Benevolent Racism in an Adult Educator's Talk

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As many parts of the United States experience high numbers of settlement by Latino families for the first time, reactions to these newcomers vary across communities and individuals. Social service professionals often serve as two-way cultural brokers; as front line staff that help newly arrived immigrants navigate U.S. health and educational systems as well as mediating voices for immigrants to non-immigrant community members. This article uses discourse analytic tools centered on the Bakhtinian concept of voice to analyze an interview with an adult educator working with newcomers in one Pennsylvania suburb to reveal the range of voices she embodies and how these voices position Mexican immigrant women. I argue that this set of voices is reflective of benevolent racism, or a welcoming attitude toward newcomers that frames them through a deficit lens that predominantly highlights what immigrants lack rather than their strengths and resources. This can have important repercussions on local reactions to immigrants, especially within these rapidly changing communities.

Introduction

The Pennsylvania suburb of New Marshall[1] is experiencing changing demographic patterns due to a recent trend in immigration called the New Latino Diaspora, where an increasing number of Latinos are moving into regions of the United States that have not traditionally been home to Latino immigrants (Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002). During the last fifteen years this suburb, with a population of approximately 30,000, has experienced a dramatic demographic shift and reported Latino populations have risen from 2.7 percent in 1990 to 10.5 percent in 2000, which does not include undocumented immigrants (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The majority of Latin American immigrants in this suburb come from rural Mexico and have chosen to live there because of inexpensive housing, available service sector employment, and a safer environment than large cities. Although more recent census data is not yet available, visible changes such as approximately 70 percent of

1 All names of people and places are pseudonyms.

kindergartners in some elementary schools coming from Mexican immigrant families[2] point to an ever-increasing demographic shift.

Reactions to newly settled Latino families in New Diaspora regions such as North Carolina and Pennsylvania are not monolithic and vary greatly across towns, communities and individuals. Villenas (2001, 2002) points to the range of community reactions to newcomers which includes unwelcoming overt xenophobic racism that situate Latinos/as as "illegals" who are undeserving of public services to more subtle welcoming reactions that frame newcomers through a deficit lens. Within this specific suburb, overall community reactions have not been overtly negative toward newcomers: they have not passed specific town ordinances that ban housing rentals or extended, through a provision of the Department of Homeland Security, local police officers' jurisdiction to include federal powers to deal with undocumented workers. This suburb has not, however, declared itself a safe-haven or "sanctuary city" for newcomers either: as a place where local governments actively promote the protection of civil-rights for undocumented immigrants (Brancaccio & Degnen, 2007). Overall community reactions to the recent documented and undocumented Mexican immigrant population falls somewhere toward the middle along a continuum of these two extremes (See also Allard & Mortimer, this issue).

This paper uses a linguistic anthropological approach to discourse analysis centered on voice to understand how one local adult educator's utterances are mediated by indexical cues, which, over the course of an interview, point to some of the nuances of community reactions to newcomers. For the past six years Maureen has taught the adult education portion of Even Start classes at a Spanish-English bilingual service agency called APLAUSO (a pseudonym). During these classes children ages 3 to 5 attend intensive transitional bilingual education preschool while their mothers simultaneously attend English as a second language (ESL), computer, and parenting classes in the same building. In order for children to attend the preschool, their mother *must* enroll and be present in class, which meets 3 hours a day, 4 days a week. Close attention to the linguistic and paralinguistic cues in Maureen's talk about the constraints and enablements of teaching adult students from Mexico provides an in-depth look into one particular type of reaction to newcomers in this community.

Towns undergoing rapid changes in population composition with minimal previous exposure to newcomers are often ill-prepared to meet the needs of the diversifying community and social service professionals' provisions of educational and health resources for Latino/a immigrants are often genuine attempts to meet these diversifying needs (Shutika, 2005; Villenas, 2001). These communities with newly arriving immigrant populations often do not have long-established immigrants to serve as cultural brokers. Therefore, professionals working in service agencies

2 Grant Elementary principal, personal communication, November 6, 2007.

and educational institutions often take on the roles of speaking *with* new immigrants on how to navigate the systems within the new country. In addition, professionals are often called upon by others in the larger community without direct interaction with new immigrants to speak *for* them. Thus, how these professionals position immigrants can have very real effects on larger community perceptions about immigrants as well as decisions regarding community resources because newcomers often do not directly participate in such decisions. Through her work focused on service professionals in New Latino Diaspora communities, Villenas (2001, 2002) describes patterns of *benevolent racism*, or welcoming responses by individuals who genuinely care about the Latino "plight" but frame immigrants through a deficit lens. As Villenas' work has highlighted, these well-intentioned professionals' framing of Latino/a immigrants as clients often constructs Latinos/as as "lacking" and "needy" rather than resilient and agentive human beings (2002, p. 18). This paper builds upon Villenas' concept of benevolent racism by providing a detailed analytic discursive account of how one single service professional embodies this welcoming yet degrading stance within her speech that reifies stereotypes of Mexican immigrants as lacking social goods and agency. Through this analysis, I argue that the lead teacher embodies a shifting set of voices that, taken as a collective, reflect benevolent racism. In addition, this framing makes invisible many of the resources and strengths the newcomers she is describing possess.

Background

This interview takes place between Maureen, a white middle-class monolingual English speaking adult education teacher in her early forties, and me, a white middle-class bilingual English-Spanish speaking graduate student in my mid-twenties. For the past six years Maureen has been the lead adult education teacher at this service agency that offers free Even Start classes to approximately twenty Spanish-speaking families annually.

Even Start programs look to positively impact the academic achievement of young children and their parents by focusing on the areas of emergent literacy skills, adult literacy education, parenting education to assist parents in promoting their children's educational development, and parent-child interactions (U.S. Department of Education, 2007). In order for this program to receive funding, parents and children are assessed on their improved academic and English language skills within the school environment. Through home visits, parents are also assessed using Parent Education Profile (PEP) surveys which evaluate parents on a scale from level 1 (low) to level 5 (high) in the general areas of Home Environment, Interactive Literacy, Support for Children in Formal Set-

tings, and Taking on the Parent Role. These categories emphasize "good parents" as those who teach their children through literacy activities and constantly offer positive reinforcement.

To situate the analysis of this interview within this larger frame of the Even Start program and the community of New Marshall, this analysis will also draw upon my observations as a weekly participant observer over the past two years within the adult education classes, interviews and document analysis because quality discourse analysis cannot be completed without ethnographic research as its backing (Rampton, 2006; Wortham, 2001). The majority of these observations occurred after this interview and these observations aid in my interpretations of the meaning given to utterances within the interview. The interview itself, however, was conducted a few weeks after I started volunteering as an English teacher within the adult education classes.

The interviewer-interviewee dynamic frames participant roles throughout the interview, yet other factors are also at play. Within the interview frame Maureen takes on this role of interviewee by answering the questions asked, just as I take on the role of interviewer by asking questions, demonstrating understanding and refraining from including my own extended responses. Our interactional positioning, or how narrators locate themselves in respect to their audience (Wortham, 2000), can only be understood by analyzing the broader context of our various roles that extend beyond this enclosed interview event. Although the interview is part of an ethnographic research project, it is also the first opportunity Maureen and I have to speak at length about the details of the adult education program. Thus, it is a chance for Maureen to "show me the ropes" and share her "expert" knowledge with me, the "novice" teacher within this specific context. This interview is also an opportunity for us to get to know one another as people who will be working together for the rest of the year. Although our interaction during this interview is a singular event, what we say and how we align to one another will impact our future interactions and it is reasonable to assume that we are both conscious of the longer-term relationship that will extend beyond this single interview. Our differences in age and educational attainment also play a role in our interactional positioning, as she is older and more experienced, and I am younger and more formally educated. This multiplicity of participant roles are crucial to understanding participants' shifting alignment toward one another and the stances they take as this interaction unfolds. In order to uncover how the narrator positions Mexican immigrant mothers through her talk I employ indexical cues as analytic tools which allows me to investigate the content of what Maureen says about newcomers as well as the evaluative stance she takes toward them.

Theoretical Framework

This investigation draws from linguistic anthropological approaches to discourse analysis centered on the Bahktinian concept of voice that focus on how what is being said is both implicitly and explicitly connected to broader context through linguistic and paralinguistic elements. By focusing on not only the content of the interviewee's speech but also how it is situated within a broader socio-historical process and interview event, I aim to answer the following question: **What is the range of voices embodied by the interviewee and how do these voices position Mexican immigrant women?**

My theoretical framework, outlined in Table 1, uses the Bakhtinian concept of voice to understand the dialogic nature of this interview and how the narrator positions herself, those she speaks about and her audience interactionally. Bakhtin (1981; Bakhtin & Emerson, 1984) uses voice to understand how utterances point to identifiable figures of personhood such as social speech types of widely recognizable classes or ethnicities (Agha, 2005). Irvine (2001) points out that "one of the many methods people have for differentiating situations and displaying attitudes is to draw on (or carefully avoid) the 'voices' of others, or what they assume those voices to be" (p. 31). Bakhtin's concept of voicing (1981), where speakers conjure up familiar types of people through words and paralinguistic indexical cues, helps us understand how Maureen is representing Mexican immigrant mothers. As she describes these individuals throughout the interview, the Bakhtinian concept of double-voicing will reveal the evaluative stances she is taking, which are indexed through these utterances and reflect ideologies regarding the types of people she is describing. Through these utterances she discusses individuals' social goods, or anything a group conceives as a source power, status, value or worth (Gee, 2005, p. 2) and how these perspectives communicate what is "normal, right, good, correct, proper and appropriate" (Gee, 2005, p. 12).

Table 1
Theoretical Framework

Levels	Description: Within Narrated Event	Within Storytelling Event
Utterances	Verbal acts that express objects and content	Verbal acts that express objects and content
Mediation via indexical cues	How indexical cues point to relevant aspects of the context to **understand stances toward utterances**: 1) Reference and predication (emphasis on deictic mapping) 2) Metapragmatic descriptors 3) Quotations 4) Evaluative Indexicals 5) Epistemic Modalizers	How indexical cues point to relevant aspects of the context to **understand interactional positioning among participants:** 1) Reference and predication (emphasis on deictic mapping) 2) Metapragmatic descriptors 3) Quotations 4) Evaluative Indexicals 5) Epistemic Modalizers
Emergence	Patterns in indexical cues that hang together and point to **stereotypical types of people and narrator's stances toward them**	Patterns in indexical cues hang together to point to **how the narrator aligns with participants in the interview**

Table 1 clearly differentiates between the storytelling and narrated events. The *storytelling event* is the interactional context in which the narration occurs, such as the interview between the researcher/volunteer teacher and lead teacher (Wortham, 2001, drawing upon Jakobson 1957/1971). The *narrated event*, in contrast, is the actual event described by the utterances. Indexical cues are linguistic and paralinguistic occurrences that highlight what other participants should pay attention to within the context to interpret the narrator's meaning and interact appropriately. In the narrated event these cues *mediate* between the broader context and object referenced to reveal the narrator's position toward it, whereas in the storytelling event they point to alignment among participants.

In order to understand the relevant aspects of the context this analysis draws upon tools explicated by Wortham and Locher (1996, drawing upon Silverstein, 1972) to empirically analyze how indexical cues position speakers with respect to these voices. The first are *reference and predication,* which entail how speakers use their speech to point out and characterize specific things in the world. Examples include the names speakers choose to reference a group such as moms, students, wives, Mexicans or *gringas.* The second is *participant deictic mapping*, a tool that traces how deictics, words such as *we, I, they,* and *you* shift meaning depending upon the interactional context in which they are spoken. Participant deictics will point to the groupings (e.g., *we* v. *they*) established by participants and how speakers include or distance themselves from those established groupings. The remaining tools build on this to understand

narrators' stances on these particular groups and how they position themselves with respect to them. *Metapragmatic descriptors* (Silverstein, 1976) are the verbs of saying, which contain commentary on how a narrator perceives something was said and are useful for depicting participants voicing, double-voicing and moral evaluations. For example, she "complained" offers a different evaluative stance than she "said." *Quotations* allow us to understand how narrators conceive of the referenced speaker by the words she chooses to place in the speaker's mouth and the way in which she chooses to express those words. *Evaluative indexicals* are any linguistic constructions (lexical items, accents, grammar) that link a speaker to a social group that commonly uses that form of utterance (Wortham, 2001, p. 73). And *epistemic modalizers* center on linguistic forms such as verb tenses to understand where the narrator places herself epistemically within the interview compared with those characters she is describing (Wortham, 2001, p. 74). For example, what she presents as an absolute fact, her own opinion or who counts as an expert. In this analysis I use these five types of cues to empirically analyze patterns across the interview and to understand how these emergent patterns infer the voicing and double-voicing of the narrator. Over the course of the interview, patterns of indexical cues emerge and solidify as voices that participants are recruited to or embody. This analysis will show that Maureen does not embody a singular static voice, but instead takes on various dynamic voices throughout the interview that position Mexican immigrant women in ways reflective of benevolent racist attitudes.

Data Analysis

In this section I present an analysis of how, within the narrated events, Maureen's utterances are mediated by cues that point to the characters she describes as certain types of people that she simultaneously takes evaluative stances toward. Maureen's range of voices consistently positions Mexican immigrant women as different from her, but in various and seemingly contradictive ways. This range of voices includes her positioning Mexican immigrant women as lacking language, culture, education and parenting skills. Through a paternalistic voice she attempts to fix these deficits through education and care, however her emphasis on what Mexican immigrants lack consistently re-emerges as a justification for the slow progress in remedying these deficits. Throughout the interview she occasionally adopts a voice that positions exceptional students as agentive, although she often frames most students' strategic decisions as working against overall program goals rather than in concert with them. And finally, she also adopts voices that position the women she works with as sometimes morally inferior, for permit-

ting physical discipline from their husbands, and at other times morally superior, for what she describes as their genuine humanity. This analysis also examines the storytelling event to understand how contextualization cues mediate the alignment between participants and how the roles and responses of the interviewer/volunteer teacher[3] shape the content and delivery of Maureen's talk. I argue that Maureen's pattern of voices that appears somewhat contradictory on the surface coalesces into the discourse of benevolent racism.

For this analysis the entire interview was transcribed and coded for themes and patterns. In this paper I have divided the interview into eight representative sections based on themes that demonstrate the relationship between Maureen's positioning of herself and that of the Mexican women with whom she works. Due to space limitations, these excerpts were chosen from the corpus of 21 because of their explicit emphasis on describing the women she works with, rather than topics such as curriculum development or the preschool aged students. Finally, this collective of sections reveals the breadth and complexities of this range of voices embodied throughout the interview.

Excerpt A: Students as Clients

In this first section Maureen introduces the primary goals of their adult education program, which are referenced throughout the rest of the interview. The mediating cues in this first excerpt point to Maureen positioning herself as the provider of linguistic and "better parenting" knowledge to the women of Mexican origin, the clients, within her adult education classes. She positions her students as lacking language and parenting skills and herself as someone who possesses these social goods and tries to impart them, though she warns that it is very difficult because of what she portrays as her clients' extremely limited background in these areas. She also works within an educational framework complete with assessments as she describes how her students have to improve in certain skill areas such as English and parenting in order for the adult education program to be awarded funding. (See Appendix for transcription key).

18	I:	And I've talked to you a little bit in the past about some of the goals of the class
19		from the Even Start perspective=
20	**M:**	=Right
21	**I:**	Could you just explain them a little bit <u>more</u> about, what the <u>outcomes</u> of the
22		class are supposed to be?
23	**M:**	Right. Well, they're <u>huge</u> actually. Um, because it's just, it's a component of
24		Even Start <u>Family</u> Literacy, they have a purely adult ed component which means

3 Although the interviewer and the author of this analysis are the same person, for clarity I choose to use the 3rd person 'interviewer/volunteer teacher' in the analysis to avoid confusion between the "I" Maureen speaking during the interview and "I" the author speaking of my experiences as the interviewer.

their English has to improve by so many points per year, that's just their English across the board. The second thing that happens, has to happen is their life skills, especially their parenting skills have to improve, and that's done through a survey so that has to go up um, the expectation is that we're making them better parents in terms of being better teachers and at same time teaching them, so they're, we're teaching them to be teachers and we're teaching them as autonomous learners, so, um, it's supposed to be fifty hours of adult ed to about 25 hours of parenting sothat should be the breakdown but the parenting is so interwoven because any time we do an activity that, ah prepares them for doing an activity with their children like writing these plays it's considered parenting cause it helps them be a teacher to their child. So, um, the task is pretty daunting. The standards are, not that strict, but they're strict enough. So.

I: And what are the consequences if=

M: =[We lose] our funding.

I: Oh, okay, so it's not to an individual student, it's to the=

M: The program would lose its funding, exactly.

In this first excerpt Maureen creates a parallel treatment of "parenting" and language, treating both like school subjects that must be learned and assessed. By examining the cues of reference and predication, Maureen uses the deictic "they" to refer to the goals of the program and "we" to refer to the teachers of the bilingual agency. Within this client framework, the women she predicates are not voiced as agentive participants in this process, but instead as receivers of skill sets. Maureen's treatment of parenting and language as subjects to be mastered is revealed by her parallel construction in "their English has to improve" (25) and "their parenting skills have to improve" (27). In alignment with other interactions about program evaluations (e.g., Field notes 09.20.06) what "has to go up" (27-28) are both English and parenting skills which are assessed through language tests and the PEP home surveys.

In addition, she uses parallel construction to reveal a particular vision of what parenting involves: a vision that indexes a voice from the early childhood parenting curricula as well as larger discourses surrounding home intervention for groups of parents, such as immigrants or African Americans, whose children tend to perform below average within public schools. In line 26 Maureen explains how "we [teachers of the service agency]'re making them better parents in terms of being better teachers." *You are your child's first and most important teacher*-- the prevailing message throughout the Even Start literature serves as the roadmap for this program's funding, and the PEP, the teacher training guide for this program's implementation and evaluation, Indeed Maureen's speech echoes this very mantra. In fact, she indirectly quotes this message in lines 30-31: "it's considered parenting cause it helps them be a teacher to their child." Here "parenting" has been redefined as "teaching," subsuming the activity of parenting under the activities of forms of teaching. In the final lines Maureen references the consequences of the program losing its funding if the clients are unable to demonstrate "im-

provements" in the areas of language and parenting. In this first excerpt, Maureen adopts a paternalistic voice by positioning herself as possessing these social goods while she frames her clients as lacking them. By paternalistic I mean as perceiving herself as wiser and making decisions to act in what she sees as the best interest of the women she works with in order to protect them.

This first section sets the frame of "good parents" and the remainder of this paper centers on how patterns of cues such as these coalesce throughout the course of the interview to position characters in multiple ways. Who gets to decide what qualifies as appropriate parenting skills and improvement within them is central to understanding Maureen's positioning toward Mexican immigrant women within this interview. By juxtaposing her students as needing improvements and herself as the provider of those improvements, her double-voicing positions her as a moral individual dedicated to helping those with "deficits" such as limited language and "inferior" parenting skills. In the following sections Maureen further elaborates upon what she sees her students as lacking and points to deficits held by her students as justification for limited program results.

Excerpt B: Weak Grasp of L1

This short excerpt is framed by the interviewer's question of challenges perceived by Maureen. Maureen's comparison within the narrated event voices second language learners, such as Koreans who know grammar and overall metalanguage awareness in their first (L1) and second languages (L2) as normal, and learners such as Mexicans as lacking these skills as abnormal and deficient. This framing places the onus of the "improvements" introduced in Excerpt A within the student rather than upon the teacher. Within the storytelling event her framing of these groups of students also does the work of sending a message of what Maureen views as realistic expectations when teaching adult Mexican students.

48 **I:** Excellent. And what <u>challenges</u> do you see in the, or <u>do</u> you see any challenges I
49 guess in the=
50 **M:** =Uh challenges are daunting ha ha ha ha.
51 **I:** [ha ha
52 **M:** It's, you're teaching them English and it's not as a second language in some cases
53 it's really almost as a first language 'cause they do <u>not have</u> a strong grasp of a
54 first language.
55 **I:** mmhmm?
56 **M:** So, if, where I came from was Koreans, so they <u>are</u> truly a second language
57 acquisition and <u>their</u> grammar is probably better than <u>mine</u>, even coming in.
58 And all of a sudden °there is a population that doesn't know, the basic parts of
59 speech in their own language°. So, the task of trying to teach them <u>English</u> as
60 adults is really, °difficult.°

In this section Maureen uses the deictic "they" to set up a comparison between her current students of Mexican origin and her previous students of Korean origin. According to Maureen, Koreans "are truly a second language acquisition" (line 54) where she reduces the entire process of acquiring a second language to a descriptive noun that she attributes to all Koreans learning English. The evaluative indexical of "their grammar is probably better than mine" (line 54-55) further highlights Maureen's conception of language learning as possessing explicit knowledge of grammar and metalanguage skills which she conflates with proficiency. Her cues index Koreans a model minority (Reyes, 2007), at least in the realm of linguistic skills, the echoing of a larger discourse. In contrast, Maureen claims that many of her students from Mexico "do not have a strong grasp of a first language" (line 52), a population that does not know "the basic parts of speech in their own language" (line 56). Maureen's evaluative indexicals reveal a stance that Mexican immigrants lack explicit knowledge of grammar and metalanguage awareness which she equates with overall language. This deficit framed voice positions people from Mexico as unschooled, as lacking language and education, especially compared to model minorities like her Korean students. Her juxtaposition of these two sets of voices in the narrated event reveals her stance toward these larger immigrant groups through her description of who they present in the world.

This double-voicing, however, is not merely indexing voices of model and problematic minorities, but is also doing work. By voicing Mexicans as unschooled and lacking language, Maureen is also justifying the slow progress she achieves as a teacher with students regarding the improvement of English language skills within the classes. In addition, it is sending a message to the interviewer in the storytelling event. Here Maureen is addressing the interviewer in her role as a new volunteer teacher, and the content of her speech explains what expectations the new teacher should have for these Mexican students in their linguistic skills and advancement.

The pattern of lowering her voice when presenting non-politically correct (non-PC) statements, such as lines 55-57, also begins to emerge here. When Maureen engages in non-PC talk she is pre-supposing that she is saying something that others would not approve of, or something that she could get in trouble for saying if she were overheard. The question of why Maureen changes her prosodic features when voicing controversial statements within the storytelling event is an interesting one. Clearly they are still audible to the interviewer and her recorder so they are not an explicit attempt to keep these statements from the interview data. It is possible that certain utterances are quieted because the interview is being conducted within a classroom setting where a few adult students, the very students she is speaking evaluatively about, are working independently on an assignment. Thus, Maureen's volume lowering could be an attempt to not be overheard. These prosodic changes also

have the effect of emphasizing the whispered points against the steady volume of her speech. Such contrasts could be attempts to create intimacy through "shared secrets" or create alignment between the interviewer and Maureen, who are also both teachers facing these challenges. This aligns with Maureen's candidness in expressing obstacles and blanket assumptions with the interviewer, another White middle-class woman who has worked with Latino populations, who she likely views as an in-group member that would appreciate and interpret her utterances in a sympathetic manner. This is not to say that the interviewer agrees with these statements (and indeed later there are some shifts in back-channeling that signal her overt disagreement with these statements); however, it is likely that because of her participant roles as an interviewer trying to elicit opinions and a new volunteer teacher interviewing her boss, the interviewer does not overtly voice her own evaluation of these statements.

Although Maureen positions Korean students as not like her, she positively frames their abilities as learners and language users, even suggesting the hyperbole that their grammatical skills surpass her own. She also voices Mexicans as not like her, but negatively positions their language and learning abilities. Through this comparative she positions herself as an effective teacher when she is working with 'normal' students such as the Koreans, and offers a justification for the lack of progress with her Mexican students because of their 'abnormal' L1 skills. Simultaneously her utterances within the storytelling event offer advice and expectation setting to the interviewer who is also a new volunteer teacher, a form of "showing her the ropes." Maureen is providing insider information about the students and is framing herself as possessing more knowledge and experience than the interviewer when it comes to working with adult immigrants. Through these moves Maureen is positioning herself as at least more of an expert than the interviewer on her students' lives, and therefore as someone who has the right to speak for them and whose references and predications should not be questioned. In contrast, her use of the awkward "truly a second language acquisition" indexes that the interviewer's role as a doctoral student in the field of language acquisition could be at play, where Maureen chooses what she perceives as an appropriate register that she is not completely comfortable with to build alignment with the interviewer and to demonstrate her professional insight as a language teacher. In the following section I argue that Maureen builds on this othering of her students by creating a new comparison among mothers from the U.S. and Mexico to position Mexican mothers as lacking cultural knowledge.

Excerpt C: Lack of Cultural Knowledge

In this excerpt Maureen adopts a similar voice that positions Mexican mothers as lacking culture. When alignment begins to break down

within the storytelling event, Maureen also adopts strategies such as epistemic modalizers and tag questions to re-build alignment with the interviewer/volunteer teacher. She also calls upon other "experts" working with Mexican immigrant families to further support her own claims and indirectly provide the new teacher with advice.

73 **I:** [°definitely°] And when it comes
74 to the, the literacy practices and the things that, you guys have seemed to focus
75 [a lot on]=
76 **M:** [right]
77 **I:** =in classes, have you noticed, cultural differences or just individual=
78 **M:** = Well, it's it's not a culture diff- it's amazing, they they don't know stories to tell
79 their children like we used to say, you know "just tell your kid a story" well they
80 don't know a story. "Sing your kid some songs" you know –they don't know
81 songs. That's why there's such ay ah, there's huge gaps,
82 **I:** °umhmm°
83 **M:** and what we assume every mother knows, that they, °they don't.° And so, you
84 know, and it's-the stories you teach them, of course they're Cindarella, and they
85 say, you know, "you've gotta, strengthen the Mexican heritage" and all that, well
86 they don't know Mexican stories, and I don't know Mexican st[ories]
87 **I:** [°umhm°]
88 **M:** so I'm teaching them American stories [to] tell their children.
89 **I:** [°umhm°]
90 **M:** So, you know, I don't know, if that's unique to this °cul- this immigrant group,° I
91 think that it is, I've never seen it before the lack, of knowledge of their own
92 culture.
93 **I:** °hmm°
94 **M:** It just doesn't exist.
95 **I:** u-huh°
96 **M:** So, & Lonnie's even more aware of it upstairs you know, they don't realize that
97 the tomato's indigenous to Mexico, they don't realize that chocolate came from-
98 you know there's, there's no no knowledge. So, that's a-that's a big problem. So.

In this excerpt Maureen describes what she summarizes as another "big problem" (line 98): Mexican mothers' "lack of knowledge of their own culture" (line 91). She refers to "they" as Mexican mothers, in contrast to "we" which refers to teachers and then mothers from the United States. Through directly quoted speech in line 79 Maureen indexes how "we," which includes only the teachers, "used to" deal with this problem in the past and her strategy for dealing with it now. She uses quoted speech in the narrated event to describe her initial solution of "just tell your kid a story" or "Sing your kid some songs" and then posits it was ineffective because they [the Mexican mothers] do not know stories or songs. She presents this highly evaluative statement as an epistemic modalizer of unquestionable truth. For example, she does not qualify or hedge this statement and uses "they" to refer to all Mexican moms with whom she has worked. Interestingly, during classroom observations, these very students she is referring to do indeed tell stories and sing

songs (e.g., Field notes 10.19.06). In this narrated event she then sets up a comparative between the deictics "they"- Mexican moms, and "we"- moms from the United States, and perhaps every place that is not like Mexico. Her evaluative statement of "what we assume every mother knows, that they, °they don't°" (line 83) juxtaposes these two groups and takes an evaluative stance that positions mothers from Mexico as inferior who lack the basic characteristics of being a mom. Although she is referring to her specific students in the narrated event, she links those nameless students to broader generalizations of Mexican immigrant mothers in the broader world. Thus the mediating cues point to patterns of a voice where Maureen positions herself as different from the women she is describing, and as a woman with basic parenting skills and knowledge of U.S. and Mexican culture.

In this excerpt Maureen is also doing a lot of interactional work with the interviewer within the storytelling event. In lines 78 to 86 Maureen's descriptions index epistemic accounts of what her students do not know. Throughout this passage she also adopts the un-PC talk through changes in prosodic features to create intimacy within the storytelling event. However, unlike the enthusiastic back-channels of "nice" and "definitely" that the interviewer has provided up until this point, the quiet "°umhmm°" voiced by the interviewer appear to be taken up as a distancing by Maureen. In lines 90 to 92 Maureen introduces epistemic modalizers such as "I think" and "I don't know" to narrow the distance. Her frequent incorporation of the tag question "you know," which has not been used until this point of the interview, also points to the interactional work she is doing to get the interviewer to align with her. When this does not appear to be working, she gives voice to the pre-K teacher's (Lonnie) experiences to demonstrate that she is not the only one who has noticed this. By doing this she sends a message to the novice teacher that those who have experience working with Mexican immigrant families (such as teachers here) know best.

In these two excerpts about linguistic and cultural knowledge Maureen juxtaposes Mexican mothers against Korean students and U.S. mothers. She positions Mexican mothers as lacking English language skills and U.S. cultural knowledge as well as Spanish language and Mexican cultural knowledge. The patterns in these excerpts recruit her students to types of people who are well-intentioned but lacking and therefore in need of fixing. These voices are characterized by deficit framing and acts of paternalism to remedy these deficits, which are foundational components of benevolent racism. I argue that such narrow definitions of language skills as grammatical knowledge and formal literacies makes much of the linguistic knowledge possessed by many of her students appear irrelevant. The narrow conception of culture as static goods or products and special events frozen in time ignores the daily cultural practices of her students as women of Mexican heritage

and as of women of Mexican heritage now living in U.S. contexts. According to Maureen, her students lack these social goods, which continue to point to Mexican women within this local context as types of people with more deficits than resources. Maureen positions herself as possessing U.S. language and cultural social goods and constructs her own voice around not only trying to give them language, but also what she values as superior parenting skills. In the following sections Maureen moves away from constructing her students' identities as a static monolithic group to indexing key differences among successful and unsuccessful students.

Excerpt D: Success Stories

Maureen adopts a voice in this excerpt that positions select students from the past as agentive individuals, who, through additional efforts, transferred classroom skills to outside environments in order to obtain superior employment or help their children succeed academically. Although framing students as agentive is inconsistent with benevolent racism, Maureen's exemplifying of a select few who have demonstrated this agency points to the larger group of normative students as types of people who lack agency.

178 **M:** So the ones that already have employment want to move from sort of
179 he back, the shelving the cleaning, the really dog jobs, to the front where they
180 deal with customers and they can't do that until their English improves. So
181 that's the case of Maritza and Beverly did that, and there's been several like
182 that. So, I think that, that's, that's really good. We have one that's not job
183 related is Raquel She was in the program for like four years and she has two kids
184 and she, she couldn't read Spanish, and she couldn't read English. So when she
185 came, she still can't read Spanish, she can only read English which is amazing
186 to me. She speaks Spanish, she speaks English, she can read in English, but she
187 can't read Spanish. But she reads to her kids every night, two books to the two
188 kids. And I'm sure hat if she hadn't been in our program her kids would have
189 been in some sort of special class, they would have been in ESL, and, you know,
190 low, because her Spanish skills were not up to par. But she read to those kids
191 diligently and it is amazing how both of her kids do excellent in school. And
192 that's because, I'm sure that's because of Raquel. So, here she is. She's totally
193 illiterate in Spanish, but her kids are doing really well in school, and she learned
194 to read in English. And she was so cute, when she would get a book from the
195 library, she would sit here with me an hour, and read it and read it until she
196 pronounced every word.

In this excerpt Maureen shifts from referencing students in broad groups through the deictics "the ones" and "they" to narrating specific stories about previous students. Through both her choice of deictics and metapragmatic descriptors such as "the really dog jobs"(179) it is clear that Maureen is positioning herself as different and distant from these types of work. Her evaluative indexical within the

storytelling event of "I think that's really good" in line 182 clearly voices her stance toward those few mothers, such as Maritza and Beverly, who are able to use English skills learned in the classes to attain what she considers superior jobs.

In lines 181-190 Maureen then describes Raquel who, over a period of four years, went through a transformation of not being able to read in Spanish or English in the past, to now only reading in English, but still not Spanish. Her parallel construction of what Raquel could not do in the past (read Spanish and English) contrasts what she can and can't do in the present "she can only read English" (line 185). Within the storytelling event Maureen evaluates this as "amazing" (line 185) and then in the narrated event connects Raquel's hard work and autonomous learning to her children's success in school, thus demonstrating how Raquel is a better teacher and therefore a better parent. Maureen initially frames Raquel as similar to many of her other students, whose "Spanish skills were not up to par" (line 190). The contrastive "but" in "but she read to those kids diligently," (line 190) then sets her apart from many of the other mothers as she is the "one" (line 182) Maureen describes, highlighting her as a unique and noteworthy individual. The story of this one also serves as a segue from the discussion of literacy and economics to the discussion about literacy and parenting.

The cues that mediate Maureen's discourse index Mexican immigrant mothers as types of people who lack education, language and culture. Maureen's narrative about Raquel also sends a message that helps recontextualize the patterns shown. Through the juxtaposition of characters in this story, who by extension are metaphors for the women she works with in real life, she is taking a stance to justify her teaching and that their slow progress is not because of her teaching, but because of their inability to put forth the necessary effort to learn. Instead, successful students are the few who are autonomous and actively pursue additional assistance.

Maureen's narration of this special case indirectly depicts what she indexes as the normal case: mothers with low Spanish skills (which she intends as low literacy and grammar skills, not speaking) whose children are not read to and are often placed in a "special class" such as ESL. The conflation of ESL and Special Education indexes a widely circulating discourse within local and national schools that students who do not know English are depicted as lacking language and therefore of lower intelligence, rather than possessing an additional language (Ruiz, 1984). In contrast, Raquel actively pursued additional help to gain literacy skills in English and used these skills to teach her children, and Maureen is "sure" this is why her children are doing "excellent" in school. Maureen voices "good students" as those who go beyond attending the adult education program. Although she positions Raquel as agentive, cues such as "cute" (line 194) also depict a voice that positions her, and others, as innocent children who need protection.

Excerpt E: Maureen as Caring

In this section Maureen describes the average amount of time adult students remain in the family literacy program. Through this description, she adopts a voice that positions her as a caring individual willing to bend the rules for mothers who "really really care" (166).

157 **I:** Oh, okay. Definitely. And, what are the range of, in your experience since you've
158 been here, how long students are in the program?
159 **M:** Um, we've had, I've had, I've had a mom, this is the first year she wasn't here
160 since the program started, 4 or 5 years. If they time it right with their babies,
161 they can stay in the program as long as they have a child from Kindergarten
162 through third, after the child's in third grade they get thrown out. (ok) So, um.
163 What, a lot of time what happens is, when their child goes to school they
164 get a job. But if instead of getting a job they get pregnant again, they want to stay
165 in the program, and that kid comes into the program. So we've had a couple
166 long terms, but generally it's about two years. (ok) But we've had moms that,
167 after they've had their babies come back, so, um, and we've had moms that
168 have had their kid in fourth grade, and I just call them a volunteer, 'cause they
169 still need, you know, if they really really care and they just need a little bit more.
170 I'm certainly not supposed to but, I call them a volunteer. And then they come.
171 So.

In this section Maureen continues to characterize some of her students as strategic because "if they time it right with their babies they can stay in the program" (160) rather than entering the workforce. Although there is not sufficient evidence to fully support Maureen framing her students as purposefully having children to remain in the program, the use of "time it right" indexes a purposeful strategic move rather than something that occurs by chance. In this same section she also voices some of her students as needing a little bit more (166-167). It is unclear what specifically these moms need a little bit more of, although the co-occurrence with "if they [these specific moms] really really care" indexes the pattern in Excerpt D of mothers who put in extra effort such as Raquel and use these skills to benefit their children. Maureen's juxtaposition of "I" rather than "we" in lines 165 to 167 and "I'm certainly not supposed to but, I call them a volunteer" also sets up a contrast among Maureen and other teachers or administrators within the program. The others are positioned as uncaring by their willingness to "throw [sic] out" (162) a mother, but not Maureen. She positions herself as caring, as bending the rules a little for students who are still in need of learning from the program and who themselves really care. Consistent with benevolent racism, Maureen constructs her own identity as a maker of tough decisions and also as someone who has the best interests of the mothers in mind, fighting for their "plight."

Excerpt F: Goal of Independence for her Students

In the previous and current excerpts Maureen depicts her students as individuals who are sometimes strategic, at least within opportunities to gain resources such as free classes. In her description of goals she has for her students, Maureen uses the phrase "crutch" which negatively positions certain immigrants who are perceived as over-relying on assis-

tance rather than learning how to navigate U.S. systems on their own. By framing students' strategic decisions as negatively abusing systems rather than finding ways to take advantage of existing resources to make sense of the complex and difficult systems in a new country, Maureen positions these decisions as a form of unending dependence rather than agentivness.

126 I: Nice. And do, are there other goals APLAUSO has or that you have for the
127 classes that are outside of the goals that are through Even Start?
128 M: Uh. Well, for me, it's kinda there, but not as strong as it should be, is
129 independence. I mean, I really think it's very important that I know they're
130 not going to come out bilingual, but, for example, to teach them how to get into a
131 computer to get to a translation, even if it's not great, it gets them started so that
132 if they get a letter two years from now, um, they can go to the library, cause in
133 New Marshall they can use the library computers for free, so there is no money, they can
134 type in that letter in babelfish[4] and they can get sort of a translation so anything
135 that I can give them that means they don't need APLAUSO I think is a good
136 thing. Because, you know, it's just, I think that this idea, you know, that if they
137 have the crutch of APLAUSO they think that they can't do it on their own and
138 it's really pointless and everything is pointless, because they wouldn't have to
139 learn English at all and just use APLAUSO to make all of their calls. So the idea
140 for me is for them to function without APLAUSO, without me, without us, so, for
141 me, that's the real point. So.

In this excerpt, the interviewer opens with a question that separates out Even Start and potentially APLAUSO and Maureen's goals for the classes. Maureen chooses to answer with her own opinion, which she clearly indexes with the use of "for me," "I really think" and "I know." Her use of a modal in "but not as strong as it should be, is independence" in line 128 voices her belief that either within the classes they [the teachers] do not focus enough on teaching students to become independent (or autonomous learners as she mentioned in the beginning of the interview), or that teachers do focus on this within the class but the students themselves do not develop this skill as much as she thinks they should. Although Maureen has characterized students' goals as attending classes to learn English for various reasons, she emphasizes that she knows and has to remember that students are not going to "come out bilingual." Indeed, whenever students are completing goal sheets within the program and they write down they want to be bilingual, Maureen quietly jokes about this unrealistic goal, but has not been observed sharing the difficulty of such high expectations with the students themselves. Maureen appears to believe it is impossible for her students to achieve bilingual status, which she indirectly defines as speaking (likely at some near native-speaker proficiency), reading and writing. Through double-voicing she positions students' inability to learn as their deficiency, not her own. Her framing of students as lacking the ability to learn English and become independent is consistent with benevolent racism.

Within the narrated event of students using free resources such as the public library and babblefish translations, Maureen positions herself

4 Bablefish is an internet free translation service from AltaVista search engine.

as giving students these skills of independence so they will not need the crutch of APLAUSO (137). The evaluative indexical of crutch is a circulating discourse linked to the larger political context of this Latino Diaspora town, which characterizes Mexican immigrants using (and borderline abusing) services. The term "crutch" is frequently articulated by many individuals in the agencies and schools who work directly with families from Mexico. In addition, "crutch" is not only used to refer to immigrants, but also echoes broader models of someone with a handicap who keeps the crutch- that refuses to make the effort to become self sufficient. Taken in concert with Maureen's voicing of mothers who are strategic in accessing resources, Mexican immigrant mothers are positioned as types of people willing to receive resources, but unable or unwilling to develop strategies to diminish their dependence upon these resources in the future. In lines 135 to 138 Maureen discusses her belief that teaching students to become independent undergirds everything they do, and without this "everything is pointless."

The cues mediating Maureen's utterances initially position her students as a monolithic group of women from Mexico who lack education, language, culture and parenting skills. Other cues later emerge which position some of her students as autonomous learners, which she evaluates as a vital characteristic. She constructs the logic that she can give, but if her students are unable to benefit from all that she gives them it is because they do not learn to be independent. The problem, therefore, resides within students' ability to learn and not in her ability to teach. Up until this point the analysis has focused on how Maureen's choice of deictics, metapragmatic verbs, quoted speech, evaluative indexicals, and epistemic modalizers depict her students as certain types of people and her evaluative stances toward them. These final two sections examine how Maureen positions Mexican women in relation to their Mexican husbands. Just as she does not present a monolithic voice in the previous sections, here she sometimes positions Mexican women as victims of Mexican men, whereas in other instances she positions Mexican women and men alongside one another, as caring, hard working people always willing to lend a hand. I argue that this range of voices emerges as positionality that could be characterized as benevolent racism.

Excerpt G: Victims to Mexican Men

In this short excerpt Maureen introduces the problem of discipline which she frames in multiple ways. She initially introduces it as a cultural norm blindly accepted by all Mexicans. She then describes some mothers who are "convert[ed]" (68) and realize hitting is wrong but who have not developed independence in their marital relationships to stop it, thus extending Mexican women's lack of agency to the home environment. She also positions the bilingual service agency as having limited

access to Mexican husbands, and are therefore not able to "convert" them. In this section, Mexican women are positioned as morally inferior for accepting hitting as well as victims who need protection from their macho husbands.

57 **M:** Um, plus we're supposed to teach them parenting, so you run into
58 all of the cultural problems, because, the idea of discipline is different, the idea
59 of food rewards is different, so you really have to, to walk a fine line with that
60 too. So.
61 (2.0)
62 **I:** Could you, can you think of a specific example with food rewards or discipline?
63 **M:** Well, discipline is, has definitely been the problem to try to get them not to hit, I
64 mean, it's just part of °the culture.° And, they're used to their hus°bands even°
65 hitting the wives, so there is that, a lot of hitting happens in that culture. And it's
66 considered okay. So, it's very difficult to come along and say "No, don't do that."
67 They just look at you like, you know, "you're just a gringa[5] just leave us alone,"
68 you know? So, the other problem is, sometimes, if you can convert °the mother,
69 you're still then,° have a father who you never even see, calling the shots at
70 home. So, you know, you can convince the mother that it's not the best way to
71 do it and give her alternative strategies, but the problem is, that the father, is
72 usually the disciplinarian anyway. So you turn the mother, unfortunately, sort of
73 into a middle man, because she's hearing what's going on that's wrong, and that
74 husband is not going to stop. So it puts her into a really awkward position. So,
75 that's why we leave a lot of that to Oscar because he's, °Hispanic,° and he's an
76 older man and they take it much better from him. [So.

Discipline, when discussing parenting, usually relates to mothers or fathers setting limitations and consequences for their children's behavior. In line 65 Maureen embodies her non-PC talk by lowering her volume, and directly links discipline within Mexican families with hitting and epistemically claims through her use of the verb to be in the present tense that "it's just part of °the culture°[Mexican culture] (line 62-63). Instead of mothers or fathers hitting their children as a form of discipline, she then voices her belief that "they [who? This is unclear, although likely Mexican wives] are used to their hus°bands even° hitting the wives" (line 63), where even extends discipline and hitting from occurring from parent to child to indexing norms of hitting from husbands to wives. She continues by claiming that "it's considered okay" although she does not specify who in particular considers this okay, perhaps everyone from "that culture." In addition, her characterization of discipline as a cultural problem clearly indexes the negative moral evaluation she places on these forms of discipline which she depicts as pervasive across Mexican households. In previous sections, Maureen framed Mexican immigrants, especially mothers, as lacking cultural knowledge altogether. Here she shifts her stance, affirming the existence of her

5 A Spanish word to refer to a foreign woman, usually a White woman from the United States.

students' culture, but framing it as a problem rather than a resource. Her framing also ignores all of the Mexican immigrant households that do not involve physical forms of discipline and the many women who have actively created a home environment that does not contain hitting.

But who specifically is she morally evaluating? Upon closer inspection it is clear that she frames Mexican women as victims to their husbands. Her cues also point to her stance that these women are part of a problematic culture, positioning them as morally inferior for blindly accepting hitting as what she claims is a cultural norm. Although these women may be initially lacking awareness of what is right or wrong, you [generic teacher] can convince or convert mothers that hitting is wrong. Therefore, within the narrated event, Mexican mothers are framed as good reasonable people who "unfortunately" (line 72) are victims to their unreasonable Mexican husbands, and "that husband is not going to stop" (line 74). Indeed Maureen indexes the generic Mexican husband who is calling all the shots at home, and who teachers at the service agency do not have access to as the source of what she frames a cultural problem of discipline.

In this section Maureen also uses quoted speech to represent a hypothetical conversation between an Anglo teacher such as herself and one of her students. In the first quote in line 66 she voices her own words, and then in line 67 voices her own impression of what a Mexican mother would be thinking if she were to say this. Although throughout the interview Maureen tends to position Anglo English speakers as possessing important social goods and resources who give students what they need, in this specific situation, she highlights how *just* being a *gringa*, positions her as not possessing the correct identity to be able to 'help' her students. She also characterizes her students as unwilling to listen to her, like a mother trying to give her child advice who refuses to accept it and must learn the hard way. Instead she claims that Oscar, who is male, older and Hispanic, is a superior messenger for these sensitive topics.

Maureen's positioning in this storytelling event is also doing interactional work with the interviewer. As we have seen in previous sections, Maureen's changes in prosodic features of whispering controversial topics and inclusion of tag questions such as "you know" work to build alignment among interlocutors. Maureen's choice of a generic "you-teacher" in lines 67 to 70 also creates positioning where Maureen is not only sharing about her personal experiences teaching which she could do by choosing "I", but is also drawing the interviewer in, who is also an Anglo teacher, as a character into these narrated events. In this excerpt Maureen is again showing the new volunteer teacher "the ropes" and sharing her "expert" experiences and opinions with the "novice," perhaps as a warning of some of the challenging situations that can occur within classes here. Again, this is not to say that the interviewer is aligning with these broad generalizations expressed by Maureen, and in fact her

lack of back-channels throughout this part of the interview index her lack of alignment with Maureen's moral evaluations. Although the interviewer provides no uptake of Maureen's evaluative stances, either through agreement or challenging of them, Maureen continues without her input. Here she voices Mexican women as different from Mexican men, but powerless in controlling them. As we will see in the final excerpt below, Maureen also characterizes Mexican men and women as a collective community as morally superior to those of "us" from the United States.

Excerpt H: What Motivates Maureen

In this final section Maureen answers a general question about what motivates her within her work at this bilingual service agency with a specific narrative of an event that occurred a couple of years ago.

273 **I:** Um and so, what What motivates you? Like, what-I know you said that you
274 worked before, with, with
275 **M:** =the K[oreans]
276 **I:** [Korean] population?
277 **M:** There just, you know, it's a,wel- A couple of years ago, there was a fire, in my
278 apartment and I lost a lot. And these girls don't have, anything. And they, and I
279 sh- I, I wanted to give it back but one of the social workers that was here said you
280 can't, you'll mortify them. They collected 500 dollars for me. And I know that
281 that meant that they went, without eating some of them or without, and it was
282 just-it was just so kind, such an act of kindness, and they do that all the time, not
283 just with me with each other. There's such a genuine sense of humanity within
284 them, it's-you know, they can't speak English, but they, they can do a lot we can
285 learn a lot from them, you know what I mean and that's true of this, this whole
286 community. I mean, if you're in trouble. they'll they'll help you, no questions
287 asked. So, it's, I think that's pretty nice.

In this narrative Maureen switches between past-tense verbs of the narrated event and present tense verbs that describe the students she works with at the service agency overall. As the majority of the students within the adult education program change every one to two years, the specific students she describes within the narrated event of the fire in her apartment are not the same individuals as the students enrolled in classes during the time of the interview, yet she indexes all of them as sharing the same identity. For example, she equates "these girls [who] don't have anything" as a general characteristic of all of the female students enrolled in her program, and with the specific group that collected 500 dollars for her which "meant that they went, without eating some of them or without" (line 281). She continues by equating this specific "act of kindness" of collecting 500 dollars for her in the narrated event with a general characteristic that "they [all of her students] do… all the time" (line 282). Her overt moral evaluation of "a genuine sense

of humanity within them" and of "this whole community" (lines 283-286) where they'll help you [even a gringa teacher like Maureen or the interviewer] if you're in trouble, no questions asked.

In lines 283 to 285 Maureen sets up two groups: "they" who are Mexicans who lack linguistic knowledge but are caring, and "we," people from the U.S. with linguistic and other knowledge, but who often lack such genuine humanity. Maureen's use of "you know," a generic "you" which includes the interviewer and positioning the interviewer and herself within the "we" in the narrated event also helps interactionally align Maureen with the interviewer/volunteer teacher. Through this short narrative, Maureen frames her students and the Mexican immigrant community as having minimal resources since they "don't have anything" and "can't speak English," but also positions them as morally superior to individuals from the United States who posses more social goods, but not the genuine goodness.

Conclusions

This discourse analytic paper has used a dialogic approach to analyze the range of voices embodied by the interviewee and how these voices position Mexican immigrant women. This analysis used five types of mediating cues to empirically analyze patterns across the interview and to understand how these emergent patterns infer the voicing and double-voicing of the narrator. As this analysis has shown, Maureen does not unilaterally index Mexican immigrant women as good or bad, but instead portrays them in complex and seemingly contradictive ways. From these patterns it is clear that Maureen embodies an array of voices that, juxtaposed against the characteristics she attributes to her Mexican students, position her as different and often superior because she possesses more educational, linguistic and cultural knowledge. These same voices position Mexican women as lacking education, language, culture and parenting skills which Maureen attempts to remedy.

As this analysis has demonstrated, she defines a good mother as a good teacher. Her positioning of herself as a caring individual who goes above and beyond for dedicated students suggests that she believes the inverse is also true; she views herself as both a good teacher (except when impeded by her students' severe limitations and unrealistic program outcomes) and also as a mother-figure to her students who are lacking and need to be cared for. Maureen continually highlights the theme of developing independence and autonomy as the critical difference among students she perceives as successful or unsuccessful in the program, and therefore as teachers to their children and mothers. She provides limited examples of successful students, and instead views most of her students as failing to develop this independence, leaving

them vulnerable to always needing resources and falling victims to their macho husbands. In the examples where she positions Mexican women as strategic she either highlights exceptional students who are agentive for positive means, or frames this agency through a negative lens (such as a "crutch"), therefore mitigating the agentive force of these decisions. The single superior social good she attributes to the entire Mexican community is their genuine humanity and willingness to lend a helping hand to those in need. Despite the problems and deficits Maureen discusses throughout the entire interview, she chooses to highlight this as the one thing that motivates her to continue with her work that sometimes feels impossible or pointless.

Although this analysis has focused on Maureen's speech, it has also highlighted the context of the interview and the multiple roles of the interviewer as impacting how this text unfolds. In some instances the questions introduced by the interviewer, her lexical choices, and her framing of the situation are directly mirrored in Maureen's elaborate responses. In addition, the lack of overt uptake by the interviewer may appear to index indifference at first glance, however examined through the broader context of her role as an interviewer and volunteer teacher looking to build a trusting relationship with the lead teacher, this apparent indifference is actually the result of active work by the interviewer to *not* respond to or question these evaluative stances. Finally, through close attention to the finer details of this interaction, the interviewer's back-channeling patterns do point to varying level of alignment with Maureen's utterances throughout the interview.

Through an in-depth analysis of the speakers' form and use, this paper has shown that Maureen's welcoming attitude toward Mexican immigrant mothers is simultaneously guided by a framing of her students as not only different, but also lacking and inferior, although occasionally morally superior as well. Uricoli (1998) warns that "the line between viewing people with 'needs' and viewing people with 'deficits' is very thin for Latinos/as who are marked in the larger society by their race, class, language and citizenship status" (cited in Villenas, 2002, p. 22). These complex ideologies regarding recent Mexican immigrants are examples of what Villenas has called benevolent racism, because "although coming from well-meaning professionals, this benevolent kind of racism [is] thus more difficult to confront, particularly when relationships [are] established in the delivery of health and educational services" (2001, p. 9). Maureen, who has now been working within these adult education classes for over six years, has chosen to keep working with these students and in her daily practices clearly demonstrates a deep level of care for her students and their "plight." What is less immediately obvious in daily interaction is how she frames her students through a needs-based lens, focusing more on what her students lack rather than building upon the many skills and talents they bring to the classroom and community.

Through the employment of detailed discourse analytic tools backed by ethnography, this paper builds upon Villenas' ethnographic work on benevolent racism to reveal how these attitudes emerge within one service professional's talk. This talk occurs within the frame of an interview as well as a preliminary conversation where Maureen is describing the students to a new volunteer teacher for the first time. Thus it also serves as an example of how Maureen characterizes and positions Mexican immigrant women to an Anglo newcomer who has not yet had direct interaction with this immigrant community. Service professionals such as Maureen often serve as two-way cultural brokers; they are brokers for newly arrived immigrants learning how to navigate U.S. cultural systems as well as mediating voices for immigrants to non-immigrant community members. Although not the focus on this paper, how service professionals like Maureen position Mexican immigrants' social goods during interactions with the immigrants themselves impacts how immigrants perceive of their own strengths, resources and shortcomings within this new country (See Allard & Mortimer, this issue, for an analysis of how this unfolds in a high school ESL classroom). As this paper has demonstrated, how Maureen characterizes and frames Mexican immigrants to outside community members unfamiliar with the immigrant community can have very real impacts on wider community beliefs about and reactions to new immigrants. By focusing on the in-depth specifics of speech we can begin to recognize the patterns, chunks and ways of speaking that index benevolent racist attitude, which frame immigrant mothers through a deficit lens. This analysis of a single, rather outspoken service professional's text is a first step in pinpointing some of these speech patterns and future analyses with other participants working with immigrants across New Latino Diaspora communities could provide a comprehensive portrait of this particular discourse genre. Only by understanding the larger genre and the semiotic patterns used to create it can we begin to combat the well-intentioned, yet harmful, discourse of benevolent racism.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

Key:

=	Words said with little space between them
-	Interrupted talk
[ ]	Overlapping talk
underline:	emphasis
°:	Low talking
(1):	1 second pause