LOYOLA MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY

Muchos Somos Más Fuertes:

Testimonios of Latina Parent Leaders in the Local Control and Accountability Plan Process

by

Sylvia J. Hodge

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the School of Education,

Loyola Marymount University,

in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Education

2021

Muchos Somos Más Fuertes:

Testimonios of Latina Parent Leaders in the Local Control and Accountability Plan Process

Loyola Marymount University
School of Education
Los Angeles, CA 90045

This dissertation written by Sylvia J. Hodge, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

July 20, 2021
Date

Dissertation Committee

[redacted]
Magaly Lavadenz, Ph.D., Dissertation Chair

[redacted]
Elvira Armas, Ed.D., Committee Member

Antonia Darder
Antonia Darder (May 7, 2021 05:20 PDT)
Antonia Darder, Ph.D., Committee Member

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my Committee Chair, Dr. Magaly Lavadenz, and the other members of my committee, Dr. Elvira Armas and Dr. Antonia Darder, for their dedicated support and guidance. Dr. Lavadenz continuously provided mentorship and was always willing and enthusiastic to assist in any way she could throughout my doctoral journey at LMU. A sincere thank you to Dr. Juana Bordas for allowing the use of her work. Thank you to Cohort 14, my doctoral family. Specifically, Norma and Marcia for being a shoulder to lean on.

To my husband, who's encouragement and love kept me going through the storms of life. Without him this study would never have come to fruition. To Cassa (Coki), who reminds me of God's love and joy every day. To my family. Gracias a mi mamá y a mi papá, los mejores padres. Le doy gracias a Dios y quisiera seguir en tus pasos, porque tú eres mi ejemplo. Si la vida nos separa, yo te juro y te prometo que en mi corazón existes, como tu sangre en mi cuerpo.

Finally, I am grateful to the Latina parent leaders who participated in the study and trusted me to share their testimonios. Life brought us together and you have taught me so much. Your leadership and sacrifice are an inspiration. May your testimonios reach many and be a call to action.

DEDICATION

Para mi familia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table **Page**

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure **Page**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDE—California Department of Education

EL—English learner

ELAC—English Learner Advisory Committee

DELAC—District English Learner Advisory Committee

IFEP—Initial Fluent English Proficient

LatCrit—Latino Critical Theory lens

LCAP–Local Control and Accountability Plan

LCFF—Local Control Funding Formula

LTEL—Long-term English learner

RFEP—Reclassified Fluent English Proficient

SBE—State Board of Education

ABSTRACT

Muchos Somos Más Fuertes:

Testimonios of Latina Parent Leaders in the Local Control and Accountability Plan Process

by

Sylvia J. Hodge

English Learners represent 18.6% of the entire California public school population or 1.1 million students; 81.4% speak Spanish (California Department of Education [CDE], 2021b). Historically, English Learners have experienced inequitable educational opportunities when compared to their English-only counterparts in California (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Gándara et al., 2003; Perez Huber et al., 2015; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004), which has led to low educational achievement CDE, 2019a; Gándara & Mordechay, 2017; Olsen, 2010). To address underserved students' inequitable educational opportunities throughout California, then-Governor Edmund G. Brown signed into law the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) in 2013. The LCFF provides equitable funding to schools that serve targeted student groups, including low-income students, foster youth, and English Learners. As part of the policy, the State mandates that districts engage local stakeholders (e.g., families, students, and community members) in the development of the Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP) (*EC 52060*). The LCAP is a three-year plan where districts document the strategies and funding allocations they will complete for the school year, with a concentrated effort to provide equitable opportunities for targeted subgroups, such as English Learners. Latino parent leaders historically have experienced barriers in the parent engagement process (Olivos, 2004, 2006).

This phenomenological study used the critical methodology of testimonios to document the experiences of Latina parent leaders in their participation in the LCAP process. The study recruited eight parent leaders across four districts in Los Angeles County. The findings from this study emphasize that the school system is not neutral. Instead, it is an instrument of cultural hegemony, which negatively impacted the Latina parent leaders' meaningful engagement in the LCAP process. The testimonios revealed the importance of community organizations in the LCAP experience for Latino parent leaders and their ability to help disrupt the school system's power imbalance.

Keywords: English Learners, LCAP, LCFF, parent engagement, Latina, parent leaders, testimonios

PROLOGUE

Mi Testimonio

My passion for helping to ensure socially just education programs for English Learners emerged from my life experiences. My parents immigrated to the United States from Mexico. Both parents had only a sixth-grade education, and they instilled in me the idea that anything is possible with an education. I firmly believe in this idea; however, I understand the disparities in access and equity to high-quality education for students of subaltern working-class communities, specifically English Learners. Expressly, I acknowledge that American society's dominant power dynamics force bilingual parents of English Learners into a subaltern or subordinate class (Darder & Griffiths, 2018; Olivos, 2004, 2006; Spivak, 1988). As a native Spanish speaker, I was subjected to subtractive schooling practices (Valenzuela, 1999). The dominant ideology of my public education was to assimilate into the hegemonic culture and language or fail. My parents also felt this hostility when they tried to participate in my teaching. Even though most of the families served by my elementary and middle school identified as Latino, the school and district failed to acknowledge their language and culture. Forms and school announcements predominately went home in English, and translators were scarce. Through these actions, the school communicated that our identity, culture, and language were not a valid form of knowledge at the school.

I completed my undergraduate degree and teaching credential from California State University, Los Angeles, the same year as the Great Recession of 2008. Many school districts found themselves struggling with budget shortfalls throughout California, and a slew of teachers was pink-slipped. The job market was more welcoming in Austin, Texas, and I moved there in

August of that year. The first few months, I lived isolated. While this was a lonely period in my life, I found it to be the most cleansing. I compare my time in Austin to a rebirth, where I developed a critical consciousness and became aware of my social, political, and economic conditions (Freire, 2016). I began to question and view the conditions and systems that oppressed other working-class people and myself through a social justice lens.

The segregation within the city was evident. I worked in a highly diverse, multilingual, Title I public school in East Austin, an area predominantly populated by working-class people of color and immigrants. Since the 1980s, the school chronically failed the state-mandated tests and considered students as struggling. In my perspective, the system and its policies had failed the students. The English Learners at my school included immigrant students from Mexico, Russia, Sudan, and Iran and U.S.-born Spanish speakers. Two months after the school year began, the administration decided to mainstream immigrant English Learners into the general education classes. According to district policy, teachers were directed not to provide instruction in the student's home language. This directive was profoundly troubling to me as an educator, leader, and English Learner. My life experiences, undergraduate coursework, and teacher induction program had influenced my teaching methods to include sociocultural strategies when instructing English Learners.

Furthermore, while the district provided professional development in teaching English Language Development (ELD), the concept of the teacher engaging with English Learners to create meaningful connections to the student's culture, home language, or past experiences never was discussed. In short, the district pushed a dehumanizing curriculum for English Learners. The methods proposed by my campus included a subtractive model of teaching, which was proven

not to be conducive to second language acquisition and learning for English Learners in the K-12 setting. After four years in the classroom, I decided to pursue a graduate degree. In my master's research at the University of Texas at Austin, I came to understand that the marginalization of English Learners and students from working-class communities is pervasive and entrenched in U.S. society.

As a researcher, I am a subaltern intellectual, one who, by "accident of history" (Orelus, 2018, p. 169), will be part of the less than 1 percent of Latino students that, after entering the U.S. public school system, complete a graduate degree (Perez Huber et al., 2015). I understand and acknowledge the privilege that formal education has afforded me. Therefore, I came to this study seeking to be an outside ally to subaltern Latino parent leaders. Although we may share similarities in demographics (e.g., nativity, language) and experiences (e.g., microaggression or oppression within a hegemonic culture), I am still an outsider who must carefully listen to the subaltern voice (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Spivak, 1988).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2021), the percentage of English Learners in public schools nationwide steadily increased in the last decade. This trend will continue as the United States becomes a majority-minority nation. The most represented home language was Spanish, and the largest ethnic subgroup was Latino, representing 76.5% of the total English Learner population in the country (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2021). English Learners represented 18.6% of the entire California public school population or 1.1 million students; 81.4% spoke Spanish (California Department of Education [CDE], 2021b). Similarly, about 41.5% of the public-school population spoke a language other than English at home (CDE, 2021b). Historically, English Learners experienced subtractive schooling methods (Valenzuela, 1999), and inequitable educational opportunities when compared to their English-only counterparts in California (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Gándara et al., 2003; Perez Huber et al., 2015; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004), which led to low educational achievement (CDE, 2019a; Gándara & Mordechay, 2017; Olsen, 2010). Valenzuela (1999) defined subtractive schooling as a school system that divests a student of "important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure" (p. 3). Case in point, in 1994, California voters passed *Proposition 187* (1994), a controversial bill that sought to "strip illegal immigrants and their families of access to nearly all social services, including education to undocumented children" (Pastor, 2018, p. 2). Four years later, California voters passed *Proposition 227* (1998), which promoted non-English speaking students to be

taught primarily in English (Ballotpedia, 1998; Pastor, 2018). These restrictive immigrant and language policies coupled with disinvestment in the public education system resulted in English Learners' poor learning conditions (Hill, 2012; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004). In 2000, *Williams v. the State of California* argued that the "State failed to provide thousands of public-school students, particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color, with the necessities required for an education" (American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, n.d.). In support of the case, Rumberger and Gándara (2004) provided evidence that showed that English Learners received "a substantially inequitable education vis-vis their English-speaking peers, even when those peers [were] similarly economically disadvantaged." The case was settled and required the California to provide $1 billion to ensure equitable educational programs to all students. In essence, English Learners in California were historically subjected to subtractive schooling practices (Valenzuela, 1999).

In recent years, California policymakers adopted an equity-minded participatory school funding policy via the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) (CDE, 2020c; *LCFF A.B. 91*, 2013; *LCFF S.B. 91,* 2014; *LCFF S.B. 97*, 2014), along with new legislation and policy that embraced the skills of linguistically diverse students (*Proposition 58* and Global California 2030) (Ballotpedia, 2016, CDE, 2019c). To address underserved students' inequitable educational opportunities throughout California, then-Governor Edmund G. Brown signed the LCFF in 2013. This school funding policy provided equitable funding to schools that serve targeted student groups, including low-income students, foster youth, and English Learners. As part of the policy, the State mandated that Local Educational Agencies (LEAs) engage local stakeholders (e.g., families, students, and community members) in the development of the Local

Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP) (*EC 52060*). The LCAP is a three-year plan where LEAs document the strategies and funding allocations they will complete for the school year, with a concentrated effort to provide equitable opportunities for targeted subgroups, such as English Learners. The LCAP must document parent engagement "efforts the school district makes to seek parent input in making decisions for the school district and each school site and including how the school district will promote parental participation in programs for unduplicated pupils" (*EC 52060(d)3*). Also, the "school district shall present the local control and accountability plan or annual update to the . . . English Learner parent advisory committee . . . for review and comment" (*EC 52062*), which may be represented by the District English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC) [(*EC 52063*(*b*)(*1*) and *EC 52062*(*a*)(*2*)]. According to the LCFF, "districts with at least 50 English Learners and whose total enrollment includes at least 15% English Learners must establish a DELAC, and that DELAC must carry out specific responsibilities related to the LCAP" (CDE, 2020a).

In November 2016, California voters passed *Proposition 58* (2016) or the California Education for a Global Economy (CA Ed. G.E.) Initiative (Ballotpedia, 2016) that ended almost two decades of required English-only classes for English Learners in public schools and promised to usher in new bilingual education programs. Additionally, in 2018, then-State Superintendent Tom Torlakson announced the Global California 2030 initiative (CDE, 2019d). In a press release, Torlakson stated that the mission of this initiative is to "equip our students with the world language skills to succeed in the global economy and to fully engage with the diverse mixture of cultures and languages found in California and throughout the world" (CDE, 2019c). Notwithstanding California's changing and promising socio-political landscape, it is

essential to note that implementing new policies "requires restructuring a complex of existing schemas" (Spillane et al., 2006, p. 51). In other words, investment in the new policy's education is critical to implementing the new policy since the multiple stakeholders needed for structural change will understand the policy.

Previous research has found that English Learners' educational programs are poorly resourced (Gándara et al., 2003), and designated funding was often misappropriated (Okhremtchouk, 2017). One such policy that can help change the educational landscape to serve English Learners better is to meaningfully engage parents in the LCAP process. Therefore, in the LCFF era, English Learner parents advocate for their children in the school setting more so now than before in the California's history. However, current research on LCFF policy implementation found that parents and community members that advocate for the educational opportunities of English Learners faced barriers in actively participating in the creation of LCAPs (Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Lavadenz et al., 2019; Olsen et al., 2016; Porras, 2019; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017).

Research Questions

The following overarching questions guided the study:

1. What are the experiences of Latina parent leaders in the process of participating, developing, and including identified priorities for English Learners in their district's Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP)?
2. In what ways do districts engage Latino parents meaningfully in identifying priorities for English Learners as required by the LCFF?

Connection to Social Justice Leadership

California embarked on a significant journey toward an equity-minded participatory school funding policy along with new legislation which allowed the use of research-based, non-restrictive language acquisition education programs for English Learners. Nevertheless, research findings of the LCAP process involving families of English Learners are cause for alarm. Concerning educational leadership for social justice, it is imperative for English Learners' academic success that district leaders listen to the voices of multilingual families and community members who advocate for English Learners' needs. California serves a significant percentage (41.5%) of linguistically diverse families through its public-school system, and most identify as Spanish speakers (CDE, 2021b). The historical disparities in the educational opportunities for English Learners are troubling. As mentioned earlier, the challenges faced by linguistically diverse students and their families in the public school system are complex. LCFF revolutionized the top-down approach to policy implementation by mandating the inclusion of community members. Providing a voice to subaltern families, only to have their voices silenced, underscores existing hegemonic ideals that have contributed historically to inequitable educational opportunities for English Learners.

Researcher Positionality

Some scholars believe that researchers' underlying beliefs, also known as their positionality, sway them in their research process (Crotty, 1998). Their positionality is, in a sense, their unspoken worldview. Crotty (1998) added that "we need to lay that process out for the scrutiny of the observer; we need to defend that process as a form of human inquiry that should be taken seriously." My positionality is grounded in my life experiences. My parents

immigrated to the United States from Mexico, and they instilled in me the idea that anything is possible with an education. I firmly believe in this idea; however, I understand the disparity in access and equity to high-quality education for students of working-class communities, specifically English Learners. As a native Spanish-speaker, my schooling subjected me to subtractive bilingualism and assimilation.

As I reflected on my experiences and beliefs, I understood that my positionality was grounded in Critical Theory and Critical Race Theory (CRT), and my worldview in Constructivism. Mertens (2010) pointed out the importance of understanding our positionality. Mertens (2010) indicated, "To plan and conduct your own research, read and critique the research of others, and join in the philosophical, theoretical, and methodological debate in the research community, you need to understand the prevailing paradigms, with their underlying philosophical assumptions" (p. 7).

Purpose

Previous LCAP policy research found that most districts tend to engage only DELACs, which already exist per California law, and failed to engage additional community members representing the English Learner student subgroup (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017). Albeit DELACs do consist of English Learner parents, education code requirements limit the number of parents. Therefore, the study's goal was to add to the ethnographic research in the field by documenting the experiences of Latino parent leaders in participating in the LCAP process. Furthermore, the use of testimonios in the study aimed to create a call for action (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2008, 2009; Martinez et al., 2016; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012) with the hope of

enhancing the participation and leadership of Latino and multilingual parents in the decision-making process related to their children's education.

Significance

At the local level, this study provided vital information to LEAs in understanding the barriers Latino families face in participating in the development of their district LCAP. Furthermore, at the state level, the research informed policymakers of how hegemonic elements may influence current policy implementation, thus hindering parent engagement in the LCAP process at the local level. Lastly, California has long been a policy change agent nationwide. The nation's English Learner student population is burgeoning (NCES, 2021), and LCFF holds promise for helping to bring equitable educational opportunities to this vulnerable subgroup nationwide.

Theoretical Framework

Epistemologically, the study was guided by a critical constructivist perspective, believing that the participants make meaning of the world around them through their own experiences (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998; Kincheloe, 2008; Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, since the study sought to understand the experiences of Latino parent leaders, a subgroup of parents oppressed in the school system (Olivos, 2006, 2009), the study was guided by the theoretical framework of Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) lens.

A prominent scholar in bicultural parent engagement research, Olivos (2004, 2006), developed the Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance to examine the intersectionality of oppressive systems, including socioeconomic and historical factors, which

impede Latino parents from actively engaging in the political process within their school community. Specifically, the framework examines "Societal Tensions" and "Tensions in Schools," each considering the school system's dominant culture and the parent leaders' bicultural characteristics that lead to conflict. Indeed, the Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance allowed one to examine the various outside factors that operate as contradictions to realizing actual democratic schools. However, since participants identified as Latina, I posited that it was necessary to examine the elements through a LatCrit Theory lens, notably since Latina parent leaders advocate for their linguistically diverse children.

LatCrit Theory derives from CRT but emphasizes gender, culture, language, and nativity (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005). Valdes (1996) (as cited in Solorzano & Bernal, 2001) stated that "LatCrit theory is supplementary, complementary, to critical race theory," but does not necessarily live "under the same roof" (p. 312). In recent years scholars have challenged CRT's singular focus on race and have expanded the theory to acknowledge the intersectionality of how various oppressive systems impact Latino individuals (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996, 1997; Yosso, 2005). According to Solorzano and Bernal (2001), "LatCrit is a theory that elucidates Latinas/Latinos' multidimensional identities and can address the intersectionality of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression" (p. 312). In other words, by using a LatCrit Theory lens, the researcher would gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of the Latina parent leaders by accounting for their multidimensional identities.

Specifically, this study examined the intersectionality of language and racism. Pierre Orelus (2013) stated that "language is ideologically loaded and intrinsically connected to many forms of oppression, including racism" (p. 62). Macedo et al. (2015) (as cited in Orelus, 2013)

coined the connection between language and racism "linguoracism" (p. 62). Indeed, bilingual education has long been contested (Ovando, 2003). The disparities in English Learner academic success underscore the institutional and systemic discrimination faced by English Learners and their families in the public school system. One can also argue that the lack of linguistically diverse LCAP resources resulted from linguoracist ideals that sought to promote an Anglophone society. The theoretical framework examined the relationships between families and schools and underscored that education is not a neutral system; instead, cultural hegemony influenced the school system (Darder, 2015), which negatively impacted the parental involvement of Latino families. The Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit lens purports that examining the various factors that function as ambiguities to realizing actual democratic schools allows the subaltern's perspective to be heard.

Research Methodology

This phenomenological study of Latina parent leaders sought to understand the experiences of the oppressed and, therefore, employed critical ethnographic methods. According to Cohen et al. (2018), phenomenological research "aims to describe, explain and interpret a phenomenon, situation or experience by identifying the meaning of these as understood by the participants, often at an individual as well as a group level" (p. 300). Vagle (2018) stated that "phenomenology is not concerned with generalizing, quantifying, and finding" but instead aims "to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of everyday phenomena" (p. 12).

The critical methodology of testimonios, consistent with a LatCrit theoretical lens, was used to conduct this study since it focused on participants' storytelling related to the phenomenon being examined. I, as a researcher, was the outside ally that "records, transcribes,

edits, and prepares a manuscript for publication" (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012, p. 365). Testimonios allow the subaltern to challenge the dominant hegemonic ideology through a critical consciousness (Freire, 2016), resulting in a call for action (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2008, 2009; Martinez et al., 2016; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). Freire (2016) viewed critical consciousness as becoming aware of social, political, and economic conditions. In essence, by attaining critical awareness, the oppressed (Freire, 2016) could begin to question their needs and the systems that oppressed them.

Interviews for the study took place during the former Trump administration (2015-2021), which promoted anti-immigrant overtones. The researcher anticipated that the population of subaltern Latino parent leaders would be difficult to reach. Therefore, the researcher collaborated with established parent organization, such as Parent Organization Network (PON) and People Rising (pseudonym), and used network sampling, or snowball sampling, to recruit participants (Gay et al., 2014). Network sampling refers to the researcher selecting a few participants using predetermined selection criteria, "then using those participants to identify additional participants" (Gay et al., 2014, p. 147). Using a snowball method helped to ensure that the participants were open to the idea of having their testimonios chronicled. A small sample of eight parent leaders participated due to the study's intimate nature.

Delimitations

California serves a linguistically diverse student population. A majority speak Spanish (81%), and language data is collected for 75 different languages (CDE, 2021b). This study included only Latina parent leaders who participated in the LCAP decision-making process. Due to time and financial constraints, the study only consisted of eight participants who resided

within the Los Angeles County area. Finally, the study did not include families whose child(ren) attended private schools or charter schools.

Limitations

California has historically perpetuated nativist and linguoracist ideologies that have contributed to institutional racism (Ochoa, 2016; Ovando, 2003; Pastor, 2018, Ross 1999; Suárez-Orozco, 1996). The era of Trumpism promoted strong nativist and xenophobic attitudes nationwide (Bennett, 2018; Crespo, 2018; Domonoske & Gonzales, 2018; Robbins, 2018; Silva, 2018). A purposeful sample was selected to identify Latina parents willing to participate in this study. Consequently, a limitation of the study was that participants were not chosen randomly. Nevertheless, the assumption was that by employing a purposeful sampling method, participants had a sincere interest in participating in the study and would provide candid testimonios. Additional limitations of the study include the minimal funds for the research and limited time spent interviewing participants. Minimal funds restricted the study to one researcher, which narrowed the number of participants due to the time and cost of transcriptions services for the interviews. Also, due to the COVID-19 social distancing guidelines, the third interview was conducted via electronic mail and telephone.

Definition of Terms

District-level English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC). "A committee "comprised of parents, staff, and community members designated to advise district officials on English Learner programs and services" (CDE, 2020a).

Latina. "The study used the term Latina to emphasize the gender of the participating parent leaders, specifically since scholars have documented the intersectionality of gender and

other forms of oppression within la cultura Latina (the Latino culture) (Hernández-Truyol, 1998; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005).

Local Control Accountability Plan (LCAP). "A tool for local educational agencies to set goals, plan actions, and leverage resources to meet those goals to improve student outcomes" (CDE, 2021c, para. 1).

Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF). The "hallmark legislation that fundamentally changed how all local educational agencies (LEAs) in the state are funded, how they are measured for results, and the services and supports they receive to allow all students to succeed to their greatest potential" (CDE, 2020c, para. 1).

School Site Council (SSC). According to EC 52852 a council should be composed of the principal; teachers, and other school personnel, parents of students attending the school and community members, and in secondary schools, students selected by students attending the school (CDE, 2020d).

Summary

This LatCrit phenomenological study of Latina parent leaders' experiences in the LCAP process provided a better understanding of democratic decision-making, or lack thereof, at the ground level. The crux of the LCFF and LCAP policies is that local community members be engaged in their districts' decision-making process. Current LCFF and LCAP implementation research included exploratory analyses of LCAP documents (Armas et al., 2015; Lavadenz et al., 2018; Lavadenz et al., 2019; Olsen et al., 2016; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017) and two ethnographic studies (Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Porras, 2019) which found that a majority of districts fail to engage families and community leaders in regard to educational program

decisions for English Learners. English Learners are a diverse subgroup ranging from Standard English Learners, newcomers, and Long-term English Learners. The voices and experiences of their parents and family members must be heard so that English Learners, who represent a substantial number of California's public-school student population, are provided with equitable educational opportunities.

This study's goals were to center the testimonios of Latina parent leaders that are historically silenced in the decision-making process at schools and educate LEAs on the barriers that Latino families face in participating in the LCAP process. Moreover, the use of testimonios as a research methodology helped to "challenge homogenous portrayals of subaltern experience" (Darder & Griffiths, 2018, p. 86) by practicing authentic listening (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012). Above all, this study sought to help shift culturally hegemonic ideals of an Anglophone society to one that genuinely aimed to embrace a linguistically diverse society (CDE, 2019d). The study results are not generalizable to all parent groups that participated in the LCAP decision-making process. The study underscored the injustices experienced by Latina parent leaders in the LCAP process, challenged dominant Western epistemologies within the school community, and identified empowering conditions for other families that are experiencing oppression while engaging in California's current participatory policy.

In summary, Chapter 1 provided an initial overview of the need to engage Latino parent leaders in the LCAP process and the implications of failing to do so. Chapter 2 will examine the socio-political history of bilingual education in California, the diversity of English Learners, school funding policies for English Learner programs at the district and school level, and research on Latino parent involvement and its impact on student engagement and achievement.

Chapter 2 critically analyzes existing literature, providing a context to the oppressive systems Latina parent leaders face. Chapter 3 provides an overview of how this phenomenological study was conducted. Vagle (2018) stated that some educational researchers may view phenomenological studies as non-scientific since the findings are not quantifiable. However, van Manen (2001, 2014) (as cited in Vagle, 2018) stated that this methodology is scientific since it is "a systematic, explicit, self-critical, and intersubjective study of its subject matter, or lived experience" (p. 11). Chapter 4 provides the main findings, highlighting some of the prominent experiences of participants through their testimonios and Chapter 5 discusses the analysis including the thematic findings. Finally, Chapter 6 provides recommendations for state decision makers, districts, and schools to better engage Latino parent leaders. Also, this chapter underscores the importance of the work on the national level since the population of English Learner students is expected to grow nationally (NCES, 2021).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

> It is impossible to democratize schools without opening them to the real participation of parents and the community in determining the school's destiny.—Freire, 1993, p. 124

English Learners in California face many barriers to obtaining an equitable, high-quality education (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Gándara et al., 2003; Perez Huber et al., 2015; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004). According to the California Department of Education (CDE) (2020b), about 81% of English Learners are Spanish speakers. The LCFF policy's goal was to address the inequitable educational opportunities faced by historically underserved students (California Department of Education [CDE], 2020c), focusing on low-income students, foster youth, and English Learners. California's funding policy also included a change to the accountability policy, which required that schools engage parents and their local community when deciding how to allocate school funds via the LCAP (CDE, 2021c).

The passage of the LCFF in 2013 ushered in a new school allocation policy and accountability system in California with the goal of continuous improvement. New state standardized tests and a new English language proficiency test were piloted and adopted between 2013 and 2019. So, for six years, the LCAP was the only form of transparency and accountability that districts were beholden regarding providing students, including English Learners, with an equitable educational program (CDE, 2021c). In 2017, the California launched the Dashboard, an online database that reports the performance of LEAs, schools, and individual student groups according to state and local measures, to share student performance information with the public. The Dashboard also informed California's System of Support, instituted

according to the *California Budget Act* of 2018 to develop, and support LEAs with a support system according to three levels (Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Committee, 2018). According to the LCAP policy, stakeholder engagement is needed for LCAP development, both crucial components of California's continuous improvement system (*EC 52060*). Parents advocate for their children in the school setting more so now than before in the State's history.

The literature review first discusses Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance that explores the relationship between bicultural parents and schools and the LatCrit theoretical framework that informs the study. Next, to contextualize the Latino experience, the literature review briefly discusses cases, laws, and policies that have implicitly and explicitly contributed to the oppressive systems that have consigned Latino people to a subaltern class. The literature review will also describe the English Learner subgroup's diversity and analyze funding for English Learner educational programs. This analysis of funding policies will posit how the LCFF holds promise for California's substantial English Learner population, but only first if an actual democratic education system allows for Latino parents' inclusivity. Finally, current research on Latino parents will be examined, including studies that examined local stakeholder engagement in the LCAP process.

Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance

This literature review sought to underscore Latinos' plight in California and the oppressive structures they had to navigate when advocating for their children, many of whom identified as Spanish speakers (CDE, 2021b). It is essential to underscore the multidimensional identities of Latinos (e.g., nativity, language, culture) since various oppressive systems impact them negatively (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997;

Valdes, 1996; Yosso et al., 2001). Olivos (2004) argued that the "relationship between Latino parents and the school system is a micro-reflection of societal tensions and conflicts in the areas of economic exploitation and institutional racism" (p. 31). Indeed, this ideology is echoed by other critical theorists that state that the education system immortalizes racism and oppression (Darder, 2015; hooks, 2003).

The shift to a community-based model (LCFF/LCAP) at the local level to determine funding for student programs is promising. Freire (1993) asserts that participants must "learn how to deal with the tension between authority and freedom" since a "community-based camp can be as authoritarian as the elitist perspective" (p. 130). In other words, a community-based model could be just as oppressive as the authoritarian model that it replaces. In essence, working with the community does not "necessitate the construction of the community as the proprietor of truth and virtue" (Freire, 1993, p. 131). Hence, with California's shift to a community-based model for school funding at the local level, there is an illusion of acceptance and participation from all members. Through false generosity (Freire, 2016), those in power can continue to perpetuate structural racism under the pretext of "providing a voice" to the subordinate class while maintaining the culture of hegemony in the school community.

This study used Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance to examine the relationship between Latina parent leaders and the school system. LatCrit Theory critically examined the intersectionality of various culturally hegemonic systems within the school community that the subaltern parent leaders had to navigate as they tried to engage in the political process (see Figure 1). The Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and

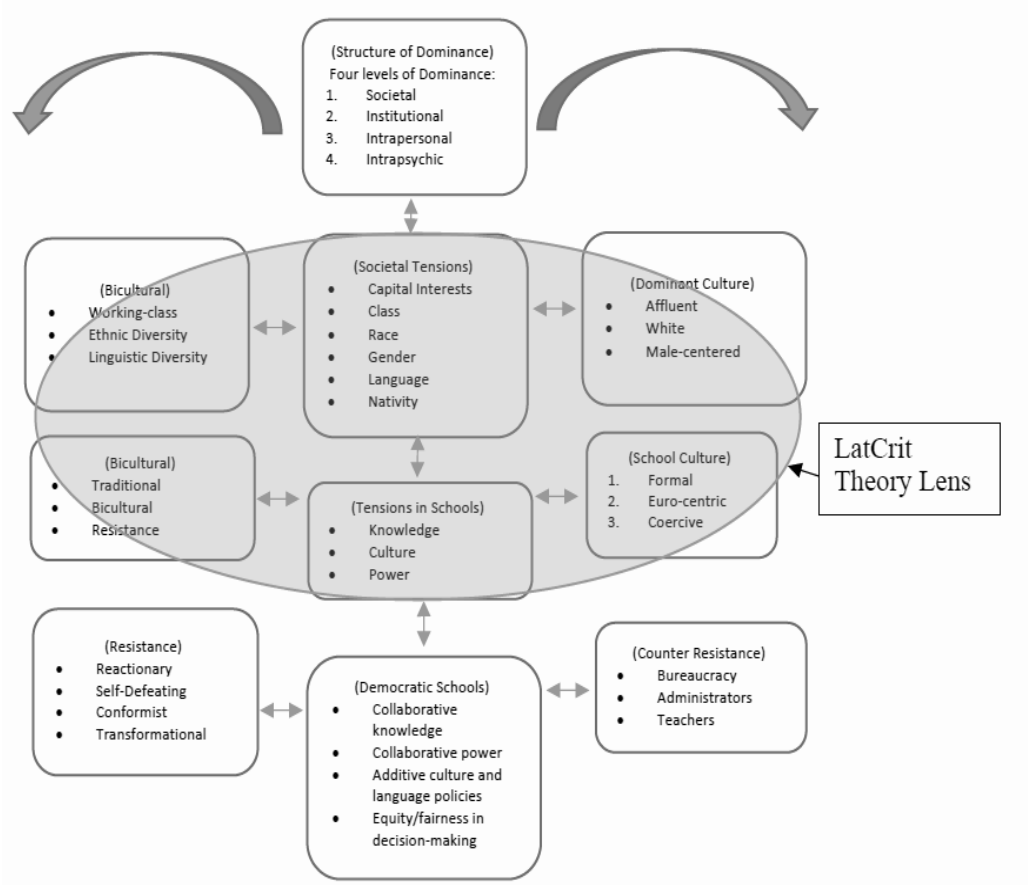
Resistance (Olivos, 2004, 2006), which acknowledges the "various socioeconomic and historic factors" (Olivos, 2004, p. 31) between Latino parent leaders and schools, was developed to:

> help explain the relationship between Latino parents and the school system using a structural perspective, and to contradict the assumptions posed by many in the field of education who view the "absence" of Latino parents in the schools as disinterest or incompetence. (Olivos, 2006, p. 21)

This framework posits four overall structures of dominance: Societal, institutional, interpersonal, and intrapsychic (consciousness) (Olivos, 2004, 2006). The framework examined "Societal Tensions" and "Tensions in Schools," with each engaging the dominant culture and bicultural characteristics that lead to conflict. A prominent scholar in bicultural parent engagement, Olivos (2004, 2006), theorized that a deficit-based mindset is often used to examine bicultural parent engagement in the school system. He emphasized that such analyses often fail to extend past the school community and do not consider the complexity of the social system within which the school is situated. To help contextualize the relationship between bicultural parents and schools, Olivos (2006) stated that one must acknowledge various outside factors, such as historical, social, and political influences, which operate as contradictions to realizing actual democratic schools. As described in this literature review, California's sociopolitical climate has historically perpetuated nativist and linguoracist ideologies that have contributed to institutional racism.

Figure 1

Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance Through a LatCrit Theory Lens



Note. Adapted from "Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance" by E. M. Olivos, 2006, *The Power of Parents: A Critical Perspective of Bicultural Parent Involvement in Public Schools*, p. 22, Peter Lang Publishing. Copyright 2006 by Peter Lang Publishing.

Through a structural analysis of the public education system, Olivos (2004, 2006) deconstructed how cultural hegemony, classism, and institutional racism created tensions within society and the school community, resulting in bicultural parents being forced into a subordinate or subaltern class within this dynamic. Indeed, Olivos (2004) asserted that Latino parents are not provided the chance to "develop a more sophisticated political and critical consciousness," thus

resulting in limited knowledge, which in turn hinders their ability to achieve transformative resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).

To account for the multidimensional identity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997; Valdes, 1996; Yosso et al., 2001) of Latina parents, Olivos' framework, specifically the "Societal Tensions" and "Tensions in Schools," must be analyzed through a LatCrit Theory lens. With this in mind, I included language and nativity within the "Societal Tensions." The literature review will discuss how language and nativity are nonneutral, and the power struggles associated with each are complex.

Latino Critical Race Theory

Viewed as an extension of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997; Valdes, 1996, 1997; Yosso et al., 2001), scholars argued that LatCrit Theory does not stand on its own, instead, it embraced key concepts of CRT, such as

> the embrace of subjectivity, particularity, multiplicity, and intersectionality; the acceptance of legal scholarship's inevitable implication of power politics; the emphasis on praxis, social justice, reconstruction, and transformation; the navigation of sameness and difference to build self-empowered communities; and the recognition of self-critique's continuing importance to intellectual integrity. (Valdes, 1997, p. 19)

CRT emerged from critical theory, specifically from Critical Legal Studies and radical feminism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Horkheimer and Marcuse, founding members of the Frankfurt school, published articles, "Traditional and critical theory" and "Philosophy and critical theory," respectively (Crotty, 1998, p. 130). Crotty (1998) explained that in this initial use of the term "critical theory," Horkheimer "wanted a social theory that brought together philosophical

construct and empirical detail." Not a "philosophy divorced from the lived reality of the social life" (Crotty, 1998, p. 131). With that, critical theory was infused with social justice and focused on critically engaging ideas through a perspective that sought to better the lives of people.

Valdes (1996), a prominent LatCrit scholar, stated that CRT helped transform legal scholarship from the status quo by including scholars of color's perspectives. CRT posits that race is "central to the law and policy of the United States" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) used race as an analytical tool to examine the inequity in our nation's schools, which they argued was caused by "institutional and structural racism" (p. 55). According to Solorzano and Yosso (2001), there are five central tenets of a CRT framework in education research, which are:

1. The centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of oppression,
2. The challenge to dominant epistemologies,
3. A commitment to social justice,
4. The value of experiential knowledge, and
5. The use of transdisciplinary knowledge.

In essence, CRT allowed scholars to interrogate social, educational, and political issues by prioritizing participants' voices and respecting the multiple roles of scholars of color when conducting research (Chapman, 2007). Nonetheless, CRT situated itself within a Black/White paradigm, which Valdes (1996) argued was too narrow in scope "for the deconstruction of race and race-based subordination in a multi-cultural society" (p. 5).

Acuña's (1972) work was one of the first to reframe traditional American history to

include the Southwest's colonization and describe how it negatively impacted Mexicans (Stefancic, 1997). Stefancic (1998) stated that Acuña's critical perspective of American history provided the foundation for many Latino law scholars to develop LatCrit Theory, which "emphasizes the intersectionality of experience with oppression and resistance and the need to extend conversations about race and racism beyond the Black/White binary" (Yosso et al., 2001). Indeed, Valdes (1996) underscored that the multidimensional identity of Latinos, which includes culture, immigration, and language, cannot be "accommodated within the comfortable binary of the Black/White paradigm" (p. 20). As an extension of CRT (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Valdes, 1996), LatCrit Theory as a framework in education research also subscribed to those mentioned earlier central five tenets of CRT (Huber, 2008).

Nativist and linguoracist ideologies are at the heart of American politics, which reflect the societal and institutional structures of dominance underscored in Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance. Therefore, LatCrit Theory is a suitable lens to critically examine the various oppressive systems underscored by the framework, particularly since subaltern Latina parent leaders are advocating for their linguistically diverse children. As Freire (1993) asserted, "It is not possible to think of language without thinking of the concrete social world we constitute. It is impossible to think of language without thinking of power and ideology" (p. 41).

For Latino parents of English Learners, the veiled politics of intolerance (Macedo et al., 2015) of language are very much at work in the community-based model of the LCAP. Many critical theorists argue that language is inextricably tied to power struggles in society (Freire, 1993, Darder, 2015; Macedo et al., 2015; Orelus, 2013). Macedo et al. (2015) stressed that a

reductionist view of language, one which posits that language is "apolitical and neutral tool of communication equally available to all speakers," masks "the ideological context that permeates language" and "serves as a mechanism to reproduce the dominant social order" (p. 57). Furthermore, the non-neutrality of language is demonstrated when Macedo et al. (2015) stated that

> Even if non-English-speaking students are able to meet the needs of the U.S. linguistic market (in terms of mastering enough English to "simply communicate," as the proponents of English-only suggest), they will still be identified as the "other." Their language will always be marked by their color, race, ethnicity, and class and constructed within a politics of identity that situates subjects within an assimilation grid. (p. 19)

This statement was bolstered by Perez Huber et al.'s (2015) report which found that since 2005 dismal gains were made nationwide in achieving equitable educational opportunities for Latino students.

Societal Tensions and an Oppressive System

In early 2000 in San Fernando, a city located in the northernmost part of Los Angeles, my friend's family settled into a weekday evening at home. In need of last-minute ingredients for dinner, her mom asked her dad to make a quick trip to the local store. He had just sat down to relax, so he grabbed a few dollar bills and decided to leave his wallet. He figured that it was going to be a quick trip. Her father never returned home from the store. Frantic, her family called friends and loved ones, hospitals, and the local police station to locate him. They found no answers.

The next day they received a phone call from him. He was in San Diego, about 145 miles south of San Fernando, and had just been released from the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency. He recounted his story from the day before, when ICE agents showed up at the grocery store, blocked all exits, and rounded up everyone that did not have proper identification to prove that they were a United States citizen. Having left home in a hurry, he tried to explain to ICE agents that he lived close by and had left his wallet at home. He asked for a quick call home so his family could bring his wallet. They ignored his request and ushered him onto the waiting bus. He was driven to an ICE facility in San Diego, where he spent the night in a cold cell, waiting for agents to confirm his identity. Once he was released, he called his family to pick him up since ICE would not provide transportation back home.

The emotional distress and trauma caused by this incident still haunt my friend today. The stories she recounts growing up in San Fernando in the early 2000s are reminiscent of the deportation efforts used on Mexican communities in Southern California in the 1930s and today. Scholars have documented how in times of economic crisis, American society has often blamed the immigrant Latino community (Madrid, 2016; Sánchez, 1995; Steiner, 1970), a sentiment at the heart of the former Trump administration. Just as President Hoover stoked nativist fears in the 1930s, former President Trump followed suit in his announcement for the presidential bid in 2015 when he stated that "the U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems" (Washington Post Staff, 2015). Trump went on to state that a majority of Mexican immigrants included "drug dealers" and "rapists" (Washington Post Staff, 2015).

Furthermore, the Trump administration's National Security Strategy has stated that:

> Because most immigrants are selected on the basis of their family connections—rather than real selection criteria, like the skills they bring to our economy or their likelihood of assimilation into our society—our current family-based immigration system does not meet the needs of the modern United States economy and is incompatible with preserving our national security. (The White House, 2018)

The xenophobic stance of the former Trump administration's immigration view embraced nativist and linguoracist opinions, similar to immigration acts before 1965, which restricted immigration from non-English speaking and non-Western European countries (Johnson, 1965). The Trump era socio-political climate led to widespread reports of hostility towards people of color, immigrants, and linguistically diverse individuals being asked to refrain from speaking their native tongue (Bennett, 2018; Crespo, 2018; Domonoske, & Gonzales, 2018; Robbins, 2018; Silva, 2018).

State and Federal Court Cases

Although there are periods in history where nativist and linguoracist ideologies tend to alleviate, the bitter reality is that they are deeply entrenched in American society, thus perpetuating structural racism that subjects Latinos communities to a subaltern status. To examine the experiences of Latino parent leaders in the LCAP development process, one must consider the intersectionality of systems of oppression, such as nativity, language, and culture, along with historical and societal tensions. This section will discuss cases that have contributed to the societal tensions that negatively impact Latino parents and their children.

Alvarez v. Lemon Grove (1931)

Two decades before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the first successful court case that challenged school segregation was won in California (Ochoa, 2016; Madrid, 2016). In 1930, the Lemon Grove school board decided to segregate Latino students, constituting half of the school population. Mexican children were to attend school in a separate dilapidated building. The Mexican families refused and filed suit, claiming that their children were unlawfully segregated from school (Bowman, 2000). The case was filed in the Superior Court of San Diego County. The court "required the school district to justify its proposed segregation of Latino students and the district responded with the rationale of 'Americanization'" (p. 1771). Americanization or assimilation programs were commonplace among school districts that wanted to segregate Latino students from predominately White-Anglo schools. The court ruled in favor of the Mexican families since Latino students were considered White in the California education code. The students had attended school together with the Anglo children before the segregation (Bowman, 2000). The *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* (1931) case established the rights of Mexican children "to equal education, despite local, regional, and national sentiment that favored not only segregation but also deportation" (Ochoa, 2016, p. 29).

During this time, Mexican immigrants composed the largest foreign-born population, with a majority concentrated in Southern California (Madrid, 2016; Sánchez, 1995). The growing Mexican population threatened nativists, resulting in assimilating immigrants with Americanization programs (Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Sánchez, 1995). Nativists firmly believed that the "most potent weapon used to imbue" (Sánchez, 1995, p. 100) immigrants with American values was the English language. The assimilation programs were first attempted with

adults; however, it was soon discovered that concentrating on children would have a lasting impact (Sánchez, 1995).

In the California legislature, a bill seeking to allow the legal segregation of Latino people was defeated; however, de facto segregation practices continued with help from unexpected allies (Bowman, 2000; Sánchez, 1995). In Los Angeles, a group of leaders in the Mexican community, with the Mexican government's assistance and consulate, established Mexicanization efforts, which extended to schooling (Madrid, 2016; Sánchez, 1995). These schools embraced the Spanish language; however, due to financial constraints and barriers in teacher credentialing, only about ten Mexican schools operated at the same time during the height of the movement in 1927-1928. Within two years, only three schools remained in Claremont, Pacoima, and Van Nuys. In contrast, students that were served by the American school system were often marginalized with the use of IQ tests, hence subjecting Latino students to inequitable educational opportunities (Madrid, 2016; Sánchez, 1995; Steiner, 1970). Bowman (2000) (as cited in Madrid, 2016) found that "in 1931 more than 80% of California school districts with significant Latino population were segregated and many of the remaining 20% of districts practiced some form of school segregation, which endured into the 1950s" (p. 50).

Deportation efforts during this time were strategically referred to as repatriation, or "returning people to their native country" (Gross & Balderrama, 2015). To promote repatriation Los Angeles officials visited Latino families door-to-door to provide one-way train tickets to Mexico. Deportation raids, where people were grabbed and forcibly deported, became common (Gross & Balderrama, 2015; Sánchez, 1995. The most infamous deportation raid occurred at La Placita, which sent shock waves throughout Mexican communities (Gross & Balderrama, 2015).

La Placita, located in an area known as the birthplace of Los Angeles (Steiner, 1970), has long been a cultural mecca for Mexicans (Sánchez, 1995). Although the raid did not gather many people for deportation, the news reverberated through the community the message that Mexicans were not welcomed (Gross & Balderrama, 2015). Consequently, this chapter in American history had a detrimental effect on the social identity of the Mexican community, especially in Los Angeles, as stated by Sánchez (1995):

> The deportation and repatriation campaigns launched against Mexicans in Los Angeles profoundly disrupted the cultural centeredness of the community. Los Angeles lost one-third of its Mexican residents, and those who remained were made keenly aware of the fragility of their social position. (p. 12)

Therefore, it is not surprising that the news of the *Alvarez* (1931) case was not widely reported, and de facto segregation of Latino children persisted in California (Madrid, 2016, p. 55).

Mendez v. Westminster (1947)

Sixteen years after the *Alvarez* (1931) case, David Marcus filed a class action suit with five families within Orange County on behalf of 5,000 children (Robbie, 2016). The California lawsuit, *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), stated that the school districts of Westminster, El Modena, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana were unjustifiably discriminating against their children (Robbie, 2016). The U.S. District Court ruled in favor of the families, citing that the school districts had violated the 14th Amendment by assigning students to separate schools (Gándara et al., 2004).

The success of the *Mendez* (1947) case set a precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) seven years later. Above all, the incident prompted then-California Governor Earl

Warren, who later served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969, to sign into law the *Anderson Bill* (1947) (Robbie, 2016, p. 62). The legislation repealed the "statutes that had allowed for the segregation of Asian American and Native Americans, and children with disabilities, making California the first state to end public school segregation" (Robbie, 2016, p. 62). The triumphs of the *Alvarez* (1931) and *Mendez* (1947) cases helped set the stage for historic civil rights era court cases and education policies; however, despite advances made in this era that protected against discrimination and segregation, the "hegemony of English" (Macedo et al., 2015) in the United States continued the de facto segregation of linguistically diverse students and their families.

Lau v. Nichols (1974)

In 1970, Edward H. Steinman filed suit with 13 non-English speaking Chinese students on behalf of 2,000 Chinese speaking students against the San Francisco Unified School District (Steinman, 1974). The case argued that non-English speaking Chinese students were denied equal access to an education since the district failed to accommodate their linguistic needs (Gándara et al., 2004). The trial and appellate court decisions sided with the district, with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals stating:

> Every student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic, and cultural background, created and contributed completely apart from any contribution by the school system. That some of these may be impediments which can be overcome does not amount to a "denial" by the [school district] of educational opportunities . . . should the [district]fail to give them special attention. (Steinman, 1974, p. 8)

The students petitioned the Supreme Court to hear the case, which later overturned the lower court rulings and required the district to provide non-English speaking students instruction in their native language. The court's decision was based on rights afforded by the 14th Amendment and the *Civil Rights Act* (1964; Steinman, 1974).

Federal and State Policy

Given the relationship that exists between court cases and educational policy, this section provides an overview of federal and state policies pertinent to this study,

Bilingual Education Act of 1968

In 1968 over 10,000 Latino students walked out of East Los Angeles high schools in protest of poor school conditions and inequality of educational opportunities (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001). During the walkouts, aptly called "blowouts" due to the number of students involved, the students presented the Los Angeles Unified school board with a list of 36 demands that included "smaller class sizes, bilingual education, and more emphasis on Chicano history" (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001, p. 309). The East Los Angeles high school walkouts came after the enactment of the *Bilingual Education Act* (1968), an ambiguous federal law that sought to help "disenfranchised language-minority students" (Ovando, 2003, p. 8).

The *Bilingual Education Act* (1968) was the first time the federal government encouraged the education of linguistically diverse students in their home language and its passage was credited to the sweeping legislation that was influenced by the Civil Rights Era (Jiménez-Castellanos & García, 2017). Yet, the *Bilingual Education Act* (1968) provided little guidance on how to support linguistically diverse students. For instance, "school districts could receive federal funds under the *Bilingual Education Act* (1968) without using languages other than

English" (Ovando, 2003, p. 8). Moreover, many of the bilingual programs that began with *Bilingual Education Act* (1968) funding were directed by the "same school systems, in the same classrooms, and by the same teachers that Chicanos accused of racism" (Steiner, 1970, p. 221).

Proposition 187 (1994)

The advancements that were made in California during the Civil Rights Era were overshadowed by the national recession of the 1970s. The negative impact of the recession was magnified in California, which of the 50 states ranked 25th in income inequality in 1969 (Pastor, 2018). By the end of the 1990s, California was "the sixth most unequal state in the Union" (p. 71). The years of the Clinton administration (1993-2001) were seen as an economic boom for the nation, yet California was fighting the highest unemployment rates in the country (Pastor, 2018). The economic decline and burgeoning foreign-born population in California during the 1990s once again stoked nativist fears, creating a hostile socio-political environment towards immigrants, specifically those of Latino origin (Pastor, 2018, Ross 1999; Suárez-Orozco, 1996). Pastor (2018) compares this xenophobic era in California history with that of the national sentiment towards immigrants and non-English speakers during the former Trump administration.

Case in point, in 1994 *Proposition 187,* or the "Save Our State" initiative, was approved by 57% of California voters (Ballotpedia, 1994; Ross, 1999). The core provisions of the ballot initiative included prohibiting undocumented citizens from receiving social and healthcare services and expelling an estimated 300,000 undocumented children from California public schools (Pastor, 2018; Quezada, 2016; Ross, 1999; Suárez-Orozco, 1996). *Proposition 187* (1994) was immediately challenged in the courts and was barred by a federal district court, being

ruled as unconstitutional (Ochoa, 2016; Ross, 1999). On July 29, 1999, then-California Governor Pete Wilson reached a deal with civil rights groups to strip the initiative of its core provisions. In a press release, the American Civil Liberties Union stated:

> The agreement confirms that no child in the state of California will be deprived of an education or stripped of health care due to their place of birth. It also makes clear that the state cannot regulate immigration law, a function that the U.S. Constitution clearly assigns to the federal government. (American Civil Liberties Union, 1999)

In an analysis of *Proposition 187* (1994) and the cultural psychology of race and ethnic exclusion, Suárez-Orozco (1996) found that many Anglo-Americans were anxious since a majority of new immigrants were "culturally and ethnically unlike the bulk of the European old immigrants" (p. 154). Admittedly, those opposed to the changing demographics of immigrants held the viewpoint that new immigrants and their children refused to assimilate to the mainstream society (Suárez-Orozco, 1996) and that their "cultural values and attitudes" were not "compatible with the norms of the dominant culture" (p. 154). However, as underscored by Suárez-Orozco (1996), research showed that Latinos, the largest immigrant group, are "highly family and achievement oriented" (p. 154); which, the authors pointed out, ironically, are values lauded by the conservative groups that supported anti-immigrant policies.

Furthermore, granted that the core proponents of *Proposition 187* (1994) were never implemented, the xenophobic ideologies that fueled this California policy were exported to other states and national policy debates (Pastor, 2018; Ross 1999). In an analysis of the political landscape in the aftermath of *Proposition 187* (1994), researchers found that various states and Congress used the same "racist and classist perspectives" (Ross, 1999) that were used to pass

Proposition 187 (1994), as the driving force for anti-immigrant policies (Pastor, 2018; Quezada, 2016; Ross 1999; Suárez-Orozco, 1996). Four years after the passage of the "Save Our State" initiative, California voters overwhelmingly approved *Proposition 227* (1998), the "English for the Children" measure (Ballotpedia, 1998; Quezada, 2016), a linguoracist policy.

Proposition 227 (1998)

Proposition 227 (1998) mandated English-only educational programs and restricted a majority of the bilingual programs throughout the state (Galindo, 2004; Ochoa, 2016; Pastor, 2018; Quezada, 2016; Yamagami, 2012). The measure passed with 61% voter approval (Pastor, 2018); however, the passage came with much controversy, as it was "associated with issues of language, race, immigration, poverty, and assimilation over multiculturalism" (Ocha, 2016, p. 42). The controversy of the ballot initiative was evident in a Los Angeles Times exit poll with 67% of white voters supporting the measure compared to only 40% of Latinos (Pastor, 2018; Yamagami, 2012). Pastor (2018) stated that "for many voters supporting Prop. 227, the attempt to drive a stake through bilingualism resonated with their fear that Latinos were resisting assimilation and that California was slipping away back to its once-Mexican roots" (p. 85). What is more, the passage of the restrictive language policy came at a time when California's population of limited-English proficient (LEP) students numbered 1.4 million (Pastor, 2018).

In an analysis of the political discourse used by the *Proposition 227* (1998) campaign, Yamagami (2012) found that campaign advocates were careful not to use racist or incendiary language that was commonly used in the *Proposition 187* (1994) campaign (Yamagami, 2012). Ron Unz, the ballot initiative writer and chief spokesperson of the campaign, succeeded in delegitimizing those who argued that the initiative was racist by successfully positioning the

campaign as one that "spoke for the 'voiceless' parents" of English Learners (p. 147). Furthermore, researchers found that the campaign for the ballot initiative distorted facts by using aggregate data of English Learners that attended both English-only programs and bilingual programs, even though only 20% of English Learners were enrolled in a quality bilingual program statewide (Galindo, 2004; Quezada, 2016; Yamagami, 2012).

The distortion of facts bolstered the campaign's primary tenet that bilingual education in California was a failure (Quezada, 2016; Yamagami, 2012). Quezada (2016), then-President of the California Association of Bilingual Education, recalled: "As a bilingual educator it was frustrating to hear attacks on instructional programs that reached far too few English Learners although they were demonstrating positive academic results" (p. 160). *Proposition 187* (1994) and *Proposition 227* (1998) are only two examples of the "150 years of nativist politics in California" (Quezada, 2016, p. 160) that have negatively impacted English Learners and their families.

Proposition 58 (2016)

In September 2014, one year after the passage of the LCFF, Governor Brown approved *Senate Bill 1174* (2016) , which, once approved by voters in 2016, would repeal a majority of the provisions of *Proposition 227* (1998). The bill, known as the *California Education for a Global Economy Initiative (California Ed.G.E. Initiative),* was presented as *Proposition 58* (2016) on the 2016 ballot and passed with an overwhelming majority (Ballotpedia, 2016). In addition to the parent and community engagement requirements set forth by the LCFF, *Proposition 58* (2016) also required "school districts and county offices of education to solicit input on, and provide to pupils, effective and appropriate instructional methods, including, but not limited to, establishing

language acquisition programs, as defined" (*SB 1174*). However, it is important to note the neoliberal agenda that is foundational to *Proposition 58* (2016; Kelly, 2018), such that the policy focuses on the economic benefits for *native-English speakers* in becoming bi- or multilingual.

English Learner Educational Experience in California

In 2019-20 California served approximately 1.1 million English Learners, about 18.6% of the total student population. The percentage of English Learners served by Los Angeles County was on par with the state, at 18%, approximately 258,775 students (CDE, 2019b). Furthermore, English Learners are a diverse subgroup of students. For example, in California, albeit a large percentage speak Spanish, the diversity in dialects spoken varies greatly (CDE, 2021b). In addition, the Latino English Learner subgroup consists of a diverse group of native and non-native students, whose familial immigration ranges from North, Central, and South American countries, including countries in Europe (CDE, 2021b). Although a majority of English Learners identify as Spanish speakers, they have diverse cultural backgrounds, and speak different dialects of Spanish and other indigenous languages (CDE, 2021b; Hill, 2012). In addition, the history of formal education that English Learners have received before attending public schools adds to the complexity of the specific educational needs of this vulnerable, and often misunderstood subgroup.

Hill (2012) underscored how the diversity of English Learners is everchanging. Students who initially are classified as English Learners may exit the program, with others remaining. At the same time, English Learners new to the school may enroll in different grade-levels. A recent study found that in LAUSD and San Diego Unified School District, there was a rise in the number of late-arriving English Learners (LAELs) of which many are refugees and

unaccompanied minors (Hill et al., 2019). Table 1 provides a breakdown of 2018-19 "At-Risk" and Long-Term English Learner data in California and Los Angeles County (CDE, 2019b). Each English Learner subgroup requires specific and unique services to provide an appropriate and equitable educational program for students. It was an assumption of this study that this can be achieved by the inclusion of Latino parent leaders in the LCAP development process. Moreover, the diversity of the English Learner group, coupled with research that shows the historical disparity between English Learners and their English only counterparts in educational opportunities (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Gándara et al., 2003; Hill, 2012; Perez Huber et al., 2015; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004), underscored the importance of having the voices of Latino parent leaders authentically heard in the LCAP process.

Table 1

2019-20 "At-Risk" and Long-Term English Learner Data in California and Los Angeles County

Name	EL 0-3 Years	At-Risk 4-5 Years	LTEL 6+ Years	EL 4+ Years Not At-Risk or LTEL	EL Total	RFEP Total	Ever-EL (EL+RFEP) Total
California	25.8%	5.9%	8.8%	10.4%	50.9%	49.1%	2,056,526
Los Angeles County	25.0%	5.4%	7.4%	8.1%	45.9%	54.1%	496,765

Note: California Department of Education. (2019b). *Dataquest: 2018-19 at-risk and long-term English learners (LTEL)(district data) Los Angeles County Report.* Retrieved https://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/longtermel/EverElTypeLevels.aspx?cds=19&agglevel=County&year=2018-19

Funding Allocations for English Learner Education Programs

Given the diversity of the English Learner student subgroup, a vertical-equity funding approach (Okhremtchouk, 2017), which included supplemental funding sources or programs, were traditionally used with the understanding that additional funding and programs "exist to maximize potential for student success by apportioning additional funds toward bolstering their

education" (Okhremtchouk, 2017, p. 3). In California, English Learner educational programs receive federal and state funds.

Federal Funding

English Learner educational programs are funded by Title III, Part A. The main purpose of Title III under *Every Student Succeeds Act* (2015) is to "ensure that English Learner students, including immigrant children and youth, attain English language proficiency and meet the same challenging state academic standards that other students are expected to meet" (CDE, 2020f). Title III funding is distributed to states, who in turn provide subgrants to qualifying LEAs based on a formula (CDE, 2020f).

State Funding

Before the LCFF, English Learner educational programs were funded at the state-level by the Economic Impact Aid (EIA) program, an entitlement categorical program (Jiménez-Castellanos & Okhremtchouk, 2013). EIA funds had certain criteria, which included "providing additional English language acquisition programs, support and services for Limited English Proficient students, and providing State Compensatory Education services for Educationally Disadvantaged Youth as determined by the local educational agency" (CDE, 2020b).

Before the passage of the LCFF funding policy, Jiménez-Castellanos and Okhremtchouk (2013) conducted a case study which found that only half of EIA and Title III funding was allocated to school sites, with the other half spent at the district-level on administrator salaries. In addition, the study found that some schools did not use the categorical funds as required, using a portion to supplant general funds. Notwithstanding, this case study only focused on one school district in California, the findings echo other research that found educational programs for

English Learners are poorly resourced (Gándara et al., 2003; Okhremtchouk, 2017) and designated funding is often misappropriated (Okhremtchouk, 2017). After the adoption of LCFF in 2013, a majority of the categorical programs, which included the EIA program, were absorbed into one general funding pool. Of the 46 categorical programs that had existed before LCFF, only 14 categorical programs remained (Legislative Analyst's Office [LAO], 2013). Schools with EIA funds in reserve were instructed to transfer the funds into their general, unrestricted funds, while still fulfilling its original stipulation (CDE, 2020b).

The LCFF school funding policy was created to provide equitable funding to schools that serve targeted student groups, which include low-income students, foster youth, and English Learners. The policy also sought to untangle the labyrinth of funding sources from the various categorical programs, with each including their own set of requirements (LAO, 2013). Prior to LCFF, funding allocations for English Learner programs were set aside. The LCAP is a crucial component of California's school finance and accountability system, and as the instrument used to document funding expenditures at the local level, the inclusion of Latino parent leaders in their development is crucial.

Latino Parent and Family Engagement

Studies show that parent involvement is a strong predictor of student academic achievement (Jeynes, 2005, 2012). Traditionally, researchers and education professionals have used three ideologies to examine the relationship between families and schools. As stated by Epstein (2010), they are: "separate responsibilities of families and schools, shared responsibilities of families and schools, and sequential responsibilities of families and schools" (p. 26). Each of the three viewpoints differ considerably from one another. One can attribute

these differences to the ever-changing culture of the nation, which in turn affects the public school system. Beyond these distinctions, the dominant discourse in parent engagement research does not capture the voice of Latino families (Becker & Epstein, 1982; Berger, 1991; Epstein, 2010), since it has traditionally reflected the realities and conditions of a White, middle-class background (Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Fernández, & Paredes Scribner, 2018). Indeed, some scholars argue that the dominant discourse in parent engagement has used a deficit-based approach towards ethnically and linguistically diverse families (Auerbach, 2007; LeFevre & Shaw, 2012; Olivos, 2004, 2006; Zarate, 2007).

Latino Parent Engagement

Emerging research on Latino parental engagement revealed that the effects on student motivation and achievement are more notable for Latino students, yet strategies used by Latino parents often go unnoticed (Gaitan, 2012; Marrero, 2016). Marrero stated this is due to the "perceived differences in how parents and adults should be involved in education, and the reality of engagement as perceived by Latino parents" (Marrero, 2016, p. 184). Marrero (2016) emphasized that the Latino culture highly values family. The family values at the heart of the Latino culture include "familismo, respeto, and educación" (Marrero, 2016, p. 181) and together they are focused on the success of the whole child.

In a 15-year longitudinal study of parent engagement strategies in Carpinteria, California, Gaitan (2012) "identified three major types of power-sharing relations between families and schools: "conventional, culturally responsive family–school–community connections, and empowerment" (p. 306). Conventional parent involvement strategies include basic involvement in the education system such as back-to-school nights, parent teacher conferences, and formal

school-parent meetings. The power dynamic of conventional parent strategies favored those of the school since Latino parents are expected to assimilate to the hegemonic culture. In contrast, culturally responsive family–school–community connections include the schools, and teachers, creating a common culture with Latino families. Finally, the power-sharing relation of empowerment includes Latino parents independently organizing, where they learn to use their language and culture to learn the literacy of the school to challenge injustices and bring about change.

This research counters long-held views that Latino families are disengaged from their child's schooling (Auerbach, 2007; LeFevre & Shaw, 2012; Zarate, 2007). Indeed, researchers have concluded that a deficit-based model can be attributed to the misunderstanding of culture, language barriers, and parental anxiety when trying to navigate a system that they feel ill-prepared for participation (Auerbach, 2007; Machado-Casas & Ruiz, 2012; Zarate, 2007). With a substantial population of Latino English Learner youth, it is imperative that more research be conducted in this area of parental engagement.

For example, LeFevre and Shaw (2012) studied the impact of formal (school-based activities) and informal (home-based activities) Latino parental involvement on academic achievement. The authors found that Latino families reported less time participating in formal methods of parental involvement and more time engaging in informal strategies, such as talking to their child about education. The study found that both formal and informal support had a positive impact on student academic achievement. Previous studies conducted on White and Black families did not yield the same results, thus signaling that Latino families have a "multidimensional construct of parental involvement" (p. 718). This study underscored the need

for researchers to consider the bicultural family context when conducting parental involvement research.

Furthermore, in research focused on the challenges in technology education for immigrant, Spanish-speaking families, Machado-Casas and Ruiz (2012) found that the lack of culturally-responsive after school technology programs resulted in "global invisible" (p. 8) families. To be global invisible refers to not having "equal access to technology as an everyday tool" (p. 8). The authors underscore how digital technology is prominent inside- and outside-of the-school setting and the importance of helping Spanish-speaking family's access and learn to use digital technology is crucial to student success (Machado-Casas & Ruiz, 2012). The study also found that Latino families were keen to learn how to use digital technology, however, many programs used the banking model approach and did not consider the cultural and linguistic barriers (Machado-Casas & Ruiz, 2012). Machado-Casas and Ruiz (2012) found that some of the challenges that Spanish-speaking families faced in technology education programs included lack of childcare, a misunderstanding of the present computer skills, and the failure to incorporate the skills students are learning in the classroom. The study underscored that by not incorporating what computer skills students were learning in the class, this led to disempowerment for parents since they could not assist their children at home (Machado-Casas & Ruiz, 2012).

Latino Parent Leaders

Indeed, scholars have found that democratizing schools involves the participation of students and their families (Freire, 1993; Olivos et al., 2010). For example, in a study focused on cultivating collaboration between school and culturally and linguistically families of children with moderate to severe disabilities, Olivos et al. (2010) stressed that regardless of state and

federal legislation, culturally and linguistically families of children with disabilities often faced barriers in collaboration. Moreover, the authors state that educators are often the ones that set the parameters of collaboration between the home-school dynamic, resulting in parent engagement practices that "often reflects only those values and priorities in the school" (Olivos et al., 2010, p. 31). Among the recommendations offered by the authors, are that schools reevaluate collaboration efforts and "ensure that all parties share power equally" (Olivos et al., 2010, p. 36).

Bordas (2001), a prominent academic in Latino parent leadership research, stated that "Latinos, because of their inherent diversity and humanistic values, are strategically poised to help create a culturally accessible and compassionate society (p. 114). Bordas (2014), delineated ten principles for becoming a leader in the Latino community (see Appendix A for a full description of each leadership principle). Three of the principles, which are culturally-based, highlight how a person fosters characteristic and the ability to be a leader. They are:

1. Personalismo: The Character of the Leader,
2. Consciencia: Knowing Oneself and Personal Awareness, and
3. Destino: Personal and Collective Personal.

Next, Bordas (2014) posited that the crux of Latino leadership is the culture, which include values that "unify Latinos and nurture the emerging collective identity" (p. 2). Moreover, these principles also highlight the diversity of the Latino population, with inclusiveness at the heart of one of the principles. These principles include:

4. La Cultura: Culturally-Based Leadership, and
5. De Colores: Inclusiveness and Diversity.

Finally, the last five principles discuss Latino leadership in action. A vital component of Latino leadership in action is centered on the collective nature of the culture. Bordas (2014) argued that Latino leaders understand that social change requires "a critical mass of organized people with a unified agenda" (p. 4) and takes multiple generations. Above all, the author stated that Latinos represent a global leadership due to the cultural and linguistic connections to various countries. Yet, citing the growing immigrant population in the United States, Bordas (2014) underscored that while the immigrants are hard-working and exude an entrepreneurial spirit, Latino leaders are challenged with educating this subpopulation and helping them access necessities. The final five principles are:

6. Juntos: Collective Community Stewardship,
7. Adelante! Global Vision an Immigrant Spirit,
8. Si Se Puede: Social Activist and Coalition Leadership,
9. Gozar la Vida: Leadership that Celebrates Life, and
10. Fe y Esperanza: Sustained by Faith and Hope.

In essence, the ten principles highlight leadership traits that celebrate a deep cultural understanding, dedication to social justice, an understanding of oneself, and traits that earn trust and respect within the leader's community. Each of the Latina parent leaders that participated in the study embody most, if not all, of these traits.

One glaring barrier for Latino parent leaders was the sociopolitical climate promoted during the era of Trumpism. For instance, in a community-engagement research involving Latino parents, most of whom were undocumented citizens, Paredes Scribner and Fernández (2017) found that Trump era nativist policies, along with intersecting reform policies acted as barriers

for parents. As well, parents' concerns regarding hostile anti-immigrant climate were ignored by school officials. The findings of this study are echoed in research by Gándara and Ee (2018), who examined the impact of the current U.S. immigration policy and its impact in schools. The study included a sample of 730 schools from 24 districts located throughout the United States. In short, the findings reflected that Trump-era immigration policies negatively affected Latino students and their families (Gándara & Ee, 2018). School staff reported higher instances of Latino students struggling emotionally and reported an increase in bullying on campus, leading to higher absentee rates and lower academic achievement (Gándara & Ee, 2018). At the same time, immigration policies resulted in a decrease in parental involvement at the school site, with Latino parents reporting an increase in angst and worry regarding immigration policies and the impact on their children (Gándara & Ee, 2018).

Many critical theorists have posited that racism and oppression are deeply ingrained in the American education system (Darder, 2015; hooks, 2003). Moreover, regardless of civil rights advances made for the protection of the rights of English Learners in the classroom, the insidious nature of the hegemony of English continued to perpetuate a de facto segregation of linguistically diverse children and their families in American society (Darder, 2015; Colón-Muñiz & Lavadenz, 2015; Macedo et al, 2015). In the process, cultural hegemony and systemic racism has relegated Latino parent leaders to the status of "other" or "subaltern" (Darder, 2015; Macedo et al., 2015; Spivak, 1988), with research finding that Latino parents must navigate a myriad of systems to have their voices heard in the school setting (Olivos, 2006, 2009).

LCFF and Latino Parent Engagement

As discussed in the previous chapter, the LCFF policy mandates that LEAs engage local stakeholders (e.g., families, students, and community members) in the development of the LCAP (*EC 52060g*). One of the requirements of the LCAP is that LEAs must address the eight state priorities, including Parent Involvement, which states that LCAPs must "present the local control and accountability plan or annual update to the . . . English Learner parent advisory committee . . . for review and comment" (*EC 52062*). As well, according to the LCFF, "districts with at least 50 English Learners and whose total enrollment includes at least 15% English Learners must establish a DELAC, and that DELAC must carry out specific responsibilities related to the LCAP" (CDE, 2020c).

Since 2014, the Local Control Funding Formula Research Collaborative (LCFFRC), which includes key policy experts, have documented LCFF implementation throughout the state. Of the seven reports that have been released by the LCFFRC, two reports focused on stakeholder engagement in the LCAP process, the required three-year plan that documents district's LCFF funding allocation. The first report on stakeholder engagement was released following the first year of LCFF implementation. In a case study of 10 districts, Marsh and Hall (2018) found that power imbalances and existing schemas at the district level prevented the meaningful participation of local stakeholders in the LCAP decision making process, even when district leaders were explicit about being inclusive.

At the time of this study, there were two ethnographic studies concerning Latina parent experience in the LCAP development process. In a study involving 10 Latina mothers at one California school district, Porras (2019) found that the mamás faced many barriers, including

lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and misinformation regarding the LCAP development process. Overall, each of the mamás were eager to participate and learn the process, however, barriers for meaningful engagement were due to the district's inability to institute change. Carruba-Rogel et al. (2019) conducted a case study on a Latino parent engagement program, Padres Lideres, and their involvement in the LCAP process within one school district. The study documented how Latina parents tapped into new funds of knowledge and forms of capital as mediation tools with school officials in the LCAP decision making process. In essence, the Latina parents realized their collective power in instituting change within their school community.

Chapter Summary

Historically, English Learners in California have faced barriers to obtaining an equitable, high-quality education (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Gándara et al., 2003; Perez Huber et al., 2015; Rumberger & Gándara, 2004). In California, 1.1 million public school students are English Learners, of which about 81.4% are Spanish speakers (CDE, 2021b). In 2013, to address inequitable educational opportunities faced by students, then-Governor Brown signed into passage the LCFF (CDE, 2020c), a funding policy that provides equitable funding to schools that serve targeted student groups, which include low-income students, foster youth, and English Learners. The crux of the LCFF policy is the requirement that schools engage parents and their local community when developing the LCAP, the three-year plan that documents funding allocation for education programs (CDE, 2021c).

In a 2019 study, researchers found that successfully implementing equity-based finance reform, such as the LCFF, was contingent on district leaders' perspective of equity (Allbright et

al., 2019). Therefore, in the era of LCFF, parents of English Learners are advocates for their children in the school setting more so now than before in the state's history. However, current research on LCFF policy implementation found that parents and community members that advocate for the educational opportunities of English Learners faced barriers in actively participating in the creation of LCAPs (Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Lavadenz et al., 2018; Lavadenz et al., 2019; Olsen et al., 2016; Porras, 2019; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017).

This chapter provided the research foundation for this critical qualitative study, that engaged the testimonios of Latina parents involved in the LCAP process, so to help the reader better understand their experiences and ways to better support their participation as advocates. As a research methodology, the testimonios seek to challenge the homogenous portrayals of the Latina parent leaders experience (Darder & Griffiths, 2018; Orelus, 2018).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The political climate regarding educational programs for English Learners through an equity-minded participatory policy holds promise (CDE, 2020c; EC 52060). In theory, the passage of *Proposition 58* (2016) signaled that most of the public has embraced bilingual education programs and multilingualism (Ballotpedia, 2016). Yet, some scholars have expressed concern with the neoliberal agenda behind the policy (Kelly, 2018). Kelly (2018), a Rhodes College professor of elementary literacy, stated that the legislation's primary focus served a neoliberal agenda in that it focused on the economic benefits for native-English speakers in becoming bi- or multilingual. Therefore, even though *Proposition 58* (2016) and the LCFF are primed to support bilingual education and equitable educational opportunities for English Learners, the neoliberal agenda undergirding its movement and the barriers Latino parents face in participating in LCAP development (Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Porras, 2019) are disconcerting. The prevalent nature of linguoracist ideologies has contributed to institutional racism that is deeply embedded in American society (Ochoa, 2016; Ovando, 2003; Pastor, 2018). These conditions supported the need for research that focuses on the experiences of Latino parents in the LCAP development process. The purpose of this critical qualitative study was to document the experiences of Latina parent leaders participating in the LCAP process. Previous research on LCAP stakeholder engagement focused on district strategies (Humphrey et al., 2018; Koppich et al., 2015; Sugarman, 2016), while others have conducted exploratory research of the LCAPs (Lavadenz et al., 2018; Lavadenz et al., 2019; Olsen et al., 2016; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017). Ethnographic research on Latino parent experiences was limited (Carruba-Rogel et al.,

2019; Porras, 2019). The study aimed to add to the ethnographic research in the field, with the hope of enhancing the participation and leadership of Latino parents in the decision-making process related to their children's education.

Research Questions

Two overarching research questions guided and fueled the development of this critical qualitative study with Latina parent leaders:

1. What are the experiences of Latina parent leaders in the process of participating, developing, and including identified priorities for English Learners in their district's Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP)?
2. In what ways do districts engage them meaningfully in identifying priorities for English Learners as required by the LCFF?

Study Design: A Critical Constructivist Phenomenological Research Design

According to Creswell (2009), planning a study involves three components: the philosophical underpinnings of the study, methods of inquiry, and the research methods. Crotty (1998), however, stated that the philosophical foundations of a study include the epistemological and theoretical perspectives guiding the research. Epistemology is the "theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology" of the study (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). This study was guided by a critical constructivist epistemological perspective. Constructivists believe that participants make meaning of the world around them through their own experiences (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009). On the other hand, critical constructivists create knowledge from their experiences while also considering the dominant power structures within their world. Kincheloe (2008) explained that critical constructivists

create meaning "from the existing cognitive infrastructures that shape and obviously restrict our consciousness" (p. 29). In other words, critical constructivists make meaning from their personal experience through critical reflection of said experience.

This study aligned with a critical constructivist epistemology in that it sought to understand the experiences of Latina parent leaders, a subgroup of parents that are often oppressed in the school system (Olivos, 2004, 2006, 2009). In addition, the study was informed by Olivos' (2004, 2006, 2009) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit theoretical perspective. In his research, Olivos (2004, 2006) documented how dominant structures, such as cultural hegemony, linguoracist policies, and restrictive immigrant policies, have forced bicultural parents to a subordinate or subaltern class within the school system.

Additionally, this critical qualitative study of Latina parent leader experience in the LCAP planning process used ethnographic methods to gather data. Specifically, this was a critical phenomenological study that sought to provide Latina parents the space to describe and critically reflect on their subaltern experiences in the policy-making process within the school community (Cohen et al., 2018; Vagle, 2018). Also, the critical methodology that was used to challenge the deficit narrative often prescribed of Latino parents (Auerbach, 2007; LeFevre & Shaw, 2012; Zarate, 2007) were testimonios (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). The method of testimonios exemplified a critical constructivist epistemological perspective since the method was used to document the Latina parent leaders' point of view in the LCAP process, while also detailing the dominant power structures or ideologies that shaped their experiences.

Testimonios are rooted in Latin American Studies and have been used to document the experiences of the oppressed to condemn inequities (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). There is no concrete definition of testimonios nor established forms to conduct this method (Huber, 2008, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012); however, a key characteristic is their politicized nature. Testimonios are similar to counternarratives (Delgado, 1989; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Stefancic, 1997) in that they are an "outlet for affirmative epistemological exploration" (Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012, p. 532) that challenge dominant Western epistemologies which promote white superiority. This is especially important in educational research since Western epistemologies are founded on beliefs linked to individualism, hierarchy, competition, and exclusion, which have been used to promote oppressive systems (Darder, 2015; Huber, 2008). For this study, my definition of testimonios followed that as described by Reyes and Curry Rodríguez (2012) in that testimonios are "intentional and political" (Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012, p. 525) with the goal of not only providing the subaltern's point of view but as "conscienticized reflection" (p. 525) often resulting in a call for action (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2008, 2009; Martinez et al., 2016; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012).

Since its first use in Latin American Studies, various fields, such as anthropology, women's studies, and psychology, have used testimonios as a methodological, pedagogical, and analytical tool (Huber, 2009). Delgado Bernal et al. (2012) discussed the use of testimonios in the field of education and underscored how it connects "the spoken word to social action and privileges the oral narrative of personal experience as a source of knowledge, empowerment, and political strategy for claiming rights and bringing about social change" (Benmayor et al. 1997 as

cited in Delgado Bernal et al., 2012, p. 364).

Study Procedures

This section provides the methodologies for this phenomenological study, including study setting, participants, the methods for data collection, and analysis of the data. First, the study setting, and participant selection are described. I anticipated that the population of Latino parents, many which are foreign-born and non-U.S. citizens (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017), would be difficult to reach due to the strong anti-immigrant overtones in the former Trump administration and political climate. Therefore, I reached out to school districts, reputable parent, and advocacy organizations, and attended community meetings. Next, data collection tools and strategies are explained, followed by data analysis. Finally, this section discusses the researcher positionality and how qualitative reliability, and validity were established for this study.

Participant Selection and Study Setting

Participants were identified by engaging with parent and advocacy organizations that are dedicated to working with parent leaders, reaching out to school districts, and attending community meetings focused on the LCAP process or school board elections. The outreach was strategic in that it focused on identifying Latino parent leaders that had meaningfully participated in the LCAP decision-making process, a highly political process that determines the funding allocation of district educational programs. Moreover, I collaborated with parent and advocacy organizations since they provide safe spaces for Latino parents to engage in this work.

I attended a parent and community meeting hosted by the Parent Organization Network (PON) and Justicia Para Todos (pseudonym) that focused on how stakeholder engagement in the LCAP process can drive improvement efforts in districts. The meeting was attended by parents

from various districts throughout Los Angeles County and was held predominately in Spanish. Established in 2005, the mission of the PON is "to connect, empower, and mobilize parents and parent organizations . . . to improve academic outcomes and the quality of education" (Parent Organization Network [PON], 2019). PON works with a cross-section of diverse parent and advocacy groups throughout the greater Los Angeles area. There are four committees that PON members are asked to join. The Capacity Building committee features leadership and personal development training, which involves conflict resolution and communication skills. As well, this committee provides training on education policy implementation, such as the LCFF, community engagement in the LCAP development process, and the state accountability system (PON, 2019).

Sampling. A sample of eight parents from four districts were recruited to participate in the study. To recruit Latino parent leaders that fit the study criterion, a network or snowball sampling method was used (Gay et al., 2014; Merriam, 2009), which is a type of purposive sampling (Merriam, 2009). Network sampling refers to the researcher selecting a few participants, according to a predetermined selection criterion, then asking those participants to identify other potential participants. (Gay et al., 2014; Merriam, 2009). It is important to note that Gay et al. (2014) stated that while purposive sampling may help to identify participants, a disadvantage of utilizing this sampling method is the "potential of inaccuracy in the researcher's criteria" and how the generalizability of the study results will be limited due to the specific sample criteria. However, to identify Latino parents of English Learners, a population that has historically been silenced in the school political process (Ovando, 2003; Pastor, 2018), selection criteria were chosen to best identify this population. For instance, it was anticipated that outreach to Latino parent leaders would be difficult due to the anti-immigrant political climate. Therefore,

to provide a safe space for parents to engage, I reached out to advocacy groups that work with Latino parent leaders. Furthermore, network sampling best suited this study since it would help to identify parent leaders that met the criteria and were willing to participate in the study (Gay et al., 2014; Merriam, 2009). To identify Latino parent leaders that have taken part in the process of participating, developing, and including identified priorities for English Learners in their district's LCAP process, the sample (participant selection and representativeness) selection criteria for the study was:

1. The parent or guardian has participated in at least one cycle of the LCAP development process.
2. The parent or guardian has a child that was classified as an English Learner during the same year of LCAP development participation.
3. The parent's child attends a district that serves 1) an English Learner student population percentage higher than 49%, and/or 2) an English Learner student population higher than 999.

All potential participants were given the research abstract, provided a timeline of the study, and informed of their rights as participants using the "Informed Consent" forms. Based on district demographics, it was anticipated that most of the parents would request Spanish as their preferred language for written and oral communication. Therefore, parent consent forms and interview protocols were made available in Spanish and English (see Appendix C).

Participant selection. To identify Latina parent leaders, I used Bordas' (2014) definition of Latino parent leaders, outlined in the ten principles of Latino leadership (see Appendix A). Bordas (2014) stated that Latino leaders are deeply involved in their community in various

capacities. For example, the Latino leadership principles of "Consciencia: Knowing Oneself and Personal Awareness" and "Si Se Puede: Social Activist and Coalition Leadership" underscore the idea that leaders are committed to resolving issues involving discrimination and oppression, build inclusive networks, and forge alliances (Bordas, 2014). This definition was used to recruit participants by reaching out to school districts, attending community meetings with some focused on the LCAP or school board elections, and contacting parent and advocacy organizations that are dedicated to working with parent leaders. By attending various community meetings and collaborating with districts and parent advocacy groups, I sought to connect with a cross-section of parent leaders from different districts throughout the Los Angeles County area that had experience participating in the LCAP development process.

At one community meeting, I conversed with a small group of parents, and they expressed how passionate they were in improving the educational opportunities afforded to students in their districts through the LCAP process and how they wanted to learn more about the process. Therefore, when it was time for participant recruitment of the study, I immediately thought about the parents that had attended this meeting. Two of the parent leader participants for this study were present the day of the LCFF/LCAP parent and community meeting. As well, five of the eight participants of the study are from Citrus USD and Pueblo USD, districts that were represented by parent leaders at the meeting.

To recruit parents from Nieto USD, I employed the strategy of attending community meetings that focused on the LCAP or other school-related issues, and a parent leader meeting at a non-profit organization dedicated to social justice issues. For example, I attended Nieto USD's LCAP Community Forum, where district staff presented data, covered the priorities of the

district's current LCAP, and fielded questions from parents and community members. The district LCAP meeting included material in Spanish and translators. A parent panel spoke about the barriers that they and their children faced within the district, such as discrimination. One of the panelists was a Latina mother that spoke about the bullying that her child endured at the school. She and I would later meet at another community meeting that featured candidates for the upcoming school board district elections. It was at this meeting that we had a chance to connect and, knowing that she was involved in the LCAP process within the district, I invited her to participate in the study. Fernanda agreed and is one of the participants from her district, who in turn introduced me to another parent participant.

Furthermore, to expand the recruitment of participants, I reached out to Dalton USD, which serves a high number of English Learners. I had the opportunity to meet the then-Superintendent of Dalton USD and they were excited to hear about the study and offered to connect me to the District LCAP Director to see if parents from the district would be interested in participating. As stated before, Dalton USD participates in the CEI's PLLN, a professional learning network of six school districts that focuses on sharing promising practices in engaging students and families in the LCAP decision-making process (California Collaborative for Educational Excellence [CCEE], 2020). One parent leader from Dalton USD participated in the study.

Finally, it is important to note that one statewide bilingual advocacy group reached out to four districts, all of which serve high numbers of English Learners, ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 students (Education Data Partnership [Ed-Data], 2020) and have an active Latino parent group. Two districts did not respond to the request. One district responded, stating that the Assistant

Superintendent wanted additional information regarding the study, even though extensive information had been provided, including the approval email from the university Institutional Review Board (IRB), IRB-approved flyers, and a detailed description of the study. As a researcher, I interpreted this request as the districts' attempt to silence the voices of their parent leaders since they acted as gatekeepers in introducing parents to the study.

Parent leaders. In addition to the strategies mentioned above, I collaborated with parent and advocacy organizations that are dedicated to working with parent leaders. Given the selection criteria, each of the parent leaders participated in between one to five cycles of the LCAP decision-making process, and all but one had a child that was classified as an English Learner in at least one year of their LCAP participation. Of the eight parent leaders, two had a child that had reclassified since the parents' inaugural participation year in the LCAP process. One parent leader, Felicitas, did not have a child that was classified as an English Learner during their years participating in the LCAP process, however, through our connection, she introduced me to Alejandra, who met the participant criteria. See Appendix B for a complete list of the parent leaders.

Settings. The study participants were served by four distinct districts located within Los Angeles County, each of which serves a high number (greater than 999) of English Learners. Provided in this section is a brief description of the student demographics and the percentage of the student population that qualifies for Free/Reduced Price Meals (FRPM) served at each district. FRPM refers to federally funded school nutrition programs that provide free or low-cost meals to students. As well, the FRPM rate is often used as a proxy for poverty rates at the school level (Domina et al., 2018). Due to anti-immigrant sentiments, district names were changed, and

the number of student subgroup populations was withheld to protect the identity of the Latina parent leaders; however, all districts served an English Learner population higher than 999, a criterion for participation in the study.

Pueblo Unified School District. Pueblo Unified School District (Pueblo USD) was a large city district that serves a highly diverse student population, of which 74.1% are Latino, 10.7% are White, 8.4% are Black or African American, 4% are Asian, 2% are Filipino, and 1% other (Ed-Data, 2020). One in five, or 20.6%, of the Pueblo Unified student population, were classified as English Learners and 79.3% are eligible for FRPM. The district served a linguistically diverse student population, a majority of which are Spanish speakers, about 21% (Ed-Data, 2020). Three of the parent leaders were served by the district.

Nieto Unified School District. Nieto Unified School District (Nieto USD) was a large city district that serves a highly diverse student population, of which 68.4% are eligible for FRPM. The demographic breakdown of the student population was as follows 57.3% Latino, 12.5% White, 12.4% Black or African American, 7.4% Asian, 3.4% Two or more races, 3.1% Filipino, and 1.3% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. About 17% of the total student population were classified as English Learners, with the top three languages spoken as Spanish (17.7%), Khmer (0.8%), and Pilipino or Tagalog (0.3%). Nieto USD served two of the parent leaders.

Citrus Unified School District. Citrus Unified School District (Citrus USD) was a large suburban district that resided in a working-class community. Much of the student population qualified for FRPM (89.33%) and identified as Latino, about 92.3% (Ed-Data, 2020). As well, almost one in three, or 27%, of students were classified as English Learners, with most

identifying as Spanish speakers (Ed-Data, 2020). Two of the parent leaders were served by this district.

Dalton Unified School District. Dalton Unified School District (Dalton USD) shared similar demographics as CUSD. The district served a working-class community, with 82.1% of the student population eligible for FRPM. In addition, 86.5% identified as Latino and 23.3% were classified as English Learners, with most identified as Spanish speakers (Ed-Data, 2020). It is important to note that Dalton USD was participating in the inaugural cohort of the Community Engagement Initiative's (CEI) Peer Leading and Learning Network (PLLN). Participating districts of the PLLN-Cohort I work collaboratively across with other districts to identify commonalities among effective models of community engagement in the LCAP process (CCEE, 2020). Dalton USD served one participating parent leader.

Table 2

Parent Leader LCAP Cycles Attended, Children Served by District, Language, and District Groups

Participant	District	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended	Grade Level(s) of Children During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years in District Groups	District Groups
Dolores	Pueblo	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020)	1 Child 8th Grade, Reclassified 1 year ago (EL in 2019)	Spanish	Over 20 years	DELAC, ELAC, SSC, School Parent Group, School Board District Elections
Paola	Pueblo	2 cycles (2019, 2020)	1 Child 4th grade, current EL	Spanish	8 years	DELAC, ELAC, Middle School Parent Group
Gloria	Pueblo	1 cycle (2020)	3 Children 12th Grade, EL 7th grader, Reclassified 1 year ago, 1st grade, current EL	Spanish	2 years	DELAC, ELAC, Middle School Parent Group
Fernanda	Nieto	5 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 4th Grade, Both current ELs	Spanish	5 years	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC, Parent University Workshops
Elizabeth	Nieto	2 cycles (2018, 2019)	3 Children 12th Grade, Reclassified 7 yrs. ago, 9th Grade, Reclassified 5 yrs. ago, 5th Grader, current EL	Spanish	Over 10 years	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC (Special Education Advisory Council), Head Start Parent University Workshops, School Council
Maria	Dalton	4 cycles (2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 8th Grade, Reclassified 5 years ago, 7th grader, current EL	Spanish	4 years	DELAC, ELAC, Families in Schools Parent Workshops

Table 2 continued

Parent Leader LCAP Cycles Attended, Children Served by District, Language, and District Groups

Participant	District	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended	Grade Level(s) of Children During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years in District Groups	District Groups
Felicitas	Citrus	4 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)	1 Child 12th Grader, IFEP (Does not meet criteria)	English	Over 8 years	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops
Alejandra	Citrus	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)	2 Children 7th Grade 4th Grade Both Reclassified 6 years ago (EL in 2015)	Spanish	Over 10 years	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops

Note: Participant self-reported information.

Data Collection Strategies

This section describes the data collection strategies for the study. First, the interview collection procedures are outlined. Then, the process for analyzing and interpreting the data are delineated. A description of the critical methodology used in the study highlights how it connects to the epistemological perspective and theoretical framework that guided the study. Finally, how data were analyzed and interpreted to develop the testimonios are explained.

Testimonios. Huber (2009) articulated how the use of testimonios, as a methodology, aligns to the central tenets of LatCrit Theory in education (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001), in that they:

1. highlight oppressive systems experienced by subaltern people,
2. they challenge dominant Western epistemologies,
3. ae committed to social justice, and
4. they value the experiential knowledge of the oppressed.

As a methodology, the use of testimonios in this study followed the method described by Delgado Bernal et al. (2012), in that, I was the outside ally, or interlocutor, that "records, transcribes, edits, and prepares a manuscript for publication" (p. 365).

Interview Procedures: Collecting Testimonios

I used an adapted version of Seidman's (2006) three-part interview series method, which included open-ended questions so that "participants can share their views" (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Data collection included demographic information and a minimum of three interviews with each participant to create testimonios. Overall, the first interview with the parent leaders lasted between 60 to 90 minutes and featured two sections of interview questions, the second interview lasted between 30 to 60 minutes, and due to the Novel Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) social distancing guidelines, the third interview was conducted via electronic mail and telephone and served as a means for member checking.

The interviews were audio-recorded and conducted with a selected sample of parent leaders who met the predetermined selection criteria for participant selection. Names were de-identified and coded by the researcher. An interview protocol available in Spanish and English guided the semi-structured interviews that were conducted with each participant. Seven of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, one was conducted in English and Spanish, and another was conducted in English. All participants gave their consent for the interviews to be audio recorded. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by a transcription service company and the researcher with the participants receiving a copy of the interview transcriptions and member checks conducted after each transcription to determine accuracy (Creswell, 2009; Lodico et al., 2010).

The first set of interview questions focused on the Latina parents' lived histories on how they came to be involved in the political process (e.g., LCAP development process, parent organization networks) within their school community and the societal tensions experienced during this process (Olivos, 2004, 2006). The second set of questions focused on the subject's experience of participating in the LCAP process. Overall, the first and second sets of interview questions were completed in the first interview session with the parent leaders.

After the initial interviews, individual transcripts were reviewed to determine additional clarifying questions to pose to the Latina leaders. The parent leaders were also provided a copy of the interview transcripts as a means of member checking. Overall, the second interview session primarily focused on understanding the distinct LCAP process that the parent leaders experienced in their respective districts, including, but not limited to communication between the district and parents, how the district handled Latina parent leader questions regarding the LCAP, and if the implementation of proposed actions for English Learner programs discussed in LCAP committee meetings by the parent leaders were implemented. To triangulate the data, the Latina leaders were each provided a copy of their testimonio and the analysis of the demographic data so that they could review and provide feedback. Finally, the third interview provided the parent leaders the space to provide additional reflections on their LCAP experience.

Interview data were collected, analyzed, and reported in such a way that individual names and school sites could not be identified. Participants were allowed to select a pseudonym, with all asking the researcher to choose a name for them. Data were electronically stored in a password-protected cloud storage account and will be destroyed promptly after the publication of the study.

Member checks. To triangulate data, member checks were conducted with the participants throughout the interview process. After the interviews, the parent leaders were provided with a copy of the interview transcriptions so that they could review and confirm the information. As well, the analyses of the testimonios were presented to each participating parent leader as a means for member checking and honing of data analysis. Parent leaders reviewed the results, asked clarifying questions, and provided feedback on the analyses.

Analyzing and Interpreting the Data to Develop Testimonios

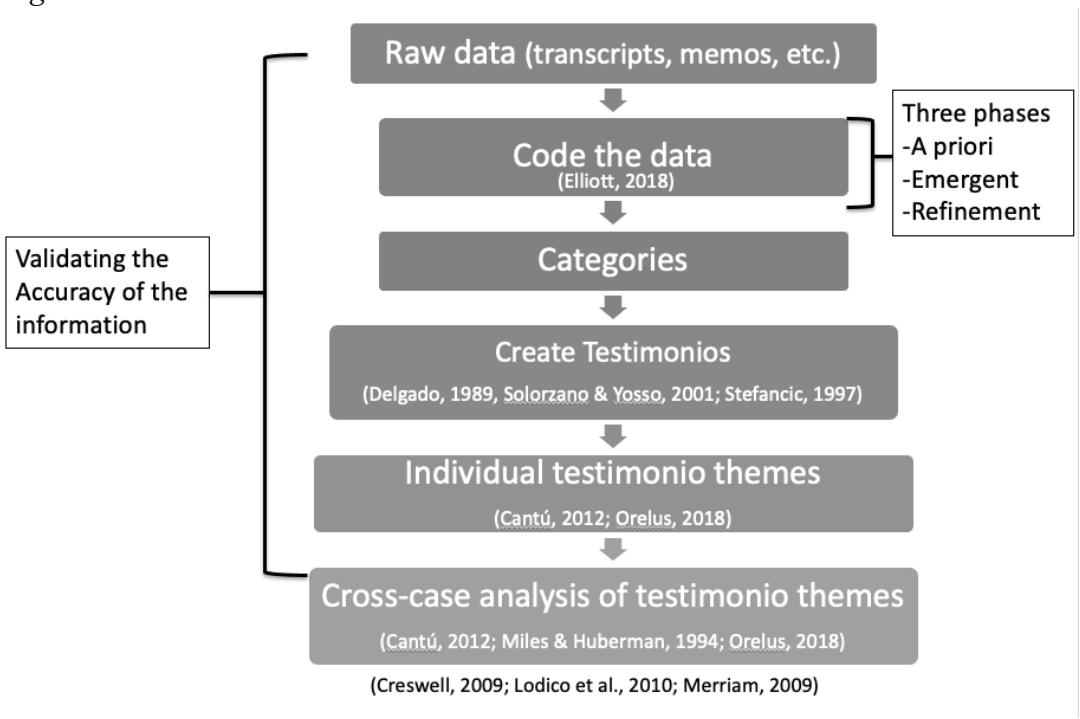
The study's goal was to document the experiences of Latina parent leaders in the LCAP development process as they navigated the systems of hegemony and structural racism and to determine strategies or circumstances needed for the successful participation of bicultural parent leaders in California's equity-minded participatory policy. Therefore, the analysis of the data focused on describing the parent leaders' experience in participating in the LCAP process and how they navigated the dominant structures that influenced the school community.

The analysis of testimonios followed similar steps used by Cantú (2012) and Orelus (2018), which involved analyzing themes for individual testimonios and across all testimonios. Cantú's (2012) study "demonstrates the pedagogical potential of testimonios at both an individual and systemic level" (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012, p. 369). Darder and Griffiths (2018) stated that Orelus' (2018) use of testimonios as a research methodology, exemplified the methodology's ability to "challenge homogenous portrayals of subaltern experience" (p. 86) by practicing authentic listening (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012). Cantú (2012) and Orelus' (2018) use of testimonios aligned with the goals of this study, which were to document the experiences of Latina parent leaders in the LCAP development process and to highlight strategies or

circumstances needed to support their success. Data analysis of testimonios (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012) sought to tell the stories of the participants, while also underscoring the need for action. The testimonio analysis was presented to the participating Latina parent leaders individually as a means for triangulation of the data and a process of member-checking for the accuracy of information. Also, thematic connections across testimonios were made by using cross-case analyses (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Finally, cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998) helped guide the theme analysis of the testimonios.

Figure 2

Interpreting the Data



Note. The framework for interpreting the data was adapted from *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* by J.W. Creswell, 2009, Sage Publications, copyright 2009 Sage Publications; and *Methods in Educational Research: From Theory to Practice* (2nd ed.) by M. G. Lodico, D. T. Spaulding, and K. H. Voegtle, 2010, Jossey-Bass Publications, copyright 2010 by Jossey-Bass Publications and *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* by S. B. Merriam, 2009, Jossey-Bass Publications, copyright 2009 by Jossey-Bass Publications. The section of coding the data was adapted from "Thinking about the Coding Process in Qualitative Data Analysis," by V. Elliott, 2018, *The Qualitative Report, 23*(11), p. 2850-2861, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2155621346/fulltextPDF/B1EEF1CBCFAA48DAPQ/1?accountid=7418, copyright 2018 by the The Qualitative Report. The section on creating testimonios was adapted from "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for a Narrative," by R. Delgado, 1989, *Michigan Law Review, 87*(8), p. 2411-2441, https://doi.org/10.2307/1289308, copyright 1989 by Michigan Law Review; "Critical Race and LatCrit Theory and Method: Counter-storytelling," by D. G. Solorzano and T. J. Yosso, 2001, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *14*(4), p. 471-495, https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390110063365, copyright 2001 by International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education; and "Latino and Latina Critical Theory: An Annotated Bibliography," by J. Stefancic, 1997, *La RazaLJ, 10*, 423, https://doi.org/10.2307/3481065, copyright 1997 by La Raza Law Journal. The section on individual testimonio themes was adapted from "Getting There Cuando No Hay Camino (When There Is No Path): Paths to Discovery Testimonios by Chicanas in STEM," by N. Cantú, 2012, *Equity & Excellence in Education, 45*(3), p. 472-487, https://doi:10.1080/10665684.2012.698936, copyright 2021 by Equity & Excellence in Education; and "Can Subaltern Professors Speak?: Examining Micro-aggressions and Lack of Inclusion in the Academy," by P. W. Orelus, 2018, *Qualitative Research Journal, 18*(2), p. 169-179, https://doi:10.1108/QRJ-D-17-00057, copyright 2018 by Qualitative Research Journal. The section of cross-case analysis of testimonios themes was adapted from "Getting There Cuando No Hay Camino (When There Is No Path): Paths to Discovery Testimonios by Chicanas in STEM," by N. Cantú, 2012, *Equity & Excellence in Education, 45*(3), p. 472-487, https://doi:10.1080/10665684.2012.698936, copyright 2021 by Equity & Excellence in Education; *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* by M. B. Miles and A. M. Huberman, 1994, Sage Publications, copyright 1994 by Sage Publications; and "Can Subaltern Professors Speak?: Examining Micro-aggressions and Lack of Inclusion in the Academy," by P. W. Orelus, 2018, *Qualitative Research Journal, 18*(2), p. 169-179, https://doi:10.1108/QRJ-D-17-00057, copyright 2018 by Qualitative Research Journal.

Developing Codes. An initial examination of the interview transcripts was conducted to validate the accuracy, and two sets were created. As noted by Seidman (2006), it was essential to keep one set of transcripts intact as a reference "for placing in context passages that have been excerpted" (p. 121). Using the qualitative data analysis software (Dedoose software tool version 8.3.17), transcripts were reexamined and marked as "passages of interest" (Seidman, 2006), which were coded. Developing the codes was an iterative process that included three phases and was then used for the thematic analyses (see Figure 2). During each stage, transcripts were reviewed and recoded to establish reliability. Elliott (2018) stated that reliability in developing codes involves "consistency over time with the same researcher" (p. 2858) which can be accomplished by reviewing a clean version of the transcripts.

The first phase involved developing a priori codes derived from the theoretical framework of Tensions, Contradictions, and Resistance in Latino Parent Involvement through a LatCrit lens that guided this study. The second and third phases in the coding process involved emergent coding and refinement. According to Elliott (2018), emergent coding is an iterative process that involves "going back over portions which were coded early on, and refining [the] analysis in the light of later code creation" (p. 2855). Moreover, the use of emergent codes allowed coding to include "specific words from participants' own voices" (Elliott, 2018, p. 2855), which aligns with the critical methodology of testimonios. The codes exposed hegemonic ideals that Latina parent leaders experience and struggle within society and the school (Darder, 2015; Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Olivos, 2004, 2006, 2009; Porras, 2019). The codes included but were not limited to Linguoracism (Linguoracism), Represalias o intimidaciones (Retaliation or intimidation), Falta de transparencia financiera (Lack of financial transparency), and

Transparencia en el proceso LCAP (Transparency in the LCAP process). For a complete list of the codes during the three phases, please see Appendix D.

Data analyses. Inductive and deductive analyses were conducted on the data. The inductive analysis was performed with Dedoose (8.3.17) to determine emergent themes that arose from the data individually. The emergent themes related to how the Latina parent leaders navigated the school system, used social networks to cope with the tensions, and how they leveraged these networks as a call to action. Member checks were conducted with each participant to determine the accuracy of the individual thematic findings. The preliminary thematic results of my interpretation of the Latina leaders' testimonios were presented to the parent leaders. The Latina's responses assisted me in depicting their testimonios and honing my analysis accurately. The approach connected to a critical constructivist epistemological perspective. It documented how the Latina parent leaders viewed their experience in participating in the LCAP process while also considering the dominant power structures they faced.

The thematic analysis across all the testimonios included analyzing the coded data generated during the earlier phases using a cross-case analysis method (Miles & Huberman, 1994). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), using cross-case analysis can "enhance generalizability" and "deepen understanding and explanation" (p. 173) of the data. The cross-case analysis was conducted using a qualitative analysis software program (Dedoose 8.3.17). The program compared the prevalent themes of all the participants' testimonios to analyze themes that emerged across the Latina parent leaders' experiences (Creswell, 2009; Lodico et al., 2010; Merriam, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Cultural Intuition and Researcher Positionality

My approach to reporting the testimonios followed a similar process outlined by Cantú and Orelus (2018), in addition to the use of cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998). Cultural intuition was "first introduced to the field of education in 1998 to reimagine the notion of theoretical sensitivity" (Delgado Bernal, 2016, p. 1). According to Strauss and Corbin (as cited in Solorzano & Yosso, 2001) "Theoretical sensitivity refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which is not" (p. 476). On the other hand, cultural intuition "extends one's personal experience to include collective experience and community memory, and points to the importance of participants' engaging in the analysis of data" (Delgado Bernal, 1998), as cited by Solorzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 476). The issue of researcher positionality, in this instance, can best be linked to cultural intuition. Indeed, cultural intuition requires that Latina researchers practice reflexivity, in that they understand themselves within their communities, the sociopolitical climate, and their commitment to social change (Delgado Bernal, 2016). As a subaltern Latina scholar, cultural intuition required that I question my way of thinking and knowing as well as my internalized oppression and privilege. Such that, even though I shared similar characteristics with some of the Latina parent leaders (e.g., language and culture), my formal education afforded me access to privilege. Orelus (2018) poignantly highlighted how the intersectionality of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression creates a "subaltern within subalterns" (p. 170) due to the various forms of oppressive systems that impact an individual.

Reliability and Validity

Qualitative reliability was established by using methods that are "consistent across different researchers and different projects" (Creswell, 2009, p. 190). The following reliability procedures for this study were used: checking transcripts for erroneous information, using a codebook to ensure that there is not a shift in the definition of codes, and conducting individual meetings with participants to verify the accuracy of thematic findings. Validating the accuracy of the information occurred at each step of the data gathering and analysis process, including individual meetings to determine the accuracy of thematic findings across participants (see Figure 2). Furthermore, the third interview with the parent leaders served as a member check (Creswell, 2009; Lodico et al., 2010) to allow participants to determine the accuracy of the findings. As well, I provided thick descriptions, which Lodico et al. (2010) described as involving "a comprehensive description of the individual, the social context, the characteristics of the community, morals, values, and the like" (p. 35). According to Creswell (2009), providing a thick description can add to the validity of the study. Another approach to incorporate validity to the study was clarifying my bias on the research topic, which is documented and considered how it might influence data gathering and analyses (Creswell, 2009; Lodico et al., 2010). Finally, discrepant information that did not align with the themes or findings from the cross-case analyses was divulged. "By presenting this contradictory evidence, the account becomes more realistic and more valid" (Creswell, 2009, p. 252). The following chapter discusses the findings.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This phenomenological study of Latina parent leaders' experience in the LCAP planning process used the critical methodology of testimonios (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012) to challenge deficit narratives traditionally held of Latino parents (Auerbach, 2007; LeFevre & Shaw, 2012; Zarate, 2007). A total of eight participants were interviewed, and demographic data were collected. This chapter first provides the demographic information about the Latina leaders, including overall characteristics about the nativity, educational attainment, and their involvement in school politics and community organizations. Next, the chapter provides the individual testimonios of the Latina leaders, including their personal background information, how they came to be involved in the political process, and their experiences in the LCAP process. The testimonios are organized by the school district, which also includes the societal context of the district.

Participants

There was at least one Latina leader from each of the four districts. However, it is essential to note that for Citrus USD, one of the parent leaders, Felicitas, did not fit the study criteria. Yet her testimonio of the social injustices experienced in her community and district were echoed by the second participant served by the same district. As well, Felicitas was a sentinel for many other parent leaders in her school community, including the additional participant of the study, due to their immigration status. Therefore, accounts from Felicitas' testimonio were included to provide meaningful critical qualitative evidence concerning the societal context of the district and community.

District Size, LCAP Cycles, and Children in the School System

Provided in Table 3 is relevant information about each of the Latina leaders regarding the school district that serves them, the number of LCAP cycles and years attended, and the number of children in the school system during their most recent year of LCAP participation. The four Los Angeles County districts that served the Latina leaders were Pueblo USD, Dalton USD, Nieto USD, and Citrus USD (pseudonyms). Two of the districts classified as large city districts and the other two as large suburban districts according to the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) Locale Classification. The NCES Locale Classification codes are "urban-centric locale codes" since they are based on the districts' "proximity to an urbanized area (a densely settled core with densely settled surrounding areas)" (NCES, 2020, p. D-2). Large city districts are defined as districts "inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city with a population of 250,000 or more," whereas large suburban districts are "outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area with population of 250,000 or more" (NCES, 2020, p. D-2). As well, there were more than 80 schools within each of the two large city districts. In comparison, one of the large suburban school districts had more than 20 schools but less than 40 schools while the other district had less than 20 schools. The information regarding the districts' NCES Locale Classification and how many schools are served by the district was important to this study since it spoke to the complexity of the central district office, which could include bureaucratic and political complexity due to their sheer size (Ornstein, 1990).

At the time of the study, there had been seven cycles of the LCAP development process. The number of LCAP cycles the Latina leaders participated in ranged from one cycle to five cycles, with a majority participating in over four cycles. One Latina leader, Felicitas, stated that

Table 3

Parent Leader District, NCES Local Classification, LCAP Cycles, and Children Enrolled During LCAP Participation

Participant	District	NCES Locale Classification	Number of Schools in District	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended	Grade Level(s) of Children During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year
Dolores	Pueblo	City: Large	> 80 Schools	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020)	1 Child 8th Grade, Reclassified 1 year ago (EL in 2019)
Paola	Pueblo	City: Large	> 80 Schools	2 cycles (2019, 2020)	1 Child 4th grade, current EL
Gloria	Pueblo	City: Large	> 80 Schools	1 cycle (2020)	3 Children 12th Grade, EL 7th Grade, Reclassified 1 year ago, 1st Grade, current EL
Fernanda	Nieto	City: Large	> 80 Schools	5 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 4th Grade, Both current ELs
Elizabeth	Nieto	City: Large	> 80 Schools	2 cycles (2019, 2020)	3 Children 12th Grade, Reclassified 7 yrs. ago, 9th Grade, Reclassified 5 yrs. ago, 5th Grade, current EL
Maria	Dalton	Suburb: Large	< 20 Schools	4 cycles (2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 8th Grade, Reclassified 5 years ago, 7th Grade, current EL
Felicitas	Citrus	Suburb: Large	Between 20-40 Schools	4 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)	12th Grade, IFEP
Alejandra	Citrus	Suburb: Large	Between 20-40 Schools	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)	2 Children 7th Grade, 4th Grade, Both Reclassified 6 years ago (EL in 2015)

Note: Participant self-reported information. School information from Education Data Partnership, 2020, https://www.ed-data.org/. Copyright 2020 by Education Data Partnership.

due to the stress of participating in school politics, she had to step away from the LCAP process for at least a year. Furthermore, another leader, Alejandra, said that financial constraints led to her entering the workforce, which kept her from participating in the LCAP process even though she still wanted to be highly involved. It is important to note that two of the parent leaders, Alejandra and Dolores, participated in the inaugural year of the LCAP, both of which have participated in five cycles. The number of years that the Latina leaders participated in the LCAP process was critical information since their testimonios provided an understanding of their years of participation, and how or if the process had changed. As well, for parent leaders with fewer than three years participating in the LCAP process, their testimonio provided insight of a parent new to the LCAP development process, and how well they were supported by the district in understanding the policy's complexity.

Finally, at the time of the study, five of the Latina leaders had a child that classified as an English Learner in the school district, three had a child that had reclassified during their participation in the LCAP process, and one had a child that classified as an Initial Fluent English Proficient (IFEP) student. Per the CDE, IFEP students are not classified as English Learners (CDE, 2021b). One of the criteria for participating in the study was that the parent leader had a child that identified as an English Learner during the parent's participation of the LCAP process. Since Felicitas' child identified as an IFEP student, her testimonio was not included in the theme analyses; however, as mentioned before, her testimonio was included to provide the societal context of the social injustices experienced in her community. The criteria of the language status of the children served to identify parent leaders that had a high-stakes interest in participating in

the LCAP process since the LCFF allocates additional funding for the support of English Learners to achieve educational equity for this subgroup of students.

Nativity, Immigration Status, Gender, and Educational Attainment

All eight of the parent leaders were women and identified as immigrants, with one immigrating from Honduras and the rest from Mexico. The number of years since they immigrated to the United States varied considerably, between 15 to 44 years. Due to the strong anti-immigrant political climate, immigration status was not a question that was posed during the interviews; however, half of the Latina leaders self-identified as undocumented citizens. During the interviews, the Latina leaders spoke about their immigration status when they shared the fear felt during uncertain times of strict immigration policies. As a subaltern group, immigrant parents face more barriers in parental involvement (Turney & Kao, 2009). With that said, the nativity of each participant was critical information for this study, since they were engaging in a highly political process. One parent stated how participating in a politicized process scared her since she was an undocumented immigrant, and she was afraid of retaliation from the district.

Likewise, it is important to highlight the gender of the participating parent leaders, specifically since scholars have documented the intersectionality of gender and other forms of oppression within la cultura Latina (the Latino culture) (Hernández-Truyol, 1998; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005). Indeed, Hernández-Truyol (1998) stated that "the complicated amalgam of pressures that emanates from both outside and inside - the majority culture and la cultura Latina – results in Latina invisibility, marginalization, and subordination in all of their communities" (p. 814). For example, many of the Latina leaders stated that participating in the school political process could be difficult since they also had to tend to their

families and responsibilities attributed to traditional gender roles, which Hernández-Truyol (1998) stated are "two interconnected foundations of cultural oppression for Latinas" (p. 815). The primary care of the children and responsibilities associated with traditional gender roles, such as housework, cooking, and childcare inside and outside of the home, were prevalent even though all the participating Latina parent leaders had a partner or spouse.

The educational attainment of each of the Latina leaders varied, with most receiving their formal education in their home country and ranging from middle school to a college degree (see Table 4). Of the eight Latina leaders, three held a baccalaureate degree from their home country. Also, five of the Latina leaders completed some U.S. public education. One of the Latina leaders received their General Education Development (GED) or High School Equivalency Certificate. Three of the participants obtained their High School diploma, with two attending a traditional high school and another attending an alternative charter school. Finally, one parent completed la secundaria, the equivalency of middle school in her home country, and upon immigrating to the United States attended high school up to the 11th grade.

For the study, it is important to underscore the language status of the parent leaders, since research on Latino parent engagement has shown that those that are non-English speakers face barriers in parent engagement (Olivos, 2004, 2006; Turney & Kao, 2009). All but one of the Latina parent leaders preferred the interview in Spanish. Of this group, five understood some English but stated that they preferred a translator during school committee meetings. As well, two Latina leaders, Fernanda and Elizabeth, had taken English courses at the local community college. Moreover, since districts received additional funding for English Learner students,

parents of English Learners must participate. At the same time, many English Learner parents were non-English speakers.

Table 4

Years in the United States, Home Country, Language, and Educational Attainment

Participant	Years in the U.S.	Home Country	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Home Country Educational Attainment	U.S. Educational Attainment
Dolores	33	Honduras	Spanish	Honduras, Baccalaureate, Accounting	n/a
Paola	25	Mexico	Spanish	Mexico, Preparatoria (High School)	n/a
Gloria	15	Mexico	Spanish	Mexico, Secundaria (Middle School)	n/a
Fernanda	30	Mexico	Spanish	Mexico, Baccalaureate, Social Work	U.S. High School graduate
Elizabeth	18	Mexico	Spanish	Mexico, Baccalaureate, Programmer Analyst	U.S. GED
Maria	24	Mexico	Spanish	n/a	U.S. High School graduate
Felicitas	44	Mexico	English	n/a	U.S. High School graduate
Alejandra	20	Mexico	Spanish	Mexico, Secundaria (Middle School)	U.S. High School, Grade 11

Note: Participant self-reported information.

According to the CDE, about 41.5% or over 2.5 million of the state's total public school student population speaks a language other than English at home (CDE, 2021b). Hence, documenting if districts engaged in linguoracist practices during the LCAP process is key since these policies would hinder meaningful English Learner parent engagement since a majority spoke a language other than English. Macedo et al. (2015) (as cited in Orelus, 2013) created the term linguoracism

as a reference to the connection between language and racism, which he and other scholars argued are intrinsically tied together (Colón-Muñiz & Lavadenz, 2015; Darder, 2015; Orelus, 2013).

Involvement in School Politics and Community Organizations

The testimonios of the Latina leaders also included experiences in the school political process before their involvement in the LCAP development process. Testimonios exemplify a critical constructivist epistemological perspective since the method is used to document the Latina parent leaders' point of view in the LCAP process, while also detailing the dominant power structures or ideologies that shaped their experiences. Through a critical constructivist lens, it can be argued that these occurrences helped prepare the Latina leaders in learning the skills needed to engage in the political process of the LCAP. All but one of the Latina leaders had extensive experience participating in various district committees related to the LCAP, including, but not limited to, DELAC, English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC), School Site Council (SSC), District Community Advisory Committee (DCAC), and the Community Advisory Committee (CAC). Also, they had broad involvement in participating in district parent workshops such as Families in Schools, Parent University, and school parent groups. Each of the Latina leaders had, at one point, been elected president of their school's ELAC, with one, Fernanda, also serving as the vice-president of the DELAC. See Table 5.

Moreover, seven of the eight Latina leaders were involved in community grassroots organizations that are dedicated to social justice issues. Of this group, one of the parent leaders, Alejandra, co-founded a non-profit parent organization that was dedicated to the advancement of

the educational opportunities provided to English Learners. In addition, three of the Latina leaders, Dolores, Paola, and Gloria, were also part of an informal parent community group.

Table 5

Participation in District and Community Groups

Participant	Years Involved in District Groups	District Groups	Community Organizations
Dolores	Over 20 years	DELAC, ELAC, SSC, School Parent Group, School Board District Elections	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, Californians Together, Grassroots community parent group
Paola	8 years	DELAC, ELAC, Middle School Parent Group	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, Grassroots community parent group
Gloria	2 years	DELAC, ELAC, Middle School Parent Group	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, Grassroots community parent group
Fernanda	5 years	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC, Parent University Workshops	Gente Con Poder, Fe en Acción, People Rising – Parent Committee
Elizabeth	Over 10 years	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC (Special Education Advisory Council), Head Start Parent University Workshops, School Council	Fe en Acción, People Rising – Parent Committee
Maria	4 years	DELAC, ELAC, Families in Schools Parent Workshops	None
Felicitas	Over 8 years	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops	Justicia Para Todos, Comunidad en Acción
Alejandra	Over 10 years	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops	Justicia Para Todos, Comunidad en Acción (Co-founder)

Note: Participant self-reported information.

All the participating Latina leaders stated that these organizations helped educate them in their parental rights, allowed them to organize with other parents facing similar challenges within the district, and empowered their voices. For the study, it is important to highlight the number of

years and various committees and other district workshops that the parent leaders have participated in to establish the institutional knowledge of each Latina parent. In addition, documenting the community groups that the parent leaders have participated in demonstrates their sense of activism, ability to build alliances, and commitment to resolving issues involving discrimination and oppression (Bordas, 2014).

Participant Testimonios

Pueblo USD: Dolores, Paola, and Gloria

Initially, I met Dolores and Paola in September 2018 at a parent workshop meeting. Two parent advocacy organizations, Parent Organization Network and Justicia Para Todos (pseudonym) hosted the workshop, which focused on how stakeholder engagement in the LCAP development process can fuel improvement efforts in school districts. The meeting was attended by parents from various Los Angeles County school districts. After the meeting commenced, we struck up a conversation, and they both shared their passion for education and how they wanted to learn more about the LCAP development process so that they could advocate for better educational opportunities within their district. Dolores, Paola, and I exchanged information, and when it was time to recruit parents for the study, I reached out to them to see if they were interested. After our initial interview, Dolores connected me with Gloria.

All three parent leaders resided in a tight-knit Latino community, which was ever-changing due to gentrification. Through our interviews, I came to understand that these Latina leaders were part of a larger, dynamic group of community leaders that not only focused on improving education within their community but also dedicated to building overall community knowledge, capacity, and well-being. Indeed, Dolores and Paola organically formed an

independent parent community group where they have informal meetings regarding pertinent and pressing school and community issues. Gloria praised this group as helping her develop her leadership skills. As well, she stated that for many parents that were new to the school political process, this group served as an informal orientation in learning their rights as parents, how the school system works, and the importance of the LCAP process. Moreover, the parent leaders often use this group so they could share their views and unify their voices before important school or district meetings. The participating Latina leaders also attended a weekly County-sponsored mental health support group, which was open to all community members. Dolores mentioned how this mental health community group helped her overcome the stressors of participating in the school political system.

After the interviews were completed, the parent leaders continued to invite me to attend the weekly mental health community group. By attending these meetings, I began to understand the political savviness of the Latina leaders by witnessing how they would tap into extensive networks, such as Californians Together, a statewide advocacy coalition dedicated to improving educational opportunities for English Learners, and the Parent Organization Network, as well as inviting key school board members to community events. In one instance, Dolores mentioned how they planned to welcome the newly elected school board member to the annual celebration for the community mental health support group so that they could advocate for critical education programs, including English Learner programs, that had made a difference in their community. Moreover, upon hearing about the study, Dolores challenged me to think about how the dissertation could be transformed into a brief so that it could be used by other parent leaders to

help educate and advocate for the betterment of educational opportunities afforded to English Learners through the LCAP.

Dolores' testimonio. Dolores immigrated from Honduras to the United States over 33 years ago. In Honduras, she completed her baccalaureate degree in Commercial Expert in Public Accounting. She quickly laid down roots in the community and remained in the same area since immigrating. Mother of two grown children, she is also the legal guardian of her granddaughter, an eighth grader that reclassified one year prior. Dolores was passionate about education and empowering herself and others through education. She stated, "Para mí la educación es una pasión y es el mejor legado que le puedes dejar a tu hijo y a tu comunidad. Porque cuando yo abogo, no abogo solo por mi hija, abogo por todos esos niños." (For me, education is a passion, and it is the best legacy you can leave for your child and your community. Because when I advocate, I don't just advocate for my daughter, I advocate for all those children.) To accomplish this, Dolores believes that it is imperative for a parent to "Conocer este sistema, cómo funciona, para poder ayudar mejor a nuestros hijos." (Know the system and how it works, to better help our children.)

Porque nadie nace aprendido (No one is born knowing everything). Dolores had almost 25 years of being involved in the school system in either the capacity of a volunteer or serving on different district committees. As well, she participated in various workshops hosted by the district, PON, CABE, and Californians Together. In other words, Dolores had extensive institutional knowledge regarding the political process associated with education at the school, district, and state levels. As she discussed the numerous workshops and organizations she participates in she said, "Porque nadie nace aprendido." (Because no one is born knowing

everything.) In addition to attending numerous parent leadership workshops, she also facilitated and led an informal parent community group and a weekly mental health support group.

Hay barreras (There are barriers). She had a strong sense of community and stated that to make a difference "Uno solo no puede acer nada, pero ya muchos somos mas fuertes." (One alone cannot do anything, but many of us together we are stronger.) However, she was cognizant of the barriers that impacted Latino parent involvement and declared that "Nuestras familias no se involucran porque hay barreras: lo económico, el lenguaje, conocer este sistema, el machismo." (Our families do not get involved because there are barriers: poverty, the language, knowing the system, and machismo.) Dolores elaborated that she had witnessed other Latina leaders struggle in their attempt to get involved at school due to the machista behavior of their partners.

> Conozco mamás que quieren participar en las escuelas, pero el marido le dice:"¿A que vas a la escuela? No, yo tengo vieja para que me cuide la casa, me cuide a los niños, me haga de comer." Esa mujer es bien difícil que llegue a la escuela. . . . Yo le digo porque yo trabajo con las familias, me doy cuenta el machismo. (I know moms who want to participate in school meetings, but the husband says to her: "What are you going to school for? No, I have my old lady so that she can take care of the house, take care of the children, make me something to eat." That woman is very difficult to get to the school…I say this because I work with the families, and I realize that machismo exists.)

As well, she stated that "la cultura" (the culture) is a barrier to parent involvement due to the stark differences of educational beliefs between the Latino and American cultures. "Entonces culturalmente venimos con ese patrón, de que la escuela se va a encargar, y venimos a este país y

aquí no, aquí es bien diferente, aquí tenemos que involucrarnos, tenemos que participar, tenemos que capacitarnos." (So culturally we come with a false understanding, that the school is going to take care of [all the child's educational needs]. And we come to this country and that is not how it is here, here it is very different, here we must get involved, we must participate, we must train ourselves.)

He sentido rechazo, discriminación y también represalia (I have felt rejections, discrimination, and retaliation). Dolores was fiercely committed to her school community and the political process for the betterment of education. Currently, at the local level, she was involved with DELAC, volunteered during board member elections, and attended meetings for the District Board of Education and of the local City Council. Most importantly, she traveled to Sacramento to attend California State Assembly meetings and speak to the California State legislators or State Board of Education on her own accord. She attended the meetings in Sacramento by fundraising the money or through borrowed funds and advocated for various education matters that had fallen deaf to district ears. For example, upon learning that the district's policy to monitor Reclassified students was only two years, she began to advocate in DELAC meetings that it be extended to four years. When the district refused, "Llamé a Sacramento y le digo: 'Este plan maestro (de Aprendices de Inglés), solo le llamaron a la presidenta de DELAC, y aquí dice en la ley que el plan maestro es desarrollado por DELAC—eso no está pasando.'" (I called Sacramento and I said: "This master plan (for English Learners), they just called the DELAC president, and here it says in the law that the master plan is developed by DELAC—that is not happening.") The district eventually extended monitoring for Reclassified students to four years.

Before her LCAP involvement, Dolores had successfully sued the district due to discriminatory actions against her granddaughter. She stated that in third grade, her granddaughter began to struggle in school. As an English Learner with dyslexia, Dolores wanted to know how her granddaughter was being supported. Concerned, she stated "Empecé a presionar a la maestra—no le gustó, entonces . . . presioné a la directora. Eso me llevó a tener una carta de padre disruptivo. Yo no podia venir a la escuela porque si la directora no quería, no entraba." (I started to pressure the teacher—she didn't like it, so . . . I pressured the principal. That led me to have a disruptive parent letter. I could not come to school because if the principal did not want me there, I could not enter the school building.) Dolores described this episode as a difficult time in her life; however, she stated that this challenging circumstance led her to understand how to channel her frustrations into something that would help bring change, not only for her granddaughter but also for the other children in the community. She recalled,

> Eso para mí fue un aprendizaje, porque sabía que tenía la razón, pero tenía que luchar con un sistema que no le gustan los padres líderes, ¿verdad? Entonces empezó la provocación, lo que querían era provocarme, me querían enojar y echarme la policía y darme una orden de restricción por un policía. (That for me was a learning experience because I knew I was right, but I had to fight with a system that doesn't like parent leaders, right? Then the provocation started, what they wanted was to provoke me, they wanted me to get angry so that they could call the police, kick me out and give me a restraining order by the police).

Dolores explained that the district often used this tactic on parents to discourage them from participating and advocating in the school political process. Indeed, she recalled many episodes

of retaliation and intimidation that she experienced as a parent leader in the district. She stated, "Cuando he estado liderando o abogando por una mejor educación, he sentido rechazo, discriminación y también represalia [de parte del distrito]." (When I have been leading or advocating for better education, I have felt rejection, discrimination, and retaliation [from the district].)

Somos un mal necesario (We are an unwanted necessity). The prevalent themes in her testimonio regarding her experience in the LCAP process included Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise) and Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), which included a lack of data and financial transparency, and the lack of a coherent system for meaningful parent engagement. Dolores had participated in five cycles of the LCAP decision-making process, participating in the inaugural year and the most recent year. With that said, she had extensive knowledge of the LCAP political process, and coupled with her degree in Public Accounting, Dolores had a committed interest in understanding how funding was used within the district. For example, Dolores had read the district's 2019-20 LCAP (a document over 100 pages) and questioned a Board Member regarding funding for Parent Engagement listed in the recent LCAP Addendum. Overall, she says the LCAP process in Pueblo USD,

> Ha sido muy confuso para todos, primero, no había transparencia, segundo, no había consulta de todos los interesados; porque aquí arriba éramos 55 personas, pero no podíamos consultar con las escuelas, ni las escuelas sabían de lo que pasaba. Entonces, este proceso estaba desconectado de lo que el Gobernador dice, y continúa así, porque la data la dan obsoleta, de un año anterior, de dos años anteriores. Segundo, el presupuesto nunca lo han desglosado por meta y por subgrupo, porque se hace por los aprendices de

> inglés, low income and foster youth. Entonces, es un proceso confuso, es un proceso que no hay transparencia, es un proceso que no hay inclusión, mucho menos de padres. (Has been very confusing for everyone, first, there was no transparency, second, there was no consultation of all those interested; because up here we were 55 people, but we could not consult with the schools, nor did the schools know what was happening. So, this process was disconnected from what the Governor says, and continues like this, because the data [the district provides] makes it obsolete, it is from a previous year, from two previous years. Second, the budget has never been broken down by goal and by subgroup because it is done by English Learners, low income, and foster youth. So, it is a confusing process, it is a process where there is no transparency, and it is a process where there is no inclusion, much less of parents).

At one point, Dolores boycotted the comments of the LCAP process since parent comments were not properly recorded and due to the lack of financial and data transparency. After this incident, the superintendent asked her why she was so "radical" and told her that her actions were harming children. Dolores stated that she often told district officials that "Nosotros somos un mal necesario. Para ustedes somos un mal pero nos necesitan." (We are an unwanted necessity. To you all we are unwanted, but you need us.) In fact, she stated that intimidation tactics were used by the district during the LCAP process, she states "El Distrito… hacen firmar normas de conductas, que si no las cumplo me pueden destituir de cualquier comité. Entonces existe esa intimidación disfrazada." (The district… makes you sign rules of conduct, that if I don't follow them, they can remove me from any committee. That is intimidation in disguise.) She explained that by doing so, the district "te etiquetan como padre problemático [y] te quieren bloquear"

(They label you as a problem parent [and] try to block you [from participating].) Dolores summed up the issues that plagued the LCAP process by stating

> Los padres somos pocos los que saben qué quiere decir LCAP, son pocos los que entienden cómo funciona el LCAP, el LCFF, y no se habla, ni en los comités se habla. No, no se habla, porque no existe esa estructura de nivel Sacramento. O sea, desde allá estuvo también el problema, el haber mandado tanto dinero [ha los distritos sin estructura]. (There are few parents who know what the LCAP means, there are few who understand how the LCAP and LCFF works, and it is not discussed, nor is it discussed in the district and school committees. No, it is not spoken, because there is no such structure like this in Sacramento (State Board). Such that, the problems began in Sacramento, with the state having sent so much money [to the districts with no structure].

Paola's testimonio. Paola immigrated to the United States from Mexico in 1995 and resided in the same community since then. She raised five children, all identified as English Learners while attending school in Pueblo USD. Her eldest was attending the university, and her youngest was in the fourth grade and yet to reclassify. She completed la preparatoria, the equivalent of high school in Mexico and viewed education as a means to a better life.

Por mis hijos. (For my children). Her deep respect for education was evident when Paola stated that "Por la educación de mis hijos siempre me he impulsado mucho a tratar de saber cómo ayudar a mis hijos para que ellos sepan cuáles son exactamente los requisitos para que vayan a la universidad." (For the education of my children I have always been very motivated to try to know how to help my children so that they know what exactly the requirements are for them to go to the university.) Yet Paola recalled that if it were not for the encouragement of a

school representative that visited her daughter's elementary school, she would not have challenged herself to learn about the reclassification process—critical to an English learner's academic success and post-secondary opportunities. The representative told her, "Involúcrate para que a tus hijos no les cueste tanto." (Get involved so that your children do not lose out on opportunities.) Before this fortuitous meeting, Paola admited that she knew very little about the reclassification process. She stated that the woman helped her begin to understand the process and eventually she began to get involved with the ELAC.

Tratan como de intimidarte (They have tried to intimidate me). Paola saw herself as a lifelong and reflective learner and frequently attended workshops hosted by her school and district, along with workshops held by advocacy and community organizations, such as CABE and PON. In addition, she helped to lead the local county-sponsored mental health services support group. She was also dedicated to developing parent leaders. Gloria, another Latina parent leader involved in the study, mentioned that Paola had been instrumental in helping her understand how to navigate the school system and often encouraged her to learn about her parental rights so that she could advocate for her children.

Paola shareed her views about the importance of parent leadership development, "Es muy difícil cómo hacer una pregunta cuando . . . no tiene la información." (It is very difficult how to ask a question when…you do not have the information.) Furthermore, she said that a lack of knowledge of the school system resulted in low rates of parent engagement. In turn, Paola stated that the district and schools blamed the parent for not participating, "Decin: 'Es que los padres no quieren venir. Estan los programas, pero no vienen.'" (They say: "It is because the parents do not want to come. The programs are here, but the parents do not come.") She argued that "Si [los

padres] no vienen, algo pasó: no los invitaron, no les llamaron, no le dieron seguimiento." (If [the parents] did not come, then something happened: They were not invited, they did not call them, they did not follow-up with them.) At the same time, Paola underscored the tensions that parents experienced when they began to get involved in a meaningful way.

> A veces es difícil, porque cuando ya [el distrito o escuela] ven que tú sabes, tratan como de intimidarte, piensan que uno va como a hacer conflictos. Pero nunca ha sido esa mi vision. Mi visión es que más padres sepan exactamente lo que yo sé o si es más, que sepan más, que sepan los derechos de ellos o lo que pueden hacer, cuando está pasando un problema con quién ir. (Sometimes it is difficult, because when [the district or school] sees that you know, they try to intimidate you, they think that you are going to start conflicts. But that has never been my vision. My vision is that more parents know exactly what I know or if it is more, that they know more, that they know their rights or what they can do, when there is a problem and who to go with.)

Paola shared how she experienced this intimidation when she began to advocate for better educational opportunities for her son.

> A mí me pasó cuando yo pedí que le hicieran una evaluación a mi hijo. La maestra se enojó mucho. Me dijo que ¿qué era lo que yo estaba pensando, que si ella no enseñaba? Le dije: "No, yo no le estoy quitando su manera de enseñar, o diciendo que usted no sabe. Sino que yo estoy pidiendo que le ayuden a mi hijo. Hubo mucho problema, fueron problemas fuertes que tuve en la escuela. Incluso un día yo cuando llegué, el niño me lo tenían detenido. Me lo querían sacar al niño de la escuela. Ya no querían que el niño fuera a la escuela. Yo no sabía, honestamente, cómo abogar por mi hijo. Lo único que se

me vino a la menta . . . agarré y me fui yo al distrito, ahí es cuando yo conocí dónde es el Board. (It happened to me when I asked to have my son evaluated. The teacher was very angry. She asked me what I was thinking if she did not teach? I said, "No, I am not taking away your way of teaching, or saying that you do not know. I am asking to help my son. There was a lot of problems, many problems that I had with the school. One day when I arrived, they were detaining my son. They wanted to transfer him out of the school. They no longer wanted my child to go there. I honestly did not know how to advocate for my son. The only thing that came to my mind was . . . I grabbed my things, and I went to the district, that's when I learned where the Board was located.)

By advocating at the district level, Paola was able to keep her son at the school and get him the support he needed. Still, she stated that advocating for English Learners at her school has caused friction between her and the English Learner Coordinator assigned to her school.

Han tratado de intimidarme. Que ya no pida cosas, incluso un coordinador me dijo: "Esa es la mamá que más me molesta," me dijo, y lo dijo delante de muchos padres y se puso a reír. Y yo le dije: "Mire…estos padres quiero que se eduquen, yo no vengo a faltarle el respeto a nadie, nada más traigo la información de los padres, que sepan de lo que está pasando, que hay derechos para los padres y hay responsabilidades que también ellos tienen que cumplir." Eso a veces es difícil porque como que nos marcan, como que nos etiquetan, "Esta persona vino nomás a traer problemas y a que otros padres empiecen a dar problemas," pero un padre no da problemas, un padre nada más va en busca de información, en busca de cómo ayudarle a su hijo, porque esa es la meta, de cómo apoyar a nuestros hijos para que ellos se preparen, que tengan un buen trabajo, que vayan a la

universidad, que sea una vida productiva. (They have tried to intimidate me. They say that I should no longer ask for things. A coordinator told me: “That is the mother who bothers me the most,” he said, and he said it in front of many parents, and he started laughing. And I said to him: “Look, I want these parents to be educated, I do not come to disrespect anyone, I just bring the information for the parents, that they know what is happening, that there are rights for parents and there are responsibilities that they too have to fulfill.” That is sometimes difficult because they kind of mark us, like they label us, “This person just came to bring problems and other parents start to give problems”, but a parent does not give problems, a parent just goes looking for information , in search of how to help their child, because that is the goal, of how to support our children so that they are prepared, that they have a good job, that they go to college, that it is a productive life.)

Uno se tiene que arriesgar a todo o al nada (But sometimes you must risk everything or nothing). Paola had been involved in some form of the school political process for over 15 years. She had assisted on school board elections in her community and had served as President for the ELAC and the Compensatory Education Advisory Council (CEAC), a now-defunct school level committee that focused on Title I schools. Members of the CEAC advised the principal and the School Site Council about effective educational programs shown to benefit disadvantaged students academically. Once the CEAC was disbanded it was not replaced by another committee. Paola served over five years as a CEAC member and recalled, “Ese comité estaba muy activo, tenía muy buenos padres, estaba muy fuerte ese comité.” (That committee was very active, had very good parents, that committee was very strong.) Indeed, all CEAC members received

training to help them make informed decisions. She lamented how the CEAC is no longer in existence.

Paola had been involved in the DELAC and LCAP for two years (SY2018-19 and SY2019-20) and the key themes present in her testimonio included Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise), in which she described intimidation or retaliation tactics used against her, and the Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), specifically the lack of a coherent system for meaningful parent engagement. In a way, Paola's extensive history in other school committees allowed her to compare the structure and methods used by each committee. With that said, she reflected on how well the LCAP process was structured throughout the district. Paola was concerned about the lack of communication and structure of the DELAC meetings, which were one of the district committees that provided input for the LCAP. Such that, at her school, parents were not made aware that DELAC meetings were open to the public, nor did they receive phone calls or flyers advising them of the meeting times. As well, she was frustrated that much of the information provided at the DELAC was not disseminated to parents at the school level.

> Allá te dan mucha información que a veces no llega a las escuelas . . . No sé cómo trabaje, pero no llega esa información a la escuela. A mí me gustaría que la información que se da a ese nivel del DELAC se diera a los concilios en la escuela, que los padres estén más involucrados en eso, que sepan sus derechos y responsabilidades. (There they give you a lot of information that sometimes does not reach the schools . . . I do not know how it works, but that information does not reach the school. I would like the information

given at that level of the DELAC to be given to councils at school, that parents are more involved in that, that they know their rights and responsibilities.)

Furthermore, she stated that at the school level, parent workshops focused on the LCAP were provided only if parents requested the training. "[Tienen que] hablar con la representante." Oh, nos gustaría que nos hablaran más lo del LCAP. Entonces lo piden y ya viene alguien del distrito. Pero si los padres lo piden, pero si no lo piden, hasta ahí llega." (They have to ask the representative." Oh, we would like to hear more about the LCAP. When they ask for it someone from the district comes. But if the parents ask for it, but if they don't ask for it, that's how far it goes.) In other words, Paola described how critical it was that parents were aware of their rights and responsibilities, specifically when it came to parent engagement in the LCAP process. In closing, she described the hostile relationship between the district and parents during the LCAP process,

> Cuando llega el presupuesto [y] van a ser las elecciones nos pintan la película tan bonita. Que [el processo LCAP] va a ser todo muy bonito, nos van a ayudar, nos van a apoyar. Pero ya cuando se selecciona el comité, ahora sí, agárrate porque ahí sí dicen que les dan el entrenamiento [a los padres], dicen que los apoyan. Pero no porque se marca una distancia. Y entre más van aprendiendo [los padres] más los van atacando. Porque nos etiquetan: "Oh, ahí viene esta madre, es muy conflictiva," o "este padre es muy conflictivo." Y yo siempre he tenido ese temor de que le agarren la represalia con los hijos, con los estudiantes. Pero a veces uno se tiene que arriesgar a todo o al nada. Porque si uno no habla, lo mismo que me está pasando, ¿a cuántos más les está pasando? Entonces sí es difícil, porque la intimidación siempre ha existido, pero muy

inteligentemente lo trabajan ellos. (When the budget arrives [and] the elections will take place, they paint the picture so beautiful for us. That [the LCAP process] will be very nice, that they will help and support us. But when the committee is selected, now hold on as you can, as they say. Because they say they will give them [the parents] the training, they say they support them. But they don't because they keep the parents at a distance. And the more the [parents] learn the more they attack them. Because they label us: "Oh, here comes this mother, she is very combative," or "this father is very combative." And I have always had that fear that they would retaliate against our children, or with students. But sometimes you must risk everything, or you get nothing. Because if you don't speak, the same thing that is happening to me, to how many more parents is happening to? So, it is difficult, because the intimidation in the district has always existed, and they work it very intelligently.)

Gloria's testimonio. Since Dolores had been involved in the LCAP for several years and was highly involved in the community, I asked if she would recommend another parent leader that was involved in the LCAP process. In turn, she connected me with Gloria, who was willing to participate in the study. Gloria immigrated to the United States from Mexico 15 years ago and had lived in this school community for seven years. She completed secundaria (middle school) in her home country. Mother to three, all her children currently attended school with one each in elementary, middle, and high school. The youngest, in first grade, and eldest, a senior in high school, had yet to reclassify. As a Late Arriving English Learner (LAEL), her eldest child

immigrated to the United States five years ago and was classified as a Long-Term English Learner (LTEL), a subgroup of English Learners that are at a higher risk of not graduating.

Empecé a involucrarme más y a entender (I started to be more involved and understand more). One of Gloria's concerns was that her eldest son receive the necessary classes needed to graduate since his schedule was impacted with additional courses to help him reclassify. She recounted how her son's struggle to reclassify had led to disengagement in his studies. In turn, she began to get involved in parent workshops, which led to her involvement in the political process. She recalled,

> Entonces me empecé a meter, a preguntar, y encontré que más padres tenían situaciones similares a las mías, y en esas personas, estaba Dolores. Entonces, ella me dice: "Tú puedes hacer por tu hijo, tú puedes abogar por él para que él quiera seguir estudiando", y entonces empecé a involucrarme más y a entender. (Then I started to get involved, to ask, and I found that more parents had similar situations to mine, and in those people, there was Dolores. She tells me: "You can do it for your son, you can advocate for him, so he wants to continue studying," and then I started to be involved and understand more.)

With this newfound awareness, Gloria began to participate in parent workshops hosted by PON and district workshops focused on English Learners and the reclassification process, along with district study groups focused on ELAC, LCAP, and Title I schools. She attended district meetings and workshops for two years before she began to get involved formally in the political process. The 2019-20 school year was her first year officially as the president of the ELAC committee at her son's elementary school; However, last year, she participated in DELAC meetings as an alternate member with no voting rights.

Una barrera que nos detiene (A barrier that detains us). The predominant themes in Gloria's testimonio were Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise), the Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), with various accounts of linguoracism and the lack of LCAP training for parents, and Muchos somos mas fuertes (Together we are stronger), where she described the importance of community. In her inaugural year of the LCAP process and as the parent with the least number of years involved in school politics, she had a distinct view of the LCAP process compared to the other parent leaders in the study. To begin with, Gloria underscored linguoracist practices prevalent in the LCAP process with many documents not translated for parents and the lack of highly trained translators during the meetings. She explained that,

> [En el processo del LCAP] muchos documentos que deberían estar en español o tener traducción, no lo tienen . . . Por ejemplo, cuando uno no entiende 100 por ciento el inglés, hay parte que no las traducen al 100 por ciento, que de una conversación que se está hablando, de un tema que se está hablando, digamos que a nosotros en español nos traducen un 70 por ciento. En partes la traducción se queda detenida en algo que [el translador] no haya como decirlo más rápido, y para seguir la conversación, se queda en el tema, se queda como cortado y de ahí sigue a lo que [el distrito] ya están hablando. Pienso que es como una barrera que nos detiene a entender un poco mejor, siento yo. ([In the LCAP process] many documents that should be in Spanish or have a translation do not have it . . . For example, when one does not understand English 100 percent, there are parts that are not translated into 100 percent, rather than a conversation that is talking about a topic that is being talked about, let's say that in Spanish they translate about 70

> percent for us. In parts, the translation stops at something that the translator cannot say faster, and to continue the conversation, the translator remains on that topic. So, the conversation gets cut and from there follows what [the district] is already talking about. I think it's like a barrier that stops us from understanding a little better, I feel.)

She declareed that linguoracism was also widespread in school meetings dedicated to the School Plans for Student Achievement, or School Plan. According to the CDE, the LCAP, a three-year plan, and School Plan, a one-year plan, each set goals at their respective levels and work together at the district and school level (CDE, 2021c). School Plans are specific to a school site and must be consistent with the district LCAP (CDE, 2021c). According to Gloria, parents had to advocate various times for the document to be translated.

> El plan escolar no está en español y nosotros, yo en particular, yo le dije [a la coordinadora] que: "Me gustaría que ese papel estuviera en español, le digo: "Una porque así podemos ayudar mejor a los estudiantes y otra porque no estamos entendiendo, nosotros no podemos ayudar a nuestros aprendices de inglés." Y [a la coordinadora] dijo que no había manera de poderlo traducir, que no había manera de hacerlo porque en el distrito no lo estaba hacienda. Entonces, insistimos y insistimos y ahora está en español para nosotros. (The School Plan is not in Spanish and we, in particular, I said [to the coordinator] that: "I would like that the plan to be in Spanish. I said:" One because this way we can better help the students and another because we are not understanding it, we cannot help our English Learners." And [the coordinator] said that there was no way to translate it, that there was no way to do it because the district was not doing it. So, we insisted and insisted and now it's in Spanish for us.)

A dedicated parent leader, Gloria had attended parent workshops focused on the LCAP process. Nevertheless, she had faced barriers in these workshops as well.

> En muchos talleres [del LCAP] que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas, siempre [el distrito] dicen: El tiempo, tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna [pregunta] haga cita y contestamos sus dudas." Ellos [El distrito] nos dicen que hagamos cita, pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible. . . . [Llamas] un número y ese número lo transfiere a un—pienso a una extensión— y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan. Y uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar, dije: "No, ya, para estar ahí esperando mejor lo dejo así." (In many [LCAP] workshops that I have attended, where we [the parents] are left with doubts, [the district] always says: The time, we have to continue and if you have any [questions] make an appointment and they will answer your questions." [The district] tells us to make an appointment, but to make an appointment, you call, your left on hold, then it's like something more impossible . . . [You call] a number and that number transfers it to a—I think to an extension—and from there they put on the music and that is how they leave you. And one, as a parent, you are running everywhere and I have tried twice, I did not try again, I said: "No, to be there waiting, it's better I leave it like this.")

As a solution, Gloria turned to an informal grassroots community group that was led by Dolores and Paola. She shared how participating in this had given her guidance and empowered her to seek out solutions when she faced barriers in the district.

> Empezamos a reunirnos—bueno, yo empecé a reunirme con estas personas, que ya tienen un liderazgo; Dolores, Paola, y todas ellas ya conocen un poco más y ellas me ha dado más orientación. Solo somos padres de la comunidad . . . Cuando hay algún tema que se tratar en el momento, tenemos la confianza de que podemos hablar por teléfono y preguntar o hacer opinión. (We started to get together—well, I started meeting with these people, who already have a leadership; Dolores, Paola, and all of them already know a little more and they have given me more guidance . . . We are only parents of the community…When there is a subject to be discussed at the moment, we have the confidence that we can talk on the phone and ask or make an opinion.)

Nieto USD: Fernanda and Elizabeth

I met Fernanda at a Nieto USD Candidate Forum in February 2020. The meeting was hosted by People Rising [pseudonym], a non-profit organization focused on creating healthy communities of color by "building knowledge, leadership, and power" and other partner organizations. Members from the People Rising Parent Committee served as the moderators. The goal of the meeting was to introduce the school board candidates while allowing for a dialogue with community members. Fernanda was one of the moderators, and I recognized her from the LCAP Community Forum that I had attended a few weeks before. After the Candidate Forum commenced, we struck up a conversation where I told her about the study, and she agreed to participate. After our initial interview, she introduced me to Elizabeth.

Fernanda's testimonio. In 1990, Fernanda immigrated from Mexico to the United States. Like the other participants of the study, she had lived in the same community since immigrating. She had seven children, which included five adult children. Her two youngest are

twins, and in the fourth grade, both classified as English Learners. Passionate about education, she received her baccalaureate from her home country in Social Work. In the United States, she attended an alternative education charter school where she completed her high school diploma and had taken English courses at the local community college. Fernanda was part of many district committees, including the ELAC, District Community Advisory Committee (DCAC), Special Education Community Advisory Committee (CAC), School Site Council (SSC), and DELAC, of which she had held the position of vice-president.

Colaboro con varias organizaciones (I collaborate with several organizations).

Moreover, she had been deeply involved in school board elections, and other community organizations focused on social justice issues, such as immigration advocacy and housing. Fernanda would often join her daughter, who was involved with the organization Gente Con Poder (GCP) [pseudonym], a non-profit organization dedicated to education and the well-being of the community residents, in immigration advocacy. During this time, the district proposed changing the school's name that her children attended without consulting with the community. Upset by the district's decision, she planned to gather signatures from the community to take to the school board to advocate for the name to remain the same; however, since Fernanda had never spoken in front of parents or the board, she sought the advice of the GCP community organizer. Impressed by her view on social justice issues in the community, GCP began to seek out Fernanda and eventually asked her to represent the organization at community meetings that involved other advocacy groups, one being People Rising. "[Si] tengo la oportunidad…colaboro con varias organizaciones," (If I have the opportunity, I collaborate with various organizations,) she stated.

Through her collaboration with community organizations, Fernanda became familiar with Francisco Cortez, a school board member who has been an ally to parents in the community. The community organizations where Fernanda is a member were critical in getting Cortez elected to the school board. She stated that having him as an ally on the school board has helped bridge the connection for parents who wanted to participate but did not have the chance to do so.

> Entonces él es el que ha empujado también más eso de que las juntas del board se hagan a donde los padres puedan asistir . . . [El distrito] los pongan en YouTube . . . y ahí tú la puedes ver, qué fue lo que se dijo, incluso si desde tu casa estás y quieres opinar te conectas y opinas y eso es lo que él ha estado empujando mucho. Él siempre dijo desde que era candidato: "Okay, lo que yo quisiera es que las juntas del board se hagan, si los padres no pueden venir a nosotros, nosotros que vengamos a los padres." (So, he is the one who has also pushed for board meetings to be held where parents can attend . . . The district] puts the [meetings] on YouTube . . . and there you can see it, what was said, even if you are at home and you want to comment, you connect and provide feedback and that's what he has been pushing a lot. He always said since he was a candidate: "Okay, what I would like is for the board meetings to take place, and if the parents cannot come to us, we should come to the parents.")

Nunca uno acaba de aprender (One never finishes learning). Moreover, Fernanda participated in many parent workshops hosted by the district and those provided by community organizations, with most hosted by People Rising. She explained that she attended so many workshops because "Nunca uno acaba de aprender." (You never stop learning.) She further explained that

> Tanto los entrenamientos de la comunidad . . . y los que da el distrito, entonces me ayudan a entender un poco más. A ver las dos partes del la educación. Porque una parte de eso, lo que te dicen en el distrito, te enseñan a mirar, a aprender cómo es el proceso, cómo se maneja el distrito . . . Pero los entrenamientos que dan las organizaciones, también te enseñan a ver que no necesariamente [el distrito] están viendo por los intereses de tu niño. Si tú no estás ahí para defenderlos . . . si uno de padre no está al pendiente, nomás no avanza, tu niño se va quedando rezagado. (Both the community trainings and the ones given by the district help me understand a little more. Let's me see the two parts of education. Because one part of that is what they tell you in the district, they teach you to look, to learn how the process is, how the district is managed . . . But the trainings that organizations give teach you to see that [the district is] not necessarily looking out for your child's interests. If you are not there to defend them . . . if a parent is not aware, your child just does not advance, they begin to lag.)

She elaborated that the workshops provided by People Rising center on parent's understanding of their rights in the school system and social justice issues, such as the school-to-prison pipeline.

No nos están escuchando (They are not listening to us). Fernanda had been part of five cycles of the LCAP decision-making process, beginning in 2016. One of the themes in Fernanda's testimonio is the Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), specifically regarding funding allocation. For instance, she underscored how easily it was for LCAP funding to be spent by the district and schools without any accountability to parents,

> Y entonces, tú preguntas [sobre el dinero], y [el distrito] te dicen: "No, pues es que son tantas escuelas. Entonces, pues se va a dar el dinero a las que tengan más necesidad." Y pues, allí fue donde perdimos el hilo, porque pues, o sea, nunca vienen y te dicen: "No, se hizo tal y tal, en tal escuela." Porque uno no puede ir a todas las escuelas sin saber investigar si paso, si no paso. (And then, you ask [about the funding breakdown], and [the district] says to you: "No, because there are so many schools. And the money is going to be made to those who need it most." And well, that's where we lost the thread, because they never come and tell you: "No, it was done here and here, in such school." Because one cannot go to all the schools without knowing how to investigate if it happened if it did not happen.)

She said that although district staff recorded parents' suggestions on what to include in the LCAP during DELAC meetings, there was currently no follow-up meeting or report detailing the DELAC suggestions and what was included in the LCAP. Fernanda reflected on why this was the case, "Porque en realidad los que deciden son ellos." (Because in reality they are the ones that decide.)

The lack of LCAP funding transparency aligned with the obfuscation of LCAP implementation at the school level. She recalled when she had questioned district staff who oversaw the explanation of the LCAP budget, "Nos dicen: 'Okay en el [School Site Council] tenemos que [preguntar], porque en la escuela es donde sucede todo.' Pero, si en la escuela no nos están escuchando" (They tell us, "Okay at the [School Site Council] we have to [ask], because at school is where everything happens." But they are not listening to us at school.) She explains, "Ahí es donde las cosas no hacen sentido, y todo pasa en las escuelas. Supongamos que

el [LCAP] dice que esto o lo otro, que necesitan, que tienen, y que deben de tener, pero no pasa, no pasa" (That's where things don't make sense, and everything happens in schools. Supposedly the [LCAP] says this or that, what they need, what they have, and what they should have, but it doesn't happen, it doesn't happen.)

Elizabeth's testimonio. I was introduced to Elizabeth by Fernanda. Unfortunately, due to the distance and weather, our initial interview was over the phone. We had planned to meet in person for the second interview; however, social distancing guidelines were implemented before we could meet due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, our conversations were lively, and through them, it was evident that Elizabeth was passionate about education. Before immigrating to the United States in 2002, Elizabeth had completed a baccalaureate as a Programmer Analyst in Mexico. In the United States, Elizabeth passed the General Educational Development (GED) test and had taken English as a Second Language course at the local community college.

Más que nada por enseñarlos (Mostly for teaching them). As a young mother in a new country, Elizabeth became highly involved in her children's education, including school politics. She raised three children, all of whom had attended schools in the same community. Her two eldest were in high school and reclassified in elementary. Her youngest was in fifth grade and identified as an English learner. When asked why she became involved in school politics, she stated,

> Una, porque me gusta aprender. Dos, porque quiero saber todo, todo lo que está relacionado con mis hijos, y para poderlos ayudar. Y tres, porque quiero que ellos me vean que aun siendo una indocumentada, que no sabe inglés, y que tienes muchas barreras, y que es difícil, y que te puedes enfrentar a muchas cosas, pero que, si uno va

> firme y uno quiere, uno logra su propósito. Y es lo que quiero que mis hijos vean, que la vida es difícil, pero si uno se pone la meta quizá lo que uno quiere, se puede lograr, con batallas, como sea, pero se puede lograr. Entonces, más que nada por enseñarlos a ellos. (One, because I like to learn. Two, because I want to know everything, everything that is related to my children, and to be able to help them. And three, because I want them to see me that even being an undocumented person, who does not know English, and that you have many barriers, and that it is difficult, and that you can face many things, but that, if you are firm and you want to, you achieve your purpose. And it is what I want my children to see, that life is difficult, but if one sets the goal, perhaps what one wants, can be achieved, with battles, whatever, but it can be achieved. So, more than anything for teaching them.)

Having lived in the same community since immigrating to the United States and being involved in school politics at the same time, Elizabeth had extensive institutional knowledge of the school system. Moreover, to help her better understand committee meetings, she began to take English courses at the local community college. She held various roles in school committees, including the president of the ELAC, at both the elementary and middle schools where her children attended. “Siempre he sido parte del concilio escolar,” (I have always been part of the school council,) she stated.

Nos poníamos al tú por tú (We went head-to-head). In addition to being heavily involved in school politics, Elizabeth was also a leader in the community. She had been a part of various community organizations, including Fe en Acción (pseudonym), a local faith-based community organizing network of the national organization, Faith in Action. The non-profit

organization's goal was to create "a new society based on equity, sustainability, to build strong multi-racial people-led organizations that relentlessly press for social change" (Faith in Action, 2020). Another community organization that she was involved in is People Rising. The community organizations had been critical in helping Elizabeth build her institutional knowledge of the school system, developed leadership skills, and empowered her to advocate for equitable educational programs. For example, she recalled when a representative from Fe en Acción helped parents to organize when the district stopped providing transportation for students at the elementary school that her children attended.

> Luchamos, yo creo que, no sé si dos años, un año y medio, no sé cuánto tiempo luchamos, pero fue muy largo . . . Hicimos marchas desde esa escuela hasta un parque que es donde vivíamos los que estamos más lejos, nos queda un parque aquí; y maestros apoyándonos, organizaciones, el periódico, noticias. Hicimos lo que teníamos que hacer, hasta que nos involucramos más en el concilio escolar, a meter más papás. Entonces, sí ahí aprendí mucho, créeme que muchísimo. (We fought, I think, I don't know if two years, a year, and a half, I don't know how long we fought, but it was very long . . . We marched from that school to a park that is where those of us who are furthest away lived, we have one park left here; and there were many supporting us: teachers, organizations, the newspaper, news. We did what we had to do, until we got more involved in the school council, to involve more parents . . . So, yes, I learned a lot there, believe me a lot.)

In short, Elizabeth credited this experience in helping her to understand the power of community and a unified voice. Also, Elizabeth stated that she attended two separate People Rising groups that meet periodically. One group was a Parent Committee, which was parent-led and featured

support from various organizations throughout the city. The goal of the Parent Committee was to uplift parent voices and develop parent leadership skills to improve school conditions.

Antes sí era un poquito más difícil (It used to be a little more difficult). Elizabeth had participated in two cycles of the LCAP process during the 2017-18 and 2018-19 school years; however, since she participated in many district committees, she had been part of LCAP discussions but with no voting rights for at least five years. One of the themes in her testimonio was the Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), specifically the lack of a coherent system for meaningful parent engagement.

> Los primeros años sí era más difícil porque ni yo también no sabía ni qué. Ya, hasta después que ya me empecé a hacer la representante y eso, fue que ya empecé a entender y que te digo, por las organizaciones de afuera, entonces, ya entendía un poquito más; hay cosas que de hecho todavía no las entendiendo. (The first few years was more difficult because I didn't even know what was happening. Until after I became the representative and that is when I began to understand [the process]. And by outside organizations, then, I began to understand a little more; there are things that in fact I still don't understand.)

Indeed, Elizabeth stated the People Rising Parent Committee had helped her to understand the LCAP process. "He aprendido más porque hay muchas mamás que participan, Y pues, cada una trae su granito de arena . . . de ahí es donde he aprendido más de el LCAP." (I have learned more because there are many mothers who participate, and well, each one brings their grain of knowledge . . . that's where I have learned the most about the LCAP.) One of the significant differences of the People Rising Parent Committee parent workshops was that parents led them for parents.

Elizabeth also explained that one of the barriers to participating in the LCAP process "Es . . . el lenguaje que el distrito usa. Porque a veces usan un lenguaje muy rebuscado, que uno no lo entiende. O sea, es, no sé, muy diferente (Is . . . the language the district uses. Because sometimes they use a very elaborate language, which one does not understand. I mean, it is, I don't know, very different.) Indeed, the lack of culturally relevant practices in the LCAP process was evident when Elizabeth described how the district recorded parent recommendations.

> Nosotros pasábamos y poníamos como en un cartelón . . . la última vez que lo hicimos en grupos y alguien escribía por sí las ideas que teníamos y ya se llevaba pues esa hoja ya escritas las ideas. Entonces ellos ya las leían, y yo entiendo, ¿verdad? Que pasarlas del español a inglés algunas palabras cambian. Ya cuando las vuelves a regresar al español, pues te ponen otra palabra. (We passed around a poster . . . the last time we did it in groups and someone wrote the ideas we had for himself, and he already took that sheet with the ideas already written. So, they already read them, and I understand, right? They would translate some words from Spanish to English. But when they would translate it back to Spanish, they put another word.)

Nevertheless, she highlighted how the district had improved in engaging parents, which included giving parents more "power" in the decision-making process.

> Antes sí era un poquito más difícil, pero ellos ven que hay padres que están interesados y que también estamos ahí enérgicos para cambiar las cosas y eso. Entonces ya hay más cambios que sí dejan ya más poder, aunque a veces es diferente, es difícil porque entre más sabes, pues como menos te quieren. (Before, it was a little more difficult, but they see that there are parents who are interested and that we are also energetic to change

things. So, there are more changes, and they give us more power, although sometimes it is different. It is difficult because the more you know, the less they like you.)

Still, with all the improvements in the LCAP process, Elizabeth's testimonio described a lack of structure in the process, explicitly concerning questions posed by the parents.

> Te digo, yo de las preguntas que yo—porque yo casi nunca pongo, y por eso las recuerdo, porque esa vez sí tenía preguntas, y sí les puse que me las podían mandar. Me podían llamar, o igual, me la podían mandar por correo electrónico, la respuesta, y no pasó ni una. (I tell you, regarding parent questions that I—because I hardly ever ask, and that's why I remember them, because this time I did have questions. And I told them that they could send me the answers. They could call me, or maybe, they could send it to me by email, and not a single one happened.)

She also stated that this occurred when parents questioned the district regarding LCAP funding and spending the money.

> Porque le decíamos: "Necesito que me des por escrito en qué es que se ha gastado el dinero", y siempre nos llevaba, para la próxima reunión y llegaba la reunión y le decíamos y no nos daba la hora para la próxima reunión y nunca nos la quería dar. (Because we said to them: "I need you to give me in writing how the money was spent ", and they always would say that they would give us an answer at the next meeting. And the next meeting came, and we reminded them, and they did not give us the answer. They would always say for the next meeting, and they never wanted to give it to us.)

Nieto USD and the Uniform Complaint Procedure. The testimonios of Fernanda and Elizabeth would not be complete without including that in April 2017, a Uniform Complaint

Procedure (UCP) complaint was filed against Nieto USD, alleging that the district misappropriated LCFF funding in the district's 2016-17 LCAP. According to the CDE, a UCP complaint is "A complaint regarding the violation of specific federal and state programs that use categorical funds such as…Local Control Funding Formula and Local Control Accountability Plans" (CDE, 2020g). In their interviews, Fernanda and Elizabeth mentioned the UCP, both frustrated with how the Nieto USD agreed-upon actions in the LCAP for the 2018-19, 2019-20, and 2020-21 school years, were ambiguously implemented. Freire (2016) referred to such acts as "false generosity," where the oppressor would extend opportunities under the pretense of liberation while maintaining the subaltern's oppression.

The UCP complaint mandated activities included providing mental health and social-emotional support services and tutoring for high-needs students; However, Fernanda and Elizabeth both emphasized how such services were difficult to access. For instance, Fernanda shared that the teacher requested a parent conference since her son's low grades. She stated, "¿Y por qué está bajo si se supone que por ese arreglo con el Uniform complaint tiene que haber tutoría extra." (And why is it low if supposedly by that arrangement with the Uniform complaint there should be extra tutoring.) Fernanda also shared that she had asked for tutoring services for her son multiple times at her school and had been denied. Elizabeth also shared her frustration with how challenging it was to access the UCP complaint agreed services for high-needs and immigrant students.

> Supuestamente había ayuda como para niños inmigrantes que necesitaban ayuda, que si estaban enfermos o . . . si tenían la situación de psicológica, por decir, desórdenes. Y luego les estaban pidiendo que el Medi-Cal . . . entonces, ¿cuál es la ayuda? Dije, no hay

ninguna ayuda, solo te están refiriendo. (Supposedly there was help for immigrant children who needed help if they were sick . . . or if they had a psychological situation. And then they were asking you for Medi-Cal . . . so what's the help? I said, there is no help, they are just referring you.)

Furthermore, the UCP complaint mandated that Nieto USD co-host at least two community forums in collaboration with community organizations to solicit community input for the LCAP decision-making process. Specifically, these community fora had to include open discussion and data to help guide the input process. I attended the Spring LCAP Community Forum in February 2020, not knowing that the UCP complaint settlement mandated it. The forum was well attended, with over 100 participants, and meeting information folders were available in Spanish and translators. Nevertheless, the flyer that had informed me of the meeting stated it would last from 9 am to 12 pm, when, in fact, the session did not end until 2 pm. The number of participants dwindled after the scheduled afternoon lunch break. Fernanda had also attended the community forum and stated that working groups were established during the second portion of the meeting, with attendees collaborating to discuss potential ways to utilize LCFF funding and gather these ideas for the LCAP development process. Although the information presented in the first half of the LCAP Community Forum was helpful, Fernanda stated that the working group session was the most valuable component of the meeting and was concerned that the flyer incorrectly noted the hours and that many parents had left. As she paused to reflect, Fernanda highlighted the inconsistencies between what the district was doing and what parents experienced at the school level, "Porque en uno de los foros, incluso, fue una psicóloga, fueron personas de los diferentes departamentos pero pues . . . si el director dice: 'hay

un problema en este escuela de esto.' No, no pasa nada." (Because in one of the forums, there was even a psychologist, there were people from the different departments but well . . . if the director says: "There is a problem in this school regarding this." No nothing happens.) In other words, Fernanda emphasized that the district's actions focused on fulfilling the minimum agreements of the UCP complaint, and change was not experienced at the school level.

Dalton USD: Maria

I was introduced to Maria by the Dalton USD LCAP Director, who was supportive of the study and hopeful that Dalton's parents would participate. Potential participants received the study information, and those that were interested provided their contact information. Maria was eager to participate in the study, and we met for our first interview at the district. She has resided in the community for 24 years, the same time that she immigrated to the United States from Mexico. Moreover, she also attended and graduated from a Dalton USD high school and now had two children attending schools in the district. Her eldest was in eighth grade, and her youngest was in seventh grade and yet to reclassify.

According to the Census Bureau, almost one in three residents of the city of Dalton were foreign-born, of which half were not citizens of the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Even though the Trump-era political climate spurred anti-immigrant sentiment, the city and district supported the immigrant community. For example, three days before President Trump was sworn into office, the Dalton USD school board voted to declare itself a "safe haven" district. The school board resolution reinforced district policy regarding student privacy, such as immigration status in student records. The district also pledged to provide resources to families facing deportation by collaborating with community organizations and legal services and

providing students and families with information regarding their rights when interacting with law enforcement or immigration agents. Nevertheless, Maria shared that the community

> Se sienten inseguros, porque dicen ellos: "No sabemos si [salemos de la casa si esta] immigración o algo." Pero en algunas escuelas están dando [tarjetas] cuando empieza un rumor así, que ellos tienen derecho . . . y esas tarjetitas también les informan todo lo que ellos tienen que hacer. (They feel insecure, because they say: "We don't know if [we leave the house if] immigration [will get us] or something." But in some schools they are giving [informational cards] so when a rumor like this begins, that they know their rights . . . and those cards also inform them of everything they have to do.)

Maria's testimonio.

Para la educacion de mis hijos (For the education of my children). Maria had participated in the DELAC, ELAC, and district parent workshops, including those hosted by Families in Schools, a non-profit organization that "develops culturally-relevant parent curricular programs from birth to college, designed to engage families in the education of their children" (Families in Schools, 2020). When asked what inspired her to become involved, she stated, "Para la educacion de mis hijos. A conocer más sobre el sistema educativo. Y más que nada ver que es lo que estaba pasando alrededor del distrito." (For the education of my children. To know more about the educational system. And more than anything to see what was happening around the district.) Maria was dedicated to connecting with parents with the hope of building a stronger coalition of parents.

Mi idioma es español (My language is Spanish). Interestingly, when asked if there are any societal tensions within her community, Maria stated that they existed within the Latino

community. Specifically, she said that "El Español es muy criticado." (Spanish is highly criticized), and often heard from other Latino parents that frowned upon those that speak Spanish. Upon hearing this, she stated,

> Quise saber qué tipo de programas había para que mis hijos no perdieran ese idioma, porque si yo nomás de escuchar afuera de que, el español es malo, que el español no se debe de hablar porque el idioma aquí es el inglés. Pues, yo dije: "No, yo tengo que hacer algo," porque básicamente la cultura Latina es tener los dos idiomas, y mi idioma es español. (I wanted to know what kind of programs there were so that my children would not lose that language. Because if I just listen to the community that Spanish is bad, that Spanish should not be spoken because the language here is English. Well, I said: "No, I have to do something," because basically the Latino culture is to have both languages, and my language is Spanish.)

Maria went on to explain that negativity in the community was also a point of tension. For example, she stated that she would often hear that the schools that her children attended were academically poor and did not have quality education programs. Hearing this concerned her, and she began to investigate if this was true and realized

> Que la escuela donde asistía mis hijos . . . tienen más niños aprendices de inglés… Entonces ya he tratado de hablar con los papás y decirles que la escuela no es baja, si no es porque las escuelas son mas ninos de aprendices del inglés. (That the school where my children attended has more English Learners . . . So, I've already tried to talk to the parents and tell them that school is not low, it is because schools have more English Learner.)

At the same time, she stated that not many parents were familiar with what it meant to be identified as an English Learner or Reclassified student. Therefore, Maria said that she and other parents involved in the ELAC and DELAC had advocated for more district workshops that would help inform parents about how to support English Learners and the importance of Reclassification. “Eso sí es un poco desafío para la comunidad porque [nos] separa, pero estamos trabajando en eso para que los papás estén más conscientes y aprendan,” (That is a bit of a challenge for the community because it does separate us, but we are working on it so that parents are more aware and learn,) she stated.

Todo que nos dice no está ni escondido ni nada (Everything they tell us; it’s not hidden or anything else). Maria had participated in four cycles of the LCAP process, beginning in 2016-17 to 2019-2020. It was important to note that Dalton USD was also a part of the inaugural cohort of the Community Engagement Initiative’s (CEI) Peer Leading and Learning Network (PLLN). As part of the PLLN, Dalton USD collaborated with other participating districts to identify successful models of community engagement in the LCAP process (CCEE, 2020).

Overall, Maria described a collaborative LCAP process that included meaningful engagement of parents. Indeed, the theme of Soy aceptada en el distrito (I am accepted in the district) was consistent throughout her testimonio. She stated that the DELAC and ELAC meetings were both held primarily in Spanish since “La mayoría como aquí son Latinos.” (Since most of the community is Latino.) Nevertheless, she stated that translation services were provided to a participant if needed. Moreover, Maria described how the district was open to suggestions given by the parent leaders on how to improve the DELAC meetings. She stated that they voiced their concern that during the meetings, “Se habla mucho de lo que pasa en la escuela

de teatro, y todo; pero no estamos escuchando nada de provecho." (There is a lot of talk about what happens in school regarding festivities, and everything; but we are not hearing anything of benefit.) Maria explained that the meetings were now much more focused, allowing more critical discussions regarding the LCAP and Title funding. Furthermore, Maria said that the collaboration that parents experienced at the district level was experienced at the school level. She explained that "Van muchas veces que nos han cambiado [el director] pero no nos ha tocado un director que diga "Oh no, tú no opines." (There have been many times that they have changed the principal at the school, but we have not had a principal who says, "Oh no, you do not give your opinion.")

Maria also described in her testimonio Dalton USD's transparency in the LCAP process, which included a coherent system for sharing LCAP meeting information to parents at the school and funding allocation transparency. In her testimonio, Maria also described Dalton USD's transparency in the LCAP process, including a coherent system for sharing LCAP meeting information to parents at the school level and funding allocation transparency.

> Nosotros llevamos ese reporte, se lo damos a [el director] y ya ellos toman dato . . . ellos [nos] dejan presentar una parte . . . Y ya cuando entran en más en detalles, que los papás empiezan a hacer más preguntas, entonces [el director] empiezan a mostrar un poco más. Participamos juntos (We take that report, we give it to [the director] and they take data . . . they let us present a portion . . . And when they go into more detail, that the parents start asking more questions, then [the director] leads the presentation. We participate together.)

Additionally, Maria stated that the district's website included all information that had been discussed at the LCAP meetings, with all documents provided in Spanish and English. "Todo lo que nos dicen a nosotros no está ni escondido ni nada." (Everything they say to us is not hidden or anything.) She stated that "En eso estuvieron trabajando mucho porque antes muchos decían [los padres] 'Es que no lo entendemos.' Por eso estuvieron trabajando para que fuera la parte en español y en inglés." (That's what they were working on a lot because before, many [of the parents would say] "We don't understand it." That's why they were working to make [the website] in Spanish and English.)

Lastly, Maria shared that the district and schools were transparent concerning funding allocation. She explained that "El tema ahorita, básicamente, el que siempre ha [sido]…polémica, es sobre el dinero que se da a los estudiantes aprendices de inglés." (The issue right now, basically, the one that has always [been] . . . controversial, is about the money provided for English Learners.) Unfortunately, like many districts across California, Dalton USD had faced declining enrollment, leading to significant budget cuts (Warren, 2019). In fact, in March 2019, the Dalton USD school board voted unanimously to close two elementary schools, which caused much controversy in the school district. With that said, Maria stated that since the district meetings were transparent regarding funding, that parents "Empiezan a entender que no nomás es de que el distrito se queda con el dinero . . . no, ahí se les explica detalle por detalle por qué se les está dando ese tipo de ingreso a las escuelas. (Begin to understand that it is not just that the district keeps the money . . . no, there the district explains detail by detail why they are giving that type of income to schools.) Transparency in funding allocation is also true at the school level. Maria explained that in school meetings the principal presented "Dónde va el

dinero . . . Y lo mismo nos dice, 'Si tienen alguna otra pregunta o algo que a mí se me haya pasado algo…pueden entrar al sitio web y ahí también tienen toda la información.'" (Where the money goes . . . And tells us, "If you have any other questions or something if I forgot to mention something . . . you can go to the website and there you also have all the information.")

Citrus USD: Felicitas and Alejandra

At the PON and Justicia Para Todos LCFF workshop that I attended the year before, parents from Comunidad en Acción spoke to the audience. It was evident that they were dedicated to socially just community issues and education in their district. Therefore, when it was time to recruit participants for the study, I reached out to the organization. Justicia Para Todos is an umbrella non-profit organization founded to answer the social inequities and injustices throughout Citrus (pseudonym), the city where Citrus USD is located.

One of the organizations under this non-profit is the parent group, Comunidad en Acción. The mission of the Comunidad en Acción is to "organize and advocate for students and parents in order to improve the academic performance of students and ensure the district and the city make decisions that put children first." The group highlighted three goals, to "improve student health and wellness, create economic justice in school funding through participatory budgeting, and ensure the success of English Learners." The parent group was established in 2013, the same year as the inaugural LCAP development cycle. Upon hearing back from the Justicia Para Todos, I was surprised to learn that only one parent was initially willing to participate.

Felicitas' testimonio. Felicitas and I met at the organization's office. Although she did not have a child classified as an English Learner during her time participating in the LCAP, a participant criterion for the study, her testimonio was compelling. Undeniably, Felicitas'

testimonio provided a detailed description of the societal context for the community of Citrus USD. Through our interviews, I began to understand the hesitation of parents to participate in the study. As a United States Resident, Felicitas was a safeguard and gatekeeper for other parents that were undocumented citizens. Indeed, it wasn't until after we built a trusting relationship that Felicitas introduced me to Alejandra, co-founder of Comunidad en Acción, who would eventually agree to participate in the study.

During our interviews, Felicitas recalled the time she received a call from an unknown number. On the other line was a distressed woman who told her that a friend had given her Felicitas' number. She had accidentally hit someone with her car and was afraid of the police since she was an undocumented citizen. The woman asked Felicitas for advice on what to do since she feared getting deported. The city of Citrus was comprised primarily of Latinos, many of whom are immigrants, with 24% identifying as non-U.S. citizens (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Furthermore, the city held a contract with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) recently as in 2016, a year with heightened anti-immigrant sentiment. Local advocacy groups, including Justicia para Todos and Comunidad en Acción, petitioned for the city to cancel the contract and adopt a sanctuary city status. Felicitas remembered that the arduous battle caused friction in the community; however, immigration advocates successfully convinced the city council. In December 2017, a month before Trump would take the oath of office for President of the United States, the council voted for the city to comply with the "sanctuary state" law, a 2017 California law that prohibited state and local enforcement from using its resources to cooperate with federal immigration (*SB 54 California* 2017). Felicitas recalled the fear that rippled throughout the community during this time. And even though the community climate was

somewhat better four years later, she detailed that parents with whom she was familiar shared that they were still very fearful of participating in school and district activities due to their immigration status. Immigrant parent feares in participating in school and district activities were echoed in research by Gándara and Ee (2018), which found that the current U.S. immigration enforcement policy negatively impacted parent involvement in the school setting.

Alejandra's testimonio. During each of our interviews, I asked Felicitas if she knew of any parents that would be opened to speaking to me. Initially, she was hesitant; however, after building a personal relationship with her, she began reaching out to parents involved in the LCAP process and whether they would be interested in participating in the study. One parent agreed to meet with me under the condition that Felicitas be present. I met Alejandra at the Justicia Para Todos office, a safe space for her. She seemed guarded and promptly asked me of my intentions and how I would use the interview. I explained the study's goal, what initial research had shown regarding English Learner parent involvement in the LCAP process, and how this study differed in that it would document the firsthand experience of Latino parents in the LCAP process. After explaining to her the goal of the research and my commitment to the request of Pueblo USD's parent leaders to create a research brief from the study findings that parent leaders could use in their advocacy efforts, she became very interested and agreed to participate.

Born in Mexico, Alejandra immigrated to the United States almost three decades ago. She completed secundaria, the equivalent of middle school, in Mexico and attended high school in the United States, where she finished the 11th grade. For 20 years, she had been a member of her school community, where each of her three children has attended school. Her two daughters

were classified as English Learners during her time in the LCAP development process and have since reclassified.

Para mi hijo (For my son). Alejandra had been heavily involved in various school committees, having served a decade on the DELAC, ELAC, and School Advisory Committee (SAC), all of which she has been voted as president. Also, she had served for about two years on the School Site Council. Furthermore, Alejandra had attended School Smarts academy workshops, a California PTA-created parent engagement program. She became involved in the school political process due to the "Necesidad que tenia mi hijo." (The need that my son had.) She explained that as an only child for many years, her son struggled to reclassify. She explained that "en la casa no se hablaba el idioma [ingles]; no teníamos el dinero para como darle un tutor, para que él pudiera aprender." (English was not spoken at the house; We didn't have money to provide him with a tutor, so that he could learn.) Having no other means to help her son, Alejandra felt defeated. So, she decided to involve herself in the school political process.

Furthermore, the school her children attended lost their principal, and the leadership void continued for some time. The lack of leadership led to a lack of control at the school, which affected students academically. Alejandra began to meet with other concerned parents. She recalled, "De por si académicamente no estaba en un nivel que requería el Estado. Entonces cada año miramos que iba más abajo." (As it was, academically, the school was not at the level the State required. And every year after we saw that it was decreasing academically.) The calls and meetings would soon give birth to a more significant grassroots movement within the school community and eventually led her to co-found Comunidad en Acción, a subgroup of Justicia Para Todos. Alejandra stated that the school began to show academic improvement after two

years of advocacy from the parents. “Nos costó trabajo, pero miramos y: ‘oh, guau, valió la pena,’ y sigue valiendo la pena,” (It was hard work for us, but we look and say, “Oh wow it was worth it.” And it is still worth it,) she stated.

Los papá’s revoltosos (The unruly parents). Prevalent themes in Alejandra’s testimonio included Muchos somos mas fuertes (Together we are stronger), where she detailed the power of community organizations in advocating for change, Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise), where she described being the victim of intimidation and retaliation, and Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), specifically regarding funding allocation.

Alejandra explained how organizing parents into a formal group had led to change in the school system. “Muchos de los cambios que han hecho [el distrito], es porque uno los ha presionado como organización, porque sino no, siguiéramos—aunque abogaran los papás, como abogáramos, porque solo quedaban comentarios; entonces, [nosotros como organización] éramos más constantes.” (Many of the changes [the district] have made is because one has pressured them as an organization. Because…even if the parents advocated, as we advocated before, they would only document comments; so, we [as an organization] were more constant.)

Alejandra recalled “Cuando nosotros empezamos como grupo no nomás éramos Latinos, éramos varias culturas; entonces, yo creo que si hubiera seguido así, hubiera sido bien importante porque las necesidades son diferentes…Hubiéramos logrado más cosas de lo que se han logrado.” (When we started as a group, we were not just Latinos, we were various cultures; So, I think that if it had continued like that, it would have been very important because the needs are different…We would have accomplished more than has been accomplished.) Nevertheless, she

stated that the district began to cause a divide within the parents which eventually led to a predominantly Latino parent group.

Before LCAP implementation, Comunidad en Acción had also advocated for improvement in school nutrition at certain schools. Children reported to their parents that their school lunch was either cold, still partially frozen, or in some cases, rotten. The parent group was negotiating with the district improvement to the school nutrition program when LCAP implementation began. Alejandra participated in five cycles of the LCAP decision-making process, starting with the inaugural year. Unfortunately, she had to step away due to financial constraints since the meetings are held in the morning, which interfered with work. Nonetheless, she was still involved with Justicia para Todos and Comunidad en Acción.

Alejandra's testimonio revealed various episodes of intimidation and retaliation. At first, Alejandra recalled that Comunidad en Acción was welcomed at LCAP related meetings. However, she stated that retaliation began once the parent group questioned the district about funding. The parent leaders of Comunidad en Acción earned a derogatory nickname by district staff

> De hecho, hasta que te apuntaban, decían: "oh, mira, ella es parte de los papá's revoltosos," así. Y era un título, "papá's revoltosos," no éramos papá's que peleábamos por los derechos de nuestros estudiantes, no, porque no decían: "ellos son los papá's que están peleando por el cambio para sus hijos y su comunidad," "no, ahí están los papá's revoltosos." (They would point at you and say, "oh, look, she's part of the unruly parents." And it was a title, "unruly parents," we were not parents who fought for the rights of our students, no, because they didn't say: "they are the parents who are fighting

for change for their children and their community," instead they would say "no, they are the unruly parents.)

Alejandra believed that by branding her and the other parents in Comunidad en Acción as "papá's revoltosos" the district tried to discourage other parents from associating with the group. She recalled how this has resulted in an "us versus them" mentality with other parents.

> Lo que pasa es que cuando tú vas a las juntas, cuando tú empiezas a conocer gente de otras escuelas, que a mí en lo personal me pasó cuando—que me decían: "oh, es que tú eres bien peleonera," y dije: "¿peleonera? ¿En qué forma? ¿A quién le he pegado o a quién le grité?" Le dije: "yo nunca he llegado al distrito faltándole el respeto a nadie, simplemente he peleado y no es peleado, he luchado por la necesidad que tenia mi hijo y eso no beneficia a mi hijo, te beneficia también a ti como a tu comunidad, tu distrito. Porque no nomás estábamos peleando por mi escuela, estábamos mirando por otras escuelas. (What happens is that when you go to the meetings, when you start meeting people from other schools, what happened to me personally—they said to me: "Oh, it's because you like to fight," and I said: "Fight? In what way? Who did I hit or who did I yell at?" I told them: "I have never come to the district disrespecting anyone, I have simply fought—and not fought, I have advocated for the need that my son had and that does not just benefit my son, it benefits you as well, and your community. Because we were not just advocating for my school, we were advocating for other schools.)

The district also used intimidation tactics to discourage the parents from organizing. Alejandra recollected that before a board meeting, a rumor began to spread that ICE officers would be going to or near the meeting.

> Muchos de los papá's se intimidaron. Muchos decidimos ir, porque dices: "Si no alzas la voz, la escuela sigue igual." Entonces, muchas mamá's dijimos: "¿vamos o no vamos?" Porque teníamos miedo, porque tú dices: "si nos pasa" [ser detenida por ICE], tú te pones a pensar, no eres tú, es tú familia. Entonces, pues fuimos . . . como alrededor de más de 30 papá's, con miedo pero ahí estamos. (Many of the parents were intimidated. Many decided to go, because you say: "if you don't voice your concern, the school remains the same." So, many moms said: "are we going or are we not going?" Because we were afraid, because you say: "If it happens to us" [getting detained by ICE], you start to think, it's not you, it's your family. So, well, we went . . . like around more than 30 parents, afraid but there we are.)

According to Alejandra, although ICE officers were not present at the meeting, the rumor still sent a message to many parents that they were unwelcomed at the meeting or future meetings. A prevalent theme of Alejandra's testimonio was the Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process). "Duramos batallando," (We struggled,) she stated "Porque cuando empezó el cambio (del LCAP), se vino mucho dinero. Entonces, en nuestras escuelas el rumor era: "no hay dinero" entonces cuando descubrimos que había mucho dinero . . . tuvimos muchas juntas para poder abogar que el dinero llegara a las escuelas." (Because when the change [the LCAP] started, a lot of money came. So, in our schools the rumor was: "there is no money," so when we discovered that there was a lot of money . . . we held many meetings to be able to advocate that the money reaches the schools.)

Understanding the LCAP and advocacy for funding transparency was achieved through assistance from the community organization, Justicia para Todos. Alejandra explained

> Porque no nomás íbamos a las juntas que eran por parte del distrito, sino que hacíamos juntas extra para poder abogar, porque no estábamos entendiendo el concepto de el LCAP, no lo estábamos entendiendo. Entonces, queríamos saber cómo se usa el dinero, de dónde viene y por qué la escuela va a recibir esos ingresos. (Because we were not just going to the meetings that were held by the district, we were also holding extra meetings so that we could advocate, because we were not understanding the concept of the LCAP. We were not understanding it. We wanted to know how the money is used, where it comes from and why the school will receive that income.)

Once the parents understood the LCAP process, they began to advocate via Justicia Para Todos for funding transparency at the school level. "Siempre se hablaba de un capital, pero era el total . . . no entendíamos cuánto toca a cada escuela." (There was always talk about the funding, but it was the total amount . . . we did not understand how much money each school receives.) After two years of Justicia Para Todos advocating for funding transparency at the school level, the district began to share the total amount provided to each school at the LCAP meetings. Nevertheless, Alejandra said that much work was needed to achieve true transparency because "No te especifican bien; o sea, nomás la cantidad. Entonces, yo creo que sí falta un poco más de explicar." (They don't specify the amounts well; that is, they provide just the total. So, I think the [funding at the school level] does need a little more to explain.)

Individual Testimonio Themes

Table 6 provides the prevalent themes in each testimonio. Chapter 5 will discuss the cross-case analysis across the themes, including a description of each.

Table 6

Individual Participant Themes

Participant	Themes
Dolores	Intimidación disfrazada Lo que me inspira Navegando por el sistema escolar Muchos somos mas fuertes Ofuscación del proceso LCAP
Paola	Intimidación disfrazada Lo que me inspira Navegando por el sistema escolar Ofuscación del proceso LCAP
Gloria	Intimidación disfrazada Lo que me inspira Navegando por el sistema escolar Muchos somos mas fuertes Ofuscación del proceso LCAP
Fernanda	Intimidación disfrazada Navegando por el sistema escolar Muchos somos mas fuertes Ofuscación del proceso LCAP
Elizabeth	Intimidación disfrazada Lo que me inspira Navegando por el sistema escolar Muchos somos mas fuertes Ofuscación del proceso LCAP
Maria	Lo que me inspira Soy aceptada en el distrito
Alejandra	Intimidación disfrazada Lo que me inspira Muchos somos mas fuertes Ofuscación del proceso LCAP

Note. Individual participant themes.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter provided the individual testimonios of the Latina leaders, including their personal background information, how they became involved in the political process, and their experiences in the LCAP process. The chapter also included the societal

context of the district. Finally, the chapter discussed the themes present in each testimonio. Chapter 5 will present the cross-case analysis of the Latina leaders' testimonios.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

The analysis included seven participant's testimonios since one, Felicitas, did not meet the study criteria. Epistemologically, a critical constructivist perspective, where the Latina leaders make meaning of the world around them through their own experiences (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2009; Kincheloe, 2008; Merriam, 2009), informed the study.

Summary of Testimonios

Dolores

With over 20 years of experience as a parent leader, Dolores had extensive institutional knowledge of her district and has participated in various district and community groups. In addition, Dolores had traveled to Sacramento to advocate for English Learners with the California State Board of Education at times on her own accord. Having participated in five cycles of the LCAP process, Dolores had the most comprehensive understanding of the LCAP development process and the LCFF school funding policy. Unfortunately, through the numerous years of advocating for her child and English Learner students, Dolores had suffered many episodes of hostility, intimidation, and retaliation from the district and school officials. In terms of the LCAP development process, Dolores shared the various barriers parents face in meaningfully participating in the process. The District Code of Conduct for LCAP meetings threatens the removal of "disruptive" parents; therefore, Dolores relied on her political savviness to address problems that parent leaders of English Learners face in the development process. Overall, she scrutinized the district's lack of financial transparency and failure to provide

disaggregated data of English Learners and the educational programs identified for them in the district's LCAP.

Paola

Upon hearing about the study, Paola was ready to share her experience and was the first parent interviewed. Paola was a thoughtful and passionate leader that is deeply involved in district and community groups. Together with Dolores, they led formal and informal community groups. She had eight years of experience participating in various district parent groups and had participated in the two most recent LCAP cycles. Perhaps because of her familiarity with the school political process, Paola would deconstruct the shortcomings of her district's parent engagement process in the LCAP development during our interviews. She was most vocal about the importance of a parent's understanding in navigating the school system to enact change. With tears streaming down her face, Paola recounted the dehumanizing behavior that she had to endure when she advocated for additional services for her child struggling in the classroom. In response, the school advised her that they would transfer her child to a different school. With her understanding of the school system, Paola quickly went to the district and asked to speak to the superintendent. In the end, the school did not transfer her child and, instead, began to provide differentiated, targeted support.

Gloria

The third parent interviewed from Pueblo USD was Gloria and the only Latina leader whose child was identified as an LTEL. She was new to the school political process and participated in her inaugural year of the LCAP development process. Her testimonio provided valuable insight of a parent new to the overall school political system and LCAP process. She

recounted her attempts to advocate for her high school child, which resulted in a Social Worker visiting her home to verify that she was fit to parent. This disturbing and hostile tactic used by the school caused Gloria much fear, and she began to question the intentions of school officials in assisting students and parents. For her, seeking to understand the LCAP process involved navigating a myriad of school systems only to find no answers. Moreover, when she sought out district LCAP workshops, she encountered linguoracism, which resulted in her receiving a patchwork of information. Gloria also shared the lack of transparency at the school level regarding English Learner data and educational programs. Through the assistance of parents who had experience navigating the school system, she learned to advocate for the information with the superintendent's office.

Maria

Maria immigrated as a teenager and graduated from the same district where her children now attended school. Her district was in the inaugural group of CEI PLLN, where participating districts collaborate to identify effective models of community engagement in the LCAP process (CCEE, 2020). With that said, an intriguing find of her testimonio was that Maria was the only parent that did not report instances of hostility or retaliation by district or school officials. Still, she did highlight instances of linguoracism demonstrated by other Latinos in the community. It was an encounter with a parent who had voiced their displeasure over their children learning Spanish that prompted Maria to get involved in the LCAP process. Maria shared that her dedication to her LCAP participation was to promote educational programs for English Learners that celebrated their native language.

Fernanda

During her testimonio, Fernanda shared her experience of participating in five cycles of the LCAP development process. She later shared how a UCP complaint had been filed against the district, alleging that they had misappropriated LCFF funding in the 2016-17 LCAP. The district agreed to actions to include in the LCAP for the 2018-19, 2019-20, and 2020-21 school years. Although she was not part of the group of parents that filed the UCP complaint, she was highly involved in the mandated community forums the district had to host to solicit community input for the LCAP decision-making process. The community forums were well organized and provided student data, translation in Spanish and Khmer, and childcare. Nevertheless, Fernanda shared her frustration with the district's perfunctory efforts in achieving the actions set out by the UCP complaint. For her, the lack of funding transparency from the district to school level was deeply concerning since "Todo pasa en las escuelas." (Everything happens in schools.)

Elizabeth

With ten years of experience in school politics, Elizabeth had vast institutional knowledge of her district and the various parent committees dedicated to English Learner success. Because of her involvement in other district parent groups, she was aware of LCAP discussions for at least five years; however, she had participated in two cycles of the LCAP process during the 2017-18 and 2018-19 school years. Her testimonio provided insight of a parent with a deep understanding of navigating the school system while new to the LCAP process. Elizabeth shared her frustration regarding the complexity of the process, specifically the lack of translated material for Spanish-speaking parents. Furthermore, she shared the lack of transparency in funding allocation at the district level. She recounted her attempt to get an

itemized budget, only to be ignored by district staff. Finally, she is served by the same district as Fernanda and spoke about the district's lack of meeting the agreed-upon actions set upon by the UCP complaint agreement, such as LCFF funding dedicated to services for immigrant children.

Felicitas

Although Felicitas did not meet the participant criteria, she was central in gaining access to another parent leader. Moreover, her testimonio revealed the extreme negative tension that the parent leaders in her district encounter within and outside of the school community, which included poorly resourced schools in predominantly immigrant Latino communities and fear of deportation by ICE agents. As a U.S. Resident, Felicitas acted as the guardian for the other parent leaders, many of which identified as undocumented immigrants. We met twice in person, where we completed the interview questions. In essence, she was vetting me and the interview process to determine if it justified introducing the other parents.

Alejandra

For our first interview, Alejandra requested that Felicitas be present. She was hesitant and questioned the purpose of the study; however, once she learned more, she was eager to share her testimonio. Alejandra shared how she endured malicious forms of hostility and retaliation due to her involvement in the school political system, including the LCAP development process. Yet, she shared how the negative tensions spurred her to create a grassroots parent community group, Comunidad en Acción, that is dedicated to addressing the poor educational conditions within her district. Through the activism of Comunidad en Acción, financial transparency of LCAP funding at the school level began to occur. Even though it was cause for celebration, Alejandra

mentioned how there was still much work to do since the district had yet to disclose the amount of funding that individual English Learner educational programs receive at the school level.

Cross Case Analysis of Testimonios

Using qualitative data analysis software (Dedoose 8.3.17), thematic connections across testimonios were made by using cross-case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Using cross-case analysis can "enhance generalizability & deepen understanding and explanation" of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 173). The themes were identified as "Intimidación disfrazada" (Intimidation in disguise), "Ofuscación del proceso LCAP" (Obfuscation of the LCAP process), "Navegando por el sistema escolar" (Navigating the school system), "Lo que me inspira" (What inspires me), and "Muchos somos mas fuertes" (Together we are stronger). Table 7 provides a definition of each theme.

Table 7

Cross Case Analysis Themes

Theme	Definition
Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise)	The theme encapsulates the negative tensions, including intimidation and retaliation, experienced by all but one of the Latina parent leaders during their participation in the LCAP process.
Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process)	This theme summarizes the district's obfuscation of the LCAP process experienced by the Latina parent leaders. All but one parent detailed experiencing this during their participation in the LCAP process.
Navegando por el sistema escolar (Navigating the school system)	This theme encompasses the importance of navigating the school system to enact change. Five of the seven parents stated the importance of navigating the school system.
Lo que me inspira (What inspires me)	This theme was described by all but one of the parents and describes their personal intention in participating in the school political process.

Note. Cross-case analysis themes.

Intimidación Disfrazada (Disguised Intimidation)

The theme encapsulated the negative tensions, including intimidation and retaliation, experienced by all but one of the Latina parent leaders during their participation in the LCAP process. The parent leaders described feelings encompassing disempowerment and fear. Maria was the only parent that did not express such feelings. She was served by Dalton USD, which is participating in CEI's PLLN, a professional learning network of six school districts that focus on sharing promising practices in engaging students and families in the LCAP decision-making process (CCEE, 2020). Many Latina leaders were ready to share and often became overwhelmed with emotion as they recounted the dehumanizing experiences. Still, a few seemed hesitant to share too many details, perhaps fearing that it could reveal their identity. Unfortunately, the

hostility and intimidation experienced by the Latina leaders resulted in a few parents stepping away from the school political process; nevertheless, they remained involved in community parent advocacy groups. Olivos (2006) stated that these tensions serve to "disempower and subjugate bicultural communities" (p. 105).

For some Latina leaders, the instances of negative tension extended to the school level and were experienced well before their involvement in the LCAP process. For example, schools in one district often labeled the parent leader as "disruptive," resulting in the parent's removal from the campus and prohibiting the parent from future visits. If the parent refused, criminal charges could be filed. To enforce the policy, the district cited *California Penal Code Section 626.7, 626.8* and the *Education Code § 44810 (a), § 44811 (a)*. Dolores recounted how her advocacy for better educational opportunities for her granddaughter, who identified as an English Learner with special needs, conflicted with the teacher and principal. She recalled the harsh treatment she received and believed that the principal tried to bait her so that she would be labeled as a "disruptive parent," leading to her being disenfranchised; However, Dolores was politically savvy and understood how district policies could be used to silence parents. Dolores underscored the contradictory actions of school officials in supporting meaningful parent engagement, which resulted in negative tension. She said "Los directores ven el liderazgo de un padre, le dicen: 'Ve tú,' pero después cuando empiezan a ver que el liderazgo es muy fuerte, entonces ya buscan la manera de cómo sacarte." (Principals see a parent's leadership and say, "You go," but then when they start to see that the leadership is very strong, then they figure out how to get you out.)

The most troubling experiences of negative tension described by the Latina leaders involved intimidation and retaliation from school officials. For instance, Alejandra reported how district staff threatened retaliation against her child if she continued with her demands. Emphatically, they told her that if she continued her troublesome nature, her son would not qualify for scholarships for his post-secondary studies. Fortunately, she contacted a community organizer to verify this threat. In another incident, Alejandra described the fear that she and other parents felt when there was a rumor that ICE officials would be at the district meeting.

> Muchos de los papá's se intimidaron, muchos decidimos ir, porque dices: "Si no alzas la voz, la escuela sigue igual," y la verdad, estaba en una situación muy delicada, muy delicada porque el acoso era muy grande y la necesidad, y lo académico, pues no se diga. Entonces, muchas mamá's dijimos: "¿vamos o no vamos?" porque teníamos miedo, porque tú dices: "si nos pasa," tú te pones a pensar, no eres tú, es tú familia. Entonces, pues fuimos y fuimos como alrededor de más de 30 papá's, con miedo pero ahí estamos. (Many of the parents were intimidated, many of us decided to go, because you say, "if you don't use your voice to advocate, the school stays the same," and the truth is, I was in a very delicate situation, very delicate because the harassment was severe and the need, including academic need, was important. So, many of us moms said, "are we going or not going," because we were afraid, because you say, "if it happens to us," you start thinking, it's not you, it's your family. So, we went, about 30 parents, with fear but we were there.)

Gloria shared similar sentiments of fear due to intimidation. In an incident that occurred before she participated in the LCAP, she recalled her experience advocating for her son, who identifies as an LTEL. After a misunderstanding with a teacher, her son refused to go back to

school because he did not feel respected. To rectify the situation, Gloria went to the school to talk to the teachers and principal. She was new to navigating the school system, and after an unproductive and tense discussion, she was asked to leave. Days later, she stated that a Social Worker came to her house. The school had reported her son's absence, and Gloria was being investigated for child endangerment. She recalled the fear she felt as the Social Worker went through her house, checking cupboards and bedrooms to see if it was safe for her children. Fortunately, Gloria had a close-knit community of other parent leaders, such as Dolores, who had experience navigating the school system and helped guide her through the traumatic experience. Gloria also shared how she and other parent leaders sought assistance from district officials because they were not getting answers from the school. As a result, she stated that the principal confronted the parents.

> A nosotros nos daba miedo tener represalias, que tuvieran con nuestros hijos y con nosotros, porque el director siempre nos decía, nos agarraba como sí sabía algo…y te llamaba: "Qué usted anda diciendo de que este, el otro y aquello y aquello. (We were afraid of retaliation, that they would have with our children and with us, because the director would tell us, he would come up to us as if he knew something…and tell us: "You are talking about us and saying this and that and the other.")

During their LCAP experience, the Latina leaders shared how districts used various methods, including veiled tactics or intimidación disfrazada. The veiled tactics included instances where school and district leaders, such as the superintendent, snubbed or scolded the Latina leaders in front of other parent participants. The parent leaders explained that these subtle

tactics served as an attempt to control them and send a message to other parents that witnessed how the Latina leaders were reprimanded or ostracized.

Another indirect tactic used were vague Codes of Conduct for LCAP meetings where district leaders could remove parents at their discretion. Dolores underscored the subtle methods used for silencing vocal parent leaders at district meetings. She stated "Te intimidan de alguna forma, porque hasta te hacen firmar normas de conductas, que si no las cumplo me pueden destituir de cualquier comité. Entonces existe esa intimidación disfrazada." (They intimidate you in some way because they even make you sign rules of conduct, which if I don't comply with them, they can remove me from any committee. So that is intimidation in disguise.) Dolores explained that "El Distrito dice que cualquier personal administrativo te puede sacar del comité si no cumples las normas de conducta que el Distrito ha implementado." (The district says that any administrative staff can remove you from the committee if you do not meet the codes of conduct that the district has implemented for the meetings.) Furthermore, she stated that parent leaders have been excluded from meeting invitations. "Ahorita se nos presentó dos casos de dos padres que ni le avisaron cuando fue la convocatoria." (Even now we have two cases of two parents who did not get notified of the convening.)

Ofuscación del Proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP Process)

This theme summarized the district's obfuscation of the LCAP process experienced by the Latina parent leaders. When describing the various obfuscation methods used by the districts, the Latina leaders expressed feelings of frustration, confusion, and disempowerment. The theme aligned with findings from Porras' (2019) study, which found that Latino parents faced many barriers, including lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and

misinformation regarding the LCAP development process. Furthermore, knowledge of the LCAP development process varied among the Latina leaders, which they each described as a complicated and lengthy process. The varying comprehension of the LCAP process can be explained by several factors, including the diverse number of years that each parent leader was involved in the development process, seven cycles at study time. For instance, the number of cycles that the Latina leaders participated in varied from two to five cycles, with two parents having experienced the inaugural year of the LCAP process.

Moreover, of the four districts that served the Latina leaders, not one had a mandatory LCAP orientation for parents new to the process. Instead, some districts offered non-mandatory parent workshops, described as confusing and often lacked information in the parent leaders' home language. Therefore, all but one parent leader would also attend non-district community parent groups to help them comprehend the LCAP process.

The Latina leaders explained that time is needed to travel to and attend meetings. Some stated this was usually a four-hour process, and they needed additional time to understand the LCAP process and documents handed out at the meetings. After the sessions, the parent leaders then had to report back to parents at their respective schools. For each district represented by the Latinas, only one had a set process in how parents could share the information with their school sites. In many instances, parents were only provided with one set of handouts and were left to figure out how to share the documents and information at the school level. In addition, resources available to the Latina leaders varied by school site, with some having to make copies independently while others could seek the assistance of the community liaison.

This thematic connection was prevalent across six of the seven participants, with Maria as the only parent that did not describe similar experiences. Fernanda expressed her frustration describing her experience in asking the district questions during the LCAP development process. "Porque nomás haces tus preguntas y se las das [al distrito] pero nunca he sabido que haya un seguimiento," (Because you ask your questions and you give it to [the district] but I've never known them to follow-up,) she stated. Gloria shared a similar experience. As a parent leader new to the LCAP development process, she said that a district orientation on the importance of and development process of the LCAP did not exist. Therefore, she would attend non-mandatory district workshops to help her understand the LCAP and her responsibilities as a participating parent. However, she noted that if she or other parents had questions during the workshop, the district facilitators would advise parents to make an appointment to clarify their inquiries.

> O sea, si yo tengo preguntas más a fondo, por el tiempo no podemos, y seguimos. En muchos talleres que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas por eso, porque "el tiempo," siempre dicen: "Tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna—haga cita y contestamos sus dudas." Pero en sí, a nosotros como padres nos cuesta entender el vocabulario que ellos usan en sus documentos, nos cuesta poderlo poner a un lenguaje más común, que pueda ser más entendible. (In other words, if I have more in-depth questions, because of time we can't, and we go on. In many workshops I have attended, where we are left with doubts because of that, because "time," they always say: "We have to continue and if you have any [questions] —make an appointment and we will answer your questions." But we as parents have a hard time understanding the vocabulary

they use in their documents, we have a hard time putting it into a more common language, which can be more understandable.)

Furthermore, she detailed her experience in getting further information regarding the LCAP process from the district. “Ellos nos dicen que hagamos cita. Pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible,” (They tell us to make an appointment. But to make an appointment, [you] call and they leave you on hold, then it’s like something more impossible,) she stated. She added that

> [El] número [que llamas] lo transfiere a un—pienso a una extensión y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan y uno. Ya ve que uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar. Dije: “No, ya, para estar ahí esperando. Mejor lo dejo así.” (The number [you call] is transferred to a—I think to an extension and from there they put the music and that’s where they leave you. And you know a parent is running everywhere and I have already tried twice, I did not try again. I said: “No, already, to be there waiting [on the phone]. Better I leave it like that.”)

Other forms of obfuscation of the LCAP process included linguoracist practices. During the LCAP decision-making process, Elizabeth recalled her experience in providing input. She shared that during the session, staff recorded parent feedback in Spanish on a large poster. The district would then translate the poster into English. Unfortunately, district staff failed to collaborate with parents to ensure that they had the correct translation, which led to the misinterpretation of parent comments and ideas. She lamented that, “Ya cuando las vuelves a regresar al español, pues te ponen otra palabra.” (When they would translate them back into Spanish, the translation

was incorrect.) For Gloria, she described practices that have kept her from comprehending different aspects of the LCAP process. She stated,

> Pienso que ha trabajado mucho el distrito en ese aspecto del idioma, pero aún falta todavía más. Muchos documentos que deberían estar en español o tener traducción, no lo tienen. Pienso que sí es un poco difícil, uno; porque es difícil, por ejemplo, cuando uno no entiende 100% el inglés, hay parte que no las traducen al 100%, que de una conversación que se está hablando, de un tema que se está hablando, digamos que a nosotros en español nos traducen un 70%. En partes la traducción se queda detenida en algo que no haya como decirlo más rápido, y para seguir la conversación, se queda el tema, se queda como cortado y de ahí sigue a lo que ya están hablando. Pienso que es como una barrea que nos detiene a entender un poco mejor, siento yo. (I do think that the district has worked a lot on that aspect of the language, but there is still more to do. Many documents that should be in Spanish or have a translation, do not have it. I think that it is a little difficult, one; because it is difficult, for example, when one does not understand English 100%. There are parts that are not translated 100% of a conversation that is being spoken about, of a topic that is being spoken about, let's say that they translate 70 % for us in Spanish. I think it's like a barrier that stops us from understanding a little better, I feel.)

Moreover, the Latina parent leaders described further obfuscation of the LCAP process due to a lack of data and financial transparency. Paola emphasized how school and financial data are inextricably connected to student success, which is the goal of the LCFF policy.

> Que [el] distrito digan realmente en qué se están invirtiendo el dinero, y si esos programas están funcionando, darles seguimiento . . . ¿cuántos fueron beneficiados?, si hubo una manera que se dió que los estudiantes subieron, o sea, no hay una data que demuestre que realmente el dinero se reparte en cada programa, nos dicen cuando . . . viene el presupuesto y nomás le hablamos de esto y esto, pero nomás vienen los nombres, pero no dicen cuánto dinero asigna y no dicen si el programa funcionó, fue efectivo o no. ([The district] should say what the money is really being invested in, and if these programs are working, they should follow up . . . How many students have benefited from it [and] if there was a way to measure if it impacted student success. That is, there is no data that shows that the money is really being distributed in each program. They tell us when . . . the budget comes in and we just talk about the programs, but only the names come in. But they don't say how much money is allocated and they don't say if the program worked, was effective or not.)

Alejandra shared a similar experience and sentiment.

> [En el distrito] no se habla de lo que es el dinero, lo que se está gastando. Sé que es como las cosas que va a haber en la comunidad, información, la asistencia, cosas así. Pero eso como mamá a mí no me beneficia porque no sé lo que está gastando para mi escuela, cuánto se le dio. ([The district] doesn't talk about the funding, where the money is being spent. I know the programs that are happening in the community, the information, assistance, things like that. But that, for me as a parent, doesn't benefit me because I don't know what is being spent at my school, how much was given to it.)

Additionally, she shared how she and the parent organization have advocated for LCFF funding transparency at the district and school levels. Her frustration is apparent, and she recalled, “Si ha durado tiempo para agarrar [la cantidad de dinero], para que sean transparentes, cuánto dinero estaban agarrando en las escuelas. Sí te dan esa cantidad ahora, pero todavía no es por programa.” (It has taken time to get [the amount of money], for them to be transparent, how much money they were allocating at the school level. They do give you that amount now, but it’s still not by program.)

At Nieto USD, Elizabeth and Fernanda shared similar experiences of the lack of LCFF funding transparency. Elizabeth shared her frustration when she attempted to get an itemized budget from district staff.

> Si yo estoy pidiendo en qué se gastó este dinero y a dónde fue este otro dinero de los fondos que hay, que me lo digan claramente. Porque le decíamos: “Necesito que me des por escrito en qué es que se ha gastado el dinero,” y siempre nos llevaba, para la próxima reunión y llegaba la reunión y le decíamos . . . y nunca nos la quería dar. (If I am asking what this money was spent on and where did this other money go from the funds, tell me clearly. Because we would say, “I need you to give me in writing what the money was spent on,” and he would tell us for the next meeting and the meeting would come and we would remind him . . . and he would never give it to us.)

Furthermore, Fernanda shared the importance and need for funding transparency at the school level.

> Supongamos que el [LCAP] dice que esto o lo otro. Que necesitan [en las escuelas], que tienen, y que deben de tener. Pero no pasa, no pasa . . . En las juntas de DELAC, la . . .

> que son los que nos van a decir cómo se distribuyen los fondos nos dicen . . . en el [School Site Council] que tenemos que decir, porque en la escuela es donde sucede todo. Pero si en la escuela no nos están escuchando. (Suppose the [LCAP] says this or that. What [the schools] need, what they have, and what they should have. But it doesn't happen, it doesn't happen . . . In the DELAC meetings, the district staff . . . who are going to tell us how the funds are distributed, they tell us . . . that we should talk to the [School Site Council], because it is at the school where everything happens. But the school is not listening to us.)

Navegando Por el Sistema Escolar (Navigating the School System)

This theme encompassed the importance of navigating the school system to enact change. Research has shown that Latino parents must navigate many procedures to have their voices heard in the school setting (Olivos, 2006, 2009). When the Latina parent leaders described instances of navigating the system, they expressed frustration and disempowerment. For example, Paola aptly described her experience in navigating the school system.

> Eso es lo que es frustrante, cuando uno de padre no está preparado y no sabe exactamente con quién ir, las personas, porque a veces el mismo personal se cubre, dicen: "Pasé la información," pero exactamente no ha pasado de donde está. Ahí es donde aprendí mejor a ir al Distrito o al board y exponer lo que realmente está pasando. (That is what is frustrating, when a parent is not prepared and does not know exactly who to go with. Because sometimes the same school staff falsely says: "I passed the information," but that has not happened. That's where I learned that it is best to go to the district or the board and expose what's really going on.)

Elizabeth stated that to have a strong knowledge of how to navigate the system involves "De saber de que más o menos quién son las personas que están arriba, que tienen el poder; cuando uno dice: 'Okay, tengo esto aquí. No me están escuchando, entonces ya sé con quién tengo que ir.'" (To know more or less who the people are that are on top, that have the power; when you say, "Okay, I have this issue here. They're not listening to me, so I know who I have to go for answers.)

Lo Que Me Inspira (What Inspires Me)

Bordas (2014) stated that Latino leaders examine personal intention and essentially question: "Why do I do what I do?" This Latino leadership trait that the theme Lo que me inspira is centered (Bordas, 2014). The theme of Lo que me inspira echoed across all parents. Most of the Latina leaders described their participation in the LCAP process as arduous. Yet, all but one continued to participate due to an understanding that their sacrifice was for the greater good.

For example, Alejandra and Dolores, leaders with the most significant number of years participating in the LCAP process and who both described hostile behavior from the district towards them, shared that they continued to participate in the LCAP process for a nobler cause. Alejandra stated that she continued to participate in the LCAP process because "Estás abogando por los niños de tu área, de tu comunidad, de tu escuela, porque es la escuela de mis hijos." (You are advocating for the children in your area, in your community, in your school, because it is my children's school.)

For Dolores, she described her personal intention when she states that, "Si Dios me tiene aquí es porque tiene algo que tenga que yo hacer aquí." (If God has me here it is because he has

something for me to do here.) Furthermore, she stated that current anti-Hispanic sentiments and working inclusively with everyone in the community also inspire her to continue in the process.

> Eso es lo que me inspira de cambiarle esa cara de negatividad con nuestra raza étnica. Sí, aunque no, cuando estoy abogando nunca digo por los hispanos. Yo creo que tenemos que saber trabajar inclusivamente, porque sí tenemos que fomentar nuestro orgullo étnico, pero sin tener que estigmatizar a otro, ¿verdad? (That's what inspires me to change that face of negativity with our ethnic race. Yes, but no when I'm advocating, I never say for Hispanics. I think we have to know how to work inclusively, because we do have to foster our ethnic pride, but without having to stigmatize another, right?)

Furthermore, Elizabeth shared how her participation in the political process of LCAP development was a chance for her to be an example to her daughters.

> Y es lo que quiero que mis hijos vean, que la vida es difícil, pero si uno se pone la meta quizá lo que uno quiere, se puede lograr, con batallas, como sea, pero se puede lograr. Entonces, más que nada por enseñarlos a ellos." (And that's what I want my children to see, that life is difficult, but if you set a goal, maybe what you want can be achieved, with battles, whatever, but it can be achieved. So more than anything, to be an example for them.)

Muchos Somos Mas Fuertes (Together We Are Stronger)

This theme captured feelings of empowerment and camaraderie experienced by all Latina leaders from their participation in their grupos de padres (parent groups), which included formal and informal groups. Three of the seven parent leaders were members of a grassroots parent group that met regularly through casual and formal meetings. The group would discuss various

topics regarding the district and schools, including the district LCAP, which included talking points for district meetings. Three other parents participated in formal community meetings. Of these parents, one Latina leader became the co-founder of a non-profit parent group, Comunidad en Acción, dedicated to English Learners' success. The group's tireless efforts led to school funding transparency by the district; however, the parents continue to advocate for detailed program funding.

For Gloria, a parent in her first year participating in the LCAP, she described her informal grupo de padres (parent group) as a place "Para agarrar ideas y también para apoyar a cada uno." (To get ideas and also to support each other.) During the LCAP process, she and other parent leaders met about four times to discuss the district LCAP. As well, she stated that they also meet "Cuando hay algún tema de tratar en el momento, tenemos la confianza de que podemos hablar por teléfono y preguntar o hacer opinion." (When there is an issue to be addressed at the time, we are confident that we can talk on the phone and ask questions or give opinions.) Through her participation in the grassroots parent group, Gloria stated that

> He sabido más a quien dirigirme o a dónde buscar la ayuda o a dónde pedir el apoyo que ocupo más, como en el distrito. He sabido con quien dirigirme cuando he tenido alguna situación. Y he aprendido los derechos que yo tengo con respecto a mi escuela y que puedo pedir y puedo hacer uso de esos derechos cuando yo lo necesite. (I've learned more about who to turn to or where to seek help or where to ask for the support I need most, as in the district. I have known who to turn to when I have had a situation. And I've learned the rights I have with respect to my school and that I can ask for and use those rights when I need to.)

For Fernanda, her participation in grupos de padres (parent groups) had been in formal spaces through community organizations, including non-profit organizations dedicated to social justice issues. She described feelings of empowerment when she shared her experience in these groups. She stated “Ha aprendido más sobre el LCAP por el comité de padres de People Rising. (I have learned more about the LCAP from the People Rising parent committee.) In addition, through her experiences in grupos de padres (parent group), she stated “Hago la conexión que los problemas están todos conectados porque todos afectan a si la familia” (I make the connection that the problems are all connected because they all affect the family.) Fernanda reflected how the problems experienced in the schools were connected to issues faced in the community, such that “Vivimos en un lugar que tomas personas de bajos recursos, nos afecta el medio ambiente, nos afecta la contaminación, el redlining, todo eso. (We live in a place that takes in low-income people, we are affected by the environment, we are affected by pollution, redlining, all that.) Furthermore, she stated that through her grupo (group) “Hicimos un foro de candidatos [de el school board], hace dos años cuando entró uno de los del board que están ahí.” (We held a [school board] candidates’ forum two years ago when one of the board members entered.) The board member would later become a strong advocate for the parent group within the school district. For example, to assist parent participation in board meetings during the COVID-19 pandemic, the board member arranged for the meetings to be recorded and placed on YouTube so that interested parents could watch when convenient for them. Fernanda explained that when a need occurs among the grupo de padres (parent group), they reach out to that school board member.

Maria, the one Latina leader to not experience hostility or intimidation, also described her experience in a formal grupo de padres (parent group) in the school district. She recounted how the DELAC parent leaders came together and talked to the district staff in charge of the meeting. The issue was that "Se habla mucho de lo que pasa en la escuela de teatro, y todo; pero no estamos escuchando nada de provecho," (There's a lot of talk about what's going on for school assemblies, and everything; but we're not hearing anything of benefit [to the student],) she stated. Through their collective advocacy, Maria said that the DELAC meetings were now concise and efficient.

> Vamos al punto exacto. "¿Cuándo fue su junta de DELAC? ¿Qué fue lo que hicieron y cuándo va a ser la siguiente junta de DELAC que van a tener?" Y sí, ha funcionado y va rápido, porque hay veces que tenemos que tomar el tema de los títulos, eso no se puede en un solo día. Entonces, si nos poníamos a hablar sobre todo lo que hacen en la escuela, se perdía casi más de medio día, una hora; y tomar otros temas no nos alcanzaba a explicar por complete. (We get to the exact point. "When was their DELAC meeting? What did they do and when is the next DELAC meeting they're going to have?" And yes, it has worked and it's going fast, because there are times when we have to discuss Title funding, and that can't be done in one day. So, if we started talking about everything that they do at school, we would lose almost half a day, an hour; and discussing other subjects was not enough time to explain completely.)

Alejandra's experience in grupos de padres (parent groups) began informally and, through collaboration with a non-profit, she co-founded a community parent group, Comunidad en

Acción. She described how she initially met the non-profit leader, Gabriel (pseudonym), that would help her co-found the community parent group.

> La primera vez que lo conocí [a Gabriel], fue por medio de una mamá que me invitó a una junta, que fue en una casa. Ahí fue que empezó la conexión, pero no teníamos nombre, nada. Solo éramos papás y con el tiempo, fue que se fue haciendo el grupo y el nombre. Porque empezamos solo así: en una casa, después en un parque y después fue cambiando. (The first time I met him [Gabriel], it was through a mother who invited me to a meeting, which was in a house. That's when the connection began, but we didn't have a name, nothing. We were just parents and as time went by, the group and the name came to be. Because that's how we started: in a house, then in a park, and then it changed.)

She described the camaraderie that she initially experienced in the grupo de padres (parent group), "Éramos a veces alrededor de 50, hasta a veces más y ahí éramos diferentes culturas, tanto como americanos -anglos, asiáticos y latinos, y afroamericanos. Ahí estábamos varios, porque estábamos viendo las necesidades [de las escuelas]." (Sometimes we were around 50, sometimes more, and there we were different cultures, as much as American-Anglos, Asians and Latinos, and African-Americans. There were several of us because we were seeing the needs [of the schools.]

Summary of Cross-Case Themes

This section provides a summary of the cross-case analysis of the themes from the Latina leaders' testimonios. The summary narrates the overall answer to the research questions and provides a brief introduction to Chapter 6.

Intimidación disfrazada (Intimidation in disguise)

For the theme Intimidación disfrazada, all but one of the Latina parent leaders shared how they faced hostility and intimidation when they participated in district or school parent groups or advocated for their children. Four other leaders described negative tensions experienced within the community, including fear of deportation by ICE agents, low-wage jobs that kept families in poverty, and gentrification. It is important to underscore these experiences since they help construct the reality of the parent leaders navigating through dominant power structures. Moreover, the fact most of the Latina leaders were subjected to hostility, intimidation, or retaliation by district and school staff before they participated in the LCAP and still chose to be part of the political process reveals much about their character.

Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process)

The theme Ofuscación del proceso LCAP encompassed topics covering the logistics of the LCAP meetings, including the dissemination of the information, to the data provided to the Latina leaders at each LCAP meeting. Each of the Latina leaders described an LCAP process that is complex and time-consuming. Coupled with the demands of parenting and home life, some Latinas lamented about not having the necessary time to inquire with the district about the LCAP development process when there was a need. In terms of the information provided during the LCAP meetings, aggregate financial and student data were often shared, which limited the parent leaders' ability to analyze the data and make informed decisions. An interesting finding was the lack of transparency at the school level. Although the LCAP is created at the district level, the goal is to address the unique needs of all students served. The Latina leaders stated that they

often faced barriers at the school level in obtaining financial transparency and data for educational programs identified for English Learners.

Navegando por el sistema escolar (Navigating the school system)

This theme captured the importance of navigating the school system to enact change. As subaltern individuals, the Latina leaders often encountered a labyrinth of barriers when attempting to have their voices heard in the school system. Although some of the Latina leaders found success within the district, this success was usually accompanied by outside organizations or informal parent groups to assist them in navigating the school system to enact change. Also, parent leaders who were new to navigating the school system often turned to veteran parent leaders.

Lo que me inspira (What inspires me)

The theme Lo que me inspira, captured the Latina leaders' personal intention of their involvement in the LCAP process. Initially, the Latina leaders were inspired to participate in school politics to better their children's education. As mentioned in other themes, the LCAP development process is complex and time-consuming, with most of the Latina leaders facing negative tensions. There was an interconnectedness with the theme of Ofuscación del proceso LCAP (Obfuscation of the LCAP process) in that parent leaders were inspired to become more involved in the school political process when they faced barriers in participating. Regardless of their negative experiences, the parent leaders persevered, stating they advocated for their children and the community. In essence, the pressures prompted the Latina leaders to advocate for the greater good. Indeed, three Latina leaders continued to participate in the school political

process and support English Learners even though their children no longer identified as English Learners.

Muchos somos mas fuertes (Together we are stronger)

Finally, the theme Muchos somos mas fuertes was the crux of Latina leaders' experience in the LCAP process. There was understanding that a unified voice made a difference in advocating for the betterment of the education for English Learners and all students in their district. All the Latina leaders shared how their connection and camaraderie with other parents led to successful advocacy. The theme was also present in Maria's testimonio, the only parent leader that did not experience negative tensions during her LCAP development experience. However, a noteworthy finding was that the more hostility the Latina leaders experienced, the more organized their parent groups became. For example, Alejandra described the most insidious forms of malice and retaliation experienced by the parents, including threats of ICE agents being present at district meetings and retribution against her son in obtaining scholarships for his post-secondary endeavors. As a result, she began leading informal community parent groups. With time, she became the co-founder of an active non-profit parent organization dedicated to the educational betterment of English Learners in her district. Dolores was another parent that described tolerating years of hostile tactics by the district. The interviews with the Pueblo USD parents revealed that Dolores was a dynamic servant leader that nourishes and challenges those around her to flourish as leaders themselves. Lastly, all but one Latina leader understood that isolation would stifle progress; therefore, they aligned themselves with established local and state organizations dedicated to assisting parents or advancing opportunities for English Learners.

Conclusion

The testimonios of the Latina leaders revealed their experiences in participating, developing, and including identified priorities for English Learners in their district's LCAP. They were represented by four different districts, ranging from two city districts and two large suburban districts. Although each of their experiences was unique, all but one shared the hostile tactics and barriers they endured during the process. For many, it was through their persecution that they understood how important their role was in the LCAP process. Of the eight participants, three remained involved in the process even though their children had graduated or reclassified and no longer identified as English Learners. The Latina leaders also shared the various ways that the districts engaged them meaningfully in identifying priorities for English Learners as required by the LCFF. Their testimonios provided a holistic view of a parent's participation in the LCAP process, from the inaugural LCAP meeting to how the LCFF funds were distributed to the schools that served their children. Regardless of district efforts to involve parents in the LCAP process, the parents underscored the barriers to meaningful participation. For example, although the leaders attended district parent LCAP workshops, they were often left with more questions about the process. Their attempt to find answers with the district often involved navigating many barriers that yielded little or no responses. Therefore, many of the Latinas sought the information through various community organizations dedicated to parent engagement. The same is true when the Latina leaders questioned how LCFF funding made its way to the school-level programs for English Learners. In response to barriers experienced, the Latina leaders turned to formal and informal community parent groups. In closing, Chapter 6 will

discuss the study's findings through the lens of the literature and provide recommendations on how to engage Latina parent leaders better and as a call for action.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Study Background

In California, about one in five students, or 1.1 million students, identify as English Learners, of which 81.4% speak Spanish (CDE, 2021b). California policymakers have adopted an equity-minded participatory school funding policy (LCFF/LCAP) and new legislation that embraces linguistically diverse students' skills in recent years. In particular, the LCFF has revolutionized the top-down approach to policy implementation by mandating local policy actors, such as families and students, in the LCAP process. The LCAP is a three-year plan where LEAs document the strategies and funding allocations they will complete for the school year, concentrating on providing equitable opportunities for targeted subgroups such as English Learners (EC 52060g).

Burgeoning LCAP research states that most districts fail to engage community members representing English Learners' interests other than mandated groups per California law (Lavadenz et al., 2019; Olsen et al., 2016; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2017). This final chapter discusses the findings through the theoretical framework of Tensions, Contradictions, and Resistance in Latino Parent Involvement (Olivos, 2004, 2006) through a LatCrit Theory Lens (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997; Valdes, 1996; Yosso et al., 2001) and the literature discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, the following research questions are addressed:

1. What are the experiences of Latina parent leaders in the process of participating, developing, and including identified priorities for English Learners in their district's Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP)?
2. In what ways do districts engage Latino parents meaningfully in identifying priorities for English Learners as required by the LCFF?

The discussion of the findings will serve as a call for action by underscoring the Latina parent leaders' experiences and providing suggestions on creating opportunities for meaningful engagement for Latino and other multicultural parent leaders in the LCAP process. Finally, this chapter will underscore the importance of this work at the state, and national levels since the Latino students' population is expected to grow exponentially nationwide. (NCES, 2021).

Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance

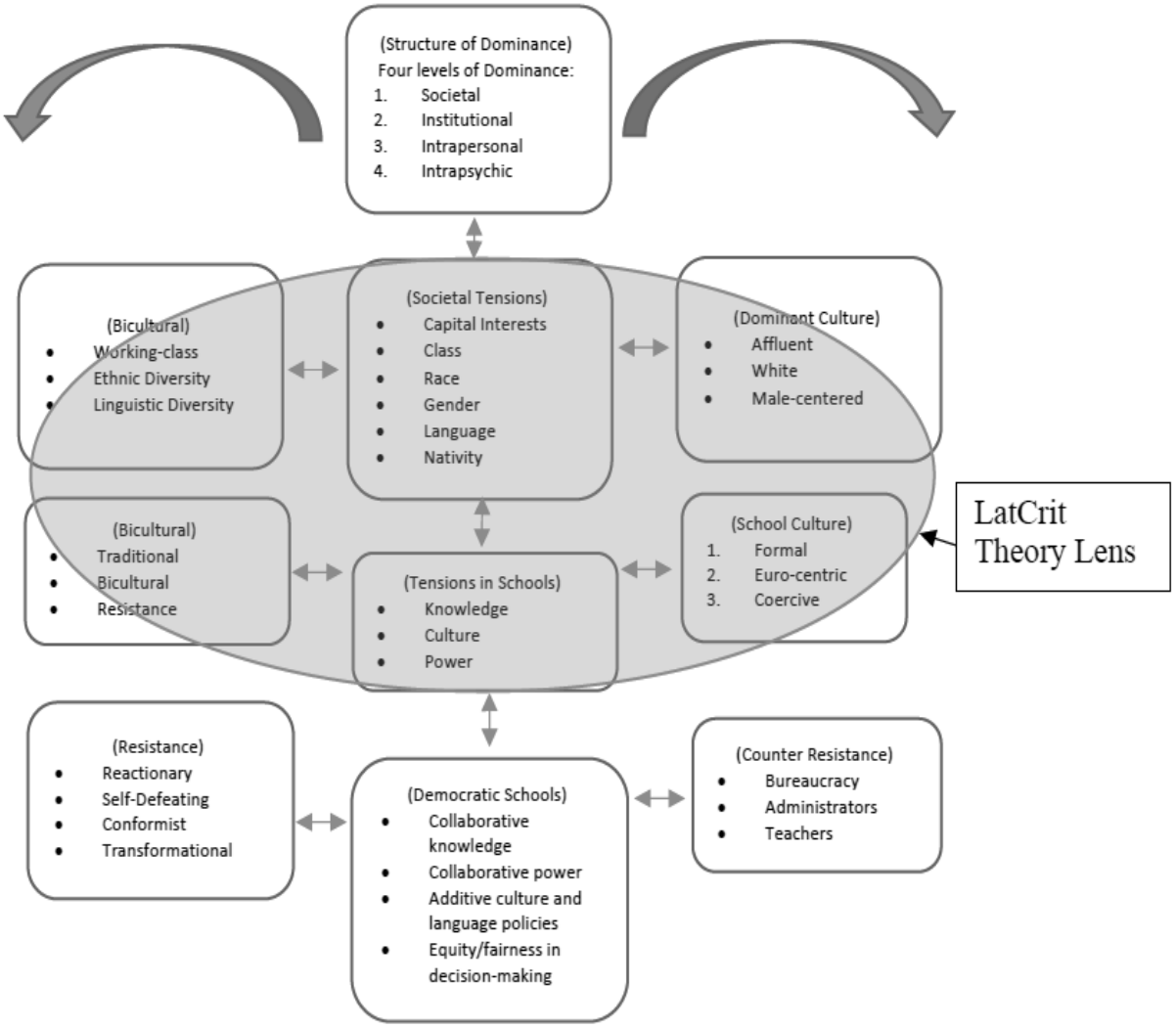
A critical constructivist epistemological perspective guided the study. In essence, the belief was that the Latina parent leaders made meaning of the world around them through their own experiences (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2009; Kincheloe, 2008; Merriam, 2009). The theoretical framework of Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit Theory lens (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997; Valdes, 1996; Yosso et al., 2001) explains the encounters of the Latina parent leaders, a subaltern group with multidimensional identities (e.g., nativity, language, culture). (See Figure 3). The Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit Theory lens critically examined the relationship between the Latina parent leaders and the school system and the intersectionality of various cultural hegemonic systems they had to

navigate as they attempted to engage in the school political process. Olivos (2004, 2006) developed the paradigm to:

> help explain the relationship between Latino parents and the school system using a structural perspective, and to contradict the assumptions posed by many in the field of education who view the "absence" of Latino parents in the schools as disinterest or incompetence. (Olivos, 2006, p. 21)

Figure 3

Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance Through a LatCrit Theory Lens



Note. Adapted "Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance" by E.M. Olivos, 2006, *The Power of Parents: A Critical Perspective of Bicultural Parent Involvement in Public Schools*, p. 22, Copyright 2006 by Peter Lang Publishing.

Critical theorists argue that the education system preserves racism and oppression through cultural hegemony (Darder, 2015; hooks, 2003). Research shows that a deficit-based approach towards linguistically diverse families guides most parent engagement within the school community (Auerbach, 2007; LeFevre & Shaw, 2012; Olivos, 2004, 2006; Zarate, 2007). Indeed, Olivos (2004) states that the "relationship between Latino parents and the school system is a micro-reflection of societal tensions and conflicts in the areas of economic exploitation and institutional racism" (p. 31). A LatCrit Theory lens (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1997; Valdes, 1996; Yosso et al., 2001) examined the intersectionality of conflict between the Latina parent leaders and the dominant culture of white superiority within and outside of the school community.

Testimonios as a Critical Methodology

The critical methodology of testimonios documented the experiences of the Latina parent leaders. Various fields use testimonios as a methodological, pedagogical, and analytical tool (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Huber, 2009; Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). As a critical methodology, it is consistent with a LatCrit theoretical lens. It focuses on the participant's storytelling related to the phenomenon examined while challenging the dominant Western epistemologies that promote white superiority (Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). For the study, I was the outside ally that "records, transcribes, edits, and prepares a manuscript for publication" (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012, p. 365). The interviews began while districts were engaging community members for the LCAP process, with one parent, Gloria, in her first year participating. The final interviews occurred as the COVID-19 pandemic swept through Los

Angeles County, resulting in quarantine. Therefore, districts were forced to suspend the LCAP development process with community members.

Latina Parent Leaders

The study included interviews with eight Latina parent leaders; however, one testimonio was not included in the analysis since the parent leader, Felicitas, did not meet the criteria (see Table 8). Four districts served the Latinas, two large city districts, and two large suburban districts within Los Angeles County. Each of the districts served a high number of English Learners, two districts serving well over 12,000. On average, about one in five students in each district identified as English Learners. The data indicates the urgency for the districts in considering the typologies of English Learners (e.g., newcomers, LTEL, RFEP, etc.), and LCAP meetings should address the various needs for each distinct English Learner subgroup.

The number of years each Latina leader had participated in the school political process varied greatly, from two to over 20 years. Still, all displayed characteristics exemplified Bordas' (2014) definition of a Latino leader (see Appendix A). Initially, each Latina parent leader became involved in the school political process due to their children's educational needs. After experiencing conflict within the school system, they had developed a sense of purpose and a commitment to resolving issues involving discrimination and oppression within and outside the school community. Dolores aptly described her sense of purpose in helping to institute positive change in her community when she stated, "Para mí la educación es una pasión y es el mejor legado que le puedes dejar a tu hijo y a tu comunidad. Porque cuando yo abogo, no abogo solo por mi hija, abogo por todos esos niños." (For me, education is a passion, and it is the best legacy you can leave for your child and your community. Because when I advocate, I don't just

advocate for my daughter, I advocate for all those children.) For Elizabeth, she highlights how being a part of the political process as an undocumented parent is challenging, yet one's determination can promote change:

> Una, porque me gusta aprender. Dos, porque quiero saber todo, todo lo que está relacionado con mis hijos, y para poderlos ayudar. Y tres, porque quiero que ellos me vean que aun siendo una indocumentada, que no sabe inglés, y que tienes muchas barreras, y que es difícil, y que te puedes enfrentar a muchas cosas, pero que, si uno va firme y uno quiere, uno logra su propósito. Y es lo que quiero que mis hijos vean, que la vida es difícil, pero si uno se pone la meta quizá lo que uno quiere, se puede lograr, con batallas, como sea, pero se puede lograr. Entonces, más que nada por enseñarlos a ellos. (One, because I like to learn. Two, because I want to know everything, everything that is related to my children, and to be able to help them. And three, because I want them to see me that even being an undocumented individual, who does not know English, and that you may have many barriers, and that it is difficult, and that you can face many things, but that, if you are firm and you want to, you achieve your purpose. And it is what I want my children to see, that life is difficult, but if one sets the goal, perhaps what one wants, can be achieved, with battles, whatever, but it can be achieved. So, more than anything for teaching them.)

Table 8

Parent Leader LCAP Cycles Attended, Children Served by District, Language, and Years in District Groups

Participant	District	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended	Grade Level(s) of Children During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups
Dolores	Pueblo	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020)	1 Child 8th Grade, Reclassified 1 year ago (EL in 2019)	Spanish	Over 20 years
Paola	Pueblo	2 cycles (2019, 2020)	1 Child 4th grade, current EL	Spanish	8 years
Gloria	Pueblo	1 cycle (2020)	3 Children 12th Grade, EL 7th grader, Reclassified 1 year ago, 1st grade, current EL	Spanish	2 years
Fernanda	Nieto	5 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 4th Grade, Both current ELs	Spanish	5 years
Elizabeth	Nieto	2 cycles (2018, 2019)	3 Children 12th Grade, Reclassified 7 yrs. ago, 9th Grade, Reclassified 5 yrs. ago, 5th Grader, current EL	Spanish	Over 10 years
Maria	Dalton	4 cycles (2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 8th Grade, Reclassified 5 years ago, 7th grader, current EL	Spanish	4 years
Felicitas	Citrus	4 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)	12th Grader, IFEP (does not meet criteria)	English	Over 8 years

Table 8 (continued)

Parent Leader LCAP Cycles Attended, Children Served by District, Language, and Years in District Groups

Participant	District	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended	Grade Level(s) of Children During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups
Alejandra	Citrus	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)	2 Children 7th Grade, 4th Grade Both Reclassified 6 years ago (EL in 2015)	Spanish	Over 10 years

Note. Participant self-reported information.

Discussion of Findings

The Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit lens examined the intersectionality of oppressive systems that the Latina parent leaders had to navigate when engaging in the LCAP process (Olivos, 2004, 2006; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005). The discussion of the findings corroborates findings from two ethnographic studies (Carruba-Rogel et al., 2019; Porras, 2019) that found that most districts fail to engage multilingual families and community leaders concerning educational program decisions for English Learners. In addition, the findings from this study emphasized that the school system is not neutral. Instead, it is an instrument of cultural hegemony (Darder, 2015), which negatively impacted the Latina parent leaders' meaningful engagement in the LCAP process.

Se Puede Lograr (It Can Be Achieved)

The Latina leaders were served by four districts, with one district, Dalton USD, participating in the CEI PLLN, a network of districts that work collaboratively to identify

effective community engagement strategies in the LCAP process (CCEE, 2020). Most of the Latina leaders' testimonios, except for Maria, detailed the various barriers they experienced when attempting to participate in the LCAP process meaningfully. For example, Maria shared how she and other Dalton USD parent leaders advocated for change in the structures that prevented meaningful engagement. After voicing their concern, district staff adopted changes that allowed for better engagement. On the other hand, Gloria and Paola called out structures that were not in place and had yet to be rectified even though parent leaders had voiced their concern.

An analysis of the obstacles through the theoretical framework Tensions, Contradictions, and Resistance through a LatCrit lens reflected how the dominant power dynamics of three districts, Pueblo, Nieto, and Citrus USD, perpetuated cultural hegemony and consigned parent leaders to a subordinate or subaltern class within the school system (Darder & Griffiths, 2018; Olivos, 2004, 2006; Spivak, 1988). The Latinas' testimonios recounted the intense power struggle that ensued when they advocated funding transparency, including the state's amount of funding and distribution of monies. For example, Elizabeth shared when she attempted to get an itemized budget from district staff.

> Si yo estoy pidiendo en qué se gastó este dinero y a dónde fue este otro dinero de los fondos que hay, que me lo digan claramente. Porque le decíamos: "Necesito que me des por escrito en qué es que se ha gastado el dinero," y siempre nos llevaba, para la próxima reunión y llegaba la reunión y le decíamos . . . y nunca nos la quería dar. (If I am asking what this money was spent on and where did this other money go from the funds, tell me clearly. Because we would say, "I need you to give me in writing what the money was

spent on," and he would tell us for the next meeting and the meeting would come and we would remind him . . . and he would never give it to us.)

Alejandra recounted how district staff began to engage in hostile behavior towards her other parents when they questioned how the district allocates funding in the LCAP. She also recalls when a rumor spread that ICE officers would be at or near the meeting.

> Muchos de los papá's se intimidaron. Muchos decidimos ir, porque dices: "Si no alzas la voz, la escuela sigue igual." Entonces, muchas mamá's dijimos: "¿vamos o no vamos?" Porque teníamos miedo, porque tú dices: "si nos pasa" [ser detenida por ICE], tú te pones a pensar, no eres tú, es tú familia. Entonces, pues fuimos . . . como alrededor de más de 30 papá's, con miedo pero ahí estamos (Many of the parents were intimidated. Many decided to go, because you say: "if you don't voice your concern, the school remains the same." So, many moms said: "Are we going or are we not going?" Because we were afraid, because you say: "If it happens to us" [getting detained by ICE], you start to think, it's not you, it's your family. So, well, we went . . . like around more than 30 parents, afraid but there we are.)

Alejandra shared that before her parent group questioned the LCFF funding, the district welcomed the parent group at all meetings.

Many of the Latina leaders shared how they were eager to learn more about the LCAP and the importance of their role within the process; however, dedicated parent workshops were limited and often described as lacking in knowledge. In previous research, Olivos (2004) states that Latino parents are not allowed the opportunity to "develop a more sophisticated political and critical consciousness," resulting in limited knowledge, which encumbers their ability to achieve

transformative resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001). Furthermore, when the Latina leaders tried to seek answers from the district, they recalled their exhausting attempts that often ended with no answers. Specifically, the study found that large city districts tended to have complex bureaucratic processes that prevented the Latina parent leaders from meaningful engagement for the LCAP development (Ornstein, 1990). For instance, Gloria was served by a large city district and recalled her attempt to get more information about the LCAP process and her role in the process from the district.

> En muchos talleres [del LCAP] que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas, siempre [el distrito] dicen: El tiempo, tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna [pregunta] haga cita y contestamos sus dudas. Ellos [El distrito] nos dicen que hagamos cita, pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible . . . [Llamas] un número y ese número lo transfiere a un—pienso a una extensión—y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan. Y uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar, dije: "No, ya, para estar ahí esperando mejor lo dejo así." (In many [LCAP] workshops that I have attended, where we [the parents] are left with doubts, [the district] always says: The time, we must continue and if you have any [questions] make an appointment and they will answer your questions. [The district] tells us to make an appointment, but to make an appointment, you call, your left on hold, then it's like something more impossible . . . [You call] a number and that number transfers it to a—I think to an extension—and from there they put on the music and that is how they leave you. And one, as a parent, you are running everywhere and I

have tried twice, I did not try again. I said: "No, to be there waiting, it's better I leave it like this.")

This finding is reminiscent of parent engagement research, showing that non-English speakers face barriers in parent engagement (Olivos, 2004, 2006; Turney & Kao, 2009).

The testimonios also detailed the lack of LCAP Spanish resources, including but not limited to LCAP parent orientation workshops, LCAP meeting handouts, and data used in the LCAP decision-making process. This finding aligns with Porras' (2019) ethnographic study that included 10 Latina mothers at one California school district that found that the mamás faced many barriers, including lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and misinformation regarding the LCAP development process. Still, the linguistic barriers in participating in the LCAP process extended beyond the school community, with the CDE only providing the LCAP template in English (CDE, 2021c). California's public schools serve a large population of multilingual families, approximately 41.5% of the public-school enrollment (CDE, 2021b). The lack of linguistically diverse LCAP resources available to districts highlights the ongoing conflict between the dominant culture and bicultural families in the California education system (Pastor, 2018). In other words, the lack of multilingual LCAP resources is linguoracist (Orelus, 2013) in that they promote an Anglophone society over one that is linguistically diverse. Linguoracism refers to the connection between language and racism, which scholars argue are intrinsically tied together (Colón-Muñiz & Lavadenz, 2015; Darder, 2015; Orelus, 2013).

Fernanda and Elizabeth recounted the recent increase in LCAP parent engagement opportunities within Nieto USD; however, they also shared that the possibilities were due to agreements from a 2017 UCP complaint against the district for misspending LCAP funding.

Nieto USD implemented culturally relevant parent engagement strategies in the LCAP process, such as providing translators and ensuring that the district website included LCAP information and materials in various languages in response to a UCP complaint. However, the Latina leaders shared the ambiguity of LCAP implementation at the school level.

> Y entonces, tú preguntas [sobre el dinero], y [el distrito] te dicen: "No, pues es que son tantas escuelas. Entonces, pues se va a dar el dinero a las que tengan más necesidad." Y pues, allí fue donde perdimos el hilo, porque pues, o sea, nunca vienen y te dicen: "No, se hizo tal y tal, en tal escuela." Porque uno no puede ir a todas las escuelas sin saber investigar si paso, si no paso. (And then, you ask [about the funding breakdown], and [the district] says to you: "No, because there are so many schools. And the money is going to be made to those who need it most." And well, that's where we lost the thread, because they never come and tell you: "No, it was done here and here, in such school." Because one cannot go to all the schools without knowing how to investigate if it happened if it did not happen.)

The duplicitous parent engagement strategies used by Nieto USD are a form of false generosity (Freire, 2016) and counter-resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001). The testimonios revealed that the districts provided opportunities for parents to engage in the LCAP process; however, three of the four districts failed to address the oppressive systems that parents face within the school community. With that said, parent engagement opportunities were akin to Freire's (2016) idea of false charity, such that the oppressor extends some assistance to the oppressed but fails to remove the root cause of their oppression.

Muchos Somos Mas Fuertes (Together We Are Stronger)

The testimonios revealed the power of community for the Latina parent leaders in advocating for social justice. All but one of the parent leaders participated in formal or informal community groups. Overall, the Latina leaders used the community groups to achieve transformative resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001), where the Latina leaders were motivated by social justice (Giroux, 1983a, 1983b). Solorzano and Bernal (2001) state that transformational resistance exudes behavior "that illustrates both a critique of oppression and a desire for social justice" (p. 319).

The study revealed how the relationship between and among parents is critical. The parent leaders built their capital when they engaged different organizations and created organizations when there was a void. Parent leaders from two districts used the power of their community voice to advocate and advance their agenda with state and school board members. For example, upon learning that the district's policy to monitor Reclassified students was only two years, Dolores began to advocate in DELAC meetings that student monitoring last four years. A majority of the DELAC parents were in favor of the four-year timeframe. When the district refused, "Llamé a Sacramento y le digo: 'Este plan maestro (de Aprendices de Inglés), solo le llamaron a la presidenta de DELAC, y aquí dice en la ley que el plan maestro es desarrollado por DELAC, eso no está pasando.'" (I called Sacramento, and I said: "This master plan (for English Learners), they just called the DELAC president, and here it says in the law that the master plan is developed by DELAC, that is not happening.") The district eventually extended monitoring for Reclassified students to four years.

Fernanda shares that the community organization she is active in helped get Francisco Cortez elected to the Nieto USD School Board. As an ally on the school board, Cortez has helped bridge the connection for parents who cannot participate in person at district meetings.

> Entonces él es el que ha empujado también más eso de que las juntas del board se hagan a donde los padres puedan asistir . . . [El distrito] los pongan en YouTube . . . y ahí tú la puedes ver, qué fue lo que se dijo, incluso si desde tu casa estás y quieres opinar te conectas y opinas y eso es lo que él ha estado empujando mucho. Él siempre dijo desde que era candidato: "Okay, lo que yo quisiera es que las juntas del board se hagan, si los padres no pueden venir a nosotros, nosotros que vengamos a los padres." (So, he is the one who has also pushed for board meetings to be held where parents can attend . . . [The district] puts the [meetings] on YouTube . . . and there you can see it, what was said, even if you are at home and you want to comment, you connect and provide feedback and that's what he has been pushing a lot. He always said since he was a candidate: "Okay, what I would like is for the board meetings to take place, and if the parents cannot come to us, we should come to the parents.")

The Latina leaders shared how community power was crucial in establishing change at the school and district levels. Above all, the testimonios detailed how the Latina leaders used their community groups as a safe place to discuss and reflect on their experience participating in the LCAP process, thus developing a critical consciousness that led to transformational resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).

Nos Armamos de Valor (We Took Courage)

The testimonios called attention to the tension between the relationship of the working-class Latina leaders and the affluent middle-class school system. The analysis of this relationship helps to inform engagement practices and provides insight into supporting Latina parent leaders in the school system. Regardless of the difficult situation experienced by the Latina leaders, they still found a way to stay involved and remain highly engaged in the LCAP process.

It is important to note that the power struggle dynamics also reflect the challenges Latino parents encounter with community members that prescribe to culturally hegemonic beliefs that undergird the school system. For example, Maria described the disagreement between her and another Latina mother who only wanted their child to learn English and forgo Spanish altogether. Alejandra also described the incident where other parents would show their disapproval for her at district meetings. One parent at a district meeting called Alejandra, a peleonera (fighter). The struggles encountered by the Latina parent leaders highlight el valor (the courage) they exhibited, especially when confronting other Latino parents.

Apoyo de la Salud Mental (Mental Health Support). A community group that is important to underscore was one dedicated to parents' mental wellbeing. Three of the parents attended a community gruxpo de apoyo (support group) sponsored by the Department of Mental Health of Los Angeles County. Dolores recounted the distress she experienced advocating for her child when she received a letter from the school labeling her as a disruptive parent, which could lead to a restraining order from the police.

> Lo que querían era provocarme, me querían enojar y echarme la policía y darme una orden de restricción por un policía, usted sabe lo que significa eso. Me molestaba,

> lloraba, pero le pedía a Dios que me ayudara a controlar y fuera un aprendizaje, fue cuando empecé a controlar mis impulsos. Porque sí me molestaba, sí quería explotar, sí quería gritar, sí quería decirle muchas cosas, pero si lo hacía perdía yo. (What they wanted was to provoke me, they wanted to make me angry and call the police on me and give me a restraining order by a policeman, you know what that means. I was upset, I cried, but I asked God to help me to control myself and to learn, that's when I started to control my impulses. Because I did get upset, I did want to explode, I did want to scream, I did want to tell him a lot of things, but if I did, I would lose.)

She credited the group with helping her to acquire the skills needed to navigate her feelings. Even though not all parents detailed the mental anguish they experienced, during the interviews, some of the Latina leaders had to fight back the tears when they shared their testimonio. The dehumanization they endured as they advocated for their children and the community were vividly captured in their testimonios.

Implications

State Policy

California has long been a policy change agent nationwide (Fensterwald, 2016). Despite California's promising socio-political landscape for the betterment of the educational opportunities for English Learners (*Proposition 58* and *Global California 2030),* it is essential to note that implementing new policies "requires restructuring a complex of existing schemas" (Spillane et al., 2006, p. 51). In other words, investment in the new policy's education is crucial to implementation since the multiple vital players needed for structural change will understand the policy. This study underscored the need for investment in the education of the LCFF at all

levels of the education pipeline. The California School Board of Education (SBE) should provide multilingual LCAP engagement resources and establish an autonomous division that will oversee LCFF and LCAP funding distribution and verification. This division should include decision-makers that include parent leaders from across the state that community members nominate.

Community Organizations and Parent Leadership. The testimonios revealed the importance of community organizations in the LCAP experience for Latina leaders. The study participants' recruitment occurred initially through formal community organizations with a longstanding relationship with parent leaders. When the Latina leaders experienced barriers in participating in the LCAP process, they turned to their formal and grassroots community groups to assist them. None of the districts featured a mandated parent orientation of the LCAP process. The leaders shared that participation in community groups led to an increased understanding of their parental rights in the school district and a better understanding of the LCAP process and their role in the decision-making process. Therefore, state policy should include monies to community organizations dedicated to assisting parents and community members in participating in the LCAP process. Parent and community training through community organizations can help disrupt the power imbalance within the school system.

County Offices of Education

Maria, the Dalton USD parent leader, shared how district staff provided meaningful opportunities for engagement. Dalton USD is part of the inaugural cohort of districts in the Community Engagement Initiative's (CEI) Peer Leading and Learning Network (PLLN). In the PLLN, participating districts collaborate with other district teams to identify effective community engagement strategies in the LCAP process. Maria's positive experience in the

LCAP process is a testament to the need for investment in district LCAP community engagement training and a coherent system. The training can help challenge previous deficit-based forms of parent and community engagement and help the process become inclusive. The California SBE and County Offices of Education should continue to support the work of the Community Engagement Initiative as it begins to scale its work statewide with districts on LCAP community engagement.

District Level Policy

The LCFF has revolutionized the top-down approach to funding policy implementation by mandating local policy actors, such as families and students, in the LCAP decision-making process. The study found that improvements at the district-level LCAP process do not warrant change at the school level. Fernanda states, "Pero, si en la escuela no nos están escuchando." (But they are not listening to us at school.) She elaborates, "Ahí es donde las cosas no hacen sentido, y todo pasa en las escuelas. Supongamos que el [LCAP] dice que esto o lo otro, que necesitan, que tienen, y que deben de tener, pero no pasa, no pasa." (That's where things don't make sense, and everything happens in schools. Supposedly, the [LCAP] says this or that, what they need, what they have, and what they should have, but it doesn't happen, it doesn't happen.) Fernanda underscores the need for a coherent system between the district and schools so to achieve equitable change. Districts should collaborate with parent leaders to create a system between the district and schools, with transparency so that all information is shared promptly and available to everyone.

The testimonios of the Pueblo USD parents demonstrated the power and potentiality of parent-led workshops. Districts should support and provide the space for parent-led workshops

focused on the LCAP process, including, but not limited to, the importance of participating in the process and how to use data to make informed decisions. Community organizations can assist in educating parent facilitators. Parent facilitators should receive a stipend to support the time and effort spent educating themselves about the specific topic. Above all, the stipends would communicate that parents are a vital asset and are welcomed and supported at the district and schools. Above all, the parent-led workshops can help establish confienza (trust) between school officials and parents. It would reflect the sincerity of school officials and that they are dedicated to disrupting the existing system that has historically oppressed parents. The parent-led workshops can also help build solidarity when parents face racism and struggle in advocating for positive change.

Future Research

The findings of this phenomenological study echoed those of Marsh and Hall (2018), which found that even when district leaders were explicit about being inclusive in the LCAP process, power imbalances and existing schemas at the district level prevented the meaningful participation of community members in the LCAP decision making process. Therefore, future research should examine the complexity of district central offices and how they impact parent and community engagement in the LCAP process. In addition, the testimonios shared how influential community parent groups were in helping the Latina leaders organize and advocate; so, an examination should consider the role of grassroots and formal parent groups and organizations in influencing and assisting bicultural parent leaders in the democratic process of the LCAP.

In addition, an analysis of the struggle between working-class parent leaders and the affluent school system through an interest convergence theory lens (Bell, 1980) could shed light on better supporting parent leaders in the LCAP process. Finally, the research should consider the neoliberal agenda undergirding *Proposition 58*, also known as the California Ed.G.E. Initiative (Ballotpedia, 2016; Kelly, 2018). The initiative focuses on the economic benefits for native-English speakers in becoming bi- or multilingual. The additional research would provide a rich understanding of how well school systems confront the hegemonic beliefs that undergird parent engagement practices.

Conclusion

Freire (2016) viewed education as a means of liberation, where the oppressed first had to obtain critical consciousness, which is becoming aware of one's social, political, and economic conditions. In essence, by attaining critical awareness, the oppressed could question their conditions and the systems that oppressed them. The study exposed how the oppressive system resulted in parent leaders' resilience. The parents created space to engage with one another and focused on being proactive. Also, dialogue must occur in a community, where the oppressed, together, tap into their emotions, further achieving critical consciousness (Freire, 2016). The school's attempt to control or silence parents' voices was a form of counter-resistance (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001) and anti-dialogue (Freire, 2016). Freire (2016) argued that "antidialogue is necessary to the oppressor as a means of further oppression" (p. 138). Indeed, when a person's voice is silenced, they are dehumanized. Through false generosity (Freire, 2016), those in power can continue to perpetuate structural racism under the pretext of

"providing a voice" to the subordinate class while maintaining the culture of hegemony in the school community.

The testimonios of the Latina leaders documented how three school districts, Pueblo, Nieto, and Citrus USD, practiced false generosity through their pseudo parent engagement of the LCAP decision-making process. Considering the LCAP's mandated role in including community members in the decision-making process, it promises to institute equitable change in the education system at the local level. The testimonios of the Latina leaders shed light on how the school system is an instrument of cultural hegemony which continues to perpetuate an Anglophone society. In this study, the Latina parent leaders used their community groups to engage in dialogue which led to achieving a critical consciousness (Freire, 2016) of their experience in the LCAP process. In instances where school-sanctioned parent groups were not conducive to dialogue, the Latina leaders formed their community groups or sought out nonprofit community organizations to create support structures. The testimonios uncovered the power of community groups in assisting parents in participating in the LCAP process. Latino parent leaders historically have experienced barriers in the parent engagement process (Olivos, 2004, 2006). They also revealed the Latina parent leaders' dedication to social justice and their perseverance in enacting change within their school communities. The study highlights the critical need in education to establish relationships with parents and how parent leaders are an untapped source of knowledge with so much to teach practitioners, policymakers, and researchers. Finally, the study underscores the urgency for the call to action and allowing the space for parent leaders to develop a critical consciousness as they engage in the LCAP process.

Epilogue

Mi Testimonio Continuado

During the first two years of my doctoral journey, mi querido papá and querida tía passed away. I felt their loss in every aspect of my life. As I began the recruitment process of parent leaders, I never thought I would build lasting relationships with some that would continue after the study concluded. As a researcher, I initially believed that a researcher should remain detached from the study participants. However, as I entered the testimonios with the Latina leaders, I began to understand how I could not prescribe to a LatCrit theory lens without sharing in their struggle.

The gathering of the testimonios was intimate, and the parent leaders displayed vulnerability as they shared their stories. What I did not expect was that I would also have to be vulnerable. It was through this mutual vulnerability, however, that we established confianza (trust). As well, some of the parent leaders challenged me to take part in a call to action. At first, I was taken aback but soon felt ashamed for not having considered it before. It was then that I realized that the study would change me. Analyzing my experience, I see how the Latina leaders embraced the idea of collective shared leadership by including me in their activism (Bordas, 2014).

As the interviews progressed, I developed robust connections with some of the Latina leaders. For example, when the COVID-19 pandemic hit the Los Angeles area in March 2020, Dolores invited me to weekly community wellness tele meetings. I attended once, and it was refreshing to hear the extraordinary power of la comunidad en acción (the community in

action). They shared resources and information and would end the meeting by assigning action items to one another for the next meeting.

I gave birth to my son in July at the height of hospital visitor restrictions. My husband was the only person allowed to accompany me, wiping away dreams of having mi mami (my mom) by my side. “She and the baby will have time together once things calm down,” I told myself. Sadly, two months later, my mom was diagnosed with advanced cholangiocarcinoma (liver cancer), rare cancer with a poor prognosis. Having lost my dad two years before, I was devastated. During this time, the duties of motherhood and caring for my mom while she underwent treatment left me with limited time to connect with others. However, Dolores and I would still exchange text messages. One day I finally confided to Dolores about the fear and pain I was navigating since my mom’s diagnosis. Dolores spoke positivity into my life, and every week she would share heartwarming messages of encouragement. Her messages were therapy to my soul. Reflecting on my journey in this study and my relationship with the Latina leaders that endured, I came to understand the changing power of authentic relationships. I also saw the power of Latino leadership in action during the turbulent times of the COVID-19 pandemic.

APPENDIX A

Ten Principles of Latino Leadership

These ten principles, as described in The Power of Latino Leadership, highlight leadership traits that celebrate a deep cultural understanding, dedication to social justice, a sense of oneself, and characteristics that earn trust and respect within the leader's community.

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
Personalismo: The Character of the Leader	• Every person has inherent worth and essential value. • The leader's character earns trust and respect. • Personalismo secures the relationship aspects of leadership	• Treat each person with respect regardless of status or position. • Never forget where you came from • Connect to people on a personal level first • Always keep you word
Consciencia: Knowing Oneself and Personal Awareness	• In-depth reflection • Self-examination • Integration • The psychology of oppression and "white privilege" are barriers to inclusion	• Examine personal intention, "Why do I do what I do?" • Listen to your intuition and "inner voice" • Resolve discrimination or exclusion issues • Develop a secure cultural identity and know cultural assets

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
Destino: Personal and Collective Personal	• Every person has a distinct life path, purpose, and a unique life pattern • Destino is not fatalism • Tapping into one's destino brings clarity, alignment, and a clearer sense of direction • Powerful leaders are in sync with their destino	• Know your family history and traditions • Explore your heart's desire • Identify your special skills and talents • Open the door when opportunity knocks • Reflect on your legacy and personal vision
La Cultura: Culturally-Based Leadership	• Latinos are a culture and ethnic group not a race • 7 key values are the fastening points for the culture • A humanistic orientation (people come first) and diversity/inclusion are cultural mainstays	• La familia – A 'We' orientation drives collective shared leadership • Leaders are expected to be simpatico – congenial, likable • Respect, honesty, and generosity are required leadership traits • Leaders establish personal ties and are part of the familia
De Colores: Inclusiveness and Diversity	• Latinos are connected to 26 different countries • Hispanics were added to the US Census in 1980	• Leaders practice bienvenido Because culture is learned, • People can become Latino by Corazon or affinity

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
	• Hispanics are the only group that "self- identifies" on the census • Latinos embrace all ages – an inter-generational spirit	• Forging a collective identity from diversity is a leader's on-going work • Intergenerational leadership: creates allies, circular relationships, participation, social action
Juntos: Collective Community Stewardship	• Juntos means union, being close, joining, being together • Latinos are servant leaders and community stewards • Leadership is conferred by the community and followers • Leaders build a community of leaders and community capacity	• The Leader as Equal - Leaders are part of the group and work side-by-side with people • Leaders follow the rules • Four practices anchor collaboration process: shared vision; integrating history and cultural traditions; shared responsibility; and paso a paso
Adelante! Global Vision an Immigrant Spirit	• The U.S. is a nation of immigrants who bring initiative, hard work, tolerance, optimism, and faith • Latino growth has been fueled by immigration	• Leaders integrate the newly arrive and provide multiple services 51% of Latinos identifying with their nations of origin. Leaders bring this diversity together

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
	• Latinos are acculturating not assimilating. A cultural revitalization is occurring • With ties to 26 countries, Latinos are a prototype for global leadership	• Immigrants have revitalized the cultural core and are strengthening Latino identity • Immigration is a Civil Rights and advocacy issue leaders are addressing intercultural capacities of leaders cultural self-awareness and relationship-building are foundations for global leadership
Si Se Puede: Social Activist and Coalition Leadership	• Economic discrepancies and social inequalities drive a social activist agenda • Sí se Puede is a community organizing, coalition-building, and advocacy forms of leadership • The Latino model is leadership by the many • The inclusive Latino agenda speaks	• Leaders build people's faith that they take action • Leaders practice consistencia perseverance and commitment Building networks, being inclusive, and forging coalitions are leadership trademarks. • Externally leaders are cultural brokers building partnerships with other groups

4.

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
Gozar la Vida: Leadership that Celebrates Life!	• Latinos are celebratory expressive, optimistic, and festive culture • Celebration strengthens bonds, collective identity, and reinforces people's resolve • Latinos are stirring the salsa and gusto into leadership • Communication is key for getting things done though people.	• Leadership is congenial, includes good times, and time to socialize • Leaders communicate with carisma (charisma), cariño, (affection), and corazon (heart) • Leaders speak the "people's language" and "translate" with mainstream culture • The hard and fast rule of Latino organizing is always serve food Leaders need a "cultural "balance" such as strategic thinking and problem solving
Fe y Esperanza: Sustained by Faith and Hope	• Optimism is esperanza or hope - an essential Latino quality • Gracias (being grateful) allows people to be generous and give back • Latino spirituality centers on relationships and responsibility Spirituality is a moral obligation to ensure others' well-being and the collective good.	• Leaders must be bold and make unpopular decisions – requiring faith and courage • Humility, modesty, and courtesy are the foundation for the leader as equal • Leaders must be clear on their purpose, put an issue or a cause first, and serve something greater. This lessens self-importance

Principle	Overview	Leadership application
		• Leaders tap into optimism, gratitude, and faith and are the 'translators" to inspire and motivate people.

Note. As summarized from "Ten Principles of Latino Leadership," by Bordas, J. (2014). http://www.juanabordas.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/3.-Ten-Principles-of-Latino-Leadership.pdf. Used with permission.

APPENDIX B

Information of each Latina Parent Leader

Information of each Latina Parent Leader is provided in the table below. District, nativity, languages spoken, number of LCAP cycles that the parent has participated in, the district group and community organizations. The NCES Locale Classification codes are "urban-centric locale codes" since they are based on the districts' "proximity to an urbanized area (a densely settled core with densely settled surrounding areas)" (NCES, 2020, p. D-2). Large city districts are defined as districts "inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city with population of 250,000 or more," whereas large suburban districts are "outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area with population of 250,000 or more" (NCES, 2020, p. D-2). There are more than 80 schools within each of the two large city districts. In comparison, the large suburban school districts each have less than 80 schools. The information regarding the districts' NCES Locale Classification and how many schools are served by the district is important to this study since it speaks to the complexity of the central district office, which can include bureaucratic and political complexity due to their sheer size (Ornstein, 1990).The number of years that the Latina leaders participated in the LCAP process is critical information since their testimonios provide an understanding on their years of participation, and how or if the process has changed. As well, for parent leaders with fewer than three years participating in the LCAP process, their testimonio provides insight of a parent new to the LCAP process, and how well they are supported by the district in understanding the policy's complexity. The criteria of the language status (English Learner or Reclassified) of the children served as a way to identify parent leader's that had a high-stakes interest in participating in the LCAP process since the LCFF allocates additional funding for the support of English Learners with of goal of achieving educational equity for this subgroup of students. Furthermore, for the study, it is important to underscore the preferred language of the parent leaders, since research on Latino parent engagement has shown that those that are non-English speakers face barriers in parent engagement (Olivos, 2004, 2006; Turney & Kao, 2009).

Participant	District	District NCES Locale Classification[i] and number of schools	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended[ii]	Grade Level(s) and Language Status of Child(ren) During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Years in the U.S.	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups	District Groups[iii]	Community Organizations[iv]
Dolores	Pueblo	City: Large (11) > 80 Schools	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020)	1 Child 8th Grade, Reclassified 1 year ago (EL in 2019)	33	Spanish	Over 20	DELAC, ELAC, SSC, School Parent Group, School Board District Elections	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, CalTog, community parent group
Paola	Pueblo	City: Large (11) > 80 Schools	2 cycles (2019, 2020)	1 Child 4th grade, current EL	25	Spanish	8	DELAC, ELAC, Middle School Parent Group	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, community parent group
Gloria	Pueblo	City: Large (11) > 80 Schools	1 cycle (2020)	3 Children 12th Grade, LTEL 7th grader, Recla	15	Spanish	2	DELAC, ELAC, Middle Schoool Parent Group	Grupo de Salud Mental, PON, community parent group

Participant	District	District NCES Locale Classification[i] and number of schools	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended[ii]	Grade Level(s) and Language Status of Child(ren) During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Years in the U.S.	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups	District Groups[iii]	Community Organizations[iv]
Fernanda	Nieto	City: Large (11) > 80 Schools)	5 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 4th Grade, Both current ELs	30	Spanish	5	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC, Parent University Workshops	Gente Con Poder, Fe en Acción, People Rising – Parent Committee
Elizabeth	Nieto	City: Large (11) > 80 Schools	2 cycles (2018, 2019)	3 Children 12th Grade, Reclassified 7 yrs. ago 9th Grade, Reclassified 5 yrs. ago, 5th	18	Spanish	Over 10	DELAC, ELAC, DCAC, CAC, Head Start Parent Committee, Parent University Workshops	Fe en Acción, People Rising – Parent Committee

Participant	District	District NCES Locale Classification[i] and number of schools	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended[ii]	Grade Level(s) and Language Status of Child(ren) During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year	Years in the U.S.	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups	District Groups[iii], School Council	Community Organizations[iv]
Maria	Dalton	Suburb: Large (21), < 80 Schools	4 cycles (2017, 2018, 2019, 2020)	2 Children 8th Grader, Reclassified 5 years ago 7th grader, current EL	24	Spanish	4	DELAC, ELAC, Families in Schools Parent Workshops	None
Felicitas	Citrus	Suburb: Large (21), < 80 Schools	4 cycles (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)	12th Grader, IFEP	44	English	Over 8	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops	Justicia Para Todos, Comunidad en Acción
Alejandra	Citrus	Suburb: Large (21), < 80 Schools	5 cycles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)	2 Children 7th Grade, 4th Grade, Both Reclassified 6	20	Spanish	Over 10	DELAC, ELAC, Smart Start Parent Workshops	Justicia Para Todos, Comunidad en Acción (Co-founder)

Participant	District	District NCES Locale Classification[i] and number of schools	LCAP Cycles and Years Attended[ii]	Grade Level(s) and Language Status of Child(ren) During Most Recent LCAP Participation Year years ago (EL in 2015)	Years in the U.S.	Language Preferred During the Interview Process	Years Involved in District Groups	District Groups[iii]	Community Organizations[iv]

[i] The National Center for Education Statistics locale framework, describes the following as: City – Large (11): Territory inside an Urbanized Area and inside a Principal City with population of 250,000 or more.; Suburban – Large (21): Territory outside a Principal City and inside an Urbanized Area with population of 250,000 or more. . . . https://nces.ed.gov/programs/edge/docs/LOCALE_DEFINITIONS.pdf

[ii] The number of cycles and years that the parent participated in decision-making process of the LCAP. Years are listed as the end of the academic year. For example, participation in the 2018-2019 school year is listed as 2019.

[iii] Official district parent groups. The groups included district sanctioned parent groups and district- or school-level groups where parents are part of the decision-making process regarding educational programs. DELAC = District English Learner Advisory Council, ELAC = English Learner Advisory Council (school-level), SSC = School Site Council, DCAC = District Community Advisory Committee, CAC = Special Education Community Advisory Committee

[iv] Formal and informal community groups. Formal groups are those that are established community organizations, such as non-profits. Informal groups are those that are grassroots parent groups that have organically formed. . . .

APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol – Spanish

Introducción

Gracias por tomarse el tiempo de hablar conmigo hoy. Soy candidato a doctorado en la Universidad Loyola Marymount y el objetivo de mi disertación es documentar los testimonios de los padres Latinos en el proceso de desarrollo del LCAP. El método de los testimonios se centra en la narración de historias de los participantes relacionada con el fenómeno que se examina. Como investigador, grabaré las historias de los participantes, transcribiré las grabaciones de audio, editaré las historias y prepararé un manuscrito para su publicación.

Revise el Formulario de consentimiento informado con cada participante. Aclare cualquier pregunta o inquietud que el participante pueda tener con respecto a su participación en el estudio. Si quieren participar, pídales que firmen el Formulario de consentimiento informado y que hagan una copia para sus registros.

Proceso de entrevista en tres partes

(adaptado de Seidman, 2006)

Nuestra conversación será confidencial. Sin embargo, para asegurarme de capturar todo lo que dices, me gustaría grabar en audio esta entrevista. [Presione grabar] ¿Está bien si grabo audio? [Continúe con la grabación de audio si el participante consiente. Si no, tome notas escritas a mano.]

Entrevista 1: Información demográfica y tensiones sociales

Información demográfica

Las siguientes preguntas me ayudarán a capturar la diversidad de padres líderes. Toda la información es confidencial y se utilizarán seudónimos en la transcripción y el manuscrito.

1. ¿Cuál es tu lugar de nacimiento?
    a) Si es extranjero: ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en los Estados Unidos?
2. ¿Cuál es tu nivel educativo?
3. ¿En qué tipo de educación para padres, sesiones o entrenamientos ha participado? Ejemplos de talleres PON, CABE, talleres distritales para padres
    a) ¿Hay algo que desearía haber aprendido en estos entrenamientos?
4. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en su comunidad escolar actual?
5. ¿Cuántos niños tiene que asisten o han asistido a esta comunidad escolar?
    a) ¿Cuáles de sus hijos son identificados como aprendices de inglés por la escuela?
    b) ¿Se han reclasificado? Probe Fully English Proficient, Resultados en ELPAC

Historia vivida y tensiones sociales (Olivos, 2004, 2006)

Ahora, me gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas sobre su historia vivida y cualquier tensión social que haya experimentado (Olivos, 2004, 2006). Estas tensiones pueden estar relacionadas con su idioma, cultura, etnia, etc.

6. Además de su participación en el proceso de toma de decisiones del LCAP, ¿qué otras experiencias han tenido en los procesos políticos? Ejemplos DELAC, Organizaciones comunitarias, PON. Informe a los participantes que no tiene que estar en el entorno escolar.
7. ¿Qué te impulsó a involucrarte?
8. ¿Cuáles son algunas tensiones sociales que has experimentado dentro o fuera de la comunidad escolar?
    a) ¿Puedes describir uno?
    b) ¿Cuáles fueron las tensiones que experimentaste?

Sondeos: tensiones políticas, experiencias políticas, desafíos económicos vistos en la comunidad, idioma, inmigración, etc.

Entrevista 2: Experiencia en el proceso de desarrollo LCAP

En 2013, California cambió a un modelo basado en la comunidad (LCFF / LCAP) a nivel local para determinar la financiación de los programas estudiantiles. Las siguientes preguntas se centrarán en su experiencia en el proceso de desarrollo LCAP.

1. ¿Cómo se involucró en el proceso político (por ejemplo, proceso de desarrollo LCAP, redes de organizaciones de padres) dentro de su comunidad escolar?
2. ¿Cuál ha sido su experiencia en el proceso político?
3. ¿Cuáles han sido algunos desafíos o barreras que te has encontrado para ser un padre líder?
4. ¿Puede hablarme sobre un momento en que abogó firmemente por una política o idea que sabía que beneficiaría a los estudiantes clasificados como Estudiantes de inglés o RFEP?

a. ¿Cómo fue esa situación?
segundo. ¿A quién estabas tratando de persuadir? ¿Cuál fue tu relación con ellos?
do. ¿Hubo alguna tensión creada a partir de este evento?
re. ¿Cambió su relación con la escuela / personal?
mi. ¿Has establecido relaciones clave que te han ayudado en tus esfuerzos de defensa?

5. ¿Hay algo más que creas que debería saber sobre tu experiencia?

Entrevista 3: Reflexión sobre el significado de su experiencia.

1. ¿Cómo influyó esto en su participación en el proceso LCAP?

2. ¿Cómo impactó su participación en otras actividades escolares?

3. ¿Cómo ha influido esta experiencia en su relación con otros padres, líderes escolares, maestros u otros adultos en la comunidad?

Interview Protocol – English

Opening

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. I am a doctoral candidate at Loyola Marymount University and the focus of my dissertation is to document the testimonios of Latino parents in the LCAP development process. The method of testimonios focus on the storytelling of participants related to the phenomenon being examined. As the researcher, I will record participant's stories, transcribe the audio recordings, edit the stories, and prepare a manuscript for publication. After the individual interviews, a focus group with all participating parents will be held at a different time.

[Review the Informed Consent Form with each participant. Clarify any questions or concerns that the participant may have regarding their participation in the study. If they want to participate, have them sign the Informed Consent Form and make a copy for their records. Select a pseudonym for each participant.]

Three-Part Interview Process

(adapted from Seidman, 2006)

Our conversation will be confidential. However, so that I make sure to capture everything that you say I would like to audio record this interview. [Press record] Is it ok if I audio record? [Continue to audio record if the participant consents. If not, take handwritten notes.]

Interview 1: Demographic Information and Societal Tensions

Demographic Information

The following questions will help me capture the diversity of parent leaders. All information is confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the transcription and manuscript.

1. What is your place of birth?
    a. If foreign-born: How long have you lived in the United States?

2. What is your educational attainment?

3. What type of parent education, sessions or trainings have you participated in? Examples PON workshops, CABE, district parent workshops
    a. Is there something you wish you would have learned in these trainings?

4. How long have you lived in your current school community?

5. How many children do you have that attend or have attended this school community?
    a. Which of your children are identified as English Learners by the school?
    b. Have they Reclassified? Probe Fully English Proficient, Results on ELPAC

Lived History and Societal Tensions (Olivos, 2004, 2006)

Now, I'd like to ask some questions about your lived history and any societal tensions that you have experienced (Olivos, 2004, 2006). These tensions can be regarding your language, culture, ethnicity, etc.

6. Besides your involvement in the LCAP decision making process, what other experiences have you had in political processes? Examples DELAC, Community Organizations, PON. Let participant know that it does not have to be in the school setting.

7. What prompted you to be involved?

8. What are some societal tensions that you have experienced either within or outside of the school community?
    a. Can you describe one?
    b. What were the tensions that you experienced?

Probes: Political tensions, political experiences, economic challenges seen in the community, language, immigration, etc.

Interview 2: Experience in the LCAP development process

In 2013 California shifted to a community-based model (LCFF/LCAP) at the local-level of determining funding for student programs. The following questions will focus on your experience in the LCAP development process.

1. How did you become involved in the political process (e.g., LCAP development process, parent organization networks) within their school community?

2. What has been your experience in the political process?

3. What have been a few challenges or barriers that you have run into being a parent leader?

4. Can you tell me about a time when you advocated strongly for a policy or idea that you knew would benefit students classified as English Learners or RFEP?
    a. What was that situation like?
    b. Who were you trying to persuade? What was your relationship to them?
    c. Was there any tension created from this event?
    d. Did your relationship with the school/staff change?
    e. Have you established key relationships that have helped you in your advocacy efforts?

5. Is there anything else you think I should know about your experience?

Interview 3: Reflection on the meaning of their experience

1. How did this influence your participation with the LCAP process?

2. How did it impact your engagement in other school activities?

3. How has this experience influenced your relationship with other parents, school leaders, teachers, or other adults in the community?

APPENDIX D

Codebook

The codebook was developed in three phases.

Phase 1: Initial coding of testimonios

Code – Spanish/English	Literature	Description	Examples	Example translation
Tensión Tensions	Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit lens. (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005).	Parent talks about tensions within or outside of the school (Capital interest, race, class, gender, language, nativity)	"El idioma, porque a veces hay cosas en la comunidad que uno quiere participar, pero a veces uno cuando no hablas el idioma como que te detienes, porque no entiendes o te sientes diferente."	"The language, because sometimes there are things in the community that one wants to participate, but sometimes when you don't speak the language like it holds you back, because you don't understand or feel different."
Represalias o intimidaciones Tensions Sub-category: Retaliation or intimidation	Olivos (2004, 2006) states that negative tension serves to "disempower and subjugate bicultural communities."	Parent talks about hostile tactics used by school staff or district officials to disuade them from participating in the political process and/or advocating for better education conditions for students.	"A veces es difícil, porque cuando ya ven que tú sabes, tratan como de intimidarte, piensan que uno va como a hacer conflictos." - Paola	"Sometimes it's hard, because when they see that you know, they try to intimidate you, they think you are going to make conflicts."

Code – Spanish/English		Literature	Description	Examples	Example translation
Diferencias culturales	Cultural differences	A deficit-based model can be attributed to the misunderstanding of culture and language barriers, (Auerbach, 2007; Zarate, 2007)	Parent refers to cultural differences, including language barriers, with school staff that lead to misunderstandings	"Sí pienso que ha trabajado mucho el distrito en ese aspecto del idioma, pero aún falta todavía más. Muchos documentos que deberían estar en español o tener traducción, no lo tienen . . . Por ejemplo, cuando uno no entiende 100% el inglés, hay parte que no las traducen al 100, que de una conversación que se está hablando, de un tema que se está hablando, digamos que a nosotros en español nos traducen un 70. En partes la traducción se queda detenida en algo que no haya como decirlo más rápido, y para seguir la conversación, se queda el tema, se queda como cortado y de ahí sigue a lo que [el distrito] ya están hablando. Pienso que es como una barrea que nos detiene a entender un poco mejor, siento yo." - Gloria	"Yes, I think that the district has worked a lot in that aspect of language, but there is still more. Many documents that should be in Spanish or have translation, they don't have it . . . For example, when you don't understand English 100%, there is part that the translator does not translate them to 100. Of a conversation that is being talked about, of a topic that is being talked about, let's say that 70 is translated in Spanish. The translation is stopped when the translator cannot go fast enough, and to continue the conversation, the subject is cut off and from there it follows what they [district staff] are already talking about. I think it is like a barrier that stops us from

					understanding a little better, I feel. “
Ofuscación del proceso LCAP	Obfuscation of LCAP Process	Porras (2019) found that the Latino parents faced many barriers, including lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and misinformation regarding the LCAP development process.	Parent refers to confusion or lack of information in the LCAP process (e.g., misinformation from district officials, lack of communication, poorly led meetings. Etc.)	“En muchos talleres que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas, siempre dicen: “El tiempo, tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna-- haga cita y contestamos sus dudas.” Ellos [El distrito] nos dicen que hagamos cita, pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible . . . [Llamas] un número y ese número lo transfiere a un-- pienso a una extensión y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan y uno ya ve que uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar, dije: ‘No, ya, para estar ahí esperando mejor lo dejo así’.” - Gloria	“In many workshops I have attended, where we are left with doubts, they always say: “Time, we have to continue and if you have any-- make an appointment and we will answer your questions.” They [The district] tell us to make an appointment, but to make an appointment, you call, they leave you on hold, then it’s like something more impossible . . . [You call] a number and that number transfers to another-- I think to an extension and from there they put the music and there they leave you and you know as a parent, you are running everywhere, and I have already tried

					twice, I did not try again, I said: 'No, to be there waiting, it's better I leave it like this'. "
Entendiendo el sistema escolar	Understanding the school system	Research shows that Latinx parents must navigate a myriad of systems to have their voices heard in the school setting (Olivos 2006, 2009).	Parent talks about the importance of understanding the school system, and/or how knowing how to navigate the system is necessary in implementing change.	"Eso es lo que es frustrante, cuando uno de padre no está preparado y no sabe exactamente con quién ir, las personas, porque a veces el mismo personal se cubre, dicen: "Pasé la información," pero exactamente no ha pasado de donde está. Ahí es donde aprendí mejor a ir al Distrito o al board y exponer lo que realmente está pasando."	"That is what is frustrating, when a parent is not prepared and does not know exactly who to go with, because sometimes the same staff covers themselves, they say:" I passed the information," but that has not happened. That's where I learned that it is best to go to the District or the board and expose what's really going on. "
Barreras en la implementación	Barriers in implementation		Parent refers to barriers in implementation of LCAP in community schools		
Comunidad	Community	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders build a community of leaders and community capacity	Parent refers to the community or close relationships that have helped them bring about change or helped them cope with tensions brought on by participating in the political process.	"Uno solo no puede acer nada, pero ya muchos somos mas fuertes." - Dolores	"One alone cannot accomplish much, but together we are stronger."

Inspiración	Inspiration	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders seek to resolve discrimination or exclusion issues.	Parent talks about what inspired them to get involved in the political process.	“Me involucré por querer saber más.” - Gloria “Entonces, fue cuando dije yo: ocupo saber, ¿porque esto es así? ¿Qué privilegios o qué derechos tengo yo y tiene el estudiante? ¿Y cómo trabaja el distrito con los maestros? Porque ellos tienen, sienten el derecho de tratar, a veces, así a los niños, a los estudiantes. Entonces, empecé a preguntarme y una cosa me llevó a otra, y fue que yo fui ha las reuniones del distrito.” - Gloria	“I got involved so that I could know more.” “Then, it was when I said: ‘Why is this so? What privileges or what rights do I have and does the student have? And how does the district work with teachers? Because they feel they have the right to treat, the children and to the students like that. Then, I began to wonder and one thing led me to another, and it was then that I began to go to the district meetings.”

Phase 2: Refinement of initial codes

Code	Code - English	Literature	Description	Examples	Example translation
Linguoracism	Linguoracism	Olivos' (2004, 2006) Paradigm of Tension, Contradiction, and Resistance through a LatCrit lens. (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005). A deficit-based model can be attributed to the misunderstanding of language (Auerbach, 2007; Zarate, 2007)	Parent talks about tensions within or outside of the school regarding language.	"El idioma, porque a veces hay cosas en la comunidad que uno quiere participar, pero a veces uno cuando no hablas el idioma como que te detienes, porque no entiendes o te sientes diferente."	"The language, because sometimes there are things in the community that one wants to participate, but sometimes when you don't speak the language like it holds you back, because you don't understand or feel different."
Represalias o intimidaciones	Retaliation or intimidation	Olivos (2004, 2006) states that negative tension serves to "disempower and subjugate bicultural communities."	Parent talks about hostile tactics used by school staff or district officials to disuade them from participating in the political process and/or advocating for better education conditions for students.	"A veces es difícil, porque cuando ya ven que tú sabes, tratan como de intimidarte, piensan que uno va como a hacer conflictos." - Paola	"Sometimes it's hard, because when they see that you know, they try to intimidate you, they think you are going to make conflicts."

Code	Code - English	Literature	Description	Examples	Example translation
Ofuscación del proceso LCAP	Obfuscation of the LCAP process	Porras (2019) found that the Latino parents faced many barriers, including lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and misinformation regarding the LCAP development process.	Parent refers to confusion or lack of information in the LCAP process (e.g., misinformation from district officials, lack of communication, poorly led meetings. Etc.)	"En muchos talleres que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas, siempre dicen: "El tiempo, tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna [pregunta] -- haga cita y contestamos sus dudas." Ellos [El distrito] nos dicen que hagamos cita, pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible . . . [Llamas] un número y ese número lo transfiere a un-- pienso a una extensión y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan y uno ya ve que uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar, dije: 'No, ya, para estar ahí esperando mejor lo dejo así'." - Gloria	"In many workshops I have attended, where we are left with doubts, they always say: "[The] time, we have to continue and if you have any [questions]-- make an appointment and we will answer your questions." They [The district] tell us to make an appointment, but to make an appointment, you call, they leave you on hold, then it's like something more impossible . . . [You call] a number and that number transfers to another-- I think to an extension and from there they put the music and there they leave you and you know as a parent, you are running everywhere and I have already tried twice, I did not try again, I said: 'No, to

					be there waiting, it's better I leave it like this'.
Entendiendo el sistema escolar	Understanding the school system	Research shows that Latinx parents must navigate a myriad of systems to have their voices heard in the school setting (Olivos 2006, 2009).	Parent talks about the importance of understanding the school system, and/or how knowing how to navigate the system is necessary in implementing change.	"Eso es lo que es frustrante, cuando uno de padre no está preparado y no sabe exactamente con quién ir, las personas, porque a veces el mismo personal se cubre." – Paola	"That is what is frustrating, when a parent is not prepared and does not know exactly who to go with, because sometimes the same staff covers themselves" Paola
Comunidad	Community	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders build a community of leaders and community capacity	Parent refers to the community or close relationships that have helped them bring about change or helped them cope with tensions brought on by participating in the political process.	"Uno solo no puede acer nada, pero ya muchos somos mas fuertes." - Dolores	"One alone cannot accomplish much, but together we are stronger."
Inspiración	Inspiration	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders examine personal intention. "Why do I do what I do?"	Parent talks about what inspired them to get involved in the political process.	"Entonces, fue cuando dije yo: ocupo saber, ¿porque esto es así? ¿Qué privilegios o qué derechos tengo yo y tiene el estudiante? ¿Y cómo trabaja el distrito con los maestros? Porque ellos tienen, sienten el derecho de tratar, a veces, así a los niños, a los estudiantes. Entonces, empecé a preguntarme y una cosa me llevó a otra, y fue que yo fui ha las reuniones del distrito." - Gloria	"Then, it was when I said: 'Why is this so? What privileges or what rights do I have and does the student have? And how does the district work with teachers? Because they feel they have the right to treat, the children and to the students like that. Then, I began to wonder and

					one thing led me to another, and it was then that I began to go to the district meetings."
Lucha de poder entre las culturas dominantes y subordinadas.	Power struggle between dominant and subordinate cultures	There is a power struggle between the dominant and subordinate cultures (Darder, 2015). Latino leaders seek to resolve discrimination or exclusion issues (Bordas, 2014).	Parent refers to power struggle between themselves and district/school staff.	" y dijo[el director] que él no iba a hacer lo que los padres quisieran." (in reference to decisions made in the ELAC)- Fernanda	"and [the director] said that he was not going to do what the parents wanted." (in reference to ELAC decisions)

Phase 3 Code book for cross testimonio analysis

Temas	Themes	Code	Code - English	Literature	Description	Examples	Example translation
		Lucha de poder entre las culturas dominantes y subordinadas.	Power struggle between dominant and subordinate cultures	Olivos' (2004, 2006) paradigm of tensions, contradictions, and resistance in Latino parent involvement through a Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) lens. (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005). A deficit-based model can be attributed to the misunderstanding of language (Auerbach, 2007; Zarate, 2007) There is a power struggle between the dominant and subordinate cultures (Darder, 2015).	Parent refers to power struggle between themselves and district/school staff.	" y dijo[el director] que él no iba a hacer lo que los padres quisieran." (in reference to decisions made in the ELAC)- Fernanda	"and [the director] said that he was not going to do what the parents wanted." (in reference to ELAC decisions) - Fernanda
		Conflicto entre padres	Parent conflict		Parent talks about conflict within parents. This can be through a manipulation by the district to pit parents against one another, or community issues where parents are at odds.	" Y el distrito, con los papás que empezó a tener más relación, más como meter cizaña." - Alejandra	"And the district, with the parents who began to have more relationship, more like putting weeds." - Alejandra
		Efecto de la pobreza en la comunidad Latinx	Effect of poverty in the Latinx community		Parent talks about how poverty effects the Latinx community	"Y sí, mi cabeza no descansaba, aparte de que me sentía encerrada como una sardina pues estaba pensando: yo tengo una niña y tengo un niño, entonces, si una persona drogada puede hacer cualquier cosa a mí a mis hijos. Y yo estaba pensando todo eso, entonces mi cabeza no descansaba.Fíje	"And yes, my mind would not rest, apart from the fact that I felt locked up like a sardine because I was thinking: I have a girl and I have a boy, so if a drugged person can do anything to me to my children. And I was thinking all that, so my head was not resting. It caused me to have

				Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders seek to resolve discrimination or exclusion issues.		se que ya yo tenía insomnio."	insomnia."
		Temores de inmigración	Immigration fears		Parent talks about thier or the communities' fears about immigration	" . . . Eran las redadas, el miedo a las redadas; o sea, escuchaban que habían redadas, que hay-- cerca de la escuela está una tienda que se llama Superior . . . pero que ahí, decían que ahí, llegaba inmigración y se llevaba a los padres. Y sí, habían muchas personas que tenían miedo." Fernanda	" . . . It was the raids, the fear of the raids; I mean, they heard that there were raids, that there were . . . near the school there is a store called Superior . . . but that there, they said that there, immigration arrived and took the parents away. And yes, there were many people who were afraid." - Fernanda
		Represalias o intimidaciones	Retaliation or intimidation		Parent talks about hostile tactics used by school staff or district officials to disuade them from participating in the political process and/or advocating for better education conditions for students.	"A veces es difícil, porque cuando ya ven que tú sabes, tratan como de intimidarte, piensan que uno va como a hacer conflictos." - Paola	"Sometimes it's hard, because when they see that you know, they try to intimidate you, they think you are going to make conflicts." - Paola
Ofuscación del proces	Obfuscation of the LCAP process	Ofuscación del proceso LCAP	Obfuscation of the LCAP process	Porras (2019) found that the Latino parents	Parent refers to confusion or lack of information in the LCAP	"En muchos talleres que he asistido, donde nos quedamos con dudas,	"In many workshops I have attended, where we are left with

o LCAP			faced many barriers, including lack of meeting and LCAP resources in their language preference and misinformation regarding the LCAP development process.	process (e.g. misinformation from district officials, lack of communication, poorly led meetings. Etc.)	siempre dicen: "El tiempo, tenemos que continuar y ya si tiene alguna [pregunta] -- haga cita y contestamos sus dudas." Ellos [El distrito] nos dicen que hagamos cita, pero para hacer una cita, llamar, lo dejan en espera, entonces es como que algo más imposible . . . [Llamas] un número y ese número lo transfiere a un-- pienso a una extensión y de allí le ponen la música y de allí lo llevan y uno ya ve que uno de padre anda corriendo a todos lados y ya lo he intentado dos veces, ya no lo volví a intentar, dije: 'No, ya, para estar ahí esperando mejor lo dejo así'." - Gloria	doubts, they always say: "[The] time, we have to continue and if you have any [questions]-- make an appointment and we will answer your questions." They [The district] tell us to make an appointment, but to make an appointment, you call, they leave you on hold, then it's like something more impossible . . . [You call] a number and that number transfers to another-- I think to an extension and from there they put the music and there they leave you and you know as as a parent, you are running everywhere and I have already tried twice, I did not try again, I said: 'No, to be there waiting, it's better I leave it like this'. - Gloria
	Linguoracism	Linguoracism		Parent talks about tensions within or outside of the	"El idioma, porque a veces hay cosas en la comunidad que uno quiere	"The language, because sometimes there are things in the

school regarding language.	participar, pero a veces uno cuando no hablas el idioma como que te detienes, porque no entiendes o te sientes diferente." Sí, nosotros en la escuela no tenemos traducción en español. La coordinadora se toma el tiempo de explicarlo y de darnos un poco lo que es el español y el papel que es el plan escolar no está en español y nosotros, yo en particular, yo le dije que: "Me gustaría que ese papel estuviera en español, le digo: "Una porque así podemos ayudar mejor a los estudiantes y otra porque no estamos entendiendo, nosotros no podemos ayudar a nuestros aprendices de inglés". Y ahora dijo que no había manera de poderlo traducir, que no había manera de hacerlo porque en el	community that one wants to participate, but sometimes when you don't speak the language like it holds you back, because you don't understand or feel different." **"We at the school have no translation in Spanish. The coordinator takes the time to explain it and translate a little in Spanish and the School Plan is not in Spanish and we told him: "I would like that the School Planbe in Spanish, I say: "One because we can help students better and another because we are not understanding, we cannot help our English learners." And now he said there was no way to translate it, there was no way to do it because in the district they were not doing it, then, we insisted on it

			distrito no lo estaba haciendo, entonces, insistimos en insistimos y ahora está en español para nosotros. - Gloria	and kept insisting and now it is in Spanish for us. - Gloria
Sub-category: Falta de transparencia financiera	Sub-category: Lack of financial transparency	Parent talks about the lack of financial transperency.	"Porque unos padres, junto con otra organización querían que el distrito aclarara sobre un dinero, que no especificaban en qué se estaba gastando, en qué se iba a gastar, o dónde estaba ese dinero." Elizabeth	"Because parents, along with another organization, wanted the district to clarify about money, which they did not specify what it was being spent on, what it was going to be spent on, or where the money was." - Elizabeth
Sub-category: Falta de entrenamiento LCAP	Sub-category: Lack of training to prepare for LCAP process	Parent talks about the lack of training to help them understand the LCAP process or states that there is no orientation for parents that are new to the LCAP process.	"Usted cree que el Distrito te da el entrenamiento: "Tenga, ahí lo lee en su casa. Léalo". Sabemos que nosotros ni leemos. O si no te lo mandan en el Schoology, "Allí está todo, usted puede ir a ver todo en el Dashboard". Pero ¿cuántos padres tienen conocimiento de tecnología? ¿O tienen una evidencia de cuántos padres entran al Dashboard? Si yo, me da	"You believe the District gives you the training: "Here, read it at home. Read it." They know that we can't read. Or if they don't send it to you in Schoology, "There it is, you can go see everything on the Dashboard." But how many parents have knowledge of technology? Or do they have evidence of how many parents enter the Dashboard? If I am

				miedo . . . no sé, no es la forma que nosotros hemos aprendido. Entonces no existe esa empatía ni esa sensibilidad, sino que ya tienen ese check mark. "Oh, no, lo mandamos en el Schoology, es más aquí está el enlace", pero nunca te dice: "Venga, aquí le voy a enseñar, mire, apúchale aquí, mire"." - Dolores	intimidated . . . I don't know, it's not the way we have learned. So there is no empathy or sensitivity, but they already have that check mark. "Oh no, we sent it in the Schoology, it's here in the link", but [the district] never says to you: "Come, here I am going to teach you, look, click here, look". - Dolores
Sub-category: Falta de transparencia de datos	Sub-category: Lack of data transparency		Parent states that there is a lack of data transparency, such that data is provided at the last minute, data is old, or data is not disaggregated.	"No, no es por escuelas. [El data] nunca es por escuelas. Se solucionaría más cosas si se enfocaran en las escuelas, porque ahí es donde pasa todo; lo bueno o lo malo." Alejandra	"No, it is not by schools. [The data] is never by schools. More things would be solved if they focused on schools, because that's where everything happens; the good or the bad." - Alejandra
Sub-category: Falta de apoyo en la difusión de información LCAP	Sub-category: Lack of support in dessiminating LCAP information		Parent states that they are not provided with the information given at LCAP meetings, thus limiting how they can share with parents in their community.	"Allá te dan mucha información que a veces no llega a las escuelas desafortunadamente esa información que se trabaja allá, no sé cómo trabaje, pero no llega esa información a	"There they give you a lot of information that sometimes does not reach the schools, unfortunately that information that is worked there, I do not know how it works, but that information

				la escuela. A mí me gustaría que la información que se da a ese nivel del DELAC se diera a los concilios en la escuela, que los padres estén más involucrados en eso, que sepan sus derechos y responsabilidades." Paola	does not reach the school. I would like the information given at that level of the DELAC to be given to councils at school, that parents are more involved in that, that they know their rights and responsibilities." Paola
Sub-category: Fracaso del distrito para garantizar un sistema coherente	Sub-category: Failure of the district to guarantee a coherent LCAP system		Parent states that there is not a clear LCAP process where information and systems are clear from the district to the school level.	"Te digo, yo de las preguntas que yo-- porque yo casi nunca pongo, y por eso las recuerdo, porque esa vez sí tenía preguntas, y sí les puse que me las podían mandar. Me podían llamar, o igual, me la podían mandar por correo electrónico, la respuesta, y no pasó ni una. " - Elizabeth	"I tell you, of the questions that I-- because I hardly ever ask, and that's why I remember them, because this time I did have questions, and I did ask them that they could send them to me. They could call me, or maybe, they could send it to me by email, the answer, and not a single one happened." - Elizabeth
Sub-category: Ofuscación con implementación a nivel escolar	Sub-category: Obfuscation with implementation at the school level		Parent states that there is lack of transparency in the implemention of the LCAP at the school level	"Personas administrativas están decidiendo cómo gastar el dinero, y cuando vienen los datos todo mundo se hace pato, nadie quiere contestar, empiezan a	"Administrative people are deciding how to spend the money, and when the data comes, they blame everyone else, "It's because the students do not come every day", or "is

						echarle la culpa, "Es que los estudiantes no vienen todos los días", "es que los padres no apoyan a los estudiantes." Le echan la culpa a medio mundo, pero nunca a ellos mismos; y se están pagando posiciones de personas que ni sabemos si están haciendo el trabajo. Y un montón de inversiones que no conectan a la necesidad académica de los subgrupos, para que este sistema funcione tiene que ser transparente de los cómos: ¿cómo llegan a la escuela?" - Dolores	because the parents do not support the students." They blame half the world, but never themselves; and people are being paid positions that we don't even know if they are doing the work. And a lot of investments that do not connect to the academic need of the subgroups. For this system to work there has to be transparency of 'the hows': how do they get to school?" - Dolores
“Nadie nace aprendido" - Dolores	"No one is born learned " - Dolores	Entendiendo el sistema escolar	Understanding the school system	Research shows that Latinx parents must navigate a myriad of systems in order to have their voices heard in the school setting (Olivos 2006, 2009).	Parent talks about the either the importance of understanding the school system, or knowing how to navigate the system is necessary in implementing change.	"Eso es lo que es frustrante, cuando uno de padre no está preparado y no sabe exactamente con quién ir, las personas, porque a veces el mismo personal se cubre, dicen: "Pasé la información", pero exactamente no ha pasado de donde está. Ahí	"That is what is frustrating, when a parent is not prepared and does not know exactly who to go with, because sometimes the same staff covers themselves, they say:" I passed the information," but that has not happened. That's where I learned that it

						es donde aprendí mejor a ir al Distrito o al board y exponer lo que realmente está pasando." - Paola	is best to go to the District or the board and expose what's really going on. " - Paola
"Muchos somos mas fuertes" - Dolores	"Together we are stronger." - Dolores	Comunidad	Community	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders build a community of leaders and community capacity	Parent refers to the community or close relationships that have helped them bring about change or helped them cope with tensions brought on by participating in the political process.	"Uno solo no puede acer nada, pero ya muchos somos mas fuertes." - Dolores	"One alone cannot accomplish much, but together we are are stronger." - Dolores
		Sub-category: Abogacía a través de la comunidad	Sub-category: Advocacy through the community		Parent refers to organizing with other parents to advocate for change.	"O sea, en dos años hicimos el cambio, en dos años se notó la diferencia tanto hasta académicamente, que la escuela fue subiendo maestros que automáticamente ellos tomaban la decisión de que mira: "oh, estos papá's siguen igual", maestros que se intimidaron, que tomaron ellos la decisión de irse, maestros que no eran buenos. Entonces . . . nos costó trabajo, pero	"In other words, in two years we made the change, in two years the difference was noticed. Even academically, that the school was raising. Teachers who automatically made the decision to say: "Oh, these parents stay the same", teachers who were intimidated, that they made the decision to leave, teachers who were not good. So . . . it cost us work, but we looked and: "oh, wow,

						miramos y: "oh, guau, valió la pena", y sigue valiendo la pena." - Alejandra	it was worth it", and it is still worth it. " - Alejandra
		Sub-category: Asistencia de ayuda externa	Sub-category: Assistance from an outside source		Parent talks about having to go to an outside source in order to help advocate for change (e.g. Non-profits, State Education Agencies, Superintendent, School Board Members)	"Yo participo . . . de un grupo de padres, que ayuda como a otros padres, a entender cosas del distrito, a pelear por sus derechos, y cosas así. Y, también es bajo de People Rising." Elizabeth	"I participate . . . in a group of parents, that helps like other parents, to understand things about the district, to fight for their rights, and things like that. And, it is also under People Rising." Elizabeth
Intención personal	Personal intention	Inspiración	Inspiration	Bordas (2014) states that Latino leaders examine personal intention. "Why do I do what I do?"	Parent talks about what inspired them to get involved in the political process in their school community.	"Me involucré por querer saber más." - Gloria "Entonces, fue cuando dije yo: ocupo saber, ¿porque esto es así? ¿Qué privilegios o qué derechos tengo yo y tiene el estudiante? ¿Y cómo trabaja el distrito con los maestros? Porque ellos tienen, sienten el derecho de tratar, a veces, así a los niños, a los estudiantes. Entonces, empecé a preguntarme y una cosa me llevó a otra, y fue que yo fui ha las reuniones	"I got involved so that I could know more." "Then, it was when I said: 'Why is this so? What privileges or what rights do I have and does the student have? And how does the district work with teachers? Because they feel they have the right to treat, the the children and to the students like that. Then, I began to wonder and one thing led me to another, and it was then that I began to go to the district

						del distrito." - Gloria	meetings." - Gloria
"Soy acepta da en el distrito ."- Maria	"I am accepte d into the district. " - Maria	Comprom iso culturalm ente receptivo de los padres	Culturally responsiv e parent engagmen t		Parent talks about culturally responsive parent engagment strategies used by the district or school to engage parents in school decisions.	"No he encontrado desafíos de nada, porque . . . he sido aceptado, ni el idioma me ha mantenido porque . . . si está en inglés, entonces tenemos traductores. Para mí, no ha sido un desafío, porque soy aceptado aunque soy latina o no hablo inglés muy bien. Soy aceptada en el distrito."- Maria	"I have not encountered any challenges, because . . . I have been accepted, nor has the language supported me because . . . if it is in English, then we have translators. For me, it has not been a challenge, because I am accepted even though I am Latina or do not speak English very well. I am accepted into the district." - Maria
		Transpare ncia en el proceso LCAP	Transpare ncy in the LCAP process		Parent talks about how the district is transparent in the LCAP process	"Y ya cuando entran en más en detalles, que los papás empiezan a hacer más preguntas, entonces [el distrito] empiezan a mostrar un poco más. Participamos juntos." - Maria, explica como comparten información LCAP a los padres	"And when they go into more detail, that the parents start asking more questions, then [the district] start showing a little more. We participate together. maria explaining sharing LCAP information to parents " - Maria sharing how LCAP information is shared with other parents.

REFERENCES

Acuña, R. (1972). *Occupied America. The Chicano's struggle toward liberation.* Harper & Row Publishers.

Allbright, T. N., Marsh, J. A., Hall, M., Tobben, L., Picus, L. O., & Lavadenz, M. (2019). Conceptualizing equity in the implementation of California education finance reform. *American Journal of Education*, *125*(2), 173-200. https://doi.org/10.1086/701247

American Civil Liberties Union. (1999, July 29). *CA's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 is voided, ending state's five-year battle with ACLU, rights group.* [Press release]. https://www.aclu.org/news/cas-anti-immigrant-proposition-187-voided-ending-states-five-year-battle-aclu-rights-groups

American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. (n.d.). *Williams v. State of California.* https://www.aclusocal.org/en/cases/williams-v-state-california

Armas, E., Lavadenz, M., & Olsen, L. (2015). *Falling short on the promise to English learners: A report on year one LCAPs.* Californians Together and The Center for Equity for English learners and Loyola Marymount University. http://www.ciclt.net/ul/calto/AReportonYearOneLCAPs_2015-04-22.pdf

Auerbach, S. (2007). From moral supporters to struggling advocates: Reconceptualizing parent roles in education through the experience of working-class families of color. *Urban Education*, *42*(3), 250-283. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085907300433

Ballotpedia. (1994). California proposition 187, prohibit undocumented immigrants from using public healthcare, schools, and social services initiative (1994). https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_187,_Prohibit_Undocumented_Immigrants_from_Using_Public_Healthcare,_Schools,_and_Social_Services_Initiative_(1994)

Ballotpedia. (1998). California proposition 227-require English instruction in public schools initiative (June1998). https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_227,_Require_English_Instruction_in_Public_Schools_Initiative_(June_1998)

Ballotpedia. (2016). California proposition 58 non-English languages allowed in public education (2016). https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_58,_Non-English_Languages_Allowed_in_Public_Education_(2016)

Baquedano-López, P., Alexander, R. A., & Hernández, S. J. (2013). Equity issues in parental and community involvement in schools: What teacher educators need to know. *Review of Research in Education*, *37*(1), 149-182. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X12459718

Becker, H. J., & Epstein, J. L. (1982). Parent involvement: A survey of teacher practices. *The Elementary School Journal*, *83*(2), 85-102. https://doi.org/10.1086/461297

Bell, D. (1980). Brown v. board of education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review, 93*(3), 518-533. doi:10.2307/1340546

Bennett, B. (2018, January 18). *Trump says chain migration allows "virtually unlimited numbers of distant relatives."* Los Angeles Times. http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-essential-washington-updates-hold-trump-on-chain-migration-1517356312-htmlstory.html

Berger, E. H. (1991). Parent involvement: Yesterday and today. *The Elementary School Journal*, *91*(3), 209-219.

Bilingual Education Act of 1968, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. (1968). https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-81/pdf/STATUTE-81-Pg783.pdf#page=32

Bordas, J. (2001). Latino leadership: Building a humanistic and diverse society liderazgo Latino: Edificando una sociedad humanistica y diversa. *Journal of Leadership Studies, 8*(2), 112-134. https://doi.org/10.1177/107179190100800208

Bordas, J. (2014) Ten principles of Latino leadership. http://www.juanabordas.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/3.-Ten-Principles-of-Latino-Leadership.pdf

Bowman, K. L. (2000). The new face of school desegregation. *Duke Law Journal*, *50*, 1751-1808. https://doi.org/10.2307/1373047

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483. (1954). https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/

California Budget Act of 2018, S.B. 840. (2018). Chapter 29.

California Collaborative for Educational Excellence. (2020). Community engagement initiative. Retreived from https://ccee-ca.org/system-of-support/community-engagement-initiative/

California Department of Education. (2019a). *California assessment of student performance and progress: Test results for English language arts.* https://caaspp-elpac.cde.ca.gov/caaspp/DashViewReport?ps=true&lstTestYear=2019&lstTestType=B&lstGroup=4&lstSubGroup=160&lstGrade=13&lstSchoolType=A&lstCounty=00&lstDistrict=00000&lstSchool=0000000&lstFocus=a

California Department of Education. (2019b). *Data quest: 2018-19 at-risk and long-term English learners (LTEL)(district data) Los Angeles County Report.* https://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/longtermel/EverElTypeLevels.aspx?cds=19&agglevel=County&year=2018-19

California Department of Education. (2019c). *Global California 2030. speak. learn. lead an initiative of the state superintendent of public instruction Tom Torlakson.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/in/documents/globalca2030report.pdf

California Department of Education. (2019d). *State superintendent Torlakson launches "global California 2030"* [Press release]. Retrieved https://www.cde.ca.gov/nr/ne/yr18/yr18rel42.asp

California Department of Education. (2020a). *District English learner advisory committee.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/cr/delac.asp

California Department of Education. (2020b). *Economic impact aid.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/re/pr/eia.asp

California Department of Education. (2020c). *Local control funding formula.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/fg/aa/lc/

California Department of Education. (2020d). *School site council*. https://www.cde.ca.gov/fg/aa/co/ssc.asp

California Department of Education. (2020e). *State superintendent Tom Torlakson announces updated school planning tool is available in Spanish* [Press release]. https://www.cde.ca.gov/nr/ne/yr17/yr17rel32.asp

California Department of Education. (2020f). *Title III faqs.* Retrieved https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/t3/title3faq.asp

California Department of Education. (2020g). *Uniform complaint procedures.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/re/cp/uc/

California Department of Education. (2021a). *2020-21 LCFF & title I part A planning documents.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/re/lc/crosswalklcfftitle1.asp

California Department of Education. (2021b). *Facts about English learners in California.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/ad/cefelfacts.asp

California Department of Education. (2021c). *Local control and accountability plan.* https://www.cde.ca.gov/re/lc/

California Education for a Global Economy Initiative. Cal. S. B. 1174 (2013-2014) Chapter 753 (Cal. Stat. 2014). https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201320140SB1174

Cantú, N. (2012). Getting there cuando no hay camino (when there is no path): Paths to discovery testimonios by Chicanas in STEM. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(3), 472-487. doi:10.1080/10665684.2012.698936

Carruba-Rogel, Z., Durán, R. P., & Solis, B. (2019). Latina parents' literacy practices and concientización in petitioning their local school board regarding funding priorities. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2019.1598131

Chapman, T. K. (2007). Interrogating classroom relationships and events: Using portraiture and critical race theory in education research. *Educational Researcher, 36*(3), 156-162. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X07301437

Civil Rights Act of 1964 , 78 Stat. 241 (1964). https://www.govinfo.gov/features/civil-rights-act

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2018). *Research methods in education*. (8th ed.). Routledge.

Crespo, G. (2018*) Two friends speaking Spanish were told to speak English. A bystander stepped in to help.* News report. https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/05/us/colorado-woman-defends-two-friends-speaking-spanish-trnd/index.html

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (5th ed.). Sage Publications.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage Publications.

Colón-Muñiz, A., & Lavadenz, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Latino civil rights in education: La lucha sigue*. Routledge.

Darder, A. (2015). *Culture and power in the classroom: Educational foundations for the schooling of bicultural students*. Routledge.

Darder, A., & Griffiths, T. G. (2018). Revisiting "Can the subaltern speak?": Introduction. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *18*(2), 82-88. https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-D-17-00059

Dedoose Version 8.3.17, web application for managing, analyzing, and presenting qualitative and mixed method research data (2020). SocioCultural Research Consultants, LLC. www.dedoose.com

Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for a narrative. *Michigan Law Review, 87*(8), 2411-2441. https://doi.org/10.2307/1289308

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction.* New York University Press.

Delgado Bernal, D. (1998). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review*, *68*(4), 555-583. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.68.4.5wv1034973g22q48

Delgado Bernal, D. (2016). Cultural intuition: Then, now and into the future. *Center for Critical Race Studies Research Briefs*, *1*, 1-4.

Delgado Bernal, D., Burciaga, R., & Flores Carmona, J. (2012). Chicana/Latina testimonios: Mapping the methodological, pedagogical, and political. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(3), 363-372. doi: 10.1080/10665684.2012.698149

Domina, T., Pharris-Ciurej, N., Penner, A. M., Penner, E. K., Brummet, Q., Porter, S. R., & Sanabria, T. (2018). Is free and reduced-price lunch a valid measure of educational disadvantage? *Educational Researcher, 47*(9), 539-555. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X18797609

Domonoske, C., & Gonzales, R. (2018, June 19). *What we know: Family separation and "zero tolerance" at the border.* National Public Radio. https://www.npr.org/2018/06/19/621065383/what-we-know-family-separation-and-zero-tolerance-at-the-border

Education Data Partnership. (2020). *Fiscal, demographic, and performance data on California's K-12 schools.* https://www.ed-data.org/

Elliott, V. (2018). Thinking about the coding process in qualitative data analysis. *The Qualitative Report, 23*(11), 2850-2861.

Epstein, J. L. (2010). *School, family, and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schools.* Routledge.

Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015, Pub. L. No. 114-95. (2015). https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/PLAW-114publ95

Faith in Action. (2020). *About us.* https://faithinaction.org/about-us/

Families in Schools. (2020). *Parent curriculum.* https://www.familiesinschools.org/what-we-do/trainings/curriculum/

Fensterwald, J. (2016). *New federal law puts spotlight on English learners.* https://edsource.org/2016/new-federal-law-puts-spotlight-on-english-learners/94222

Fernández, E., & Paredes Scribner, S. M. (2018). "Venimos para que se oiga la voz": Activating community cultural wealth as parental educational leadership. *Journal of Research on Leadership Education*, *13*(1), 59-78. https://doi.org/10.1177/1942775117744011

Freire, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the city*. The Continuum Publishing Company.

Freire, P. (2016). *Pedagogy of the oppressed: 30th anniversary edition*. Bloomsbury.

Gaitan, C. D. (2012). Culture, literacy, and power in family-community school relationships. *Theory in Practice, 51*(4), 305-311. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2012.726060

Galindo, R. (2004). Newspaper editorial response to California's post-proposition 227 test scores. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *3*(4), 227-250. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532771xjle0304_3

Gándara, P., & Contreras, F. (2010). The Latino education crisis. *Educational Leadership, 67*(5), 24-30.

Gándara, P., & Ee, J. (2018). U.S. immigration enforcement policy and its impact on teaching and learning in the nation's schools. *UCLA: The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles*. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3047w6xq

Gándara, P., Moran, R., & Garcia, E. (2004). Chapter 2: Legacy of Brown: Lau and language policy in the United States. *Review of Research in Education*, *28*(1), 27-46. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X028001027

Gándara, P., & Mordechay, K. (2017). Demographic change and the new (and not so new) challenges for Latino education. *Educational Forum, 81*(2), 148-159. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2017.1280755

Gándara, P., Rumberger, R., Maxwell-Jolly, J., & Callahan, R. (2003). English learners in California schools: Unequal resources, unequal outcomes. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 11*(36). https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v11n36.2003

Gay, L. R., Mills, G. E., & Airasian, P. W. (2014). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and applications, global edition: Edition 10*. Pearson Education Limited.

Giroux, H. (1983a). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review, 55,* 257-293. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.53.3.a67x4u33g7682734

Giroux, H. (1983b). *Theories and resistance in education*. Bergin and Garvey.

Gross, T. (Interviewer) & Balderrama, F. (Interviewee). (2015). *America's forgotten history of Mexican-American "repatriation"*. [Interview transcript]. National Public Radio. https://www.npr.org/2015/09/10/439114563/americas-forgotten-history-of-mexican-american-repatriation

Hernández-Truyol, B. E. (1998). Latina multidimensionality and LatCrit possibilities: Culture, gender, and sex. *U. Miami L. Rev. 53*, 811.

Hill, L. E. (2012). California's English learner students. *Public Policy Institute of California*. https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-english-learner-students/

Hill, L. E., Betts, J., Hopkins, M., Lavadenz, M., Bachofer, K. V., Hayes, J., Lee, A., Murillo, M. A., Vahdani, T., & Zau, A. C. (2019). Academic progress for English learners: The role of school language environment and course placement in grades 6-12. *Public Policy Institute of California*.

hooks, b. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope.* Routledge.

Huber, L. P. (2008). Building critical race methodologies in educational research: A research note on critical race testimonio. *FIU Law Review*, *4*, 159.

Huber, L. P. (2009). Disrupting apartheid of knowledge: Testimonio as methodology in Latina/o critical race research in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(6), 639-654. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390903333863

Humphrey, D., Koppich, J., Lavadenz, M., Marsh, J., O'Day, J., Plank, D., Stokes, L., & Hall, M. (2018). How stakeholder engagement fuels improvement efforts in three California school districts. *Policy Analysis for California Education, PACE*.

Jeynes, W. H. (2005). A meta-analysis of the relation of parental involvement to urban elementary school student academic achievement. *Urban education*, *40*(3), 237-269. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085905274540

Jeynes, W. (2012). A meta-analysis of the efficacy of different types of parental involvement programs for urban students. *Urban Education*, *47*(4), 706-742. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085912445643

Jiménez-Castellanos, O., & García, E. (2017). Intersection of language, class, ethnicity, and policy: Toward disrupting inequality for English language learners. *Review of Research in Education*, *41*(1), 428-452. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X16688623

Jiménez-Castellanos, O., & Okhremtchouk, I. (2013). K-12 categorical entitlement funding for English language learners in California: An intradistrict case study. *Educational Considerations*, *40*(2), 27-33. https://doi.org/10.4148/0146-9282.1085

Johnson, L. B. (1965, October 3). *President Lyndon B. Johnson's remarks at the signing of the immigration bill Liberty Island, New York.* Austin, TX: LBJ Presidential Library. http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/timeline/lbj-on-immigration

Kelly, L. B. (2018). Interest convergence and hegemony in dual language: Bilingual education, but for whom and why? *Language Policy*, *17*(1), 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-016-9418-y

Kincheloe, J. L. (2008). *Knowledge and critical pedagogy: An introduction* (Vol. 1). Springer Netherlands.

Koppich, J. E., Humphrey, D. C., & Marsh, J. A. (2015). *Two years of California's local control funding formula: Time to reaffirm the grand vision.* Policy Analysis for California Education.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory in education. *Teachers College Record, 97*(1), 47-68.

Lavadenz, M., Armas, E., & Hodge, S. J. (2018). *Masking the focus on English learners: The consequences of California's accountability system's dashboard on year 4 Local Control and Accountability Plans (LCAPs)*. Californians Together and The Center for Equity for English Learners at Loyola Marymount University. https://www.californianstogether.org/new-report-masking-the-focus-on-english-learners-the-consequences-of-californias-accountability-systems-dashboard-on-year-4-local-control-and-accountability-plans-lcaps/

Lavadenz, M., Armas, E. G., Murillo, M. A., & Hodge, S. J. (2019). Equity for English learners: Evidence from four years of California's local control funding formula. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *94*(2), 176-192. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2019.1598113

LeFevre, A. L., & Shaw, T. V. (2012). Latino parent involvement and school success: Longitudinal effects of formal and informal support. *Education and Urban Society, 44*(6), 707-723. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124511406719

Legislative Analyst's Office. (2013). *An overview of the Local Control Funding Formula.* https://lao.ca.gov/reports/2013/edu/lcff/lcff-072913.aspx

Local Control and Accountability Plans and the Statewide System of Support, Cal. Education Code § [52059.5 - 52077] et seq.

Local Control Funding Formula, A.B. 91. (2013). Chapter 47

Local Control Funding Formula, S.B. 91. (2013-2014). Chapter 49

Local Control Funding Formula, S.B. 97. (2013-2014). Chapter 357

Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtle, K. H. (2010). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice* (2nd ed.). Jossey-Bass.

Macedo, D., Dendrinos, B., & Gounari, P. (2015). *Hegemony of English*. Routledge.

Machado-Casas, M., & Ruiz, E. (2012). Globalized students vs. unglobalized families: Limiting family participation in education. *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal, 6*(2), 4-12.

Madrid, M. (2016). The lemon grove desegregation case: A matter of neglected history. In A. Colón-Muñiz & M. Lavadenz (Eds.), *Latino civil rights in education: La lucha sigue.* (47-57). Routledge.

Marrero, F. A. (2016). Barriers for school success for Latino students. *Journal of Education and Learning, 5*(2), 180-186. http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/jel.v5n2p180

Marsh, J. A., & Hall, M. (2018). Challenges and choices: A multidistrict analysis of statewide mandated democratic engagement. *American Educational Research Journal*, *55*(2), 243-286.doi: https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831217734803

Martinez, M. A., Marquez, J., Cantú, Y., & Rocha, P. A. (2016). Ternura y tenacidad: Testimonios of Latina school leaders. *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal*, *10*(3), 11-29.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* Jossey-Bass.

Mertens, D. M. (2010). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods.* Sage Publications.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* Sage Publications.

National Center for Education Statistics (2020). *NCES locale codes.* https://nces.ed.gov/programs/handbook/data/pdf/appendix_d.pdf

National Center for Education Statistics. (2021). *English language learners in public schools*. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cgf.asp

Ochoa, A. M. (2016). Recognizing inequality and the pursuit of equity: A legal and social equity framework. In A. Colón-Muñiz & M. Lavadenz (Eds.), *Latino civil rights in education: La lucha sigue.* (47-57). Routledge.

Okhremtchouk, I. S. (2017). The politics of schools and money: Building awareness about channeling practices for supplemental resource allocations to serve English language learners. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 25*(17). http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2819

Olivos, E. M. (2004). Tensions, contradictions, and resistance: An activist's reflection of the struggles of Latino parents in the public school system. *The High School Journal*, *87*(4), 25-35. https://doi: 10.1353/hsj.2004.0012

Olivos, E. M. (2006). *The power of parents: A critical perspective of bicultural parent involvement in public schools.* Peter Lang Publishing.

Olivos, E. M. (2009). Collaboration with Latino families: A critical perspective of home—school interactions. *Intervention in School and Clinic*, *45*(2), 109-115. https://doi.org/10.1177/1053451209340220

Olivos, E.M., Gallagher, R. & Aguilar, J. (2010). Fostering collaboration with culturally and linguistically diverse families of children with moderate to severe disabilities. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation*, *20*(1), 28–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/10474410903535372

Olsen, L. (2010). *Reparable harm fulfilling the unkept promise of educational opportunity for California's long term English learners.* Californians Together

Olsen, L., Armas, E., & Lavadenz, M. (2016). *A review of year 2 LCAPs: A weak response to English learners.* Californians Together and The Center for Equity for English Learners and Loyola Marymount University. https://www.californianstogether.org/study-of-year-2-local-control-accountability-plans-lcaps-reveals-a-weak-response-to-the-needs-of-english-learners-save-and-exitexit-without-saving/

Orelus, P. W. (2013). *Whitecentricism and linguoracism exposed: Towards the de-centering of whiteness and decolonization of schools.* Peter Lang Publishing.

Orelus, P. W. (2018). Can subaltern professors speak?: Examining micro-aggressions and lack of inclusion in the academy. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *18*(2), 169-179. https://doi:10.1108/QRJ-D-17-00057

Ornstein, A. C. (1990). School size and effectiveness: Policy implications. *The Urban Review, 22*(3), 239-245. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01109026

Ovando, C. J. (2003). Bilingual education in the United States: Historical development and current issues. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *27*(1), 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2003.10162589

Paredes Scribner, S. M., & Fernández, E. (2017). Organizational politics of parental engagement: The intersections of school reform, anti-immigration policies, and Latina parent organizing. *Educational Policy*, *31*(6), 895-920. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817719527

Parent Organization Network. (2019). *Parent organization network: Vision and mission*. https://parentnetwork-la.org/

Pastor, M. (2018). *State of resistance: What California's dizzying descent and remarkable resurgence mean for America's future.* The New Press.

Perez Huber, L., Malagón, M. C., Ramirez, B. R., Gonzalez, L. C., Jimenez, A., & Vélez, V. N. (2015). *Still falling through the cracks: Revisiting the Latina/o education pipeline.*Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED574691).https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED574691.pdf

Porras, D. A. (2019). Latina Mothers of Emergent Bilinguals as Policymakers? Barriers and Opportunities toward Critical Participation in LCAP. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *94*(2), 226-239. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2019.1598130

Quezada, M. S. (2016). Proposition 227 and the loss of educational rights: A personal perspective and quest for equitable educational programs for English learners. In A. Colón-Muñiz & M. Lavadenz (Eds.), *Latino civil rights in education: La lucha sigue.* (47-57). Routledge.

Reyes, K. B., & Curry Rodríguez, J. E. (2012). Testimonio: Origins, terms, and resources. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(3), 525-538. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2012.698571

Robbie, S. (2016). The meaning of Mendez. In A. Colón-Muñiz & M. Lavadenz (Eds.), *Latino civil rights in education: La lucha sigue.* (47-57). Routledge.

Robbins, L. (2018). *Man threatens Spanish-speaking workers: "My next call will be to ICE".* New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/16/nyregion/man-threatens-spanish-language-video.html

Ross, E. W. (1999). What is to be done in the aftermath of Proposition 187? *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *27*(3), 292-295. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.1999.10505882

Rumberger, R. W., & Gándara, P. (2004). Seeking equity in the education of California's English learners [Abstract]. *Teachers College Record, 106*(10), 2032-2056. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9620.2004.00426.x

Sánchez, G. J. (1995). *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, culture, and identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. Oxford University Press.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. (3rd ed.). Teachers College Press.

Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Committee. (2018). Final action report: A summary for the 2018 Budget Act. https://sbud.senate.ca.gov/sites/sbud.senate.ca.gov/files/FAR/Final_Action_Report_A_Summary_of_the_2018_Budget_Act.pdf

Silva, D. (2018). *Border Patrol agent detains women for speaking Spanish at Montana gas station.* NBC News. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/border-patrol-agent-detains-women-speaking-spanish-montana-gas-station-n876096

Solorzano, D. G., & Bernal, D. D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and LatCrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education*, *36*(3), 308-342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085901363002

Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *14*(4), 471-495. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390110063365

Spillane, J. P., Reiser, B. J., & Gomez, L. M. (2006). Policy implementation and cognition. *New directions in educational policy implementation*, 47-64. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543072003387

Spivak, G. C. (1988), "Can the subaltern speak?", in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (Eds), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture.* (271-316). University of Illinois Press.

Stefancic, J. (1997). Latino and Latina critical theory: An annotated bibliography. *La Raza LJ*, *10*, 423. https://doi.org/10.2307/3481065

Steiner, S. (1970). *La raza: The Mexican Americans.* Harper Collins Publishers.

Steinman, E. H. (1974). *The Lau v. Nichols supreme court decision of 1974: Testimony of Edward H. Steinman before the committee on ways and means of the California state assembly*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED116457) https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED116457.pdf

Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (1996). California dreaming: Proposition 187 and the cultural psychology of racial and ethnic exclusion. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *27*(2), 151-167. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1996.27.2.04x0225q

Sugarman, J. (2016). *Funding an equitable education for English learners in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute.

The White House. (2018, February 1). *National security threats—Chain migration and the visa lottery system.* [Articles] https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/national-security-threats-chain-migration-visa-lottery-system/

Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged?. *The Journal of Educational Research, 102*(4), 257-271. https://doi.org/10.3200/JOER.102.4.257-271

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). *Place of birth by nativity and citizenship status.* https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

Vagle, M. D. (2018). *Crafting phenomenological research.* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Valdes, F. (1996). Forward: Latina/o ethnicities, critical race theory and post-identity politics in postmodern legal culture: From practices to possibilities. *La Raza Law Journal*, *9*, 1-31. https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38236B

Valdes, F. (1997). Foreword: poised at the cusp: LatCrit theory outsider jurisprudence and Latina/o self-empowerment. *Harvard Latino Law Rev.*, *2*, 1.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: US-Mexican youth and the politics of caring.* State University of New York Press. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050208667759

van Manen, M. (2001). *Researching lived experiences: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy.* Althouse Press.

van Manen, M. (2014). *Phenomenology of practice: Meaning-giving methods in phenomenological research and writing.* Left Coast Press.

Vasquez Heilig, J., Romero, L. S., & Hopkins, M. (2017). Coign of vantage and action: Considering California's local accountability and school finance plans for English learners. *Education Policy Analysis Archives/Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, *25*(15), 1-24. http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2818

Warren, P. (2019, March 4). Declining K-12 enrollment forces major budget cuts in many districts. *Public Policy Institute of California.* https://www.ppic.org/blog/declining-k-12-enrollment-forces-major-budget-cuts-in-many-districts/

Washington Post Staff. (2015). *Full text: Donald Trump announces a presidential bid.* Washington, D.C. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/06/16/full-text-donald-trump-announces-a-presidential-bid/?utm_term=.0e9d18eed1f0

Yamagami, M. (2012). The political discourse of the campaign against bilingual education: From Proposition 227 to Horne v. Flores. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *6*(2), 143-159. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2011.651524

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 81*(1), 69-91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006

Yosso, T., Villalpando, O., Delgado Bernal, D., & Solorzano, D. G. (2001). Proceedings from national association for Chicana and Chicano studies annual conference. *Critical race theory in Chicana/o education.* http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/naccs/2001/Proceedings/9

Zarate, M. E. (2007). *Understanding Latino parental involvement in education: Perceptions, expectations, and recommendations*. Tomas Rivera Policy Institute. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED502065). https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED502065