques at their disposal to portray a hirable persona, calling on trust, physical presentation, experience, language skills, and documentation. The most successful performances of these qualifications often simultaneously call on a combination of these traits in the fast-paced presentation of the institutional self.

CHAPTER 6
Conclusions

I began the research for this project with the objective of interrogating the dynamics of intercultural language contact between Spanish-speakers and English-speakers in Southern Arizona, intending to examine how each of these groups negotiates and constructs their identities through their language practices. What I did not anticipate was the tremendous amount of intra-group and inter-group variation that I witnessed among participants in the ways that they projected their individual identities and expressed membership and affiliation with various social groups. The most complex and contested interactions occurred in this setting between newer immigrants and more established immigrants or Chicanos as both groups sought to negotiate the sometimes ambiguous social spaces that simultaneously divided and connected them. This led me to realize that it is necessary to broadly cast and flexibly define social classifications in the analysis of intercultural communication; drawing hard lines between groups based on language and/or ethnicity is too simplistic.

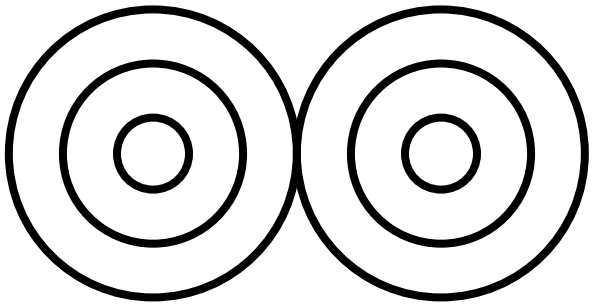
According to Yuval-Davis (2006), belonging to a social group or category is a dynamic construction that is the result of both self-identification and how others identify members of a particular group. She further explains that multiple intersections of difference in categories of identification reciprocally construct the divisions that define these categories, cautioning that identity is not merely the sum of one's many categories of definition. Adding to Yuval-Davis's understanding of the variable positionality of social categories, I understand that the social value assigned to particular categories changes not only as a result of a particular historical moment, but also as a result of one's

individual movement through social spaces and places. This is particularly obvious with transnational populations that negotiate identities in reaction to and as a result of changing points of reference of similarity and difference.

In his description of the geographical and social convergence of the U.S.-Mexico border region, Vélez-Ibáñez (1996) describes a cultural "bumping" that has occurred over time as various groups have come into contact. The messy process of intercultural contact seems to be most often defined by the imposition of one group over another, yet assimilation and accommodation are seemingly inevitable byproducts of contact. I propose that the practices that inform identity construction can best be characterized as a multi-tiered process of interpersonal "bumping"; individuals negotiate their identities within what they perceive as the confines of in-groups boundaries and also in interaction with perceived out-group boundaries. Yet the boundaries are layered, as if forming concentric circles around the individual, in the definition of his or her identity. Layers of identity are defined internally and externally as they shift in definitional centrality.

Each ring represents identity markers such as language, race, nationality, gender, class, education, among other salient forms of identification. Individuals perceive and define the boundaries of their own and others' identities as they come into contact with other individuals who likewise define identity based on said contact. A simplified model representing the interaction between a Spanish-speaking working and an Arabic employer as previously discussed in (63) is found in Figure 1. Each set of circles represents one individual and the positioning of the two sets of circles represents the point of contact between these two individuals.

Figure 1. Contact without overlapping categories of identification.



The Arabic employer in this example rejected the possibility of contracting a Spanish-monolingual worker and, as such, further demarcates the ethnolinguistic and socioeconomic boundaries that separate them. His rejection of a potential interpersonal encounter demonstrates not only his understanding of the Other, but also of the Self. Language is the most salient marker of difference in this interaction, but it is impossible to separate from other identity markers that work in tandem with language.

Building on the previous example, Figure 2 presents a model of contact that allows for accommodating interactions with minimal overlap in categories of identification. This type of interaction was observed in (38) when an Anglo employer attempted to use her limited Spanish to communicate with Spanish-speaking workers. The participants represented in Figure 2 similarly perceive the boundaries that inform their interaction but negotiate them in different ways. This interaction is marked by the social distance between interlocutors. These boundaries are understood and evaluated in a certain way at the initial point of contact, but have the potential of being reevaluated over time as a result of continued contact.

Figure 2. Contact with minimal overlap in categories of identification.

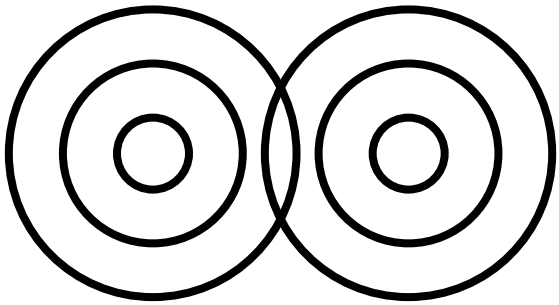
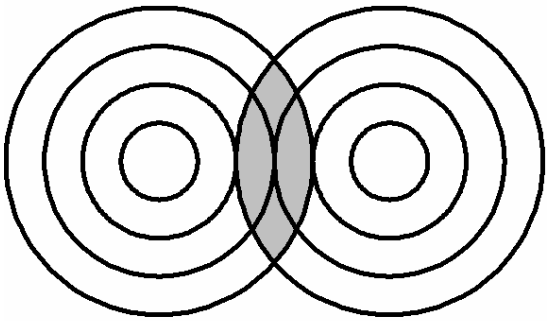


Figure 3 represents a still greater overlap of categories of identity in a contact situation such as the encounter observed in (46). In this example, a Latino employer justified his lack of compliance with the day labors' terms of employment because of their similarity in circumstance, i.e. he felt justified in paying workers a certain wage based on what he himself had been paid as a day laborer. This employer perceived a greater overlap in terms of certain types of identity (e.g. language, immigrant status, work experience), yet his status as an employer differentiated him from potential workers, in effect, marking a different kind of identity. It is in these grey areas of overlap and contact where identities are negotiated in interpersonal contact.

Figure 3. Contact with greater overlap in categories of identification.



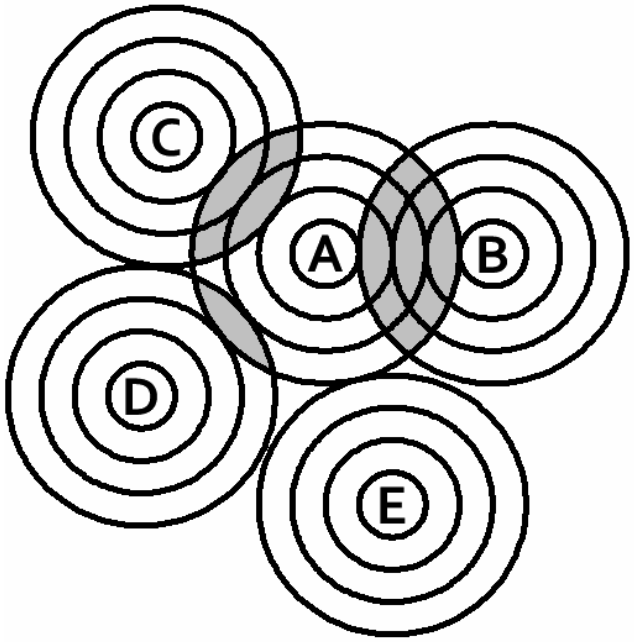
In effect, the interpersonal encounters discussed here are cyclically informed by perceptions of similarity and difference that likewise inform the demarcation of identity boundaries.

Identity formation, then, is a multiplex and multidirectional social construction. It is essential to push beyond binary models of intercultural communication where individuals are assigned membership to one particular group or another. The social construction of identity necessarily changes as individuals encounter different people and new social contexts over time. For example, Ramiro, the newly arrived Honduran immigrant in (27), most closely identifies himself with his traveling companion Enrique, also from Honduras. By seeking out a shared living space with other Hondurans, they made their nationality a central part of their identity construction and social affiliation. Yet Ramiro's social survival in Tucson also initially depends on his ability to interact with other immigrants day laborers who are mainly from Mexico as he learns to negotiate the undocumented immigrant experience of socioeconomic survival in a foreign land.

Ramiro's entrée into the labor market then pushes him into having contact with individuals from yet another tier of ethnolinguistic differentiation; his employment experiences allow for direct contact and interaction with employers ranging from more established immigrants, Mexican Americans, Anglos, and occasionally those from other ethnolinguistic groups. Through his greater integration into the community, the concentric circle will again bulge out further away from the core, thus expanding his social network with those even further away from his own personal experience as an undocumented immigrant day laborer from Honduras.

The model presented in Figure 4 is a snapshot of an individual, such as Ramiro, and his experience of contact with various interlocutors. Each set of concentric circles and its corresponding letter represents one individual. The grey areas again are perceived areas of overlap in identity from the perspective of the person at the center of the diagram, i.e. person A. This model represents A's understanding of similarity and difference. A different model with persons B or C as the central figure would likely present differing areas of grey, i.e. personal perceptions of overlapping identities.

Figure 4. Contact with multiple individuals with varying perceptions of shared identity.



Each point of overlap is a possible site for the study of contact. Defining the parameters of contact based simply on language or ethnicity ignores the complexity of individual experiences of affiliation and socialization. Yet we must remember that identity

construction is informed not only through direct contact with face-to-face interlocutors, but also as a result of dominant and subordinate discourses and the imagined individual and collective interlocutors they evoke. Linguistic ecology is thus constituted by these broader discourses that frame the possibilities of contact.

Limitations and future directions

The analysis of discursive interactions between workers and employers at the Day Labor Center in this study was necessarily confined to the brief interactions observed in employment negotiations found in gatekeeping encounters. Because observation with employers was limited to this initial contact, it likewise limits my understanding of how these kinds of interpersonal interactions evolve over time in the work environment. The evolution of the relationship between workers and employers on the job site and over time has been left unexplored. We have seen that employers have an inordinate amount of power over day laborers, yet how they wield and negotiate this power varies greatly from individual to individual and is not easily classified according to social categories. Several workers recounted developing positive and respectful relationships with employers, in particular with Anglos, which sometimes led to opportunities for language learning for both parties.

Because my observations of gatekeeping encounters were limited to the initial interaction between workers and employers that often occurred in the presence of numerous onlookers (i.e. other workers and volunteers), it is possible that employers felt a greater obligation to emphasize their more powerful position as a means of asserting

their own identity or conversely deemphasize difference to present themselves favorably. It would be worthwhile to further investigate the effect of having differential language abilities on the job in terms of the distribution of responsibility and authority, particularly in cases where monolingual Spanish speakers, bilinguals, and monolingual English speakers are simultaneously in contact.

I am also interested in further interrogating Anglos' efforts to establish communicative relationships with monolingual Spanish speakers in relatively informal work environments such as those initiated at the DLC. This interest is in response to the lack of research on dominant group's acquisition of minority languages and their interpersonal interactions with minority speakers. Anglos in the Southwest may have a history of appropriating Spanish in order to subordinate Spanish speakers (Hill, 1993), yet there appears to be a small minority of Anglos that have acquired various levels of Spanish through their regular and direct interactions with Spanish-speaking Latinos in conditions such as those described here. Casual observations in the community, at the DLC, and based on comments from workers at the Center have led me to believe that there is a certain level of bilingualism among this population that has not been explored. This type of Spanish acquisition among Anglos is perhaps more prevalent in rural agricultural settings such as the ranch Víctor described in (20) where he worked for employers that spoke Spanish. It seems that Anglo employers and Latino immigrant workers in these more rural settings would have more extensive interpersonal contact than what is found among urban day laborers and their employers.

The immigrant participants in this study were defined by their membership in the day labor community and thus we have seen only the perspective and experiences of immigrant men. This type of research would benefit from a comparative analysis of the differing experiences between immigrant women and men in the informal labor market. I am particularly interested in how their differing social networks and employment options define their experiences of language acquisition and affect the possibility or necessity of interaction with English speakers. Immigrant women are often employed in more hidden settings in hotels or private homes, which would of course differently inform their experiences of language and social integration. Participants in Ullman (2004) reported that it was more common for immigrant men to work in close contact with Mexican Americans on the job, particularly in construction work. In comparison, women were generally more isolated and had less interpersonal contact with Mexican Americans. The investigation of these kinds of issues would be valuable for arriving at a greater understanding of the immigrant experience.

The immigrant community found in Tucson, Arizona, a city Jaramillo (1995) classifies as a "quasi-border," is overwhelmingly comprised of immigrants and migrants from Mexico and Central America. The interactions between these immigrant groups are informed by their ethnolinguistic backgrounds that can be broadly defined by their similarities (i.e. Latin American, Spanish-speaking, etc.). In order to further interrogate the dynamics of informal employment encounters such as those found among day laborers and their employers, it would beneficial to examine the dynamics of these types of encounters in regions where there is greater ethnolinguistic diversity in the

composition of the member of the community, such as the Southeastern U.S. where Latinos and Africans American increasingly compete for short-term employment or in major metropolitan areas where there is greater diversity among immigrant populations.

Lastly, I am most concerned with immigrants' often limited access to English language education. This research has demonstrated that immigrants place a very high premium on acquiring English, yet they often have limited access to educational resources and restricted social networks for seeking out interactions with English speakers. Future research should address individual experiences of language policies, such as Arizona's Prop 300, by examining how local, state, and federal laws dictate access to formal education in English, Spanish, and other minority languages in the United States.

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