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"The Problem with the Haitians is their Language": Language as Color-Blind Racism

Ruthie Wienk
South Dakota State University

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"THE PROBLEM WITH THE HAITIANS IS THEIR LANGUAGE": LANGUAGE AS

COLOR-BLIND RACISM

BY

RUTHIE WIENK

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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2018

"THE PROBLEM WITH THE HAITIANS IS THEIR LANGUAGE": LANGUAGE AS

COLOR-BLIND RACISM

RUTHIE WIENK

This dissertation is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate

for the Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology degree and is acceptable for meeting the

dissertation requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this does not imply that the

conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major

department.

Meredith Redlin, PhD   Date
Dissertation Advisor

Mary Emery, PhD   Date
Head, Department of Sociology

Kirchel C. Doerner, PhD   Date
Dean, Graduate School

This dissertation is dedicated to the members of the Haitian community who opened their

lives and shared their stories. This work is about you, but I hope finds use for you.

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Like most dissertations, this project represents the cumulation of many fits and starts, mediocre ideas and better ideas, wrong turns and recalibration. In short, this work represents, for me, the unlearning that must accompany new learning. Through the process, many people have informed the learning and patiently guided the unlearning. And it necessary to formally mention those who have been instrumental in this process.

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ABSTRACT

"THE PROBLEM WITH THE HAITIANS IS THEIR LANGUAGE": LANGUAGE AS

COLOR-BLIND RACISM

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This project explores the mechanisms of exclusion and oppression of a Haitian population in a rural community in South West Florida. The analytical approach taken is an analysis of the social field and habitus as dispositions and embodied culture. Language has been identified as a tool to marginalize the population in the general social order. Through this process, language operates as a form of color-blind racism which justifies the exclusion of the Haitian community but is insufficient in explaining their overall social outcomes.

Qualitative data were collected for this project in the form of unstructured interviews, focus groups, photographs of the local community, and observational field notes. Participants principally came from the Haitian population in the target community. Other community stakeholders, including elected county officials, were interviewed to obtain background and contextual information. Also consulted were county documents and demographic planning profiles.

Secondary data were used for the quantitative analysis portion of this project. These data were taken from the US Census Bureau American Community Survey. Both

aggregated data from the American Factfinder website and individual-level data from the

IPUMS repository were downloaded in the completion of the secondary data analysis.

The findings indicate that the habitus of the social field operates to exclude the

Haitian population from the overall community in the areas of labor, health care,

education, services, and local governance. In each of these arenas, language was cited as

being a primary source of exclusion and problem for the Haitian population. Popular

conceptions that the Haitian population needs to "learn English" in order to improve their

status in the overall social structure were problematized as inferential testing indicated

that proficiency in English is not a significant explanation for poverty status.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Language, which may be defined here as a system of vocal signs, is the most important sign system of human society… An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 51-52).

In 1937, between 12,000 to 30,000 Haitians living along the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic were slaughtered by Dominican soldiers. Unable to visually distinguish between those who are Haitian and those who are Dominican, the soldiers carried bunches of parsley door-to-door, asking people to name the herb, *perejil*, in Spanish. Those who named it with the Spanish trilled r sound were allowed to live, as this was a signifier of being a Spanish-speaking ethnic Dominican. Those who used the French, guttural pronunciation for the r in the word were slaughtered, as this signified a Creole-speaking Haitian ethnicity (Dubois 2013). The 1937 Parsley Massacre is a dramatic example of both how language is used as a signifier of hate as well as the link between the racialization of Haitian Creole and social hatred of Haitian people.

We use language to talk and write, yet, unless we are linguists, we rarely talk and write about language. Language has been considered one of the fundamental social constructions structuring the social order (Berger and Luckmann 1966). As such, studying linguistic processes in a community can illuminate the overall patterns of stratification within that community. While language is a system of signs, when multiple languages are simultaneously operating within a community, this project argues that different languages will also become signifiers of status and social position. This project looks closely at language in explaining the social situation occupied by Haitian

immigrants in a rural community in South West Florida. In this process, language acts as a signifier of difference for the Haitian community that operates with race to affect social outcomes. In order to understand the current social processes that are happening with the Haitian population in South West Florida, it is also important to contextualize the population into the overall historical perspective of Haitian people in general.

Brief History of Haiti

The Parsley Massacre is not the only instance of injustice against the Haitian people, they have a long history of being a target of difference and hate. Haiti was the first nation in which a slave rebellion was able to successfully rebel and declare independence from colonial European governments, a source of extreme national pride for many Haitian and Haitian-Americans today (Marcelin 2005). Even after earning its freedom, Haiti failed to develop as a thriving nation due to a coalition of colonial governments which conspired to keep Haiti from accessing the economy of the era. Once liberated, France, the mother country, demanded that the fledgling Haitian government repay the cost of the land and income that was taken by the revolution. This debt was not repaid until 1947. To add to the financial burden of the newly emancipated nation, the other colonial governments operating in the Caribbean Sea refused to do business and trade with the Haitian government (Marcelin 2005; Linstroth et al. 2009). Considering the historical context in which the European nations unilaterally adopted racialized notions of inferiority of non-whites along with the ongoing strife between the European nations at that time, this alliance against the Haitian government does point to collective racialized action to deliberately disadvantage a nation primarily comprised of former slaves who had demanded—and won—their freedom (Johnson 2016). These factors worked with

internal struggles, including oppressive leadership by dynastic father and son dictators, to impose and maintain an economic subaltern status on the nation. This status persists today as evidenced by Haiti's current position as the poorest nation in the western hemisphere.

Even after a successful revolution which overthrew colonial forces, group hierarchies within Haiti remained categorized by colonial constructions of whiteness (Marcelin 2005; Linstroth et al. 2009). Whiteness, as defined by the standard to which all other categories are measured, worked with material divisions of class to establish social differences privileging Haitians with lighter-colored skin (Marcelin 2005; Moreton-Robinson 2006; Linstroth et al. 2009; Johnson 2016). While the revolution successfully ousted France, the ideological imposition of white skin as more desirable and whiter people as being of intrinsically higher quality, remained. As an ideology, this understanding of difference and social hierarchy travels with Haitians when they emigrate, and it becomes an aspect of their social identity construction in the new settings (Portes and Stepick 1985; Clerge 2014).

Haitians in the USA

Economic hardships, political strife, and environmental disasters have pushed Haitians out of their country in waves (Marcelin 2005; Linstroth et al. 2009). Entering the United States, the economic and social structures that Haitians occupy are reminiscent of the ways in which whiteness is constructed in Haiti along with the marginalized construction of "Haitian" as an identity in the USA (Linstroth et al. 2009). Not all of the Haitians who come to the USA have come from the lower classes. Middle class and elite Haitians have also migrated to the USA, often with the ability to occupy or achieve

middle-class positions in the USA. While the trends are not unilaterally applied, a significant number of these middle-class Haitians have come to distance themselves from the racialized Haitian identities, especially in the second generations (Marcelin 2005; Clerge 2014). Notably, this is not always the case, and some of the lighter-skinned Haitians have not been able to occupy a place in the middle class in the USA but still must navigate ascribed higher social positions when interacting with those who are still in the homeland (Linstroth et al 2009).

Those Haitians who occupied lower class positions in Haiti and have maintained their subaltern position in the USA are generally characterized as conserving national pride and a positive Haitian identity (Schiller and Fouron 1999; Marcelin 2005; Linstroth et al. 2009). Transnationality is the idea that encompasses political, economic, cultural, and social influences which extend across multiple nation states and social actors (Schiller and Fouron 1999). As such, transnationality has come to describe the sentiment and lived experience of many Haitian immigrants to the USA (Schiller and Fouron 1999; Chaitin, Linstroth, and Hiller 2009). This push towards transnationality for Haitian immigrants was perpetuated by the Haitian government which sought to encourage Haitian immigrants to maintain kinship ties to those in the homeland and continue to send money back to support relatives living in Haiti (Marcelin 2005). This state-supported reliance on non-productive income from outside sources contributed to a stymied development of local production and income generation (Linstroth et al. 2009). In addition to harming the growth of the Haitian economy, Schiller and Fouron (1999) find this reliance on remittances from those who have successfully emigrated from the country also positions Haitian immigrants to the USA in a position of double exploitation. This

double exploitation comes when the Haitian Americans are required to send large percentages of their income back to their families in Haiti while also being marginalized by the host country.

The climate experienced by the majority of Haitians who emigrate to the USA can only be characterized as hostile (Marcelin 2005). While many of the newcomers have been able to succeed regardless of their socioeconomic status and position in Haiti, they have done so amongst seemingly insurmountable odds. Research into the reception of Haitian immigrants in South Florida since 1960 is uncharacteristically consistent in the descriptions of extreme racialization. Even though the failure to develop infrastructure and nationally succeed can be understood in terms of deliberate, coordinated colonial exploitation and exclusion, the lack of national development is often used to justify ascription of racialized notions of poverty, dirtiness, and poor educational attainment (Marcelin 2005; Moreton-Robinson 2006; Linstroth et al. 2009; Johnson 2016). In South Florida, this racialization is perhaps best illustrated by the CDC's 1981 "4-H" construction of risk of HIV/AIDS. In the early 1980's the disease had just become a major part of the cultural consciousness. Largely misunderstood by much of the population, the disease occupied stories on the evening news and fear of the disease became a common conversation topic. In this context, the CDC published a chart of people who were the most at risk of contracting the disease. With this construct, those who would fall into a category on this list were then viewed as being a risk to others. The 4-H categories of people that were considered "risky" were heroin addicts, hemophiliacs, homosexuals, and Haitians (Linstroth et al. 2009). This lead to the segregation and quarantine of Haitians in hospitals, detention centers, and schools in the South Florida

county of Miami-Dade (Marcelin 2005). Pamphlets about the risks the Haitian community posed on South Florida were disseminated and directly contributed to the stigmatization of the Haitian immigrant population. This discrimination was not purely ideological nor was it short lived. In 1990, the CDC produced a policy refusing blood donations from people of Haitian ancestry. Both the placement of the Haitian community in the "4-H" list and the banning of Haitian blood donations were done by the CDC without adequate academic documentation or scientific justification (Johnson 2016).

Haitians in South West Florida

Of the immigrant groups in South Florida, Haitians occupy the lowest position on the social ladder (Portes and Stepick 1985; Marcelin 2005). While stigmatization of Haiti and racialization of Haitian immigrants contributes to this positionality, it also comes from competition for lower-paying jobs and low-income housing amongst immigrant groups (Marcelin 2005). Immigrant enclaves are characterized as those areas in which a particular immigrant group settles and opens immigrant-owned businesses (Portes and Stepick 1985; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002). These enclaves are useful for newcomers because they offer the opportunity to build social capital and find low-paying jobs that are necessary to get started in the community. In Miami, Little Havana is a famous immigrant enclave that has arisen to support newcomers from Cuba. And it has been successful, as those with Cuban heritage occupy every ladder of the socioeconomic (SES) stratum. For Haitian immigrants, there is no immigrant enclave that fulfills the same function (Portes and Stepick 1985). While Miami does have a community known as Little Haiti, Portes and Stepick (1985) found that none of the businesses in Little Haiti were owned by Haitians. Labor markets are important factors in determining social status and

attaining upward mobility. Theories of assimilation posit that immigrants will come to the USA and first land in enclaves. They will then move out of the enclaves to nicer areas that are known as ethnic communities. These ethnic communities are characterized by residents who share ancestry but also possess higher levels of SES and specifically chose to live in the communities (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002). Because the Haitian American communities are comprised of people living in positions of both lower SES and lack of business ownership, the accepted theories of assimilation do not apply to the Haitian American communities in South West Florida.

The lower position of Haitians among immigrant groups in South Florida does not mean that no Haitian immigrants are able to succeed; rather, disproportionately fewer Haitian immigrants are able to come to South Florida and attain upward social mobility than other immigrant groups (Portes and Stepick 1985; Marcelin 2005). In looking at potential factors in this disadvantaged position, Portes and Stepick find that gender and marital status overcome English language ability and level of education upon entering the USA in determining ability to succeed. That is, men who are married are more successful than men who are single and women of any marital status. This leads to an indication that gender is an important consideration in understanding the community development of Haitian immigrants. Gender was also an important theme identified by Chaitin, Linstroth, and Hiller (2009) in explaining the current position of Haitian immigrants in Florida. While gender irrespective of language ability was an important finding in Portes and Stepick's research, others find that Haitian Creole is a stigmatized language which works with the hostile treatment of Haitian immigrants to implicate lack of English acquisition

or even opportunity for English acquisition in maintenance of current hierarchies (Marcelin 2005).

The linguistic isolation of many in the population and lack of institutional support for this community could help to explain rather astounding findings by Belizaire and Fuertes (2011). With a majority of immigrant populations, longer years in a host country will result in higher quality of life and lower levels of stress. Looking into the Haitian community this study identified an inverse relationship between number of years spent in the USA and overall quality of life in the dimensions of physical health, psychological health, and social relationships. This finding only makes sense when placed in the context of a highly racialized group with limited structural support, as is the case for many of the immigrants who come to the USA from Haiti.

When looking at agency of immigrant populations who enter a host country, language acquisition is a key element in understanding the structural forces which support or hinder economic and social achievement. When heritage languages are viewed as resources and structural ways of both maintaining heritage language and supporting development of host language are provided by local communities, positive social outcomes are often more easily obtained (Ruiz 1984: Hornberger 1998: Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Varady 1999). Thus, understanding levels of host language attainment by a population is useful in understanding levels of structural support that the host community provides for the newcomers. Analyzing the structure that a host community erects around the immigrant population helps to clarify the perpetuation or dissolution of stigmatization around the newcomers.

In terms of the Haitian community in South West Florida, this project argues that every part of the social structure works together to marginalize this group. A view of this marginalization begins with a discussion of census data. It is difficult to get accurate counts of the Haitian community, even those with documented statuses, because the US Census has historically embarked in a strategy of "strategic concealment" of this population (Marcelin 2005). In the 2000 census, 80% of the respondents who were Haitian classified themselves as "Haitian" in both the long and short forms. The tabulators of the census, however, ignored this self-identification and classified them as "black" (Marcelin 2005). It is important to note that this omission is not because Haitians occupy trivial numbers in the population. Conservative estimates place 300,000 Haitian immigrants in South Florida at the time of the 2000 general census (Marcelin 2005).

The subsumtion of those with Haitian identity into the category of "black" has been addressed in the 2015 version of the American Community Survey. This document records 1,062,550 people of Haitian ancestry living in the USA (U.S. Census 2015). These numbers were tabulated by the U.S. Census Bureau as a part of the American Community Survey, a tabulation which looks at native born versus foreign born rather than documentation status. As such, undocumented Haitian immigrants could be included in these numbers. However, it is also possible that a high level of those Haitians who are undocumented would hide from census researchers, due to the vulnerability of their situation. As such, it is likely that more Haitians are living in the USA than are tabulated by the Census Bureau. Most of those who come to the USA are residing in South Florida. There are also large numbers of people of Haitian ancestry who are living in New York and moderate numbers of this population in Georgia.

While most of the cited research into the Haitian population has focused on those who are living in Miami Dade, which is on the east coast of South Florida, the research took place in Collier County which is located on the west coast of South Florida. The willful omission of the Haitian population by the 2000 census is noteworthy for the proposed study because the 135-page document published by Collier County, "The 2016 Collier County Economic, Demographic & Community Profile" contains zero references to the Haitian community. Neither the words "Haiti" or "Haitian" can be found in this document. On the other hand, it is possible to locate the words "Dominican Republic" in the document, as people who come from this country on the island of Hispanola are delineated as being a specific aspect of the greater Hispanic community. This omission by the Collier County demographers mirrors the 2000 omission by the Census Bureau in that according to the American Community Survey, more than 11,000 Haitians were reported as living in Collier County in 2009 (U.S. Census 2010). As this version of the American Community Survey represents numbers before the 2011 Haitian earthquake, and subsequent wave of immigration, it is likely that the current numbers are much higher.

Another way to estimate a population is by looking at the number of students enrolled in the public schools, their reported ancestry, and the reported main language spoken at home. In 2015, Immokalee High School, a secondary school in a rural area of the county, reported 20% of their student body being of Haitian background (Ng 2016). On the Collier County district list of demographics, there is no designation for what percentage of the student body are of Haitian ancestry; however, 7.29% of the entire student body of the county come from homes where Haitian Creole is the main language

spoken. Clearly, the population of people of Haitian ancestry in Collier County is not insignificant.

Located in South West Florida, Collier County is known for areas that are highly developed due to beautiful beach-front property and access to the Gulf of Mexico as well as rural land used for agriculture and populated by migrant workers. On one hand, Collier County is the residence for many of the highest income earners in the USA. Collier County, home to Naples, Marco Island, and Immokalee is fourth in the nation in per-capita personal income of almost $74,000 in 2014 (Yang 2016). Per capita personal income is calculated by dividing the total income in the county by the total population. If we compare this figure with the demographic analysis of Collier County Public Schools which reports that 63% of the students who attend the public-school system are "economically needy," we get a picture of extreme income inequality (Collier Public Schools 2016). If more than sixty percent of the public-school students are in economic need and the county is still ranked number 4 of per capita income in the nation, then a population of extremely high-income earners must exist.

Research Question and Theoretical Contribution to Sociology

The central research question of this dissertation asks what place the Haitian community occupies in the social order of South West Florida as well as what mechanisms are working to maintain and perpetuate this placement. As the data will show, the research question narrowed to focus on language through the collection of data and the resounding message that "the problem with the Haitians is the language" which was said repeatedly both by community members and leaders both in and outside the Haitian community.

This exploratory study, seeks to contribute to sociological theory by exploring the mechanisms of stratification and exclusion experienced by the Haitian American community in South West Florida. Understanding the processes of differentiation will help to explain the inequalities observed in the region. The overall attempt of this project is to increase understanding of the nuanced ways in which language, race, and class work together intersectionally to influence the distribution of economic resources of various people groups in society.

In constructing the theoretical approach used in this paper, four key postulates are presented:

1. Language is directly linked to social power; thus, it serves as a facet of the social world relevant to sociological inquiry.

2. Language and race are linked in significant ways in the social construction of inequality. Language functions as a proxy for race when determining inequalities.

3. Using language to justify inequalities serves the needs of the social majority and functions as a form of "color-blind racism" that blames the outsiders for their status while maintaining the appearance of racial neutrality on behalf of the dominant group.

4. Language is framed as achieved status while maintaining racialized characteristics of an ascribed status in placement in the social structure. As such, dominant groups place both opportunities and barriers for adult acquisition of language. Minority groups often accept and internalize the dominant ideology through a variety of mechanisms.

These interrelated points work together to present a novel approach to an understanding of the intersections between race/nationality and language to achieve dominant and subordinate positions in the economic class structure. The remainder of this dissertation will attempt to unpack these ideas and support them with previous sociological literature as well as evidence from the data collected in the completion of this project.

Chapter 2: Method

Participants & Location

The project looked at two Haitian communities in two different locations of

Naples and Immokalee. While the project did include significant interaction with the

Haitian community in Naples, meaningful and systematic discussion with sufficient

numbers of the community to adequately incorporate a comparative analysis was not

achieved. In both settings, local Haitian churches were selected as the point of entry into

the communities. One key informant in the community estimated that more than 90% of

the Haitian population attends church on Sunday. While this assessment is not scientific,

and there is no way to confirm this figure using the data collected for this project, other

research into the religiosity of the Haitian immigrants to Guadeloupe, French West Indies

has found that 60% of the population in that area attended church compared to 15% of

those who were remaining in Haiti (Broadwin 2003). There seems to be a pattern of using

religion to build community among Haitian immigrants.

The reasons for the increased religious attendance of Haitian immigrants to

Guadeloupe were commensurate with the impressions offered by those who were in

Collier County. In Guadeloupe, it was found that the emergence of the religiosity was

related to the trauma of displacement from the home country and insertion into a hostile

environment (Broadwin 2003). In Collier County, participants reported that increased

attendance at church is not an indicator of personal belief. Rather, the churches were the

only places in the area that were purely Haitian. They were the only places in the wider

community where Haitian language and culture were centralized. As such, the churches

represent more than houses of worship for the Haitian population. They represent spaces

of national and cultural pride, spaces controlled and run by the Haitian community. As the remainder of this project will demonstrate, these spaces are embedded in an environment hostile to people of Haitian ancestry. As such, churches serve an important social function in both Naples and Immokalee.

Comparing the churches in Naples and Immokalee, the buildings reflect the economic differences of the two communities. Naples is a wealthy community, and while it does have poverty, analysis of the cars and apparel of the congregants who attended church in Naples indicates that some people are able to spend money on items with high levels of sign value. Mercedes Benz, BMW, and Lexus cars were in the parking lot. People wearing clothes with logos associated with high price tags, like Coach, LV, and MK were evident in the Naples congregation. While there was also evidence of cars which were at the other end of the spectrum, and many people riding a bus to church, this did point to some level of economic advantage among the Haitian community in Naples. In Immokalee, such signs of conspicuous consumption were missing. While it would be a mistake to assume that the objects with high sign value were indicative of economic wealth, they did indicate greater access to resources. With the congregation in Immokalee, discussions of lack of work, and the socioeconomic conditions indicated that in that area, there was not even the opportunity for the veneer of wealth.

Discussions with the pastors at both churches supports the assessment that there are more people with material success in Naples than in Immokalee. The facilities in Naples are large and impressive, with two buildings, one of which is still under construction, and new landscaping. The pastor indicated that in the 1990's, the church was denied a loan from the bank, so the congregation worked together to pool their

resources and purchase the land and build the original property without a loan. Because

of their success, a loan has been obtained for the construction of the additional property.

In Immokalee, the church manages the building, but it is not owned by the congregation

in the same way that the one in Naples is. The building and land for the church in

Immokalee is owned by the church's denomination and is operated as a "mission" by that

denomination. The denomination is not primarily Haitian. The pastor of the Immokalee

church has denominational ordination and is also Haitian. In both areas, the churches

represent locations of capital for the Haitian community. There is significant pride in the

space among the Naples congregation, and they have events in the church space every

night of the week. In Immokalee, the church building represents an opportunity for

earnings. While spending time in that space, I observed portions of a service in Spanish

that were coordinated and run by a Latino Pentecostal church. I also saw a woman with a

check that seemed like a form of payment looking for the pastor. Discussions with the

pastor later confirmed that this building is rented by a different congregation. This

confirms the church space as a resource held by the Haitian community that can be

converted into economic resource.

The meetings with both pastors were arranged through key informants into the

community. The first meeting with the pastor of the Naples church lasted about an hour.

In this meeting, I gained a lot of background information on the Haitian community in

Naples, and explained my research aims and design. The pastor invited me to attend

services at the church, and interact with his congregation. He told me that he would invite

me to speak in front of the congregation and give me his approval. He also said that he

would not use his authority to push his congregation to work with me, but would say that I was not trying to exploit them or find anything that would place them in any danger.

The following Sunday, I attended the service, and was invited to the front of the sanctuary to greet the congregation and ask them to participate in the project. While there seemed to be a high level of interest while I was talking, at the end of the service, only about 20 people stayed to talk with me, and 15 agreed to a follow-up meeting. In this conversation after the service, much hesitation was expressed based on fear of deportation. The use of photographs, even those photographs which would not identify the person, was met with significant objection. Again, there seemed to be a concern that these documents would place the population at risk in some way. While everyone on the list was contacted and invited to a focus group session, only one person on the list attended the session. Food was provided for everyone on the list and their families. The one participant took all of the food home in order to share with his family and friends.

Even with this low level of participation, I kept attending the services each Sunday of June and July, trying to make more relationships with the Haitian population. Passing out papers with my phone number and inviting people to attend a focus group session. Again, there was a significant lack of engagement by the Haitian community. The pastor brought me in front of the church again in the middle of July to encourage more participation. This was after a service, while many people were still sitting in their seats. We had a question/answer session where I stated the research aims and processes, emphasizing participant anonymity. I distributed 100 surveys with qualitative, open-ended questions. The pastor said that the congregation could give them to him or to me in the following weeks. I kept attending the services and distributing the same survey forms

with pre-addressed, stamped envelopes for those who wanted the assurance of absolute anonymity. Two were completed and returned.

Even though the efforts to recruit research participants in Naples were unsuccessful, 7 interviews were conducted either on the telephone or after services. Also, by attending services for six weeks, and interacting with people after church, I was able to make significant observations about the Haitian community and spaces that are helpful in informing my understanding of the situation of Haitian residents of Collier County.

Working with the Haitian population in Immokalee yielded better results in terms of community participation. A meeting with this pastor was arranged through a key informant who has a long-standing relationship with him. This meeting took place in Immokalee with the pastor, his wife, the informant, and myself. This meeting lasted more than 2.5 hours, and provided significant background information about the Haitian community, Immokalee, and Haitian culture in general. Through this meeting, I was invited to visit the church in Immokalee and speak to the congregation as I had with the community in Naples.

The congregation in Immokalee is significantly smaller than the one in Naples. Only about 125 people attended the church services, but about 35 people stayed to talk with me after church. This was a very profitable discussion, as there was not the sense of fear about my position as an outsider putting the population at risk as was observed in the similar meetings in Naples. The opposition to inclusion in the visual elements of the project at this point seemed to be related to functional questions of cameras and cell phones rather than questions of personal safety and exposure to immigration services. Focus group sessions with this group in Immokalee continued for the next five weeks. A

complete detail of the contents and protocol used at each meeting will be offered in the Data Collection section of this paper. The meetings all took place at the church fellowship room. I provided enough food and beverages for the participants who came, and enough extra to share with anyone else who wanted some. Food was taken home to share with family members as well as any congregants who were not interested in attending the focus group sessions. In this way, the participants and the congregation all received some small benefit from engaging in the research project.

One notable departure from the initial research design was in the area of gender. Initially, the project intended to focus on the observations and experiences of Haitian women living in Collier County. The communities and key informants were approached with this intended design. In Immokalee, the key informant did not translate the limiter of only women to the community. Everyone attended the meetings, and it was impossible to segregate the women from the men. At one point, I asked if the groups would separate and have one table of men and another table of women to talk about the issues from a different perspective. The participants did not want to separate in two groups. Both the men and the women verbalized a desire to stay in an integrated discussion. As the research was founded upon a participatory model, the wishes of the community members had to be considered. As such, this represents ways in which the community and participants had a great deal of input on the research design. This resulted in a project that was substantively different from the original intention, but this difference is viewed as a strength in that the findings better represent what the community members wanted to say, rather than what the researcher wanted to see.

Data Collection

This project initially was established using a comparative photovoice methodological design. The Haitian communities in Naples and Immokalee, two areas within Collier County, were selected as sites for participant recruitment and data collection. Due to issues to be discussed later, the comparative nature of the project was not able to be completed. Much of the information that is contained in the final analysis comes from intensive focus group interviews with participants from Immokalee. While some participants from Naples were able to be found, their contributions will only be used where they confirm the findings from the group in Immokalee.

The original project had intended to follow a photovoice methodology in order to analyze the target communities through the lens of the Haitian population. Photovoice as a method of data collection was first developed as a way of understanding the lived experiences of Chinese woman by Wang and Burgess (1997). Since then, it has been replicated many times, and has been found to be methodologically ethical and empowering. Photovoice is characterized as participatory action research. It utilizes visual methodologies to transcend the limits of language in picturing the lived experiences of the population. More importantly, photovoice represents a shift in power between traditional ways of doing academic research in that the method requires transparency between researcher and subjects along with ownership in the data-collection process by the participants (Guillemin and Drew 2010). In this, photovoice is particularly well-suited when working with highly marginalized populations. An excellent example involves the use of photovoice to document the lives of sex workers in South Africa (Capous-Desyllas and Forro 2014). Even with the high levels of risk faced by this

population, the participants identified an emerging sense of personal empowerment through the experience of participating in the photovoice project.

When attempting to encourage the Haitian population in Immokalee to participate in the photovoice project, there was an initial receptivity to the idea. While one participant reported that she did not have a camera, another suggested that she have her children draw the pictures for her. This seemed to be evidence that the community were eager to engage in the project. Yet when the groups met each week, they did not take photographs to discuss. After three weeks of meetings and only two original photograph submissions, along with five images that were the result of a google search, it was deemed that the photovoice project would not be a viable option in this community. This difficulty is consistent with other researchers' criticism of participant-based projects which employ rigid methodologies without remaining sensitive to participant input on and innovation of research design (Vigurs and Kara 2017).

Even after deviating from a photovoice methodology, it was still deemed important to incorporate a visual element of the research design. Especially since there were not 60 participants, as had originally been planned, research triangulation needed to be maintained through a broader source of data collection. Additionally, as Paul Sweetman (2009) argues, the incorporation of photography in sociological data collection is useful in revealing the observable habitus of a community.

Photo elicitation is the process of conducting interviews with research participants based on photographs that have been previously taken and developed (Harper 2012). Photographs are tools used to assist interview research in that they potentially illuminate aspects of the lived experience of the research subjects which are more difficult to access

in purely verbal interviews (Harper 2002). Photographs have also been identified as being beneficial in conducting research projects which seek to investigate those tacit areas of an experience that are difficult to articulate (Sweetman 2009). While the Haitian population in Immokalee were absolutely able to articulate the ways in which they were excluded and included from the wider community, the photographs, and their interpretations of the photographs, were valuable in affording an opportunity to elicit multiple interpretations of the habitus from the Haitian community (Banks and Zeitlyn 2015).

In this project, using photographs through the photo elicitation process brought an unintended beneficial outcome to the research participants. The use of the photographs represented a shift in the focus of the research discussion away from the participants themselves as objects of the researcher's gaze. Photo elicitation allowed the discussion to be focused on the way that the structures of the community were established to exclude the Haitian population. Before one of the focus group sessions, a participant asked me why I was studying the Haitian population, rather than staying with white people like myself. My response was that I was not just looking at the Haitian people, I was looking at the ways that the white community oppressed the Haitian people, an oppression that was rooted in a history of exploitation. While she seemed to accept this explanation, the photographs as artifacts made the obscure nature of the explanation more concrete. As such, the use of the photographs supported Sweetman's (2009) argument about using photographs to represent a visual habitus. When the photographs were produced, and the Haitian explanations for them were elicited, the participants became researchers themselves, offering critical interpretations of how they are systematically excluded from their community. In addition to shifting the research gaze off the participants and more

firmly onto the social structures which oppress the Haitian community, the photographs were useful in affirming to the community that their experience of their oppression is deliberate, complete, and evidenced in the local field.

Because I, as the researcher, had to take the photographs to be used in the photo elicitation process, it was important to determine what would be the subject of the images. One significant strength of the initially proposed photovoice method was that the images would be taken by the participants, reflecting the participant gaze. With the shift to the researcher's gaze for the selection of images, it was important to maintain the centrality of the participants' experience so that the images would maintain, to the extent possible, the emic perspective of the participants rather than the etic gaze of the researcher.

In order to centralize the perspective of the participants, data from the first three focus group sessions, as well as the notes from the 2.5-hour initial interview with the local pastor, were read through and coded according to axial themes. Repeated reference in the data had been made about the exclusion of Creole on signs throughout the community. In the second session, one of the questions that was asked of the participants was what photos could they take representing the stories that they had told in the focus group session. One participant said, "I will provide photographs of some signs that are written in other languages, but not in Creole." This led me to the idea that signs would be a valuable source of information, similar to what the population would take themselves.

The axial themes that were used to code the first three focus group session were education, occupation, health care, and governance. These were further categorized into sub-areas that fit the stories that the participants had told. The axial frames were loaded

into concept mapping software and a concept map was created to visually organize and represent the data that had been collected to that point. See figure 3 below. This concept map was then taken to Immokalee and used to identify what to photograph in the habitus of the community. As such, the decisions about what would be captured by the camera's lens were firmly situated in the data that had been collected with the community.

Grounding the selection of what to photograph in the data from the focus group sessions was the best way to situate the camera's gaze from the perspective of the Haitian participants after the participants were unable to activate the personal agency to take photographs themselves. Since the aim of the photographs was to represent the discursive position occupied by the Haitian population within the wider social order, the photographs had to illustrate the social relationships between the various populations in the community. This highlighted a central tenet of the project, that the selection of photographs as determining arenas of inclusion and exclusion would be inherently political. The discursive nature of the social order means that it is established between social actors (Heckmen 1997). As such, power relationships inform the position of groups and distribution of resources. In attempting to privilege the standpoint of the Haitian population, it was important to detach from presumptions about the local habitus and allow the stated experiences of the group to determine the content of the photographs, to the greatest extent possible.

Figure 1: Concept map of axial codes used in determining subjects of photographs
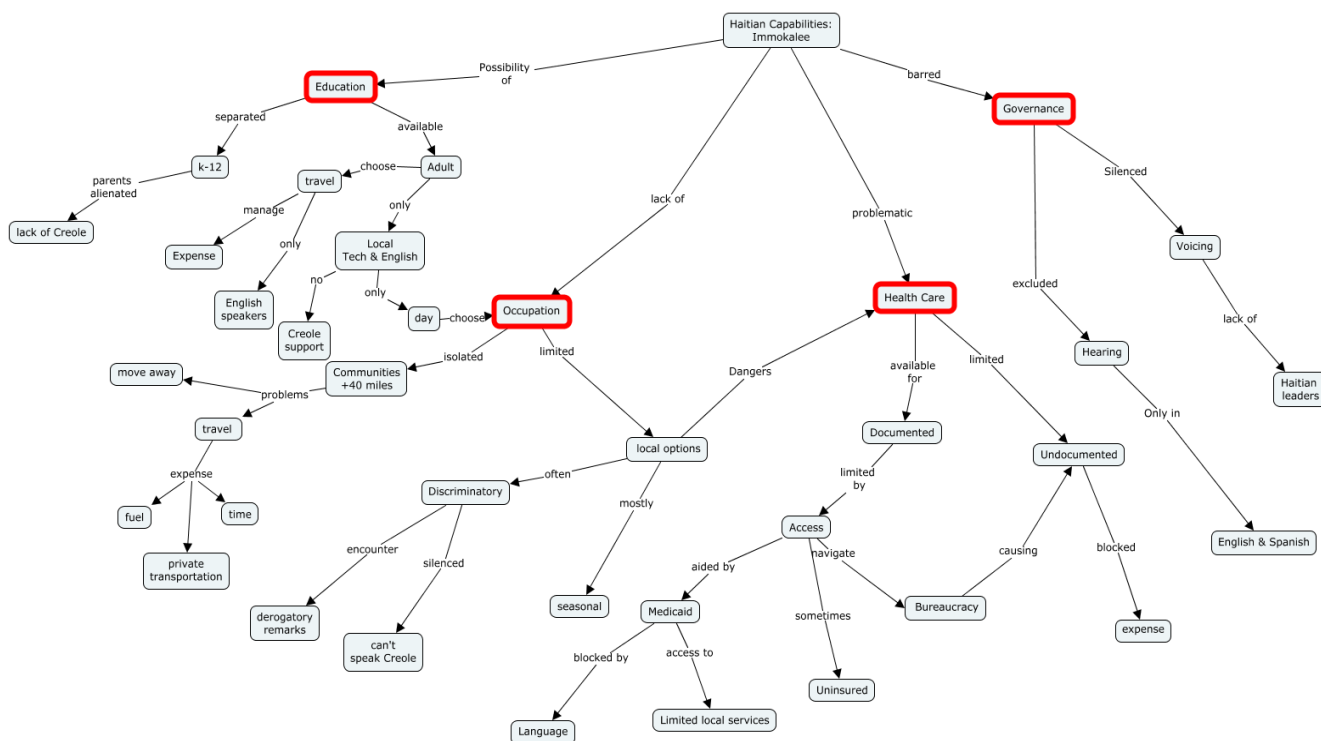
The concept map above does not represent theoretical coding, but it was useful in addressing the problems stated above about privileging and centralizing the Haitian experience rather than the researcher's outsider opinions when determining what physical elements of the local environment would be represent with photographs. It also represents the process of coding and analysis of data in the middle of the data collection process, a fundamental tenet of conducting grounded research. As will be shown in the data analysis section of this paper, the buildings in the local community provided visual evidence for the exclusion of the Haitian population that was discussed in the focus group sessions.

The concept map was printed and used to determine where to go and what to photograph in Immokalee. For example, in the area of education, both K-12 and adult education were mentioned in the focus group sessions as being sources of exclusion. This

necessitated photographs to be taken at elementary, middle, high schools as well as the adult education complex, Immokalee Technical College. As the participants repeatedly mentioned signs, images of the signage at all of these locations were obtained.

Going through the process of driving to the public schools, parking, exiting the car, and walking around the buildings to take photographs drew some attention by others in the community. The behavior was odd. This illustrates a central problem with the photovoice methodology that had not been addressed in the literature consulted for the research design, it assumes a certain degree of agency and privilege in the local community. The Haitian participants had expressed both oppression in the community as well as a heightened sense of vulnerability due to fear of deportation. They did not want to draw the wrong type of attention to themselves. As such, it made sense that the participants were hesitant to take photographs of these locations. Because of my privilege as a white, documented, and educated person in the community, I did not have any vulnerability about taking photographs of public buildings on public property. This lack of vulnerability was not shared by many of the research participants.

The use of the photographs was intended to serve dual functions of deepening the conversations with the research participants as well as act as a second source of data for the purposes of data triangulation to address questions of validity and reliability of the research findings. A third source of data were found from secondary sources. They came from the demographic and educational documents published by Collier County as well as the American Community Survey data that are published by the Census Bureau. In the Collier County documents, the Haitian community is systematically excluded. The 2016 demographic and planning profile does not mention Haitians once in 175 pages of the

document. This provides further evidence of being ignored and excluded that was mentioned again and again in the focus group sessions and illustrated in the photographs.

Focus Group Sessions

The same participants in Immokalee were visited repeatedly for focus group sessions. These occurred weekly for five weeks. They happened on Sunday evenings, as this was when the building was open and the participants were already going to be attending church in the evening. I provided food for the participants at each session, enough for those who attended and to have some left over for the entire congregation after church. I did not stay and attend the church sessions, as I had already attended a Sunday morning session with this group and was also attending church sessions with the Haitian community in Naples. Also, I thought that the participants would be more relaxed if I left and they were able to engage in their worship experiences without feeling like they were objects of the researcher's gaze.

Different methodologies were used to elicit information in each session. At the beginning, I did not know how many people would come or what the language ability of the group would be, so I had to maintain an attitude of being willing to adapt and improvise. All of the participants are mentioned with pseudonyms which they chose.

Session 1

The first session was conducted in the middle of June, on a Sunday afternoon. I had attended church with the Haitian congregation, and the pastor invited me to the front of the room to present the research project and invite people to participate in focus groups and the photovoice project. About thirty people stayed and participated in a discussion

after the service. In addition to hearing about the project, the talk became very productive in that many people already provided stories of how they were excluded or the problems that they experienced in the community. I spoke in English, and had a translator. The participants all spoke in Creole and were translated for me. Even those who could speak English quite well elected to speak in Creole so that everyone could understand them. This was a pattern that remained rather robust throughout the focus group sessions.

This session lasted about one hour. At the end of the discussion, members of the congregation who were interested in participating signed up with their first names and contact information. One interesting actuality that came from this discussion was the eagerness of the younger members of the community to participate and the caution of the older members of the community to be a part of the sessions. I lost many participants because of ethical limitations of including voices that were under 18 years old.

In the following week, I contacted everyone on the list with the help of a translator and talked with them about the appropriate times to arrange the focus groups. One of the participants mentioned that the congregation already has church on Sunday evening, and that this would probably be the only time that everyone was available to meet due to work schedules. This was cleared through the pastor, and everyone was contacted for the second session.

Session 2

In the second session, about 22 people came, and I passed out project explanation letters and consent forms to be signed. These were in both English and Creole. They had been translated by a bilingual member of the Haitian community and checked with

another community member. Obtaining informed consent took some time, as some of the

participants were illiterate in both English and Creole, so the translator had to explain

exactly what was required. The translator in this session also worked on the translations

of the consent forms, so his understanding of the processes was deep. One participant was

blind, so he was not able to sign the consent forms. Verbal agreement was obtained from

him. Additionally, not all of the participants had documents legally legitimating their

work and residence in the USA. The participants were given the opportunity to sign with

only their initials if they were illiterate or if they were uncomfortable using their names.

The changes to the protocol were made in the field, as they had not been anticipated in

the research design and institutional review board (IRB) request. A protocol change

request/report was made and submitted to the Human Subjects Committee informing

them of the problems in obtaining record of informed consent in the field. The committee

approved the changes.

The ethical difficulties posed by generating informed consent and protecting the

participants were widespread. Asking someone who cannot read to sign a form brings

significant vulnerability, the type of vulnerability that the informed consent process is

designed to avoid. As such, seeking signed informed consent forms from the population,

even ones which had been meticulously translated into Creole, represented a "misfit

between complex and fluid social worlds and increasingly standardized and regulated

ethics procedures" (Miller and Boulton 2011). The ethical difficulties posed by obtaining

informed consent functioned to highlight the matrix of domination under which members

of the Haitian community in the area are subject (Collins 2000). Intersections of race,

class, gender, ability, nationality, language, documentation status, and literacy all crossed

to increase the vulnerability of the population and inform an understanding of the social outcomes that will be explored later in this paper. Understanding of these identities also informs the ways in which the social field is structured to oppress the Haitian population.

Because there was a time limit to the meeting, the number of participants and high amount of only Creole speakers posed a potential difficulty if everyone was going to be able to speak and have their speech translated. As a result, I broke the participants into three small groups at separate tables, and selected one member of each group to ask the questions, prepared on a form ahead of time, and one participant to take notes. I did not have the technology to record all three simultaneously-working groups, so I had to rely on the notes. All of the conversations took place in Creole, and the notes were taken in Creole. I had them translated with two bilingual Creole/English speakers at a later time to double-check the accuracy of the translations. The questions on the semi-structured protocol form were:

1. What do you want to achieve for your life?
2. What *can* you achieve (Opportunities & Obstacles)?
3. What stories and experiences do you have about this?
4. How might you show this in a photograph?

One benefit of using this methodology was that the conversations were more revealing than they would have been if I, the white outsider who was very new to the group, had been leading them at this early stage of interactions. This protocol yielded sensitive revelations, for example, this is where one participant said "I am ashamed of my language and I am ashamed to be black." On the other hand, this way of running the focus group session put a lot of pressure on the participants who were taking notes. It also

resulted in a significant lack of information. I could not probe for further details. I also felt that I missed a lot of important data because of how heavily the data collection relied on those who were taking notes. This session lasted an hour.

Session 3

In the third session, 16 people attended, so there was some attrition from the previous meeting. In this session, everyone sat around one large circle so that I could take notes, ask questions, and address some of the limitations of the previous focus group protocol. In this session, I worked with two primary translators, and one participant who agreed to translate when the other translators were tired. Having multiple participants prepared and able to translate was beneficial as they were correcting and refining each other's translations in the meetings. This was an efficient way to ensure the accuracy of the messages being sent across languages. Sometimes, translators would work together to explain something I had said, or they would work together to help each other find better ways to translate from Creole to English.

In this session, people took turns telling stories about their personal experiences in Immokalee. They provided pseudonyms, ages, and a general occupation. Many of the stories were highly sensitive, and this was the session that ended up revealing the most personal details and texture of the participants' experiences. This is the session where Emmanuel explained how he lost his sight, Maurice told about how he has to pay people to go to the doctor with him, Vivian expressed being capable of accomplishing so much more but having to sacrifice her own dreams by working in the field to provide for her family, and other revelations of hardship.

This was the last session that I tried to push for the participants to take photographs. By this time, the third time we met, I had anticipated having photographs taken by the population to use for talking about the community. No one had taken any photographs by this point, and it was evident that pictures were going to be problematic. We discussed strategies for photographs, and while the participants were trying to be helpful, it was clear that the photovoice sessions were not going to be able to be completed in the same ways that I had anticipated.

Session 4

About 20 people attended the fourth session. Between the previous focus group and this one, I had coded the first three focus groups, developed the concept map that I used to take pictures, taken 212 pictures, processed the best ones, and arranged them according to the axial codes on large poster boards to use for discussion in the photovoice session.

Like the previous session, this one lasted about 1.5 hours. The participants sat around large tables, and we went through the posters with collages of photos by theme. The first theme was education. I started with k-12 education, and the pictures of the elementary, middle, and high schools, asking the participants what they see in the photos, and what the photographs mean to them. They picked up that there were never any instances of Creole, while the schools all had signs in English and Spanish. The participants who had children attending the schools talked about sending their children to school but not knowing what was happening with their children in the buildings.

The discussions continued with adult education, work, community services, governance, and Haitian buildings. Looking at the photographs in this way was emotional for the participants. One responded, "To put it in one word, it's like EXCLUSION. It's almost everywhere. It's not only one sign, it's the whole community. So that's a way to say that our community is not in it. We are excluded." This quote illustrates the utility of the photographs to represent the lived experience of the Haitian participants. It also highlighted the ways in which seeing the city through the static images validated their experiences and isolation.

The last poster that was discussed with the participants was an attempt to show positive aspects of Haitian representation in the community. The previous sessions had shown a high level of emotional labor asked of the participants, and as the participants indicated, the images taken from the community were illustrative of the systematic exclusion of the Haitian community. The final images were of businesses that were either owned by or catered to the Haitian population. In the image below, the "Aytian" bakery was particularly noteworthy to me, as a researcher, because it represented specifically Haitian interests and Haitian ownership. The Caribbean Supermarket would also cater to the Haitian population, but it was not exclusively Haitian, and did not include Haiti in the title or logo. Another reason that the "Aytian" bakery stood out was because of the nonstandard spelling of Haitian. I thought this was evidence of resistance against white understanding of the Haitian people and pride in heritage. When asking the participants about the significance of these stores and the spelling of "Aytian," there was little evidence of positive associations because of the businesses. They merely said that

"Aytian" was representative of the traditional spelling. The attempt to elicit positive comments about these businesses fell flat.

Figure 2: Haitian-owned businesses

Session 5

In the final focus group session, 22 people attended. Some who had been in the first two sessions but not in 3 or 4 returned to this one. In this session, I had produced bilingual booklets with an overview of the project, the preliminary findings based on the first four focus group sessions, and some recommendations. These were printed out, and I took enough copies for one booklet to be distributed to each of the participants. In this way, I hoped that the participants would walk away from the session with something tangible to mark their work and efforts meeting with me so many times. I also served food at this

session, following the same principles of bringing enough for participants to share with their families and other members of the congregation.

Another purpose for the booklets and preliminary review of the data as well as practical recommendations for moving forward was to share my interpretation, synthesis, and analysis of their stories, giving them an opportunity to expand on, clarify, or change their previous statements. In this way, the participants would be able to check that I had heard their stories correctly, and that the interpretations that had been made across languages had stayed true to the original meanings. Reviewing the preliminary findings with the participants provided an opportunity for them to evaluate my outsider's assessment of their context and capabilities. Finally, this led to a presentation of suggestions for interventions that arose with the participants' guidance.

County Leader Interviews

After completing the five focus group sessions with the participants, the results were refined to include their assessment and elaboration. The preliminary results document was amended to include demographic information about the Haitian population in Immokalee using the 2015 American Community Survey data and presented in two meetings. The first meeting was with a county employee who is from Immokalee and works for the Community Redevelopment Program, which is currently working to revive Immokalee and address the "blight" which the commissioners have categorized the city. This employee is Haitian, he emigrated to Immokalee from Haiti when he was in high school, graduated from Immokalee High School, and has earned a 4-year degree from a state university in Florida. He returned to Immokalee and is working to improve Immokalee. This meeting lasted an hour and a half. The second meeting to discuss the

results and potential application of the findings was with the elected county commissioner of district 5, which included Immokalee.

These meetings with county officials were set weeks earlier, and the participants of the study from Immokalee were invited to attend. Three participants attended the meeting with the county employee, and two attended the meeting with the commissioner. The meeting with the county employee was recorded in order to be transcribed and used as a source of information of the overall background and context of the broader community. The county commissioner did not agree to a recording of the meeting, so notes were taken during the discussion, and field notes were added in the car after the meeting had concluded.

The project initially intended to complete a photovoice methodology, and one of the key elements of photovoice is interaction with the broader community in order to disseminate the stories and experiences of the participants with members of the broader community in order to stimulate discussion and raise awareness of vulnerable groups (Wang and Burris 1997; Brooks and Poudrier 2014). When the method of using participants' photos to illustrate the structural limitations of the Haitian community to achieve their abilities had to be modified, then the traditionally accepted method of disseminating the information also had to change. Failure to disseminate the information was not an option, as one of the key values of participatory methodology is to avoid exploitation of the participants leaving the community with benefit from the research, by using the information to stimulate awareness among those who have more social and cultural capital. In this case, the meetings with the community leaders was selected as a

way to merge the bottom-up approach of data collection with a top-down method of influencing public policy.

Methods Conclusion

To conclude the discussion of data collection in the field, the research design had to be amended from the dissertation proposal at almost every stage in order to address the requirements and realities of the participants in both Naples and Immokalee. The work in Naples was only marginally successful. In order to better penetrate this community, more time is needed. Having a deeper connection to the community members and establishing trust would be instrumental in reaching this population. Profound levels of vulnerability due to current immigration policies as well as institutionalized racism were understandable barriers toward my access to the population. The social facts of institutional racism and vulnerability because of ICE explain the hesitancy of the community in Naples to want to participate in the project. The work in Immokalee was more successful because there was a stronger connection between the key informant and the research participants. The trust coming from many years of association was leveraged in achieving the level of cultural penetration missed in Naples.

Even with the successful recruitment of the Haitian participants in Immokalee, the research design was amended by the participants themselves. One way this occurred was in the translation of the questionnaire that I was planning to use to know the participants at a personal level. This structured questionnaire was written, and approved by IRB, to attain demographic information about the participants. Questions on the survey were looking for information such as number of years in the USA, level of comfort communicating in English, placement in the labor market, age, family situation, and

marital status. This instrument was given to the translators along with the letter describing the project and the forms used to obtain informed consent. The translators, members of the research population, did not say anything to me about the survey instrument. When they gave me the documents which had been translated, they simply did not translate the questionnaire. Because this was early in the process, I did not question the omission of the survey instrument. I determined that not translating it was a polite way of indicating that the questions were too intrusive; instead, I merely expressed gratitude for their hard work. I remain grateful that they were willing to trust me enough to continue to work with me and help me to adapt the project to better engage the participants.

Other adaptations to the original project have already been addressed. The men were included at every stage, so the project did not focus on women. Even when I suggested that the focus groups be segregated by gender, both the men and the women expressed comfort in the mixed groups. Only one participant submitted original photographs, others did not submit any or submitted images they had taken from google. This represented another change in the methodology, as I then had to take the photographs to utilize in the photo-elicitation sessions. Finally, because the photographs came from me, rather than the participants, the photovoice event which included the broader community did not occur. Instead, I met with county officials to disseminate the findings to the broader community in that way. Participants were invited to attend those meetings, providing an opportunity for inclusion in the governance of the wider community.

In short, the final project looked substantially different from the original one. These innovations, however, remained true to the fundamental principles and values guiding participatory action research in that the process was just as important as the final outcome of the project (Kindon, Pain, and Kesby 2007). As such, the participants were instrumental in every process of the research project. They directed the methods employed in the data collection for the research project, were instrumental in constructing the analysis of their community, and were included in the broader dissemination of the results with the wider members of the community for the purpose of influencing policy to better include the Haitian population.

Several limitations were experienced in the overall data collection process. Particularly, lack of proficiency in Haitian Creole by the researcher meant that much of the information that was uncovered in the focus group sessions was filtered out by the translators. Particularly in focus group session 2, participants were working in small groups to address the questions, and one member of each group was taking notes in Haitian Creole. When comparing the amount of discussion occurring in Haitian Creole with the amount of writing that was being placed on the papers, there was much evidence of lost data. On one sense, this was problematic because the data was a major purpose of the sessions. But on the other hand, this represented another evidence of empowering of the population because they were able to be deliberate in filtering what they communicated and what they omitted from the researchers' gaze.

Another limitation in the focus groups was the depth to which the participants would allow me to penetrate their spaces. While I was welcome in the churches, I was never welcomed into their homes. In fact, housing was a topic that seemed to be taboo.

Whenever I would begin to address this topic, they would change the topic or not answer at all. In looking at social stratification and poverty, housing is a key factor (Kerbo, 2009), yet I was unable to gain information about this part of the participants' lives. Further research and development of relationships is necessary if questions of housing will be able to be addressed with the Haitian population.

Chapter 3: Literature, Qualitative Data, and Discussion

> The naïve question of the power of words is logically implicated in the initial suppression of the uses of language and therefore of the social conditions of which words are employed. As soon as one treats language as an autonomous object accepting the radical separation which Saussure made between internal and external linguistics, between the science of language and the science of the social uses of language one is condemned to looking inwards for the power of words, that is, looking for where it is not to be found (Bourdieu, 1991: 107).

Language as a Marker of Difference: A Review of Theoretical Literature

In *Language and Symbolic Power,* Pierre Bourdieu firmly situates language in the social. In this frame, any attempt to understand the distributions of power and resources, must account for the ways in which languages are employed and the social impact that comes with the suppression of some languages and the proliferation of others. In this, the connection between language and power is not, as the quote above illustrates, in the words themselves. Rather, the social power of words is in determining who is to speak and who is to be kept silent along with the methods employed in the structuring of these patterns. Sociological discussion of language moves toward the intellectual as language is everywhere but it is also nowhere. The claim that language is nowhere is not a claim of the irrelevance of language, rather its invisibility. Native facility with the dominant dialect is a tacit privilege for those born into it. This dissertation will argue, and attempt to demonstrate, mechanisms by which language is used as a tool of domination and differentiation.

Bourdieu discusses the differences between looking externally and internally into language, this project will focus on the external use of language. That is, the ways in which language connects with other markers of identity to influence the social outcomes of people groups. In this treatment of the social use of language as differentiation, a foundational claim is that language is a topic relevant for sociological inquiry. Leaving language to the purview of the linguists is insufficient just as if discussions of class were left to the economists. This is not to disregard the disciplines of linguistics or economics, rather it highlights the contributions that sociological theory makes to these themes. Just as the sociological imagination has much to add to the understanding of social differences along material lines, so it does along verbal ones. This was a claim of Bourdieu's in his later work, and although it is not commonly found in the current academic literature, it is the claim of this project.

Bourdieu is not the only social theorist interested in the connection between language and society. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) argued that language is a pivotal aspect of organizing the various stocks of knowledge used in the social construction of reality. Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who first brought the concept of hegemony, and Michael Foucault, whose criticism of power has been used across the discipline in many different arguments, both used language as fundamental aspects of understanding the social world. In Gramsci's writing, as with Bourdieu, the power of language was viewed both internally and externally. He presented the notion that language was connected to thought (a concept further explored by linguists Sapir and Whorf in the development of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis); within any language was a concept of a world. By imposing a language, the epistemic ways of knowing

encapsulated by that language were also imposed (Ives 1994). This connection between episTemes and discourse is also highlighted in Foucault's Archeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language (1972), in which the language connects to dominance and discourse based on grammatical, structural linguistics which arbitrarily privileges some people and deprivileges others. In doing this, Foucault was criticizing Chomsky's grammatical linguistics which looked at surface and deep structures and had revolutionized the field of linguistics at the time that Archeology was written. The salient point of Foucault's argument for this paper is that such ranking is arbitrary because linguists have long contended that all languages and dialects are equally rule-based, complex, useful for expressing complex ideas (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007). Thus, any hierarchy of status afforded one language will be a socially constructed scale rather than based on any features endemic to the language itself. In *Social Semiotics*, Bob Hodge (2016) makes an argument similar to Foucault's which links Chomskian, structural linguistics to Marx's notions of structure and superstructure based on social class.

The connection between Marx and linguistics has been theorized by several in a discussion of language and ideology which are similar to the work of Foucault and discourse mentioned earlier. From the Foucauldian and Whorfian paradigms, language serves a deterministic function on society, shaping it by nature of the ways in which a language constructs the world (Holborow 2006; Phillips 1992). For example, application of this idea would look at the Spanish word *esposa* which is translated into both wife and handcuff while the masculine *esposo* does not refer to a restraint, and is also not commonly used to refer to a husband. Thus, by applying the Foucauldian perspective of

the power of discourse over society, it could be explained that Spanish's treatment of gender and restraint in the feminized *esposa* would serve to reproduce gender-based biases and inequalities. Of course, English also contains internal patriarchal patterns. Take, for example, the worlds "master" and "mistress" or "wizard" and "witch". In these cases, the masculinized forms express strength, power, and increased social status. They are all words with positive connotations. The feminized forms of the words, however, indicate lack of social status and illegitimate behavior. These are words with negative connotations. From this internal perspective, language is viewed as a deeply tacit source of reproduction of inequalities, for as children acquire a language, they are also acquiring the hegemonic structural ideologies contained by that language.

Opponents to the idea of language as internal hegemony view the notion as being overly deterministic and structural (Holborow 2006). If thoughts occur in the medium of a language, and that language implicitly structures the ideas, people could never escape the ideas of the languages they know. Marx and Engals argued the material, social influence on language, that the material concerns and interactions between people and people groups structured language.

> The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behavior. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc. of a people. Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc. -- real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms (Marx and Engals 1968: 9).

The perspective on language provided by Marx and Engels illustrates the nature of the social in the ways in which language interacts with people. In this, the material needs of actors will influence the ways in which language is constructed and impact how linguistic discourses develop.

The question of whether languages influence society or whether society determines the language quickly devolves into a chicken and egg argument. In one case, it is clear that languages serve the needs of the dominant group. On the other hand, it is also clear that people are exposed to linguistic dispositions from birth, and those dispositions will influence how people perceive the world. It is in the crux of this argument that the discipline of sociology can perhaps inform the discussion of language in the reproduction of social norms. The work of Pierre Bourdieu addressed the dichotomy of determinism/constructivism across the social world. While he did not fully conceptualize how this binary can be addressed, Bourdieu's theoretical framework of field, habitus, and capital presents a context which accounts for both sides of the argument (Collins 1993). Bourdieu is also relevant to the present discussion in that he was interested, sociologically, in the role that language played in the reproduction of inequalities. Thus, his ideas provide a starting point in understanding the situation of the Haitian community in Immokalee in that they apply to the ways in which language served as a form of structural disposition to oppression of the people and the ways in which the people have internalized this habitus. This project will also explore specific areas of resistance to the dominant habitus, further exemplifying the problematic nature of structure and agency in binary opposition to one another.

One key problem with much of the scholarship on linguistics and the social construction of reality is that it leans towards the theoretical, tending to fall into the sticky trap of intellectualism, something that Bourdieu himself, argued against (1993). The present project seeks to avoid intellectualism by providing evidence of the ways in which the social has been infused into the linguistic (and vice versa). By drawing on a wide array of thinkers, but staying close to a Bourdeusian analysis, it will hopefully demonstrate that the relationship between language and power is dialectical and recursive. Because it is grounded in research and evidence from a specific population, it is hoped that the relevance of investigating the functional role language in questioning social structures and personal agency with an emphasis on economic inequality will be shown. Sociologists have a perspective on the role of language in the construction of reality that is often missing from the wider conversations of the field, but perhaps needlessly so.

Language as Difference for the Haitian Population

In discussing the situation of the Haitian residents living in South West Florida, language arises repeatedly as the primary area of concern requiring intervention in the pursuit of equality and community development. In conversations of the need for language support with members of the community who are not Haitian, and when looking at the reported indicators of the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), this is presented in terms primarily surrounding the acquisition of English. Indeed, the ACS counts residents in terms of their acquisition of English. They are categorized by their level of proficiency in the Standard American dialect of English using terms such as highly proficient, somewhat proficient, et al.

These terms present a problematic understanding of the Haitian situation in SW Florida in two key areas. First, language proficiency is a multifaceted function of various distinct yet interrelated language skills, so categorizing the language proficiency of the Haitian population needs to account for the different levels and capabilities of attaining these skills. Secondly, presenting the capability of the Haitian community in a binary lens which focuses on English and Creole fails to fully capture the complexity of the linguistic habitus within the community and available (or necessary) capitals of the local population. English, Creole, Spanish, and French are all occurring in this context. As one native-Creole-speaking participant named Thomas said to his Spanish-speaking coworkers, "If you're going to insult me, you're going to have to find a different language. Don't do it in French, because I know that. Don't do it in English, because I know that. And you can't do it in Spanish, because I know that too." He reported this in the context of being subjected to verbal abuse in the workplace in which his coworkers were using Spanish as a means of speaking negatively about him due to his status as a Haitian. They did not realize that he was able to speak their language as well as his. That Thomas is fully multilingual and this is not viewed as a form of capital that would help him to earn higher positions in the workforce, is evidence that language is not sufficient for explaining why the Haitians are at the bottom of the workforce. Just reporting on the level of English proficiency that a Haitian community member has attained is not sufficient for explaining her or his place in the overall social structure.

The first problem of the simplistic understanding of the language ability of the population presented by the Census Bureau fails to account for different skills within a

language; speaking, listening, reading and writing. Distinguishing between the different language skills is necessary for understanding the capabilities of a population because they point to different sets of abilities (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams 2007). For example, proficiency in reading a language does not equate to proficiency in speaking or hearing a language. Furthermore, as Lightbown and Spada, applied linguists focusing on language acquisition have shown (2013), language skills are acquired at different rates. Being able to speak a language does not equate to being literate in a language, and the level of literacy in the primary language will affect the attainment of literacy in the new language (Cummins, 1998). In their research into immigrants in Canada, Ferrer, Green, and Riddell (2006) found that level of literacy in the native language were correlated with later earnings in Canada. While this finding cannot argue a direct causal relationship between literacy in one setting and higher earnings in another linguistic milieu, research has shown that that acquisition of literacy skills in the native language will ease the acquisition of literacy skills in a target language after immigration (Herrera, Perez, and Escamilla 2011). This understanding of applied linguistics applies to a sociological explanation of the capitals and capabilities of the Haitian population in South West Florida in that a sociological analysis of the field/habitus needs to be able to distinguish between the social and cultural capitals held by an assumed literate population (in any language) and those of a people whose exposure to a printed language cannot be assumed.

In the earliest encounters with the Haitian population, I sent around a sign-up sheet to have interested potential participants provide their contact information for the purpose of following up with them for discussions of the research project, obtain consent

to participate, and to arrange focus group meetings. The sign-in sheet was written bilingually, in English and Creole, but 5 of those first 15 potential participants significantly struggled to write their own names (much less a pseudonym). Illiteracy was a characteristic primarily seen in the senior members of the group, in their sixties and above. Critical reflection on the difficulty of the task of writing a name in comparison to the assumption that obtaining a list of names was something simple for the participants highlights the depth to which literacy is embedded in the habitus of a situation. The etic assumptions of universal adult literacy in any language remained one of the primary shifts in how I began to think about the situation of the Haitian population in South West Florida.

Analysis of the dominant habitus of South West Florida illustrates that the failure to account for literacy in any language and the assumption that bilingualism equates to biliteracy. Adult programs for education focus on English education, as evidenced by the course offerings in the local technical school. These assume that basic literacy skills are present, an assumption which brackets out those potential students who have not learned how to code or decode written forms of language. Services which provide the members of the Haitian community with access to written language in Creole is absent. One of the Haitian community leaders who was participating in the research project in a variety of ways (providing data, making connections in the community, as well as translating conversations and focus group sessions) discussed literacy rates among the members of the Haitian population living in the region. He believes that one of the first areas of support needed by the community is the development of literacy skills in Haitian Creole. His belief is supported by the literacy transfer theory of applied linguistics developed by

Jim Cummins (2001) which indicates that literacy skills transfer across languages; consequently, when literacy is taught in the dominant language, this will not hinder its acquisition in the new language.

While adult education focusing on training Haitian Creole literacy skills would be optimum, as identified by the local population as well as supported by research into applied linguistics, it is unsurprising that these options do not exist in the community. As Bourdieu notes, languages occur in a market place, and as such they have market values. Those languages which constitute marketable skills, that is, skills which can be used in the workplace, are then locally legitimated, and thus would be supported with social structures in terms of policy and allocation of resources (1990, 51). As Haitian Creole is not a locally legitimated language, it does not have a place in the linguistic market. Policies and services to support the acquisition of literacy skills in that language are missing because they are viewed as being unimportant for the overall functioning of the individual with the wider (non-Creole-speaking) community. The focus group discussions revealed other examples of the deligitimation of Haitian Creole as a viable choice for speaking in public settings, a discussion which will be explored in the section on workplace.

In theoretically understanding the place that English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole have in Immokalee and the reaction of the Haitian Americans living there to these roles, it is important to draw on the ideas of Gramsci and linguistic hegemony. For Bourdieu, the connection to markets and policy are important for understanding the role of language and power (Borudieu and Thompson 1991). Bourdieu also extended his analysis by positing that the acceptance of a dominant, standard form of a language and the

inferiority of a native language (or dialect) would constitute symbolic violence (May 2008). This symbolic violence was explicitly evidenced in the research by one participant named Jeanne who stated that "I can speak Creole, but the English language is an obstacle for me. The racist people is another obstacle. I feel humiliated because I don't speak the language and because I am black." This quote provides support for the assertion of the internalization of the dominance of English as well as a corresponding internalization of the inferiority of Haitian Creole. What is particularly striking is that it also indicates that languages do not exist in social vacuum, irrelevant to broader sociological analysis as the participant links her language with her race. By being the object of public scorn due to her language, Jeanne also expressed shame at her racial category. She expressed that when her language was scorned, she had internalized both ridicule of her language and her blackness. In this, the language itself is racialized. The indelible connection between language and racial identity are apparent.

In accepting that English is dominant, and legitimating ridicule for her lack of English, Jeanne illustrates ways in which English has become hegemonic for the Haitian American population in Immokalee. Gramsci, a Marxist thinker, used the related notion of linguistic hegemony to describe the phenomenon of internalization of a powerful language. Gramsci's linguistic hegemony is a concept worthy of mentioning as he explored the nature of language and thought. For Gramsci, in a language "there is contained a specific conception of the world" (Ives, 2004: 82). Consequently, a language is a hegemonic way of viewing the world. This combination of language and ideas helps to explain the processes by which language and ideas work together with the Haitian Americans like Jeanne to privilege English and delegitamate Haitian Creole. If English

has been used, as in this case, as weaponized language of ridicule, and if Jeanne accepts that ridicule as legitimate, then she is reinforcing the hegemony of English and accepting not only the expressed inferiority of her language, but also of herself and her identity. Even though the participants expressed acceptance of hegemonic English, they did not accept power of every language that occupied a dominant position in Immokalee.

In addition to looking at the interrelatedness of developing literacy in Creole along with the different skills of English, the research project highlighted the insufficiency of understanding the linguistic field of the community in South West Florida in binary linguistic paradigm of native language and English. The multiplicity of languages to be included in an analysis of the linguistic capitals held by the Haitian population along with those valued within the field of Immokalee include Spanish, English, French, and Haitian Creole. As 67% of the population of the area are native or heritage Spanish speakers, this language becomes one of increasing importance in an analysis of the structure of the field as well as those dispositions that are embodied by the habitus within the field (Census 2015). In an understanding of the social field of Immokalee, and the conceptualizations of capitals which privilege some actors while disprivileging others, the power of Spanish is of particular importance. While the Haitian population has internalized a need for English, much of the conflict reported was in the area of Spanish and the privileging of Spanish speakers over those who spoke Haitian Creole.

In looking at the field of Immokalee, the discussion of the conflict between Spanish and Creole was evident in many aspects of the social structure. Education, law enforcement, job opportunities, and health care services were all affected by the ability of

the different agents in this field to speak Spanish or Creole. Of particular interest, the hegemony of English was not questioned by the research participants. They internalized and accepted that English was a necessary and legitimate form of social ranking. The intrusion of Spanish, however, was keenly felt. One example was when a participant stated, "I understand if we can't speak Creole to each other, but then the Spanish speakers should not be able to speak Spanish to each other also. If we must speak English, so should they." This was in the context of the workplace. In this context, language is specifically used to police and silence a particular group of people. Other groups are not silenced. And the legitimated language is not confined to English. Spanish is also legitimated. Examples like this were present in the data in various sectors of the workforce. Participants reported this language policing in the agricultural industry, and service industry work in retirement homes and restaurants.

Systematic use of Spanish in the privileging of Spanish speakers over Creole speakers arose in the area of adult education as well as in the workplace. In discussing the adult education programs available at i-Tech, multiple participants presented the ways in which classroom assistance was not available to Creole speakers. "Even though there are mostly Haitian students in the class, we were not allowed to use Haitian to help understand the information. The Spanish speakers, however, could get explanations of the material in Spanish." In this quote, the students were expressing frustration that they could not receive the academic support necessary to understand the content of their English classes. That the teachers could not speak Haitian Creole is neither of surprise nor concern. But that the students could not discuss the content of the class using each other as resources to help make the material comprehensible, is of greater concern.

Added to this was that the students indicated the minority number in the class were Spanish speakers, and these Spanish speakers were able to have material and information explained in their native language. This example presents support for the ways in which Spanish is privileged above Creole in the stratification of Immokalee's institutions.

Both in the workplace and in the adult education programs, the participants faced a form of language policing which served to stifle their voices and privilege the speakers of other languages. Language policing is the defined by Blommaert, et al. (2009) as "the production of 'order'—normatively organized and policed conduct—which is infinitely detailed and regulated by a variety of actors." Using this idea, speaking Creole is deemed disordered, and contrary to the overall function of society. Consequently, those who are in power, whether managers at work or teachers in adult education classrooms, bracket Creole out of the fields under their control, effectively silencing those actors who are Creole speakers. Whether in the workplace or the classroom, this muting of Haitian voices expels them from the construction of knowledge or processes of accomplishing their tasks. The Creole-speaking Haitian workers cannot talk with each other when they are silenced, and they cannot coordinate their action. Likewise, for those who are trying to learn English, if they cannot ask questions in their language, and construct the learning, it will be inaccessible to them. By juxtaposing the silencing of the Haitian members of the job force and classroom with the support of the Spanish speakers, the supervisors and teachers are actively reproducing a system which will provide the Spanish speaking community members with more resources and increased personal agency.

The field analysis is relevant in the context of language policing, as the embodiment of dispositions legitimates the use of Spanish, and consequently, those who speak Spanish, while deeming those who speak Haitian Creole as an unworthy of assistance and coordinated action. In this habitus, Spanish is a linguistic capital that can be utilized to accomplish tasks and acquire English, which Creole is not a form of capital that is legitimate to use in the acquisition of knowledge. In trying to understand the reasoning for the silencing of Creole voices, it is assumed that there is a perception of disorder to accompany use of a language that those in positional authority do not understand. This is contrary to the postmodern idea that sees a positive function in a multiplicity of languages and variety of paths to task completion and knowledge acquisition (Blommaert, et al. 2009).

A postmodern view of language which allows for a variety of languages to be used interrelatedly for the overall functioning of the society was clearly present in the times in which the Haitian population met as a group. Because the Haitian population are a linguistically diverse group, their linguistic skills are varied by a number of factors, including age of the individual at immigration, era within which the individual was educated in Haiti, as well as social class and access to education in Haiti. Those research participants who came from Haiti at young ages, during high school or before, were the most successful English speakers. The research project did not formally test language skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking), however, one research participant was currently working on a Bachelor's degree and another had successfully completed a Bachelor's degree, so it is assumed that strong reading and writing skills in English were present. One of these participants, however, had been educated in Haiti until high school,

at which time he emigrated to the USA. He attended school in Haiti during an era in which all public education took place in French, and reported being fully literate in French and English, able to speak Creole, but uncomfortable reading and writing that language. Studies into this era of Haitian education indicate that these policies serve to strengthen the social stratification system of Haiti, further separating native Creole speakers at the lower ends of the socioeconomic spectrum from access to information and knowledge as they did not have the resources to attend school and become literate in French (Marcellin 2005).

Younger immigrants from Haiti who came to the USA in their early 20's and were still in their early 20's at the time of the research, however, did exhibit literacy skills in Haitian Creole. Three of the research participants fit this demographic. These young men (they were all men) preferred speaking in Creole and expressed a desire for access to reading materials in Haitian Creole. While these research participants seemed to have a working knowledge of French based on conversations, they did not seem to prefer to read and write in French in the same ways as the older participants who were literate when they came from Haiti did.

All in all, there was a great deal of variety in the linguistic abilities of the Haitian population that was studied. People spoke with varying levels of fluency and literacy in Haitian Creole, French, Spanish, and English. When immersed in Haitian spaces, evidence of these different languages always working together was on display. In the churches, for example, the powerpoint slides that directed the music and much of the information from the services and sermons, would vary from Creole, to French, to English, and back to Creole again. There was not a discernable pattern about what

information would be available in which language, and no single piece of information was ever provided in written form in all three languages. Primarily, the written information would be in one of the three languages, while the spoken language from the podium would be in Haitian Creole. When walking around and interacting with the population, Creole and English were highly evident. The three languages seemed to be working in tandem with each other in order to complete the relevant tasks. This pattern was evident in both of the sites that the researcher conducted observations and interviews. Thus Haitian-controlled spaces were characterized by linguistic complexity and a willingness to accommodate the needs of people with diverse skill sets.

As previously mentioned, Spanish is also an important area of discussion when exploring the context of the Haitian population in South West Florida. Because Haiti and the Dominican Republic share an island, there is a transfer of language across the border between the two countries (Dubois 2013). Likewise, 67% of the population of Immokalee are native or heritage Spanish speakers. As a result of these factors three of the respondents reported that ability to speak Spanish was a part of their skill set, but not one that they were typically open about when interacting with native Spanish speakers. Other respondents indicated that research into the broader Haitian community would reveal that most of the population has some level of ability to communicate in the language, yet this seems to be focused on oral skills and there is no way of confirming these assessments.

Language and Race in Economic Marginalization-Literature

Using the notion of the ways in which language is socially constructed to serve the material needs of the dominant as alluded to by Marx, Gramsci, Foucault, and Bourdieu, the social construction of language parallels the ways in which race is socially

constructed. Just as linguists find lack of superiority in any language, biologists contend that human genetics might provide markers for different skin color or eye color, but there is no "race gene" which assigns more positive attributes or abilities to one group of people over another in terms of biological characteristics. As such, the social differences that are observable along lines of race and ethnicity are ones to serve the interests of the dominant groups at the expense of the subordinate. Perhaps it is not sufficient to think of the construction of race and language as purely separate entities, instead the present research project will attempt to demonstrate the ways in which race and language are intersectionally related, how both are used to privilege groups and disadvantage others. Furthermore, just as the discipline of sociology has not relegated race studies to the biologists, finding that race is a central aspect of understanding the social world, language should also not be left solely to the purview of linguists.

One argument could be made that the work of sociolinguistics would well fit with the type of sociological treatment of language for which I am arguing. As Donaldo Macedo, et al. have argued in *Hegemony of English* (2003), with notable exceptions, sociolinguistics has largely been silent on the structural inequalities that arise in society due to differences in language. Consequently, there is room for renewed and continued sociological investigation into the consequences of language on the wider social structure. Such research can potentially illuminate ways in which language works to influence who is winning and who is losing in a society. One benefit of this type of inquiry is that language is largely empirical. Observable differences exist in how people groups are treated based on language in addition to race, social class, and gender. As mentioned previously, the Census counts people based on language ability. The

languages that are present in any given field can be distinguished in very clear ways, based on what is written and spoken in any given situation. It is the contention of this project that inequalities based on language and inequalities based on race are inherently intertwined. And the effects of these inequalities are widely felt.

Literature into symbolic violence against racialized groups shows that language is a venue through which this violence occurs. In looking at Mexican immigrants in an elementary school, Shannon and Escamilla (1999) found that the racialization of immigrants from Mexico occurred in both practice between teachers and students as well as school policy. In this study, teachers would punish Mexican children when using Spanish terms, make negative identity statements about people of Mexican decent, and uphold language policies that served to silence the Mexican children. All of these behaviors were enacted through the establishment of coded speech in English that connected Mexican identities with undesirable characteristics. Inquiry into racial inequality reveals a connection between racial outcomes and economic market forces. This was clearly found in the work of Gillian Cowlishaw (1999) who wrote about the epistemic differences between the Aboriginals and the Whites. While the former were community-oriented, the latter were economically-oriented. In the context of dominance, money won.

This same process can be observed in the construction of racial difference in California (Almaguer, 1994). In this comparative historical case study, the stratification of ethnicities is explained through the dual processes of racism and maintenance of economic dominance through free labor practices by Whites. These processes functioned recursively, each supporting and feeding the other. In his research, Tomás Almaguer

deduced that neither racism nor economic dominance are sufficient for explaining the construction of stratification along racial lines. Instead, they worked together. The deep belief held by Whites that they were ethnically superior to other races fed and supported the material inequalities along racial lines, and simultaneously the quest to maintain a free market system intensified the social construction of differences based on race. Consequently, in this study, a theory emerges highlighting the connection between race and market dominance.

This same pattern can be observed in the wake of the Exxon Valdez disaster. The blind assumption that an influx of economic capital could solve the problem of the oil spill clashed with indigenous epistemologies in the aftermath of the disaster. And while this is popularly remembered as an ecological disaster, it could be argued that there was more than nature destroyed. The way of life and knowing of the indigenous populations of Prince William Sound were decimated. The only recourse that Exxon could imagine was economic. They flooded the area with money to try and alleviate the ecological problem of the oil spill. And the money was just as disastrous to the social ecology as the spilled petroleum (Dyer 2002). Disaster is not necessary for a clash between corporate interests and indigenous livelihood. Several groups of First Nations in southern Ontario live in areas downstream from large industrial and agricultural organizations. Cumulative effects of the energy extraction as well as industrial and agricultural activity has resulted in contaminated water sources. Dredging, agricultural waste, and chemical spills have ruined the sacred water supply necessary for the continuation of both sacred ritual as well as everyday livelihood, in that the water downstream is no longer potable. In his analysis, Mascarenhas (2007) finds that in each case, Canada's policies that favor privatization and

free markets have reduced regulatory oversight and monitoring. In setting the national policies, the voices of tribal elders were not consulted in any meaningful way. Like with the population of immigrants in Immokalee, regulation systematically excludes the minority groups and favors the majority. This is directly linked to economic capital and preserving dominance of the majority groups for the maintenance of the status quo.

The clash of mainstream policy and the livelihood of people of color is not limited to indigenous populations and ecological outcomes. This conflict is ubiquitous and almost hidden. One facet of international racism that has been linked with the neoliberal agenda is the discourse of color-blindness (Valdez 2015). In this, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2002) categorizes four elements of color-blind discourse:

> "(1) the extension of the principles of liberalism to racial matters in an abstract manner, (2) cultural rather than biological explanation of minorities' inferior standing and performance in labor and educational markets, (3) naturalization of racial phenomena such as residential and school segregation, and (4) the claim that discrimination has all but disappeared" (42).

These discursive moves share strikingly similar themes with the dominant agenda that establishes and maintains language markets. Both valorize a competitive, meritocratic system which obscures race and difference while asserting equality and denying the relevance of structural injustice. This is similar to the findings of the historical construction of the racial segregation of California (Almaguer 1994). As in that case, it is impossible to disentangle economic and racial dominance and establish a temporal causal relationship. An attempt to do so will deteriorate into a nature and nurture argument. Instead, racism and economic domination can be seen as recursive processes, each feeding and supporting the other in a declining slope towards dominance and various forms of poverty.

One way of conceptualizing race and the economic order moves away from analysis of unequal outcomes based on race and instead focuses on how structures are "fundamentally raced and actively produce racialized bodies" (Roberts and Mahtani, 2010: 248). In this race and the economic system are co-constructed for the benefit of the dominant. In this study, Roberts and Mahtani looked at how Canadian newspapers discursively constructed race in market-oriented approaches to immigration. To this end, the news sources utilized language that framed immigrants as both a benefit to the economy while also constructing them as "not-quite-Canadian" (252). This othering is present in the media sources as well as policies such as those which de-legitimize foreign credentials, forcing the new Canadians to assume unskilled positions regardless of their areas of competence and training. In this study, as in others, the color-blind discourses which focused on meritocracy abound. Of particular salience, however, is the notion that the racism is not solely present in the historical origins nor is it only observable in the unequal outcomes. Instead, the racism and material exclusion are constantly co-constructing each other. In this, it is not too dissimilar to incorporate a discussion of language markets, as presented by Bourdieu (1991) into the market orientation of race. In this, color blind racism as a method of exclusion can link with language to show the way that language acts as a legitimating notion of color-blind racism.

Even outside the color-blind discourse and language market exclusion, academic literature is rife with examples of this relationship between economic domination and racial inequality. Cowlishaw (1999) noted it in her studies of Rembarrnga in Australia. In this situation, the Australian Aboriginal cultures were systematically and deliberately marginalized in an effort to control the land and resources. The preeminence of economic

market concerns over the claims of the people in regards to the land and their livelihood interacted with racialized ideology to marginalize those indigenous to Australia. The convoluted relationship between economic dominance and overt racism is also present in discussions of Canadian newcomers of color who disproportionately fulfill hazardous occupations and earn lower wages. This labor exploitation is directly linked to powerful corporations who lobby the Canadian government in an effort to maintain the deregulation necessary to maintain status quo (Syed 2016). In the United States, Dorothy Roberts (2014) explores how race, class, and gender intersect in policy in an extreme downward cycle. As poor African American neighborhoods have lost state support due to policies which favor the dominant, this loss of support sometimes results in structural inability to adequately care for children. Privatized companies, subsidized by state funds, then come in under the welfare system to "help" the families in a manner that increases the surveillance and dehumanization of the mothers. That this cycle disproportionately affects Black families further points to the inherent racism of the social agenda. Looking at similar structures in reverse, Stanford and Taylor (2013) demonstrate that welfare policies in Australia serve to reward Whiteness, punishing those with different ways of being and knowing. This translates into a welfare system that they refer to as "institutionalized White privilege" (478). In each of these cases, the connection between race and economic injustice under social policy cannot be denied.

The theoretical and empirical link between racial and economic inequalities has been clearly established. The sociological literature has been lees prominent in the integration of language within the intersections of race and class inequalities. Other disciplines have been quicker to look at the role of language in reproducing inequalities.

Education has long wrestled with these ideas, and the field of critical applied linguistics can be seen as being dedicated solely to this pursuit (Macedo, et al 1993). Likewise, work has been done in social geography which examines the relationship between language, race, and location in the distribution of material resources (Hunter and Hachimi 2012).

The discussion of the interaction between language race and exclusion is central to the present study. The Haitian American experience in Immokalee needs to be understood in terms of race, language, economic disadvantage. These three factors are not solely responsible for explaining the outcomes of the population, others like documentation status, (dis)ability, gender, and marital status are also influential in the outcomes of the Haitian population. Nevertheless, race/ethnicity, language, and class are the focus of this inquiry, and in many cases the outcomes of factors like differing levels of ability were the result of the position of the Haitian population in the racialized order. In the stories presented by the population, the identities of documentation status and disability were often determined by the language identity of individuals. All of these factors, and others, worked together to explain the outcomes of the population.

Language as "Colorblind Racism"

This project argues that sociologists have unique theoretical tools and perspectives to look at the role that language will play in the overarching structuring of a society and establishment of systematic stratifications of dominance and subordination. Just like race, language alone is insufficient to explain material inequalities. It is, however, very useful in understanding what techniques are used to exclude a racialized group in a way that is palatable to the dominant majority while maintaining the veneer of not being racist because these mechanisms proport to be constructed independently of

racial categories. In this argument, when the dominant groups use language as a means of exclusion, this places the blame on the newcomers for not yet learning the dominant tongue.

Drawing on the work of Eduardo Bonilla-Silva in *Racism without Racists* (2009), a popular definition of racism would be those perspectives that some people, like the KKK, have about the perceived inferiority of groups of people. Bonilla-Silva argues that this definition serves white supremacy in that it fails to account for the ways in which racism is systemic and structural. His argument is extended to conclude that all actors in a society (or social field as this work argues) have a place in the racial order, and they are either working to uphold that order or they are working to subvert it. This structural definition of racism is a better one in several key areas.

Bonilla-Silva describes a "racial habitus" in which the dispositions of a social field work to support the racial social order. This systemic view of racism accounts for the ways in which the different policies and procedures in a community produce and reproduce racially differentiated social outcomes. In this, the omission of Haitian Creole and the inclusion of Spanish alongside the English on the doors of service buildings serves to show how the structure of Immokalee is specifically excluding the Haitian population. Bonilla-Silva's definition of racial habitus is also beneficial for understanding the system of the county in that it does not have room for neutrality. While the omission of Haitian Creole from the doors of the buildings like the health services might not have been a conscious decision, it does reproduce the racial order in which European Whites are dominant, Hispanics are secondary, and the Haitian community is coming in at the end of the order.

One primary way in which reproduction of racialized inequalities is in the racist color-blind discourses used by dominant groups when employing oppressive policies and practices. By making the problem that the Haitian community faces about language rather than about the systemic omission of the community in policy, planning, or services, the racialized order is maintained while the Haitian community members themselves are blamed for their outcomes. As mentioned earlier, frequent reports were made indicating that "the trouble with the Haitians is the language." This statement is significant in that it acknowledges the exclusion of the Haitian population from the functioning of the greater community. By attributing language as the source of the trouble faced by the Haitians living in Immokalee, a veneer of fairness is maintained. In this, the people themselves or the skin color are not to blame for the inequalities. The system is presented as being something other than racialized. Rather, the language of the Haitian community is their barrier to success, and the fault for this exclusion is firmly situated on the Haitian population themselves.

In order to theoretically unpack the implications of attributing the Haitian "problem" to language, it is useful to revisit sociological theory with regards to language. When language is conceptualized, as by Bourdieu (1991), in market-based economic terms as a form of linguistic capital, then those who do not have the correct form of currency are at a distinct disadvantage. Languages, and the associated linguistic capitals that would be associated with them, are commonly perceived as forms of capital distinct from the social and cultural capitals ubiquitously found in current sociological analyses. Cultural capital, for Bourdieu (1986), cannot be fully separated from a person's position at birth, much of the acquisition of a cultural capital arises with the lifelong socialization

process, thus cultural capital combines characteristics of both attainment and ascription. Social capital, for Bourdieu, is associated with a person's social network and the connections made with others. In looking at critical race theory, cultural and social capitals have been used to illustrate ways in which the cultural norms associated with members of various racial categories are considered "inferior" forms of cultural capital (Yosso 2005). Under the discourses of color-blind racism, explicit statements to this effect could not be made because they would be too overtly racist, linking too directly to unequal attribution statements about different groups based on categories of race and ethnicity. This is where the employment of market processes using linguistic capital is useful to understand how racist systems are further institutionalized.

Linguistic capital is connected to cultural, social, and economic capital, but for Bourdieu (1991), it is a distinct category. Linguistic capital is not merely the languages that a person can speak, it also encompasses the dialect within a language, vocabulary, levels of linguistic abstraction, and other aspects of a language system. As such, linguistic capital can be analyzed based on different dialects within a specific language or as the valuations and opportunities available across different languages. In this, linguistic capital is understood as an empirical signifier of difference in which "the more linguistic capital that speakers possess, the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a *profit of distinction"* (18, emphasis original). While Bourdieu would have used this concept to analyze those with privileged forms of language capitals, negative effects of linguistic capitals can also be seen. Thus, the examples presented earlier of limitations in the job market or discrimination while working can be explained by the effects of negative forms of linguistic capitals.

It is necessary to discuss the ways in which linguistic capitals differ from cultural and social capitals. Common belief is that languages can be learned through hard work and study, as evidenced by the multi-billion-dollar industry of English as a Second Language/Foreign Language. In Immokalee, English language teaching for adults is institutionalized through the i-Tech, Immokalee Technical College school. This is the site of English education attended by most of the adults, those who are too old for the public, K-12 school system. Because the community does offer some form of adult English classes, there is a connection between language ability and hard work. This forms the justification for the use of linguistic capital as a marker for difference. Because classes are available, those who do not learn English are not doing sufficient work to learn the language. Or so the underlying belief of the dominant majority goes. This is separate from the attributions made by the dominant majority about the Haitian population on the basis of cultural or social capital, because those would not so overtly be stated in terms of achieved status versus attributed status. Both cultural and social status have elements of ascription that could not be employed by a dominant majority under the auspices of a colorblind racist discourse as justifying the inequalities of a category of people. Linguistic capital, however, is viewed as being achieved through hard work and study. In this, it is uniquely positioned to be used as a marker of justifiable difference. Common discourses surrounding language acquisition processes in immigrant newcomers involve statements like "learning a language" and "language barrier." These statements are each problematic in their own ways, and they both point to a specific form of colorblind racism. Discrimination on the basis of language would then be a legitimate way of saying who is worthy and who is unworthy based on language facility rather than race.

Legitimation has long been acknowledged by social stratification experts as a key mechanism of establishing and supporting a social order.

The idea of learning a language implies that those who do not have the language have just not worked hard enough to learn it. Talking about "learning" implies active work on the part of the learner. If someone has not learned something, it is usually assumed that they have not tried hard enough. Research into second language acquisition really calls this concept into question, as languages are commonly seen as being "acquired" in a social system rather than learned (Lightbown & Spada 2013; Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyamms 2007). The argument is that languages are not learned in isolation, they are absorbed and acquired in complex ways. This is clearly seen in the ways in which babies and young children develop their dominant language. A key concept here is that languages cannot be acquired without social interaction with a language community. Especially when looking at adult language acquisition, and more learning processes are involved with the development of a new language, the complex interplay between language learning and language acquisition influences the language outcomes of the interlocutor. While the processes and arguments surrounding language learning and language acquisition are outside the scope of this work, this point is used to illustrate the limitations that come with relying on a "learning" model for adult language. Acquisition processes, which are inherently social and thus relevant to a discussion of inter-group segregation, are necessary for adult language gains. This is important in understanding the habitus and field of Immokalee because the deep social segregation of the community does not allow for the type of interaction that would sincerely help the majority of those who are trying to "learn" English.

Conceptualizing language as a problem of learning serves the dominant majority in much the same way that Bonilla-Silva's folk definition of racism. It does not ask the social system to account for the success of the oppressed minority in acquiring a language. It does not look at levels of social and spatial segregation. Nor does it require the people of the majority to learn to listen to and tolerate accented speech patterns. As such, it is inherently racist.

Discourses of "language barrier" also serve the interests of the racialized system and dominant majority because they present a frame of problem for the dominant language. Rather than being seen as someone who has a multiplicity of languages, at least one plus the beginnings of a new one, the idea of language barrier presents a discourse of lack. The dominant language is a hinderance to acceptance by and access to the local community rather than a form of capital that can be utilized to further the interests of the individual (Ruiz 1984).

Returning to Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital and market values on languages, the "language barrier" discourses are not value neutral. To extend Bourdieu, this means that (in the case of this project) the possession of Haitian Creole is not a null currency, a form of linguistic capital without value for the Haitian community, instead, it is a *negative* capital. By establishing the language as being a barrier and a problem, the language takes away from the person's ability to interact with the community. But it also establishes social sanctions for the speakers of Haitian Creole just because they are Creole speakers. This was evidenced by the ways in which the participants reported being made fun of because of their Creole. This is not mere exclusion. This is racialized oppression. And because the Haitian community members who participated in the study

internalized these attitudes, and say, "At my work, they make fun of me because I am Haitian and I don't speak the language. I work in the hospital because I don't speak the language and because I am black." This quote shows ways in which language and a racialized Haitian identity are intertwined. The language is a signifier for a negative capital that creates stigma and allows for overt discriminatory practices against the Haitian community members. While this quote came from a person in the work force, the best examples of language as colorblind racism are probably found in the education systems.

Language in the Labor Market

As sociological research associates markets with racism, these same forces have also been found to be linked with language to navigate position in job markets (Polanco and Zell 2016). In this research, the labor trajectories of people have been found to be largely determined by language, and particularly, facility with English. With regards to the Haitian population of this study, language was a significant factor in their disadvantage in labor markets, but not the only one. Additionally, the trouble the participants faced with language was not merely mediated by English ability, rather English and Spanish were both present in the choices made about who was able to find work and in what capacity.

Participants reported disadvantage at every level of the labor market. In conversations about hiring practices, failure of Haitians to get available jobs arose repeatedly. This failure was presented in the form of racialization as well as linguistic disadvantage. In the example below, a chunk of conversation is being reported in order to show the contextualized combination of race, language and economic disadvantage in

terms of hiring practices. This shows how language and race are both used in excluding

Haitian applicants from jobs. While it could be argued that language is a pragmatic

reason to keep from hiring a person, this interview section tells of applicants who had

sufficient English to fill out an application, yet who are excluded because they are

Haitian, and language used to justify these hiring practices.

> Marie: There needs to be a Haitian in the community to represent us. There aren't a lot of good jobs for us and like the jobs that there are, that we can do, if there's another race that comes in and wants that job, most likely, they will be the one to get that job.
>
> Interviewer: Can you tell me more about that? What types of jobs does this occur with?
>
> Marie: I had a friend that worked at a clinic, and she was really good at the job and filled in an interview. And she didn't hear from them for a long time, so she asked about the job and she found out that a Hispanic person got the job. And the Hispanic was not good at the job. At all! But they chose the other person over her.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think this was something that just happened once, or have you seen this happening at other times with other jobs?
>
> Cecilia: All the time. All the time. If we have like 3, 4, 5 people for the same position, they will look at your paper. They will look at you and because you are Haitian, even though you are more qualified than the other ones, you will not have a chance. If the other four refuse it, you might get it. But if they want it, you don't have a chance.
>
> Marie: The reason is that most of the time the manager, the hiring manager is a Spanish one. Or the one English they don't understand the language. They don't know how to deal with the people. They think it's easier for them if they hire the Spanish one or someone who can speak English. They think it. Yah.

This section from an interview links race, language, and exclusion from the workforce.

While the beginning of the exchange focused on racial differences, the end of this section

of conversation focused on language differences. Even though the interviews in question

likely took place in English, Marie and Cecilia used language to explain and justify why

certain hiring decisions are made. Language here is framed as practical and value neutral.

According to the participants, perceived ability to speak Spanish or English based on skin color, explains the racialized prohibition of a group of people from the labor force.

The inclusion of language into discussions of race, ethnicity, and unequal hiring practices brings the habitus of Immokalee back into focus. In this view, a disposition against Haitian Creole and in favor of Spanish and English are clear. The various actors in the social field are presented as being either Latino or White, privileging others who are like them due to the internalized preferences for English and Spanish speakers. Analyzing the transcript above, Creole is not explicitly mentioned, rather race is mentioned. Spanish and English are presented as having positive capital, useful for obtaining a job. The identity of being a Haitian and a speaker of Haitian Creole must be seen as having *negative* cultural capital. Even with the ability to interview in English, being a Black, Haitian, and Creole-speaking work against the interviewees in getting jobs to the extent that they outweigh the positive social capital of being able to complete a job application and interview in English. While language was presented as justifying this social outcome, language alone is insufficient in explaining it.

Examples of the inadequacy of language in explaining the inequality of the Haitian participants are not limited to low-status jobs that do not require English ability. Participants identified experiences of racism and intolerance in higher-status jobs as well. While discriminatory practice occurred in the lower status positions of nursing homes and agricultural work, one participant named Patricia worked as a bank teller. She relayed stories of patrons who would refuse to wait in her line because of her language and her race. In one particular story, a patron who comes into the bank brought Fourth-of-July presents for all of the tellers who work in her bank, all of the tellers except her. In telling

this story, Patricia reported that this particular patron has been problematic to work with in the past, speaking to her with belligerence. Not surprising, it is her language that he cites as the source of his frustration with her, and justifying of his treatment of her. He has told her that she cannot speak English. Patricia is an educated woman. She has a college degree in Haiti, and she has currently won a scholarship to earn a degree in business at a college in Naples. She reports being treated with respect by her peers and professors due to the quality of her work and the specificity of her questions. All of the interview discussions with Patricia were conducted in English, as she is quite fluent with the language. Her experience of discrimination by this and other patrons to the bank, combined with her solid ability to communicate in English, points to the ways in which language discrimination serves as a proxy for racism.

Another notable aspect of this discussion is the way in which Spanish plays a significant role in the habitus of Immokalee, and the different levels of linguistic capital that fluent, native Spanish speakers have over speakers of Haitian Creole. In Immokalee, it is important to know English, but it is also important to know Spanish. Again, using the notion of language markets (Bourdieu 1990), Spanish was revealed to be a marketable language in the community. This occurred as a result of the ways in which jobs were

Figure 3: Bilingual Work Advertisement in English & Spanish

available to Spanish speakers that were not available to Native English speakers.

Figure 3, above, extends the argument presented by Cecilia and Maria earlier by showing a job advertisement in both Spanish and English. The inclusion of the Spanish statements "*Estamos Contrando*" (we're hiring) and "*Se Habla Español*" (we speak Spanish) indicate that this job advertisement is for Spanish or English speakers. This situates Spanish in the linguistic marketplace of Immokalee's social field. Inclusion into the linguistic marketplace also indicates inclusion into the social structure. Thus, the habitus of Immokalee includes and values Spanish as a form of linguistic capital. In terms of difference and other, which are key to understanding legitimation of some forms and deligimation of other others, Spanish is considered an accepted language along with English, while Creole, in this instance, is bracketed out.

Both the interviews with Marie, Cecilia, and Patricia as well as the bilingual work advertisement illustrate ways in which the Haitian population are excluded from the labor market due to hiring practices. Other participants discussed inequalities once they were able to get a job in the workforce. Another example of linguistic discrimination reported by the Haitian Americans who participated in this research was the ways in which Spanish-speaking workers would talk to their supervisors about the Haitian coworkers. These insights came from the participants Thomas and Dionne, who were somewhat functional in their understanding of Spanish. They reported that they were vulnerable to coworkers who would be belligerent to them at work, but then go to the supervisors and explain in Spanish that the Haitian workers were at fault for any wrongdoing. If they could not defend themselves in Spanish, they felt at extreme risk of losing their jobs. Thomas reported the need to exercise caution when interacting with his coworkers who were not Haitian, putting up with whatever treatment they meted him. According to him,

in any disagreement between two workers, if one of the workers was Haitian and the other was a native Spanish speaker, the Haitian would not be believed, even if he could communicate and defend himself.

This information was disseminated in a focus group session, and other participants in the room readily agreed with Thomas' assessment of the inequality based on treatment. They expressed an acceptance of the unfair treatment along with an acknowledgement that they are routinely subjected to prejudicial comments. The acceptance of the treatment was directly linked to their heightened sense of job insecurity. They had to accept how their coworkers treated them because they would be viewed as at fault for any problems that arose. For those who could speak Spanish, they would likely not be believed. And those who could not speak Spanish would have no way of defending themselves. This vulnerability was compounded by the stated difficulty these participants faced getting a job and undergirded their acceptance of inequity.

This forced compliance of discriminatory treatment based on race and language provides further evidence of how the local habitus, as embodied culture, is structured to disenfranchise the Haitian participants in the study. The Haitian population is the last to get hired and the first to get fired. And they know it. This analysis was a significant aspect of my initial analysis of the data collected from the participants and in the community which I shared with the participants at our last focus group session. When sharing the idea that they were "the last hired and the first fired" with the population, the members of the group in attendance visibly and audibly agreed with this statement. One replied, "Yes. You've got it. That's our life." They verbally and vehemently affirmed this analysis of their position in the labor markets.

Evidence of discriminatory practice based on language was not limited to unequal hiring and firing practices or hostile and derogatory comments once a job has been obtained. Another example of the way in which Spanish in the workplace was used to exclude Haitian workers involves the photos below: in these pictures, danger signs are posted in English and Spanish, but not in Haitian Creole. This poses a significant risk to the Haitian workers in the area, as they could unwittingly walk into locations that are unsafe. As the participants did report instances of workplace injury, one has even gone blind as a result of such an occurrence, the exclusion of Creole from the signs is of noteworthy concern. This, again, points to a deep connection between language exclusion and racism. By caring about the physical well-being of the dominant groups to the point of putting up signs in the dominant languages, but refusing to create signs of caution for other groups, employers are establishing which bodies matter in terms of well-being and care and which bodies are expendable. The safety of the Haitian population seemed to be irrelevant to those who manage the workforce and job places.

Figure 4: Bilingual Workplace Caution Signs in English and Spanish

Figure 5: Context of Bilingual Workplace Caution Signs

While the Haitian American population chafed against the use of Spanish, they had accepted the dominance of English. In asking one participant, Vivian, who had worked in the fields of Immokalee for six years what she wanted to accomplish and what she could accomplish, she reported, "I would like to be in a place when I go somewhere where I am able to understand what other people are saying and be able to participate, speaking back." She went on to express gratitude for the jobs working in the field, but a deep desire to do more. For Vivian, English was seen as the way to get out of the field, but she was trapped because most of the opportunities to learn English were available for younger people and during the day. In commenting on Vivian's story, Sara, another participant in the focus group interjected, "So either you are going to school and not working or working and not going to school." These stories highlight the decisions which are not really decisions the Haitian community has to face. Vivian is a single mother, and not providing for her family is not an option. In later follow-up focus group sessions, she would report that she felt she was dying in the fields. Not dying in her body, but dying in her heart and mind and hope. Other respondents vocally agreed with Vivian, it seemed to be a common theme of the group.

One of the very few photographs which had been provided by the group itself centered on this theme. It was of a dying tree, where the branches were falling down. Instead of going up, as trees are supposed to do, the participants reported that the tree was going down and dropping its limbs, and that was how they felt as well. This feeling was directly linked to the lack of work and job opportunities due to language barrier and no support for their Creole. They reported that while they were in the fields, their children would be at school, learning the language. But as they grew, their children did not want to work in the fields, and their children could speak English, so their children left Immokalee to find better opportunities elsewhere. And they were happy that their children had better lives and opportunities. But they still felt abandoned, like the tree dying in the fields.

Figure 6: We are Dying Like This Tree

Reports of hopelessness in the workplace was not limited to a sense of being stuck in the field, and danger in the workplace was not limited to inadequate signage. Some of the members of the Haitian community who attended the focus group sessions had been injured at work, and there were reports that such outcomes were common. One particularly poignant example of this came from a man named Emmanuel who attended each session. Emmanuel had to be escorted into and out of each session because he was

blind. Yet when he spoke, it was with authority, and he seemed to be a central figure in the group.

Emmanuel's story is one of workplace injury. His eyes were injured by some chemicals being splashed in his face.

> I was working in a company, and something fell into my eyes. The manager put something in my eyes and they took me to the hospital and they did one check but after that they said that all of the tests that they did revealed that there is nothing. So they can't do anything for my eyes.

Emmanuel went blind from this injury. Because Emmanuel is a Haitian immigrant, even though he was legally working in the US at the time of his injury, Emmanuel does not receive any support from the U.S. government, and his previous employer has not been required to make any reparations for his injury or the money he has lost from future wage earnings. Emmanuel's story has been exacerbated by structured exclusion from health care services, but it also shows the vulnerability of the Haitian population to injury and poverty due to unequal treatment and unsafe working conditions.

Emmanuel's story represents the antithesis of intellectualism when looking at race, language, and material inequality. It shows how establishing differences along these lines creates bodily vulnerability. Emmanuel likely did not understand what fell into his eyes, and his retelling of the events surrounding his injury are murky. Many factors could have influenced this, there was language exclusion, and the trauma of the burn, his limited English was probably even less accessible. The employers were the ones to take him to the clinic the one time that he had the medical attention. It was the employers who likely explained what had happened and fallen into his eyes. Likewise, the employers were not held financially accountable for Emmanuel's loss of vision. This story illustrates

that Haitian bodies are more vulnerable in that they are expendable to employers. Emmanuel's identity as a Creole speaker meant that the manager was the one to frame what had happened on the workplace, possibly withholding the information that would have led to the proper treatment and restoration of his sight.

A habitus is an "embodied social structure" (Collins 1993: 116). A habitus which constructs a racialized language identity as containing negative social capital, those whose identities are comprised of this linguistic identity are temporally at greater vulnerability and physical risk than actors with other identities. The centrality of language in making this distinction is necessary to understand, as language provides both the medium for violence as well as the justification for exclusion. In continuing his story, Emmanuel reports that he has been "unable to get help because of the language barrier." Emmanuel's statement here expresses a tacit acceptance of language as a source of exclusion. This frames those with negative linguistic capital as being responsible for their oppression. In Emmanuel's story, it was not the employer who was at fault for unsafe working conditions, the manager for inadequately providing first aid and information to the clinic, nor the various social entities that Emmanuel has since tried to work with for insufficiently helping him. Instead, Emmanuel's report is one of neutrality, a "language barrier" that is a thing, an accepted fact. Tacitly, this is his lack, because in a system of dominance, it is the responsibility of Emmanuel, viewed as the outsider, to overcome the language barrier. In this case, it has not been the responsibility of the workforce, clinic, or social services to do so.

One way of understanding Emmanuel's acceptance of the language barrier as the source of his exclusion from help would be the notion of symbolic violence. In *Language*

and Symbolic Power, Bourdieu presented symbolic violence as a means of explaining

why those who belong to subordinate groups accept their subaltern status.

> The distinctiveness of symbolic domination lies precisely in the fact that it assumes, of those who submit to it, an attitude which challenges the usual dichotomy of freedom and constraint. The 'choices' of habitus … are accomplished without consciousness or constraint, by virtue of the dispositions which, although they are unquestionably the product of social determinisms, are also constituted outside the spheres of consciousness and constraint. The propensity to reduce the search for causes to a search for responsibilities makes it impossible to see that the *intimidation*, a symbolic violence which is not aware of what it is (to the extent that it implies no act of *intimidation*) can only be exerted on a person predisposed (in his habitus) to feel it, whereas others will ignore it. It is already partly true to say that the cause of the timidity lies in the relation between the situation or the intimidating person (who may deny any intimidating intention) and the person intimidated, or rather, between the social conditions of production of each of them. And little by little, one has to take account thereby of the whole social structure (1991: 51).

Emmanuel's neutrality and acceptance in the discussion of "language barrier" provides

an example of intimidation and dominance. By ending his story with a discussion of the

"language barrier," Emmanuel is embodying the search for "responsibilities" rather than

"causes" that Bourdieu discusses in the passage above. In Emmanuel's case, however, the

symbolic nature of symbolic violence is called into question. Emmanuel's story is one of

very real, and ongoing, physical violence. He is living in poverty. He is blind. He is

excluded from the labor force as well as much of the wider society of Immokalee. The

acceptance might be symbolic, but the physical consequences are corporeal.

Looking at the situation of the Haitian Americans who are navigating

Immokalee's labor force highlights the interplay between race, language, and economic

outcomes. From blockage from the workforce due to unfair hiring practices, ridicule and

increased susceptibility of being fired, to examples of physical injury due to unsafe

working conditions at work, the labor conditions of the Haitian Americans who participated in the focus groups in Immokalee show structured differences in outcomes and treatment that can only be attributed to racialized exclusion from material resources which is justified by language differences. While the members of the Haitian community who participated in the focus groups did recognize and name this stratification as rooted in racism, they also accepted language as the cause, demonstrating an internalized sense of responsibility for the outcomes, dire though they may be.

This project will show systematic exclusion of Haitian Creole from the various institutions within Immokalee. Notable exceptions exist, however, to the omitting of Haitians from county documents and services. One of these exceptions was found inside a building in Immokalee which houses governmental offices. The doors and signs on the outside of the building are all bilingual, in English and Spanish. But if the barrier is crossed, and the building is entered, some signs in Haitian Creole can be found. As the image below shows, however, there is not equity in how the information is presented. This image is important in that it informs workers of their rights and the limitations

Figure 7: Bulletin Board Explaining Labor Laws in County Office

placed on employers. On this bulletin board, various state and federal laws are presented

and explained. Of the different signs, only three are written in English, Spanish, and

Haitian Creole. The others are all in English and Spanish, and one was only in English.

This bulletin board informing the local population of their rights and the responsibilities

of the employers visually represents the ways in which Haitian laborers do not have the

same levels of rights as other employees. By providing some signage in all three

languages, there is an acknowledgment that the Haitian population comprises a

significant proportion of the local work force. But by not ensuring that the Haitian

workers are informed of all of their rights and all of the responsibilities of their

employers, there is no mechanism for the Haitian workers to utilize the systems that are

in place for their protection. See the chart below for a description of the signs and the

languages contained:

Figure 8: Chart with Languages of Various Labor Laws and Protections

Content	English	Spanish	Haitian Creole
Migrant Seasonal Worker Protection Act	X	X	X
National Labor Relations Act	X	X	
Workers Compensation	X	X	
Minimum Wage 1	X	X	X
Employee Polygraph Protection Act	X	X	
Fair Labor Standards Act	X	X	
OSHA-Job Safety	X	X	
Equal Opportunity	X	X	X
Florida Commission on Discrimination	X	X	
Child Labor Laws	X		

The lack of comprehensive communication of all of the rights and protections of the workers in each language can be seen as an institutional concealment of these safeguards from the Haitian population. Put into the context of Thomas' stories of hostile treatment, Cecilia and Marie's accounts of unfair hiring practices, and most poignantly, Emmanuel's blindness as a result of an injury at work, and all of the interacting tragedies, these omissions of Haitian Creole from the information about their protections cannot be interpreted as neutral oversight. They add to the story of institutionalized disenfranchisement of the Haitian population by the local government. Time and again, the participants in the project made statements like, "we don't matter" and "they ignore us." Failure to even make minimum efforts to inform the population of their basic rights as laborers constitutes complicit, institutionalized racism. The government, in this case, works with the managers and business owners to treat the Haitians as an expendable resource without even basic responsibility of care for their workers.

Language and Health Care

The issue of access to health care was raised by the community repeatedly. It was usually limited to discussions of women who were giving birth, injury in the workplace, and access for senior citizens. Significant structural barriers are in place which serves to separate people from receiving the appropriate medical treatment for their health concerns. Among these are documentation status, cost, linguistic isolation, and physical isolation. These barriers do not act independently, as the data will show, they often worked together to affect one another.

Documentation status was rarely mentioned explicitly in a discussion of health care. When it was mentioned, those who had status and received Medicare raised the issue. Emmanuel discussed documentation status and health care, noting that he did go to the doctor when he was in status. Once he lost his documentation status, he also lost his health coverage. His case is particularly revealing because of the dire consequences this loss had for his life.

Women also had particular needs with regards to medical care due to the process of childbirth. One participant spoke about problems with pregnancy and giving childbirth while being unable to communicate with doctors. Another talked about fear when the nurses came to care for her new child, because she was unaware of what was in the injections that were being given to the infant.

In a related story, one woman who has become fluent in English since coming from Haiti talked about her experience as a mother over 35 years old having a baby in the USA. She said that because of her age, the doctors performed an amniocentesis on the fetus to detect for any birth abnormalities. She reported that she did not understand what the procedure was and had no idea of its potential risks inherent to this procedure. She had not given consent. She recounted this story because she had subsequently undergone training to be a nurse, and when she learned about her own medical history, she experienced a sense of violation at not being given a choice whether or not to put her child at risk. Thankfully, her child was born healthy.

Maurice, a septuagenarian participant who spoke as a voice of authority within the group, also discussed health care access extensively. Maurice does have documentation status in the USA, consequently he receives government aid for his health

coverage and is able to avail himself of social services without fear of deportation. Without documentation status hindering him, access to health care for Maurice is limited by geography, funds, and language.

Because Immokalee is a rural community, the only medical treatment available is at the local clinics. These offer limited options for the community members. Maurice indicated that one problem is the lack of full-scale services, and sometimes having to be sent to the closest major hospital which is 50 miles away. Since he does not have a car, this might as well be a much farther distance. In addition to distance being a problem for Maurice, he also does not speak English. He reports that when he goes to the clinic in Immokalee, he cannot communicate with the hospital staff due to lack of translation services or staff members who speak his language. He mentioned trying to go in, but being unable to explain what his troubles were or understand what the doctors were telling him about his own physical condition or any of the medications that they prescribed. When Maurice spoke about this situation, other members of the focus group nodded in assent. Maurice has found a way to navigate this problem.

Maurice devised a special way of coping with his need for medical care and his lack of ability to communicate with the local medical professionals. He hired someone from the Haitian community to work as a translator for him. He would pay someone $40 per day to go with him to his hospital or clinic visits. This would be somewhat problematic, because he would have to find someone who was both bilingual in English and Creole as well as willing and able to sacrifice a day's wage and go to the doctor to help him. While Maurice is to be commended for his ingenuity, the risks and problems associated with this strategy are noteworthy.

Firstly, because Maurice has to pay for translation services, those costs are added to his health care. This is in addition to transportation costs and any others that his Medicaid does not cover. In this situation, health care is more expensive for the members of the Haitian community who do not already speak English than it would be for English or Spanish speakers of the same socioeconomic status. The second problem with using a translator that he pays is that this person may not have the medical training and specialized vocabulary necessary to adequately broker health-care conversations. This creates an unusually difficult situation for Maurice and whoever goes with him to translate, because there is a great deal of pressure to get the words right with high stakes associated with any potential mistakes.

Another problem that using his own translator from the local community is a deep loss of privacy. At every meeting, Maurice presented himself as a man of deep personal dignity. He was always very formally dressed, with a dress shirt, dress slacks, and a tie. His clothes were always meticulously ironed, with very crisp pleats in the pants and arms. The way that Maurice consistently presented himself indicated a person for whom appearances and personal pride were very important. For anyone, but perhaps especially for someone who is so meticulous about their personal appearance, having an outsider be involved in something as personal as medical exams would be deeply detract from basic human dignity. This is speculation about how Maurice felt, due to the focus-group nature of the sessions, I did not probe deeply into the personal nature of his medical experiences. It is possible that Maurice did not feel any sense of personal violation or lack of privacy at having a friend or community member involved in his medical care. But perhaps it does not matter. That he was in a position where he did not have a choice of whether to

have an impersonal, medically trained, translator with whom he would not have to socialize at a later time, is enough of a violation.

The photographs of the health services in the community largely confirmed the stories that the community members told. One clinic is open for family care during regular business hours, 9-5 Monday-Friday. This clinic did have Spanish and English on the door, but the information was largely in English. Family care is available during business hours, and there is some acknowledgement that not everyone who needs to use these services speaks English. But this does leave questions about what kinds of options are available for those who need care outside of business hours or in another language.

Figure 9: Health Care Clinic with Bilingual Signs in English and Spanish

The Collier County Health Center also has hours open during the business week, 8-5 on Monday-Friday. The images show that this center is equipped for a diverse group of people, including immigrants and refugees, with programs like WIC for those who qualify for those types of services. The outside of that building is also predominantly in

English, but there are detailed translations of the services provided and methods to obtain

appointments in Spanish.

Figure 10: Monolingual & Bilingual Signs at County Health Department

These images illustrate the ways in which the county health services are not made

available to everyone. By not having the information in English, Spanish, and Creole, the

Haitian population does not have the same level of access to the services offered by the

county that the Spanish population has. One theme that arose time and again when

discussing this with the Haitian community in a variety of areas, was that they would

understand if the signs were only in English. After all, they were living in the USA, and

English is the de facto language of the country. The feel excluded precisely because there is English signage and Spanish signage while omitting signs in Creole.

Language in Education Systems

As language is typically conceived by the dominant majority as being attainable through hard work and education, it is useful at this point to return to the systematic discussion of the place that the Haitian population occupies in Immokalee's public institutions. In this case, both the K-12 and the adult education systems are useful for elaborating on and providing examples of the ways in which language is used as a justifiable form of colorblind racism by the dominant majority. Moreover, these examples will show that underneath the veneer of providing opportunities to achieve English skills necessary for a better position in the labor markets, improved outcomes in the health care system, and other factors, the dominant groups in Immokalee use the education systems to systematically disenfranchise the Haitian population.

K-12 System

In regards to the primary and secondary education services, the schools in Immokalee do follow federal regulations and everyone is eligible based on age rather than documentation status. Even parents of uncertain documentation status were able to send their children to school. Lack of excluding children from attending school did not result in full inclusion of the Haitian children into the systems or their parents into the decision-making processes of their children's education.

In multiple contexts throughout the research project, parents reported that they were not included in their children's education due to language. As one participant with

children in the public elementary schools reported, "When we are invited to attend meetings in school for our children, if we do not speak English, we will not understand what is being said because we do not have someone to translate for us." Whether the meetings were individual conferences with teachers or whole-school meetings, parents repeatedly reported being excluded on the basis of language. This exclusion is significant in two perspectives. Firstly, it separates parents from knowledge of what is happening in the classroom and school. This diminishes parents' authority over their children and pushes parents to the outside of any happenings. For very young children, parents could be excluded from even the most positive events, like class concerts and PTA meetings, just because the information was not provided in a legible language. The second concern of this exclusion of the Haitian parents based on language is that it also stops the parents from being able to provide input or ideas in the school operations. Haitian opinions are excluded.

From the perspective of field, habitus, and cultural capital, this systemic exclusion of parents from school functions represents a devaluation of the cultural capital possessed by the Haitian population. Haitian understanding is not important. Haitian input would not matter. The concept that the Haitian parents might be able to aid the school by volunteering or providing ideas in any of the myriad of ways that other parents are routinely requested to by public schools.

In another case of parental exclusion from the education of their elementary-age children, one example was given about the discussion of the potential of a learning disability and the need for special education services for the child. The participant reported a story of a friend who was told by the school to sign a paper that he could not

understand. This paper was a plan for the child to be put into special education classes. Because there was no translation made available to the parents, this represents a significant breech of parents' rights in that educational decisions, like the separation of a student from mainstream classes into special education services, should not be done without a parent's informed consent. Lack of meaningful communication in the parents' language in this situation represents a systemic exclusion of parents from the education decisions for their children. By not ensuring that parents understood the concerns or valuing the parents' input as experts on their own child, this example highlights ways in which the Haitian parents are excluded from the education of their children.

While some parents reported not attending school meetings because of lack of translation services, Patricia reported that she can participate in school decisions for her children because she is an English speaker. But, she does request that letters come home in Creole. According to Patricia, these letters are always illegible, "like they have just been run through Google Translate. No one can read them." Running the documents through Google Translate is an interesting decision made by school officials. By doing this, they are acknowledging the necessity of communicating with Haitian families. However, they are using the most expedient form of communication possible. As Collier County has the third highest median income in the USA, and median home values are over $500,000.00, it could be argued that the public school system supported by property taxes is not short on funds. The decision not to hire translators for parent-teacher meetings and the decision not to have letters sent home in legible Haitian Creole seems like a deliberate attempt to exclude this population from the education of their children.

When discussing the systematic exclusion of the Haitian parents from their children's education, it should be noted that on the Collier County Public School website, there are professional-looking documents in Haitian Creole which have been appropriately translated. This would indicate that on the public face of the school system, the effort is being made to include the Haitian parents. Of course, this is at the county-level of information, not the information about the individual schools or the ongoing communication between teachers and parents. Many of the parents who participated in the focus group sessions in Immokalee do not have access to computers or know how to obtain the documents through the county website. While there are public computers available, it will be shown that institutional limitations are in place to exclude the Haitian population from using these resources. By placing the appropriately translated Haitian Creole documents on the county webpage, but not making a habit of sending home such translated materials for parents or providing verbal translation services at meetings, the website translations of policies are little more than token attempts at inclusion of the Haitian population. They do not adequately engage parents in their children's education.

In taking pictures of the K-12 schools in Immokalee, one particular elementary school had signs which support the idea that the academic institutions of the county use discourses which emphasize a meritocratic system based on achievement while linguistically, and consequently in every other way as well, excluding parents. The signs outside this particular school were all in English, but their messages were about personal motivation and hard work for achievement. These seven signs were each numbered with different "habits" that are necessary for students to do in order to be successful, they were remarkable in both content and tone.

Figure 11: Meritocratic Signs Outside Elementary School

In order, these signs read:
"Habit 1: You're In Charge"
"Habit 2: Have a Plan"
"Habit 3: Work First, Then Play"
"Habit 4: Everyone Can Win"
"Habit 5: Listen Before You Speak"
"Habit 6: Together Is Better"
"Habit 7: Endurance Feels Best"

Taken on a whole, the seven signs that were attached to the pillars outside the school are emblematic of meritocratic notions of bootstrapping which correlate to lower levels of collective social action and greater acceptance of racism among immigrant populations (Wiley, Deaux, and Hagelskamp 2012). In a community that is predominantly immigrant and more than 98% of the students are on free and reduced lunches (CCSS 2017), reinforcing the myth of meritocracy functions to blame the community for their lack of achievement.

The messages on these columns seem to be focused on the children who are attending the elementary school. On the other side of the driveway is a column of trees. Each of these trees has smaller signs that are geared toward parents. Like the signs on the columns, these were all in English. But their messages were about habits that parents should maintain for their children's overall success in school. These signs can be interpreted as having a paternalistic tone to them. The signs were numbered by the different "habit" that each was trying to instill in the parent. This assumes that the parents are not doing these things, or that the habits that the parents are employing are not the right ones, and signs on trees outside the school drop off areas are ways to actively teach parents how to engage with their children's education. These are problematic for other

ways as well. One sign shows an adult and child reading together, and the habit there is routine reading books. This does not recognize that it imposes a problem for parents, in that the sign was only in English, so what could be understood is that only English reading is important for the development of child literacy. This infantilizes parents who are illiterate in English as their elementary children are placed in a position of superiority, being the ones who can decode English texts. Also, as the majority of the parents are from Latino and Haitian backgrounds, and these cultures value and practice oral literacy traditions over written (Herrera, Ochoa, and Escamilla 2011). Perhaps one of the most significant example of the problematic nature of these signs was found on "Habit 8" in which parents were invited to participate in school functions. The image below shows this habit, and serves as an example of the other signs geared to parents. This sign reads "Find Your Voice" "Be and active part of your child's education!" Next to the command to find a voice is a cartoonish drawing of a bird vaguely resembling a turkey. Underneath this was space to write about upcoming events and school meetings. This sign, like the others in the series, is only in English. Coupled with the reports by the Haitian parents of not having Creole translators at school meetings, this sign invites the questions, whose voices are important? Whose voices are insignificant?

Figure 12: Sign to Parents Outside Elementary School

These questions alongside the nature of this message to parents indicating that it is their responsibility to be a voice that is heard obfuscates the intrinsic power differentials at play in this community. Teachers and administrators, with their education and position in the public sector would have much higher social status than the parents of the students. In Immokalee, more than 90% of the students are on free and reduced lunch. While economic disadvantage is not always associated with lower social status, it is logical to conclude that between many of the parents who understand at least some of the message of the sign and the school, there would be a distinct difference in social status. Given the paternalistic nature of these signs as a whole, this sign serves to establish a habitus which does not allow for parents to communicate in their most comfortable and dominant language but then blames parents for failing to communicate. As such, it maintains and supports the racialized habitus. Further, if parents do internalize the underlying meritocratic messages, it actively supports the same type of symbolic violence embodied by Emmanuel. Those parents who can understand enough English to decode this sign, or who are interested enough to have it translated for them, would understand that the school expects to hear from them, engaging with the teachers is a valued "habit" after all. Yet lack of translation services by the school would leave parents excluded. Given the internalized nature of the Haitian community who accept their own need to learn English, this would follow the same pattern of shifting the "responsibility" of parental engagement onto the parents rather than looking for structural "causes" for parental disengagement. As such, this sign is an example of the ways in which symbolic violence is perpetuated by the social institutions in Immokalee.

When discussing the lack of Haitian Creole in school meetings, the parents also stated that Spanish translation services were available at these meetings. This indicates that the Spanish-speaking parents always had access to the information about their children's education. There was usually a translator at the meetings, providing information in Spanish as well as English. This added to the Haitian's sense of being ignored by the community. Providing information in Spanish, but not in Creole, served as a signifier that the Spanish-speaking population is more significant to the community than the Creole-speaking population. As educational research indicates that parental involvement in education is a significant factor in children's success (Olivos, Jimenez-Castellanos, and Ochoa 2011), including the Spanish-speaking parents while excluding the Creole-speaking parents is an example of systematic, institutionalized structuring of a stratified system which privileges one group while handicapping another group of people based on their racialized, ascribed status. And as this example shows, language is used as the mechanism for this outcome. As with labor, this indicates an example of institutionalized racism against the Haitian population.

The parents' recounting of their experiences at the school, and the use of Spanish translation but not Creole was supported by the images of the schools in the community. In the Middle School, the signs on the outside were bilingual, in English and Spanish. No Creole was present on those doors or buildings. The same pattern was true for the gates to the high school, which were shut, so photographs of the high school were not obtained. The pictures below are of the doors to the middle school and the gates to the high school. Both show signs in English and Spanish with the exclusion of Haitian Creole. For those participants who were bilingual and fully functional in English and Creole, the omission

of the Creole from the signs at the public spaces was problematic. One participant said

that he notices it every time that he sees it, and has a sense of exclusion due to the lack of

Creole and acknowledgement of the Haitians in the community. They also expressed

concern for those who did not have their level of facility with English.

Figure 13: Bilingual Signs Outside Middle and High Schools in English & Spanish

The omission of Haitian Creole was not limited to the signs on the doors. In

preparing for this research project, I had found a news story about the Haitian Flag Day

and students at Immokalee High School being suspended for wearing clothes that

celebrated their heritage to school in 2016 (Ng 2016). For the participants in the study,

and every Haitian with whom I spoke while in South West Florida, this was still a hot

topic. The problems with Flag Day were not limited to Immokalee High School and they

had been reoccurring. In response to a question about the school's reaction to students'

celebrating Haitian Flag Day, Patricia said, "My daughter was a victim of that." Her

daughter, a middle schooler who played on the lacrosse team and was a straight-A

student, had taken a Haitian flag and rolled it into a very thin bandana which she wore as

a head band commemorating her heritage on Independence Day. She was told to remove

her bandana by teachers, and when she refused, she was escorted to her locker by the

campus police. She still refused to remove it, so she was sent home. Earlier, on Cinco de

Mayo, the school had played Mexican music in the hallways and served tacos in the cafeteria.

In talking about this event, Patricia expressed support for her daughter and hear identification with Haitian heritage. She interprets the school's policy and reaction as discriminatory against her community and called it "racist." This understanding of the school's policies towards the Haitian students as being racist points to ways in which the Haitian community see and acknowledge structural impediments to equality. In this case, symbolic violence is not occurring in that there is not the acceptance of the unequal valuations placed on the different cultural capitals in this social field. The population understands and acknowledges that they are being discriminated against. They hate it, but they continue to go to school. And in the case of Patricia's daughter, encounters with the campus police and suspension from school did not result in compliance with the policies against the use of the Haitian flag on Flag Day. She wore her national colors again the following year with much the same results. She resists. She continues to study, Patricia is already looking at colleges for her and says that her daughter wants to be a criminal defense attorney, so that she can fight for the Haitian people who are wrongly accused of crime. With this family, the act of going to class every day and the act of going to work every day in the face of institutionalized racism are actions of resistance. This is not an acceptance of the White systems of discrimination. This is an acknowledgment of it, and a dedication to endure as a means of fighting against it.

In analyzing this school's policies and actions in regards to the two ethnic holidays, the inclusion of the Mexican holiday is not problematic. These students' culture should be celebrated. Likewise, there should be signs in Spanish so that those students

and parents who have not yet developed English literacy skills need to have access to the material. The problem is the systematic inclusion of the Latino culture combined with the exclusion of the Haitian culture. In terms of the Flag Day policies, the exclusion of the national colors is explicitly linked to signifiers of disruption that are analogous to policies against gang colors. In a local news report about the event, school policy is quoted as stating "The wearing or display of flags on our campuses has historically and currently caused dissension along with a potentially unsafe and hostile learning environment for our students" (Leonor 2016). The policy does make exceptions for special occasions and holidays at the discretion of the principal. By making a semiotic connection between national colors on a holiday with gang activity for the Haitian population while celebrating the Mexican population, the schools perpetuate the racist stereotypes and stigmas faced by the Haitian population throughout the local community.

In telling the story of Immokalee High School and the Haitian Flag Day celebrations of 2016, it is important to note that they received negative press coverage. As a result, for the Flag Day celebrations of 2017, Immokalee High School hosted an after-hours event commemorating the day. Local Haitian community leaders attended the event and spoke at it. Based on local news reports of the events, the messages presented by the speakers were ones of hard work and meritocracy, that the American Dream could be achieved if enough work was done. "You may have all the dreams in your brain, but let me tell you, you have the power to make them all happen" said Dr. Arthur Boyer, one of the speakers at the event (Hammerschlag 2017). These messages of hard work and meritocracy resemble those of the signs outside the elementary school in their focus on personal agency and hard work as the necessary ingredients for success.

The response of the school in 2017 in addressing the problems of 2016 did provide an institutional space for the commemoration of the Haitian Independence Day. However, this acknowledgement remains problematic in three key areas. Firstly, it was scheduled outside of regular school hours, and therefore was not a compulsory education experience for the diverse populations of the school. White students and Latino students were not required to pay respect to that space or Haitian heritage. This lack of confrontation with Haitian pride also did not need to occur socially, as the Haitian students were still prohibited from wearing apparel which commemorates their Flag Da during the school hours. Thirdly, in the space that was provided, the Haitian students who attended were reminded to acquiesce to the social structures and work hard to achieve success. Whiteness and institutionalized power structures which support the ongoing oppression of the Haitian community were not challenged by this event. While it was a more positive treatment of the Haitian Flag Day than in the previous years, it still did not represent an educational system which significantly desires to include the Haitian community.

In concluding the discussion of the Haitian K-12 schools one final mention should be made about another ethnic group that is present in this region, the Native American population. Immokalee, translated as "my home" is a Seminole word. Reservation lands border Immokalee's community, and there is a Seminole Casino, a significant source of Immokalee's revenue, in this area. According to the ACS data, fewer than 400 Native Americans are living in Immokalee, likely outside the reservation lands. and according to the CCPS website, there are fewer than 500 students enrolled in the entire county's

school system. Even though the numbers of the Native population in Immokalee is small, the Indian is still the mascot of the middle and high school.

Figure 14: Native American References in Community Identity

This present project focused on the Haitian population rather than the Seminole population of the community. The institutionalized use of the Seminole as a mascot in the middle and high school is similar to other institutions which have utilized Native American mascots. These have been seen by critical theorists as contributing to a racially hostile environment (Baca 2004). This connects to the current argument about institutionalized racism experienced by the Haitian community. The academic institutions continue to demonstrate an attitude of colonization and discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities. While the present study focuses on Haitian community members, the continued use of the Native American mascot is emblematic of the type of the systematic exclusion and exploitation of minority groups that is found in institutional racism.

Immokalee Technical College

The students who attended the Immokalee Technical College (i-Tech) also reported instances of institutional racism. All of the i-Tech students who participated in this study were taking English classes with the objective of moving on to other academic subjects after their English skills were strong enough to be successful in these courses. They found that while they were in the numerical majority in their classes, they were not

permitted to speak Creole to each other, even for the purposes of asking clarification and understanding the course content. This was exacerbated by the use of Spanish by the minority (in numbers) of Spanish speakers who were allowed to talk with each other, and even occasionally with their teacher, in Spanish to get points of clarification. As with the other examples, this supports the overarching thesis of the use of language as a mechanism to further color-blind institutionalized racist policy. If the class habitus was really about an "English-only" policy of communication, then that would be applied to every language other than English. What the Haitian students experience is a "no Creole" policy in their language classrooms.

It is useful to return to the idea of linguistic capital in explaining what is happening in these classrooms. If capitals are viewed as resources, and linguistic capitals are those which can be exchanged for goods (in this case, knowledge and information), then the different valuations placed on the different languages will point to the amounts of goods (information) obtainable by that language. In these classrooms, Spanish is a language with positive valuations and consequently positive linguistic capital is assigned to it, so it can be utilized as an appropriate medium for the exchange of information and explanations of difficult lesson materials. Haitian Creole, on the other hand, is a language with negative valuations, and consequently negative linguistic capital is assigned to it. As a result, it is not viewed as a legitimate medium for the exchange of information. It cannot be used to acquire explanations or understand the content of the English grammar class. Regarding linguistic capital, one of the elements for Bourdieu, is that it is a marker of difference. In this, the difference between the linguistic capital assigned to Spanish and Creole are clear. Spanish has some; Creole does not. Because the overall context is the

acquisition of English, the different valuations placed on the non-English languages points to racialization of the excluded language.

From a conflict perspective, this example illustrates two groups in struggle over the placement in the racialized order. Allowing Spanish while excluding Creole systematically elevates the Spanish-speaking population over the Creole-speaking population. The knowledge and information are the resources, and they are used for successful completion of assignments, tests, and the program. Ultimately, these higher values of linguistic capital that are placed on Spanish are transferred into abilities and credentials that can be utilized to increase a place in the labor markets. Blocking the Creole speakers from understanding the course content becomes a blockage from better job abilities. Ultimately, this turns into social status and economic capital. Even though the Haitian students did not express their situation using theoretical terms, their lived experience indicates that they did have a deep understanding of the consequences of not being able to communicate in Creole to try and understand the course content. Below is a transcript from a focus group session in which one of the participants discussed the exclusion of Creole and the inclusion of English at some detail. Danny was not the only one to mention this.

> **Danny**: You can go to school, but if you need help. If you have a question, if you misunderstand something, there is no one available to help you. There's no one who can help in the Haitian language. No one to help you out. So it's hard. You want to go. But sometimes you don't have any help. And then it's hard to reach your goal. Even through the classroom, because I'm just starting with my English, in the classroom they have more Haitian than the other group, but they still have someone to translate for the Spanish group. They ignore the Haitian group even more. Even though there are fewer Spanish students in the classroom, they still provide. But there are more Haitian students, they just don't care. Some places, you're Portuguese, you're from Germany, you can speak with your own people. But if I see you, I know you're from my country, if I see you and I say "*Comme ye*?" (Creole, how are you?), I will be put out. But managers, they can speak

their own language. And if you're from the same country as the manager, your team can talk to you. But if you say a word in Creole, they kick you out.

(Audible agreement from the group)

Me: Does it happen at school?

Danny: I have one Creole professor at school. Even though I have one, if you are in that classroom, you can't speak anything in Creole in the class, you're not allowed to.

Me: But Spanish is spoken?

Danny: Yes.

In the above example provided by Danny, the situation of a professor in a classroom who is Haitian is not even a sufficient resource to challenge the habitus which allows Spanish but polices Creole. Structural racialization of the Haitian community is the best explanation for this situation. All of the students in the class are immigrant newcomers. All of them are non-English speakers. They are likely to represent roughly similar ages and socio-economic statuses. The primary difference experienced by the students at i-Tech is the ascriptions based on identity as Black Haitians who speak Creole. The Creole alone does not explain this outcome. It needs to be understood through the racial and national attributions as well.

The underlying argument that racism and bigotry against Haitians is combined with their identity as having black skin is supported by the images of the banners outside i-Tech. In these banners, there are different signifiers of status based on appearance, placement in the photo, occupation, and attire.

Figure 15: Representation of African American Men Advertising for Preparatory Courses
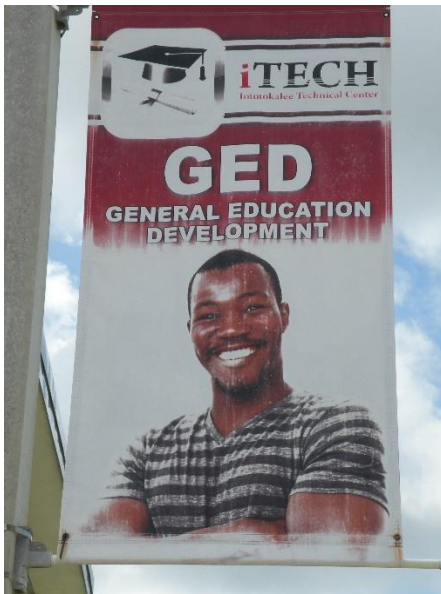
The two images above are the examples of preparatory classes that are provided

by i-Tech. These are classified as preparatory classes in that they would not be used in

the direct attainment of training for a specific skill. Instead, they would be utilized in

getting the abilities and/or the credentials necessary to be admitted into a training

program that would be used for a technical skill. As such, these programs carry less

social status than the technical and occupational skill programs. In the GED banner, the

use of a Black man signifies that this is the targeted demographic of this program. This

pattern is also found in the English Language Learner banner. In this one, there is a White

woman and a Black man. The woman is holding a book, but her focus is on the man. Her

mouth is open, indicating that she is in the active position. His focus is on her, and his

mouth is shut, which indicates receptivity. She is holding the large text and reading from

it, the way that a teacher would read a lesson. Students are more likely to have a pencil in

their hand when working with this kind of text. My interpretation of this banner indicates

that the White woman is the teacher while the Black man is the student. Gender dynamics

are bracketed out of this analysis. What is material to the discussion are the power

dynamics mitigated by race. In this, Black people are portrayed as occupying lower social

status positions than White people. The classes for GED, those who have not yet even

earned a high school diploma, and the classes for those who are not English speakers are

being marketed to a targeted demographic of the Haitian population. This illustrates

lower position in the social strata for this racialized group. In Immokalee, the Haitian

population commonly understands any representation of African Americans to be

representations of them, as they do represent that demographic. This, itself, is a point of

contention as the Haitian community members believe that it obscures the distinct

characteristics of this population. As such, placing signifiers of Haitians in the signs that

have intrinsically lower socioeconomic status perpetuates and justifies racialized

stereotypes.

Figure 16: Representations of White Men in Technical Courses

In contrast to portrayal of Black men in GED and ESL bannars, White men were

portrayed in positions of higher social economic status. In the images above, white men

are pictured in the advertisements offering training for postions in culinary arts and

computer technicians. Both of these are training positions that are explicitly preparing people for the workforce, rather than developmental courses preparing people to take other courses. As such, white men are portrayed in bannars where they are getting ready for jobs in the market system. Black men are portrayed in bannars where they are merely getting ready to qualify for the types of training opportunities in the bannars representing White men.

Figure 17: Representations of African American and White Women Advertising Technical Courses

The banners representing women follow similar patterns of racialized stereotypes. The women in the banner advertising for Cosmetology are both Black while the woman in the Digital Multimedia Design banner is White. Looking deeper at these too images identifies even more problems. One of the women in the Cosmetology banner is straightening the hair of the other woman in that banner. As noted by the scholar Patricia

Hill Collins (1999) African American women have a long history of being forced into straightening their hair in efforts to ascribe to White standards of beauty. This dates back to the days of slavery. While personal agency and the signifiers associated with Black women's hair today is outside the scope of this work, this banner was developed by public education facility that is interested in the perpetuation of institutionalized Whiteness. As such, this portrayal of Black women engaging in these activities as a marketing tool to other women to learn to do these things perpetuates racial stereotypes and provides evidence of structural racism.

Another problem with these two signs involves race and the occupational prestige associated with them. Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' occupational prestige has been ranked at 458 while designers are ranked at 185 and computer programmers are 229 by the National Opinion Resource Center's rankings of job prestige (Colorado Adoption Project 1989). The rankings presented are from an outdated list, but it is unlikely that the difference in ranking between a cosmetologist and a computer graphic designer would be largely different on a current list. The cosmetologist would still occupy a lower position of prestige. Consequently, the racialized ascriptions made by putting the women on these banners is consistent with disproportionate outcomes in the job market and racialized stereotypes and the system of racial order commonly found today.

To further exacerbate the difference with which the women were constructed, it is necessary to look at the accessories in the different banners. The cosmetologist is using a straightening iron, something that has already been established as problematic. The woman who is training in multimedia design is holding an Apple computer, a high-status device. Apple has long been established as a signifier of higher social status today.

Furthermore, this woman is also wearing a necklace that is reminiscent of the high-status store Tiffany's "Return to Tiffany's" dog collar-style necklace that was popular with young women as signifiers of difference. The key point is that the signifiers in the two banners replicate and extend a racialized order which places White women above Black women. This further supports the overall argument that racism is woven into the fabric of Immokalee's social field in deeply nuanced and implicit ways.

Language in Local Services and Governance

The final area that was identified by the population as being a considerable hinderance to their ability to achieve their goals was in the area of local governance. In this aspect of the social field, the members of the Haitian community who were participating in the study repeatedly mentioned a sense of exclusion by the policy makers and legislators. "They just ignore us" was a phrase used repeatedly in the focus group sessions. Toward the end of one of the sessions, Dany, a young man who has only been in the USA for about six months voiced his frustration eloquently by saying, "There is one word to describe how we are treated, and that is EXCLUSION!" At this statement, the rest of the group nodded and verbally assented to the notion.

This sense of exclusion was mentioned across the local services in Immokalee. One participant mentioned lack of signs and books in the public library in Creole, while
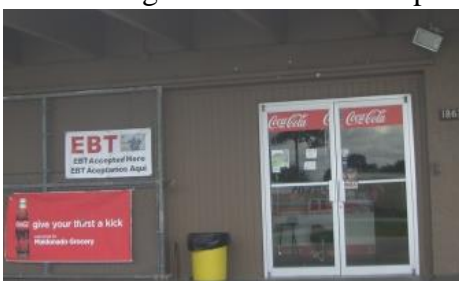

Figure 18: Bilingual Signs for Food Assistance Programs in English & Spanish

there were materials and information in both English and Spanish. They mentioned signs in buildings like restaurants and stores which were printed in English and Spanish but not Creole. The picture below shows one such example. The sign advertises the acceptance of EBT food assistance on the outside of a small, local grocery store in Spanish and English. As with other examples in the community, Creole is excluded from the advertisement. Lack of Creole in such signs which would supply food items represents a symbolic and linguistic barrier to the access of those services for members of the Haitian community who qualify for it. In the area of food access, this is particularly significant in that the Haitian members of the local community are blocked from access to the most basic human necessities simply due to their nationality and language background.

Linking the omission of Creole from the advertisement on the outside of a store specializing in food with lack of access to basic food and other types of services is consistent with a statement made by one of the women in a focus group session. Vivian said, "I am 45 years old. I would like to be in a place that when I go somewhere I am able to understand what other people are saying and be able to participate, speaking back." While she was speaking generally, the conversation was about overall exclusion from the community, so this fits in with the discussion of segregation from basic community services. Vivian's statement fits into the overall sense of community isolation and lack of ability to interact even at the retail level.

With regards to other areas of the government, the participants did not only express a desire to receive services from the community. They reported wanting to help out with community events and projects to improve Immokalee. One man explicitly expressed the desire to be included in community efforts. "We can do the things that the

community is doing. We can help out. We can do something. The problem is the language, but I can help. We can be a part of it. Invite me. I can help." This points to a deep desire to be seen as a benefit and an asset in the overall Immokalee community. It illustrates an additional way in which the Haitian population is marginalized, not just from access to services, but from being able to serve the local community. Returning to a discussion of capital and social field, the Haitian participants expressed a desire to be viewed as possessing social and cultural capital that is beneficial to the wider social field. While they want to be included in the services that are provided, as is their due, they also want to be respected as having strength and resources to provide back to the broader community.

In looking at immigrant community development this desire for a bidirectionality of services between immigrant groups and their new homes is an important finding of the present research project. Past research into the trajectory of immigrant community development has looked at issues relating to attainment of jobs, development of neighborhoods, enclaves, and ownership of businesses (Portes 1988). Further research on the local validation of immigrants as possessing resources that are beneficial for the wider community, as viewed by inclusion on volunteer services and invitation to local community development discussions, is warranted. Such a view of benefit would indicate a higher degree of valuation of social and cultural capital within the local habitus.

It is important, however, that using a frame of benefit to the local community to discuss the Haitian newcomers is maintained as separated from exploitation by social actors within the area. When looking at both internal and external colonization, tokenism has been used by the dominant group to maintain the social order. As discussed in

Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* (1967), colonization has a long history of elevating some members of an oppressed people group for the continued exploitation and maintenance of inferiority of the group as a whole. In a discussion of community development and inclusion of the Haitian community members in services and activities to help the region, it would be important to conceive of such projects in ways that elevate the entire group of Haitian newcomers rather than find a few to use as representative of the whole. Likewise, Haitians would need representation at each level of the projects developed.

Exclusion from the local governance was widespread. The participants did not have any interaction with community meetings or representatives. When queried about this, participants reported that they had tried to attend meetings, but there was never any language support, and they couldn't follow the English closely enough to understand what was going on. "It is just a waste of time for us to be there" was the final response. This highlights a sense of frustration and defeat that was expressed by the participants to the project. Because they could not understand the content of the meetings, and no translations were ever made available to them, they did not possess information about the ways in which the local government was working to aid local businesses and projects that were being undertaken. Furthermore, their voices were not heard in the discussion of how to improve the city.

Repeatedly, the participants discussed the need for more and larger retail opportunities in Immokalee. The municipality does not have any major retail outlets. There are no large grocery stores. Even the ubiquitous Walmart has not found Immokalee to be a desirable location. When asking the participants what they think that the county

needs to do to improve the conditions of the city for them, this was raised as a chief concern. For them, a store like Walmart would represent more jobs that they could compete to get. It would also represent access to a wide variety of food and living necessities like clothing. For anyone, personal appearance is a very important matter of identity and dignity. The participants talked about having to make a 50-mile round trip excursion to the nearest Walmart. They also discussed the additional costs that such commodities hold for them, the transportation costs, time from work, and food in the city all add to the cost of whatever they need to go to Naples to purchase. As such, the Haitian participants indicated that they would support community development initiatives that would incentivize larger retail businesses to the area. Because they are not included in the meetings, these voices and opinions are not included in the discussion.

While much of the discussion revolved around ways that the local government excluded the Haitian population, specific instances of inclusion were identified. On the outside of the government building housing the Tax Collector and Clerk of courts and the Immokalee jail, signs in English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole were found. These signs were directive in nature, telling who was allowed to come into the building and what they

Figure 19: Trilingual Signs Outside County Tax Office in English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole

were able to bring. At the tax office, these signs were long and very detailed, explaining

exactly what was and was not to be brought into the building. The images above show

the signs that were located on the outside the first building. Looking closely at the signs,

it shows that Creole is used to notify a search for weapons as well as the dress

requirements to enter the building. While in the sign regarding weapons, the notices in all

three languages are similar size and font, in the sign outside the entrance, the Haitian

Creole font is significantly smaller than the English and Spanish. In the placement of the

Creole on both signs, it is on the bottom. These factors all work together to indicate that

Haitian Creole has less importance in the social field than the other languages. As the

language is so closely tied to the people group, placing the language in the bottom of the

signs and in smaller fonts is illustrative of the placement that the group has in the overall

community.

Figure 20: Trilingual Signs Outside Jail in English, Spanish, & Haitian Creole

In addition to the offices for the county tax collector and clerk of courts, Haitian

Creole was also found on a sign announcing the public entry to the Immokalee Jail.

While only a minimum number of signs were found outside the jail, one primary sign that

would be used by visitors did contain English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole. As with the signs outside the County Tax and Clerk of Courts office, the Creole was placed third on the list. But with this one, all three languages used the same size font.

Representations of Haitian Creole on the buildings above shows that the county government is aware of a significant population of Haitians in the county. While it is noteworthy that some county buildings did offer signs in Haitian Creole, the type of buildings with the language is of primary interest. Schools, daycare centers, the county health care center, and the library did not have Haitian Creole signs. These would be places which would provide services to the Haitian population. Creole was also omitted from places of governance and meetings to discuss the future and development of the Immokalee community. The omission of Creole from these signs and meetings points to the exclusion of the Haitian community from the services that are offered and plans for future of the area. When the jail and tax collector's office did have signs with Haitian Creole, this usage of the language was not to use community resources to assist the Haitian members of the community or engage this population with the broader workings of the area. Instead, the placement of Haitian Creole on the signs in front of these two department buildings points to the use of Creole as a mechanism for social control of the Haitian population. Taken together, the visible exclusion of Creole from service and community offerings and inclusion of Creole on the government tax building for taxes and jail, is suggestive of a social order which seeks to maintain the placement of the Haitian community at the very bottom of the social ladder.

The injustice of strategic inclusion and exclusion of Haitian Creole in the signage in the community can perhaps best be explained by one of the participants in a photo

elicitation focus group session. In response to the photographs containing Haitian Creole, Samuel said, "when it is time to help us, they ignore us. When it is time to get money from us, they make sure we understand." Upon his saying this, the rest of the participants in room laughed in acknowledgment of the truth of his interpretation of these photographs. While this was an emotional session with the participants, there seemed to be a sense of validation in that the pictures provided evidence for the exclusion and oppression that they had been talking about. It was not just their stories, although the stories would be sufficient. The images provided the population with concrete evidence of the external nature of the problems they face in the community and the structural impediments to their success.

The findings of inclusion and exclusion of Haitian Creole on the signs throughout the community provides evidence of the nature of the linguistic habitus of the community. If the habitus is viewed as the embodied dispositions operating in a social field, then the linguistic habitus can be viewed as the dispositions governing the ordering and structuring of the different languages in a multicultural group. Bourdieu often wrote about this in regard to the various accents of French, and the structuring of some dialects over others within the French language (1991). But this idea of linguistic habitus and social structuring across languages within a social field can also apply. For Bourdieu, the linguistic habitus is an empirical example of the broader processes of social structuring which determines what position different groups have in the order. Thus, the language use as presented in the images of signs in Immokalee present evidence of the wider social arrangement, for "what expresses itself through the linguistic habitus is the whole class habitus of which it is one dimension, which means in fact, the position that is occupied,

synchronically and diachronically, in the social structure" (Bourdieu 1991: 83). In the case of the Haitian population in Immokalee, the exclusion of Creole from everything except the locations of taxation and social control points to systematic oppression. In this case, oppression takes the form of exclusion from services and exploitation of labor.

Using the idea of linguistic habitus in conducting a field analysis of Immokalee further links the idea of language as a mechanism of structural racism. By racializing a language, and then excluding the speakers of that language, members of a social field can systematically disenfranchise and justify processes of segregation. The language becomes a socially validated mechanism of apartheid.

Theoretical Explanation: Ascribed and Achieved Statuses in Social Stratification Literature

Evidence language as a tool of exclusion of the Haitian population in the broader community of Immokalee is presented in the images and interview excerpts included above. In this, language serves as a mechanism for the oppression of the Haitian population in the general dispositions, or habitus, of the local community. Mechanisms are important in understanding habitus in that they "link structure and practices— regularities" (Lau 2004: 372). While a focus on the objective nature of habitus is important, it is also necessary to explain the processes by which these practices are utilized and accepted. To situate language as colorblind racism as a mechanism in the linguistic habitus, it is necessary to show how it is justified by the dominant members of the population and accepted by those in a marginalized position in the popular order. This requires a theoretical exploration of the processes which systematically stratify the

community. Bourdieu's notions of social distinction and differences using capitals and habitus in a social field are often used by theorists of social stratification to explain the processes by which a local ideology comes to accept and justify the system of difference in that society (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006: 71). Legitimation is the process of determining that which is worthy and unworthy in a social system. Those qualities which are considered by the social system to be legitimate or illegitimate are typically organized along lines of attributions made by the social actors and enforced by policies. Attributions which determine legitimate and illegitimate characteristics are central to understanding the processes which justify and accept the social order (Kerbo 2012).

In classical perspectives of social stratification, distribution of power, prestige, and resources can be characterized based on attributions of achieved and ascribed forms of difference (Leski 1966, p. 204). Far from being tautological concepts, precise definitions of these terms are important when looking at social stratification and identity formation (Cage & Davidman 2006). Typically, ascribed statuses are those placed on an individual by society and usually determined at birth and based on the social characteristics surrounding a person's birth and kinship ties. Achieved statuses, on the other hand, are those which are viewed as mutable, open to personal attainment due to agency, hard work, and performance (Leski, 1966; Foner 1979; Cage & Davidmann 2006).

For Leski (1966) and other classical theorists of social stratification, in traditional societies structured by a caste-based system, a person's level of social status and prestige is based on the status ascriptions imposed upon everyone at birth. By contrast, in a meritocratic class-based system, position in the social order is based on achieved status,

and overt use of ascribed statuses like race or sex assigned at birth as bases for differentiation is viewed as morally repugnant. On the other hand, under these class-based systems, achieved statuses are fair fodder for descriptions of differences as they place the blame on those who are not achieving material success for their own subordination.

Scholarship into achieved and ascribed statuses for the stratification of a society has found that in some instances these ideas do influence how society is structured (Villarreal, 2010; Mäenpää & Jalovaara 2015). In looking at the stratification in Mexio, Villarreal (2015) found that while language is used to justify the difference in social attainment and position in society, as with labor markets, her research showed that skin color was a significant predictor of who gets what in the stratified order. In this distinction, Villarreal found that people with darker skin occupied lower positions in the social order and that the lighter skin tones were necessary for social mobility. As skin color falls within the classical notions of status ascription, this research indicates that these forces are still very much at work in the structure of contemporary Mexican society. Similarly, in Finland people in the lower classes were more likely to marry within their class and ethnic category. This would indicate that the ascribed categories of class and ethnicity were still moderating the choices that people made. As people rose in social class and the ensuing level of education, there was some flexibility in the marriage selection. This indicates that in higher classes and with the attainment of achieved status through increased education, there is some flexibility with ascribed statuses as determiners of people's mate selection choice, however these effects were minimal. In this research, the lines between ascribed and achieved statuses are beginning to blur.

While the findings from the studies looking at stratification in Mexico and mate selection practices in Finland based on ascribed and achieved statuses did largely fall along traditional notions of separation based on ascribed and achieved statuses, much of the current work on these two types of identity determinations in social stratification and differentiation questions this binary. Sociologists have been questioning the distinct separation between achieved and ascribed statuses (Foner 1979; Cage & Davidman 2006). Instead of looking at achieved and ascribed statuses as being discrete concepts which operate on a dichotomy, Cage and Davidman (2006) studied achieved and ascribed statuses in the contexts of immigrant Americans with ethnic and religious ties to Judaism and Thai Buddhism. This research indicates that in both of these dissimilar religions, individuals made identity claims using ascription and achievement in interrelated ways. While these individuals did understand personal identity based on the contexts and ethnic ties into which they were born, they also reported interaction between their activity and choices in a manner more consistent with achieved statuses in more fully realizing their identities.

In similar findings about the interaction between achieved and ascribed statuses, Amanatullah and Tinsley (2013) looked at gender as ascribed status and workforce achievement in their examinations of whether professional women were able to successfully negotiate pay increases. Gender, an ascribed status, did hurt women's ability to successfully negotiate higher pay in the studies conducted by Amanatullah and Tinsley. Women who had achieved higher statuses in terms of role in the workplace, however, were able to successfully negotiate for higher salaries. In this, higher achieved statuses seemed to mitigate the negative effects of lower ascribed statuses. This study

provides further evidence that ascribed and achieved statuses do not operate in isolation of each other but with intricate interaction effects.

This research project proposes a link between language and both ascribed and achieved statuses. Language is treated as a marker of status in complex ways that are dependent on contextual factors. In looking at the Hmong adolescents in the USA, Nguyen and Brown (2010) found that language ability was associated with different levels of social status. Those who were monolingual were lower status within the community, and those who were bilingual occupied higher levels of prestige. In this, bilingualism would function as an achieved status rather than an ascribed one. This contrasts with the function of language in ascribing status and ethnicity in Mexico as reported by Villarreal (2010). To explore the difference between language as ascriptions versus language as achievement, it is important to note that within the Hmong culture, the attribution of ascribed language was conducted internally within the community while in Mexico, the ascription based on language was functional and externally imposed by the Mexican government. In both of these contexts, language is viewed as a symbol as well as functional. Facility with a language (or lack thereof) takes symbolic proportions as it affects group membership as well as status within the group irrespective of interlocuters' facility with the various languages.

Further research looking into language and status was conducted with Anglo-Argentinians, a group of Argentinians whose ancestors were of British origin. In studying this group, Cortes-Conde (2003) found that without state support of language maintenance, language alone was insufficient to maintain group identity. People who identified with this community fell along a spectrum of maintenance of English ability.

Those who had maintained English, and were making sure that their children were doing so, had functional reasons in terms of labor markets and educational opportunities. These Anglo Argentinians maintained English across generations in order to travel or seek international employment rather than maintain group identity or ethnicity. As such, language functions as an achieved status in this context rather than an ascribed one.

The literature consulted for this project presented both achievement and ascriptive models of language that varied based on a variety of contextual factors. Similar across all of the studies visited for this project was a differentiation between those attributions that were made internally, by the members of the group, or externally, about the members of the group. As such, in order to theoretically understand the attributions about the language capabilities in the Haitian population examined for this present study, a matrix has been developed that accounts for both achieved and ascribed status attributions both

Figure 21-Legitimating Attributions about Language & Haitian Population: Defined

	External	Internal
Achievement	2 Structural opportunities and comments by non-Haitian members of the community pointing to the attainment (or lack thereof) of English by members of the Haitian population. Reflective of meritocracy myth. Underlying Ideology: **You can achieve social mobility if you work hard enough and learn English.**	1 Expressions of desire to improve English ability or earn academic credentials by members of the Haitian community. Underlying Ideology**:** **If we work hard enough and learn English, we can achieve social mobility.**
Ascription	3 Explicit and implicit expressions of exclusion of the Haitian population based on their race, ethnicity, and language made by social actors or evidenced in the community by photograph. Underlying Ideology: **Haitians are not good enough to be here, and those who are here must behave**.	4 Expressions of internalized negative statements about self, race, language, and future made by the members of the Haitian population. Underlying Ideology: **I am not good enough to be here or achieve more for my life because of my Haitian identity.**

internally and externally. Figure 20 presents this matrix from a perspective of definition, while Figure 21 presents the matrix with examples from the data set.

Ascribed and Achieved Status in the Current Context

In the charts above this paragraph, language identity and proficiency are connected with ethnic identity and are displayed in a matrix of ascribed and achieved statuses by community insiders and community outsiders. For the purposes of these charts, insiders are considered those who are members of the Haitian community; conversely, outsiders are those who are not Haitian but interacting with the Haitian population either directly or indirectly. Achievement refers to those elements of the community or data set which would indicate that language is an ability to be achieved through study or hard work. Language ability, in this case, refers primarily to a broad sense of proficiency in the English language. Ascriptions based on language refer to those ways that language was a mechanism for exclusion and inclusion. In this sense, language is a part of the identity that does not come through choice, work, or effort; it is identity that is imposed or internalized based on social striations.

Figure 22: Legitimating Attributions about Language and Haitian Population: Examples from Data

	External	Internal
Achievement	2 ESL course offerings Slogans outside school Banners with Black men advertising ESL courses	1 "I want to take ESL courses" "If I just worked harder…" "You can be a model" Higher status within the group for those who are bilingual.
Ascriptions	3 "They don't hire us because of our language" Exclusion on signage Firing practices Not allowing Haitian Creole in school or workplace. Mocking—"lazy Haitian" "language barriers"	4 "Ashamed of my language, ashamed of being Black" "Youths do not want to speak Creole" "separation from children"

Before working through the quadrants, it is important to note that the matrix needs to be interpreted in the context of power and prestige. The explanations of the matrix, and the applications/definitions of the different quadrants will change based on the context of the language and the identity of the speakers. For example, in the context of Immokalee, if the matrix was used to describe native Spanish-speaking immigrants, while the labels of "internal," "external," "achievement," and "ascription" would stay the same, and they would individually be defined the same way as they are in the present example. The quadrants themselves would take different characteristics and applications based on the distribution of cultural, linguistic capital that is afforded to Spanish and withheld from Haitian Creole.

In exploring the capability of the Haitian population in Immokalee, power and cultural capital are more firmly affixed to those who can fully function in Standard American English. Spanish is also a language of power in the community of Immokalee, but as none of the Haitian participants in the study were actively pursuing acquisition of Spanish in order to increase their opportunities for social mobility, it is excluded from the current matrix. In the case of this project, the Haitian population and the racialization of Haitian Creole affects the interpretation of ascription and achievement both internally and externally.

It is hoped that this matrix can be used as an analytical tool to understand the distribution of power and resources in a multicultural and multilingual context in order to identify how the inequalities are structured. In order to use this matrix outside the context of the Haitian population in Immokalee, however, factors that need to be clarified are the

dominant language context, the ethnicity and racialized status of the speakers, other language identities of the speakers. Markets, policies, and level of multicultural integration and segregation would all affect the interpretations made based on ascription and achievement both internally and externally to the group being studied.

Quadrant 1: Internal Achievement

To describe quadrant 1, the internal refers to the attitudes and viewpoints expressed by the Haitian community about their own work and desires. In this quadrant, the meritocracy viewpoint had been internalized and was reinforced within the community. The stories of working hard enough in order to achieve were spread widely by the Haitian participants in the project as well as by the reports of local Haitian activities in the local newspaper.

The achievement aspect of this quadrant describes the work that is done to learn English. Achievement is not considered in the context of Haitian Creole, as opportunities to learn Haitian Creole are not typically popularized in the community. For example, the language is not offered in the local school system. White students do not have the opportunity to receive credit towards graduation by taking a course in Haitian Creole the way that they routinely must take Spanish classes. In this way, Haitian Creole is not considered a language with valuable cultural capital in the local habitus. As such, the achievement sections of the matrix refer solely to the way that the Haitian population is expected to learn English.

Examples of internal achievement were found in many of the interview sessions with the participants. In the discussion with Vivian, the single mother who worked in the fields,

> "And since I moved six years ago, I have the same job that I did then. I don't mind to do it because I understand this is the job that I can do. But I can do more than that. I am capable of more. I don't want to spend my whole life doing that same thing. I want to learn English so I can step out… This is not what I want to do. I do not like it, but it is what I have to do to take care of my family members. Then I want to go to school, I want to learn the language, so I can step out. I want to be a nurse assistant.

In this quotation, English is framed as an acquisitive process of learning that will enable Vivian to achieve a better job and a higher place in the social structure. As such, it this quote illustrates a way in which participants themselves viewed the learning of English as a mechanism for attaining a higher place in the social order. This quote also illustrates the structural limitations of Vivian's familial responsibility keeping her from "stepping out" and doing the work she knows she is capable of. As such, the internalized view of English as attainment is mitigated with sincere understanding of the structural limitations keeping her from being able to attain those skills.

Another example of the internalized view of language attainment would be in a conversation with Thomas, one of the participants in the session. In this discussion, Thomas is already a fluent English speaker. Because it was in the context of a focus group, and many of the participants did not speak English, Thomas elected to speak Creole and have his words translated. Methodologically, this was an excellent way for me to analyze the quality of the translator, as Thomas would have been able to clarify any meaning that was lost through transition across language. In this discussion, Thomas was talking about the lack of opportunity for work in Immokalee even though he spoke

English. He was looking for work and trying to negotiate his desire for increased

education and need to provide for his family with the lack of opportunity and limitations

placed on him due to the geography of the region.

> This is my baby. He's one. I'm 22. I'm still in school and I'm working. When I first moved here 6 years ago, it was a challenge for me to find work. The point when you leave your country to come to this country what you're looking for is work to have a better living. When I first moved here, I couldn't have a job because of my language. I have no choice but to go to the field with my dad because he was the only person that I had in this country. And I wanted to help him, so I started to work in the field for like 6 months, and then I found a spot in i-tech to go to school learning English. So I spent 1 year learning English. I graduated from High school in my country, and I wanted to go to college, but I couldn't get qualified for financial aid, because they told me I wasn't qualified. I had to get a degree from the USA. So I spent 6 months to get a GED and now I can go to college. Since then, I have a baby. Things have changed until now. I go to school for technology, at Keyser University in Ft. Myers. What she just said, is a challenge because you want to go to the private school and here you won't find it so you have to drive from here. It's about 45 minutes away.

In this quotation, Thomas has internalized the meritocratic achievement aspect of

language. He has worked hard in order to learn English and improve his chances in life.

When he faced structural obstacles, like his degree from Haiti was unrecognized, he did

what was necessary to surmount them. No work was too hard for Thomas. And with his

facility with language, he clearly was able to find success and learn English. Upon the

end of his story, the translator told Thomas, "You are a model for the rest. You will do

it." As with Thomas' internalized experience, this points to the internalized view that

with hard enough work comes success.

While Thomas' story is ongoing, he is still taking technical classes, he presents

significant obstacles. His situation as a parent, and the requirements of caring for his

family along with limited earning potential present him with structural impediments to

success. The geographic distance between where he is going to school and where he is

currently residing present a significant barrier to continued study. In this situation,

Thomas still represents the failure of an attainment model for success. Even though he has found language success, the local community presents other structural limitations to his achievement. Also, Thomas was one who reported significant bias in the workplace. Even as a fluent English speaker, he was working in service-level positions at the bottom of the social structure.

Quadrant 2: External Achievement

To continue with the explanation of the matrix, the second quadrant is labeled, "external achievement." This quadrant describes those attributions that are placed by those who are external to the Haitian population. This could include policy makers, policies, educational opportunities, educators, as well as non-Haitian members of the community. In this sense, external describes the structures and systems which situate Haitian Creole and English in different levels of the social order. External can also refer to those people who are outside the Haitian population who use language to frame their interactions with the population. From the perspective of data for the project, the participants' perspectives of how Non-Haitians treated them based on their language and racialized identity are coded as external. Likewise, the signs and other artifacts which were photographed would also be categorized as external, as they were not created by the Haitian community members themselves. Finally, some interviews were conducted with participants who were not Haitian. These perspectives of the issues faced by the Haitian community would also constitute an external perspective on the community language.

In combining external with achievement, quadrant 2 describes those areas of the data set which presented an external view of language achievement which is focused on English as a second language. Examples of this in the data set were discussions with

locals who identified need for English language courses as being the primary area of development needed by the Haitian population. This view was reinforced by Immokalee's county commissioner, who presented English language proficiency and the need for more language classes for the Haitian, as he saw the need for better English skills to be correlated with better occupational and material outcomes for the population.

Other areas of the community which would be categorized as external achievement were those areas which alluded to and provided the opportunities for attainment of status or higher place in the social order based on work and education. Principally, the ESL classes offered at the i-Tech school are a prime example of this use of English as external ascription. Another example of this would be when the signs outside the elementary school used slogans like, "Use Your Voice," "You're in Charge," "Work first, then Play," and "Endurance is Best." While these latter messages were not explicitly used in relation to language attainment, they are indicative of structures which focus on hard work and personal effort for achievement rather than looking at structural factors limiting success.

In a very real sense, the external view of language achievement was one that reinforced a meritocratic perspective of language and social mobility. Like with other "bootstrap" arguments, it ultimately places the blame for lack of English courses with the Haitian population themselves. Under this logic, if the Haitian population worked hard enough, they would be able to learn English and get the better jobs. As such, failure to secure the jobs is the direct result of failure to place sufficient effort in learning English. This viewpoint is firmly situated in the myth that the American Dream is possible for those whose hard work merits success.

The external achievement view of language as an explanation of the Haitian position in the overall social structure is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, the meritocratic system in the USA has been shown to be largely false, as identity ascriptions rather than achievement have been legitimated and reproduced in a variety of domains of the stratified order (Kerbo 2012). Additionally, achievement mythology is predicated on ideas of equal opportunity. With respect to the Haitian population of Immokalee, structural impediments exist to the attainment of English language ability. This was evidenced in the data set for the current research project, as participants who did attend the local classes found them to be insufficient for teaching English. Students of the local classes reported exclusion and isolation in the English classroom. They said that they did not understand the lessons, and their requests for clarification were not recognized. A high amount of frustration was evident in the discussions about the English classes at the local technical college.

Another example of the problems with the external achievement perspective of English language attainment was the timing and pricing of the English classes. They are not accessible to all of the members of the population. With regards to the timing of the classes, Vivian, a single mother, reported that she could not take the classes because they were primarily offered at times when she had to work in the fields. While she wanted to learn English, she did not have the resources to support herself and her son without daily agricultural work. In the same focus group session, Sarah elaborated on the problem of the achievement perspective of English attainment. "Those classes are mostly during the day. Especially for grownups, they usually go to work during the daytime, and then they offer the schooling in the daytime. So those are mostly for the younger people. *So either*

you are going to school and not working or working and not going to school" (emphasis added). In this quote, Sara highlights the problem with the external attainment perspective of language acquisition. The local structures simply do not allow for people to work and study. Classes are not offered at flexible times. Work opportunities are extremely limited, and they are not available at flexible times.

Quadrant 3:

Quadrant 3 is characterized with external ascriptions. In this sense, the external is conceptualized as it would have been with the external achievement. Views of non-Haitians about the Haitian population (expressed by the Haitian participants or by non-Haitian community members) as well as signs and examples of artifacts in the community are sources of information about the way that language is externally represented in the community.

Ascription refers to those ways in which a status about a language is imposed on the community by outsiders. In one sense, ascription is almost always external. When discussing internalized ascriptions, an exception to this will be made. Ascribed statuses are those that are not chosen, but are the places within a social order that people are ranked by the social forces themselves. More than other areas of this analysis, ascription can be viewed as explicit statements of bias, in the terms like "lazy Haitian" that the participants reported being subjected to at work, and they can be considered implicit orderings of who gets included and who gets left out.

The community was replete with examples of ascriptions that were made by oversight. The image of the job advertisement for workers with Spanish and English on

the sign, but not Haitian Creole, can be used as an example of ascription of lower status by omission. Likewise, the signs on the community buildings like the Health Care center and the schools which were in English and Spanish, but not Creole, ascribed lower social status to Creole. The inclusion of Creole in the buildings for the purpose of social control, as in the statement of check for weapons or on the local prison, would also be considered as ascribing a lower social status to the Haitian population—it is only vital that this part of the community understands the content when it comes to controlling their behavior. This puts Haitians in the frame of criminals and those who are socially deviant.

When the participants reported that they were "the last hired and the first fired" because of their language, this would also be seen as an example of negative ascriptions of Haitian Creole. This language is constructed as a barrier to solid work and a functional work environment. This exclusion based on language places the members of the Haitian community in a subservient position to the other ethnic groups in the region. Even people who could speak English reported that Haitian Creole was used as an excuse to exclude them.

Other examples of external ascriptions of lower social status based on Haitian Creole were found in the discussion of limited opportunities for Haitian workers to speak to each other in the language. This was reported in a variety of occupational settings. Workers who had jobs in the restaurant industry, in the hotel industry, and in the medical fields all reported that they would be reprimanded if they were to speak to each other at work in Haitian Creole.

The language policing was not limited to the workplace. In the schools, both the public high school as well as the local technical college, the participants reported that

they were not allowed to speak Creole to each other in class. This was deemed unfair, as Spanish-speaking students would be free to use that language. Even teachers would speak in Spanish. Further adding to the racialized nature of including Spanish and excluding Creole, the students who attended the technical college reported being in the numerical majority of the class.

In both the workplace and in the classroom, such language policing is an example of a language that is deemed illegitimate by the local powers. Such illegitimacy is associated with negative ascriptions made about the language. As such, it firmly places the Haitian Creole at the bottom of the social order. Returning to Bourdieusian notions of acceptable cultural capital in the habitus, this shows that Haitian Creole has a negative social capital to the detriment of the Haitian population.

Quadrant 4: Internalized Ascription

The final quadrant presents the notions of internalized ascription. This would be seen in members of the Haitian population who made statements which revealed negative conceptualizations of Haitian identity or Haitian Creole. While such examples did not happen frequently, there was one notable interaction with the population where the participant named Janette identified negative ascriptions made to her at work "I can speak Creole, but the English language is an obstacle for me. The racist people is another obstacle. I feel humiliated because I don't speak the language and because I am black." In this statement, Janette identifies a sense of humiliation about her language and about her racial identity. As such this represents an internalized sense of negative ascriptions about self and language identity.

The internalized negative ascriptions about language are presented in this research project as being analogous to the ideas of internalized homophobia that has been found to be significant factors in the life of many members of the LGBTQ population (Shidlo 1994). In this case, internalized homophobia is the way that the dominant heteronormative social messages are internalized by those who are LGBTQ and cause negative opinions of self. While this has largely been discussed in the field of psychology, it is possible that such processes are occurring in the area of race and language with the Haitian population in Immokalee.

While evidence of the internalized negative ascriptions of language and race did not abound in the data set, one instance points to the possibility of more in the community. This instance came from a conversation that took place in one of the first sessions in which groups of participants were working to discuss the central capabilities questions and one member would take notes of the answers. This protocol was noteworthy because the conversations were guided by the questions, and there was less interaction between the participants and the white researcher. As such, this instance can illustrate more vulnerability than was exhibited in subsequent sessions in which the researcher had a more visible role in the answers.

Other instances of negative internalized ascriptions of Haitian Creole were evidenced in discussions about the attitude of the youths toward the language. The local pastor in Immokalee talked about the difficulty in selecting which languages to use in services and communication. Those who are in the public high schools are more fluent in English, and do not want to communicate in Creole. They prefer English. This represents a growing shift away from the parents and heritage that was evidenced in discussions

with the parents, as they indicated that when their children grew up and learned English, they moved away from home because of the lack of jobs and resources in Immokalee. This is consistent with findings by Carr and Kafalas (2009) who studied the ways in which Midwest children would leave rural areas in pursuit of better social outcomes when they were educated.

Systematically categorizing the internalized ascriptions of language and identity as being negative, especially when discussing the Haitian youths in the local population is problematic. This is primarily evidenced in the way that the youths systematically resisted the omission of Haitian Flag Day from the school celebrations. A great deal of pride in identity and heritage was evident across the spectrum of Haitian participants in this project. It is important that highlighting the negative internalizations does not omit the overwhelming sense of self-pride that is evident in the conversations with the participants. In explaining these seemingly contradictory findings of the reports of the pastors and parents who say their children do not want to learn Creole or operate in that language along with the evidence of youths' pride in their Haitian heritage, it is helpful to look at the notion of subtractive bilingualism. This is the way that those who are in minority groups who are subsumed into a culture with a dominant language will lose their heritage language without systematic, deliberate instruction in that language (Wright, Taylor, and Macarthur 2000). More research needs to be done to fully understand the nature of pride in Haitian heritage along with the weakening ties to the heritage through language loss.

While there is strong evidence for internalized pride in the Haitian heritage, there is also evidence of internalized racialization. This is found in both the language and racial

identity. Earlier in the discussion, language alone was shown to be insufficient to describe the location of the Haitian population in the overall social order. It was theorized that language and race work together in nuanced ways to exclude the Haitian community. The presentation of both external and internal negative ascriptions towards the Haitian community and the Haitian language attempts to explain the mechanisms that are operating to racialize Haitian Creole for the exclusion of the Haitian population. Central to this argument is the notion that languages are not value-neutral. They operate in a social system which ascribes onto them different levels of cultural status and prestige. This system of ordering languages reflects the broader racial order. While language might be a mechanism of placement in the overall social order, the overarching argument remains that language alone cannot explain the situation. Language is used to excuse and legitimate the marginalization of the Haitian population, but it does not fully explain it.

Summary of Analysis

This analysis began with a presentation of four basic theoretical ideas about the role of language in a sociological understanding of the ways in which it works within a racialized order to affect social outcomes of people groups. In order for these arguments to be compelling, language must be understood as a social construction fundamental to humanity but often misunderstood in every-day life. As such, language can be seen as analogous to the way that gender has been socially constructed to structure the social world through a hegemonic, and inherently unequal, distribution of social power and resources. Central to understanding the concept of the hegemonic nature of language is the tacit acceptance of its social power to the point where language becomes invisible and the importance of the dominant language becomes doxa. The present project sought to

unpack the ways in which language is an excuse for exclusion of one group at the expense of others. Thus, in the present context, language functions as a vehicle for socially legitimated racism in the general social habitus.

In order to make these claims, data were collected from Haitian members of Immokalee in the form of interviews, focus groups, direct observation, photographs, and demographic analysis. The qualitative data were examined at the axial level, and codes were arranged around location and of Haitian and Haitian Creole in the community. This highlighted the pervasive nature of the exclusion of the Haitian population by the other social groups in the region and the use of language to justify and legitimate the segregation of the Haitian population. Evidence of exclusion was found in education, ranging from services to kindergarten through adults. The evidence of exclusion in the workplace was widespread and systematic. Haitians were not provided appropriate information about their workplace rights and were not treated as if they were really employees, just laborers. Provision for the safety of the Haitian workers was not in evidence, as the signs indicating danger were in Spanish and English only. When a participant in the project had experienced injury on the workforce, the medical intervention was perfunctory, at best. The same type of exclusion was evidenced in the medical arena, as doctors, nurses were not able to communicate with the Haitian patients, and no translation services were offered. For the Haitian community members to obtain health care they could understand, they needed to shoulder the extra cost of providing their own translator. This provides an added concern as the translator is not bound by confidentiality and there is no assurance that the translator has the required medical vocabulary or knowledge to appropriately act as a broker of medical information. In the

area of community service, the population professed a desire to volunteer and be active contributors of the community well-being but were even excluded from voluntary service. In similar ways, they were not invited to meetings about the redevelopment program for the area, and when they attended the meetings, they felt it was a waste of their time as there was never any attempt to translate into Creole. The only areas of inclusion on the outside of government buildings were on the local jail and the local tax collector/clerk of court offices. The signs on the latter buildings were warning of check for fire arms and instructions of what would and would not be allowed into the buildings. As such, the inclusion of Creole on these two areas indicated that the community is willing to communicate with the Haitian population for the purpose of social control. When it is time to ensure that the Haitian population receives services and inclusion into community events, the effort to meaningfully include the Haitian residents is not made.

The analysis of the data through theoretical codes attempts to explain the processes of legitimating the social order based on attributions made about English and Haitian Creole by the Haitian participants as well as in evidence in the broader community. This showed the ways in which language was classified in terms of ascription and achievement internally by the Haitian participants and externally by the broader community. Overall, the external attributions made about Haitian Creole were negative. While a quantitative analysis of these codes has not been presented, the distribution of negative external attributions of the Haitian Creole and the Haitian population were the densest codes in the data set. External reference to, and opportunity for, language achievement was limited to a discussion of the Haitian population learning to function in English. Developing or maintaining literacy in Haitian Creole in order to

strengthen identity and ties to the native culture was not evident in the external data set.

However, Haitian community leaders did express a desire for Haitian Creole maintenance

and lessons for literacy in Creole, as this would strengthen the identity of the population.

Other evidence of internal achievement was in the form of desire to work hard and the

replication of the meritocracy myth of working to learn English in order to attain better

job or be able to attend school. While the sample participants evidenced internalization of

these philosophies, they also presented problems with such an attainment model. The lack

of a true choice for achievement of English through hard work was shown with those

who had to work in the fields in order to provide for their families. In these cases, the

knowledge that successful nurturing and education of their children would result in being

left when the next generation are able to gain employment and upward mobility in a

different location mean that they were left by their children caused many to feel like they

were "dying inside." In the evidence, there was one mention of negative self-ascription

toward Haitian Creole and the identity of being Black. This was in the context of being

the subject of derision in the workplace. This one incident is noteworthy in that it

represents an internalization of the negative ascriptions placed on Haitians and the Creole

language, it is also an outlier in the data set.

　　While the Haitian population fully acknowledged and embraced the hegemonic

importance of English in order to attain social mobility, they did not fully accept the need

for English at the exclusion of Haitian Creole. Even with the evidence of negative

identity attributions toward Creole and blackness, for the most part, the population

exhibited pride in their heritage and in their language. This was evident both in the

interview sessions as well as in the local media sources detailing the exclusion of Haitian Flag Day, and the students' resistance to that exclusion.

Self-pride was a theme that ran through many of the sessions. Participants supported their children when they were reprimanded for celebrating Haitian Flag Day at school. Other examples include a stated desire to participate in community events and be included in opportunities to serve the local municipality in a voluntary capacity. The Haitian population wanted to be included in the wider community, they wanted to be recognized, as much as they wanted to have opportunities to receive services and earn high-quality jobs. As such, the Haitian population needs to be understood through the lens of self-pride with the understanding that their survival is a form of resistance against the local oppression.

From the data presented, local oppression is commonly viewed by the participants as being in the form of social conflict between the Haitian community and the Hispanic/Latino community in Immokalee. The participants presented examples of the inclusion of Spanish with the exclusion of Haitian Creole. They either wanted to be faced with policies of English only or situations where English, Spanish, and Creole were accepted. In one case, a participant said that all managers needed to be able to speak all three languages. Another participant commented on the need for all three languages on signs. These desire for Creole to be included with equal status as Spanish and English were offered in contrast to another acceptable alternative, English only. In this, the participants seemed to indicate that the struggle in the community was between the Haitian population and the Hispanic/Latino population. The next chapter of this project will present a demographic situation of the three main racial/ethnic groups in Immokalee

and shed light on the themes of social conflict between these groups as well as the role

that language plays in the economic outcomes of the Haitian population.

Chapter 4: Quantitative & Demographic Analysis

The following quantitative section serves the overall project in a number of key areas. Firstly, it helps to situate the participants' experiences and stories in the overall community and population of Immokalee. Understanding their personal stories through the context of the community population is necessary for a balanced analysis. Secondly, the findings in this quantitative section supports the overall analysis that the participants made about their lives and situation in Immokalee. It does, however, highlight ways in which the participants did not completely understand the nature of social conflict and their exclusion. They situated the conflict as taking place between the Haitian population and the Hispanic/Latino population. The data below will show that while this observation does have merit, that conflict is situated with a broader struggle between the Non-Hispanic White population and everyone else.

Ultimately, these quantitative findings represent a triangulation of data that help present texture and nuance in the overall explanation of the situation of the Haitian population in the community of Immokalee. They are also important to the overall argument about language as colorblind racism. As they suggest that the Haitian's facility with the English language do not explain poverty levels which problematizes the common idea that economic outcomes are directly linked to English proficiency.

The overall theory that this dissertation project seeks to posit is that language functions as a form of colorblind racism which is used to validate the subaltern position of the Haitian population in the general stratification of the community. This theory is strengthened by the findings that English language proficiency are not significant

predictors of poverty levels. As such, language cannot be used to explain the position of the Haitian community in the ways that it is generally thought to be. The findings suggest that while proficiency in English might be necessary for Haitian success, but it is not sufficient.

The quantitative section of this research project begins with an exploration of demographic characteristics of the three principle ethnic groups in Immokalee by examining the percentage of population change between 2009 and 2015 by ethnicity and then looks at the major ethnic groups by age and sex in traditional population pyramids. While it would be useful to incorporate a wider date range for the analysis of the percent growth of the populations, the American Community Survey launched in 2005, replacing the long form of the decennial census (Passel 2016). When accessing ACS ancestry tables, data on the Haitian population begins at 2009. With the exception of the table and chart reporting population percent change, the numbers represented in these tables and charts come from the 2015 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. While the 2016 numbers are currently available for the Hispanic/Latino and the Non-Hispanic White populations, the 2015 are the most recent available figures for the Haitian population. As such, in the interest of consistency, all of the estimates examined will come from the 2015 5-year figures.

The chart below represents the only deviation from the use of 5-year data estimates. In this chart, annual estimates are used to show the yearly percent population change for each of the primary ethnic groups in Immokalee that are being explored in this research project. In this time frame, the Haitian population represents the greatest rate of growth while the Non-Hispanic White population shows the slowest rate of growth, and

sporadic decline. The decline in growth rates of the Non-Hispanic White population is likely to be connected to the Great Recession of 2008. Research into rural communities with recreational amenities showed that "people were less likely to migrate to high amenity rural areas during the recent tough economic times" (Ulrich-Schad 2015). Whether this pattern applies to the Non-Hispanic White migration rates in the rural area of Immokalee needs further exploration. The change in Non-Hispanic White and Haitian populations seemed to balance the Hispanic/Latino growth rates which were in line with the overall rates of growth for the total population.

Table 1: Percent Population Change in Immokalee by Race/Ethnicity

	Haitian	Hispanic/Latino	Non-Hispanic White	Total Population
2009	0	0	0	0
2010	58.27	4.96	-3.83	5.48
2011	35.56	11.02	2.95	12.28
2012	43.08	22.28	-1.56	20.79
2013	44.02	30.31	-3.21	23.25
2014	63.60	34.08	8.42	34.70
2015	82.87	35.32	5.34	41.55

Figure 23: Population Percent Change from 2009-2015 by Race/Ethnicity
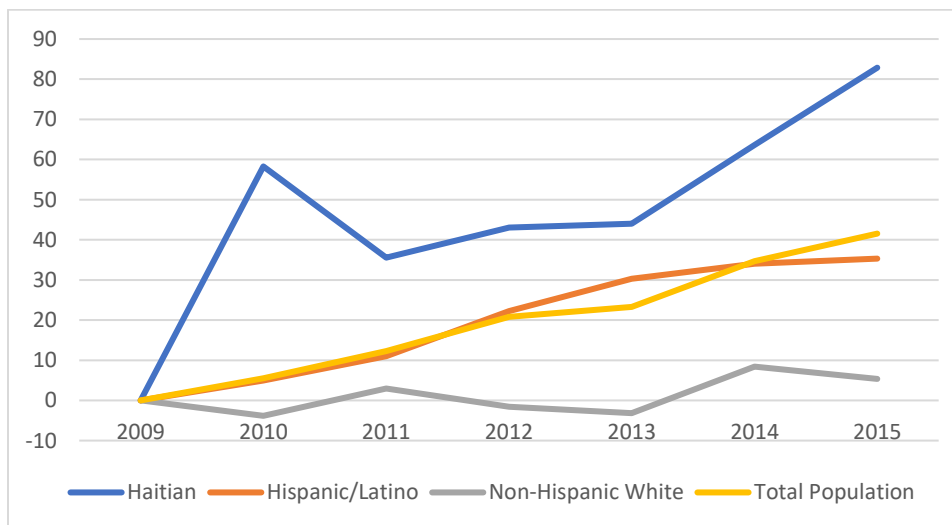
Consistent with Figure 22 which shows the Haitian population as the fastest

growing in the area, Table 5 reports the migration patterns for the three principle

racial/ethnic groups in the region. Ninety-one percent of the Haitians interviewed for the

ACS survey were living in the same house as the past year, a rate higher than the

Hispanic/Latino population (85%) and the Non-Hispanic/White population (82%). Most

of the in-migration to Immokalee across the groups would be those who moved to the

region from within the same county. Six percent of the migration with the Haitian

population followed this pattern along with 10% of the Hispanic/Latino population and

7% of the Non-Hispanic/White population. Most of the movement to the county from

abroad came from the Haitian population at 2% while .6% of the Hispanic/Latino

population and .2% of the Non-Hispanic/White populations came from abroad. None of

the migration from other states came from the Haitian population, while 3% of the

Hispanic/Latino population and 5% of the non-Hispanic White population were from

different states within the USA. This would indicate that more of the Haitians coming to

the area were coming from the same county or from abroad while the in-migration for the

other groups were from different areas and for different purposes.

The recent high population growth demonstrates the importance of addressing the

Haitian population in Immokalee. In the time period analyzed, the Haitian community is

growing at faster rates than the other ethnic groups. In some ways, this helps to explain

the lack of specific policies of inclusion of the Haitian population, as the growth of this

group represents an understudied phenomenon, as this group has a history of

misrepresentation, and lack of representation (Macarenas 2005). Research into growing

Hispanic communities report various causes of population growth and stable lag effects

in terms of increasing number of immigrants and political representation (Logan, Oh, and Durrah 2009). Overall, the data in this current project represent similar lag effects between population growth and community integration.

The pyramids for the Haitian, Hispanic/Latino, and White communities present an image of the overall population of Immokalee consistent with the above descriptions of percent population change. The Haitian population pyramid can be characterized as one of unstable growth (Weeks 2010) with fewer people in their working years to support the young and older members of the community. The Hispanic/Latino population represents stable growth consistent with the overall community. The Non-Hispanic White population is in decline, as most of the residents of the area who are in that ethnic group are in their older years.

Table 2: Haitian Population in Immokalee by Age and Sex, data from 2015 ACS 5-yr estimates

Age	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total
0-4	227	6.18	113	3.08	340
5-9	191	5.20	105	2.86	296
10-14	93	2.53	83	2.26	176
15-19	239	6.51	84	2.29	323
20-24	192	5.23	266	7.24	458
25-29	44	1.20	66	1.80	110
30-34	43	1.17	60	1.63	103
35-39	141	3.84	104	2.83	245
40-44	137	3.73	47	1.28	184
45-49	131	3.57	162	4.41	293
50-54	157	4.28	123	3.35	280
55-59	104	2.83	80	2.18	184
60-64	103	2.81	109	2.97	212
65-69	102	2.78	114	3.10	216
70-74	76	2.07	37	1.01	113
75-79	18	0.49	33	0.90	51
80-84	11	0.30	41	1.12	52
85+	0	0.00	36	0.98	36
Total	2009	54.71	1663	45.29	3672

Figure 24: Pyramid of Haitian Population in Immokalee
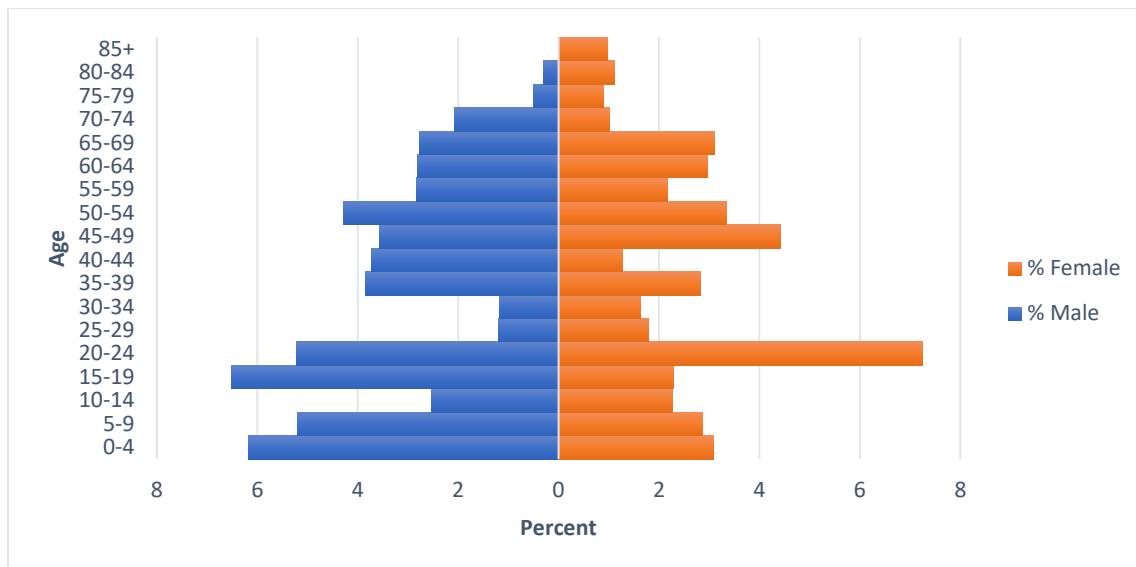
In the qualitative data from the Haitian participants, struggle over the position in the structure of the labor force was mentioned repeatedly. In the quote below, Joe, a middle-aged woman who works in the fields because she does not speak English and needs to help support her family explains some of the struggles over work and distance for the different generations:

> As soon as you move in you have to go to the garden. You don't HAVE to. But because you don't have other choices, you have to go there. You have family to support.... We have some young ones and they don't want to go to the field. They can do more than that they can speak English but they have no jobs. They have to go all the way to Marco Island all the way to Naples to find a part time job it's a waste of time they spend more to go than they can get because to go and come back if you use your own car your own gas it's a lot of money but you don't make a lot of money.

This quote illustrates the ways in which younger community members who are capable of finding jobs outside of Immokalee due to English language proficiency eagerly look for work outside of the area. The limited job opportunities in Immokalee aided in the push for those who were able to get better jobs to want to leave the area. The self-selected

outmigration from Immokalee adds to the instability of the Haitian population in the area. This fluctuation occurs along lines of socioeconomic status, as those who move out do so in the hopes and likelihood that theirs will improve. Studying immigration in and out of distressed communities in Sweden, Charlotta Hedberg (2009) found that the migratory patterns in instable communities flowed along lines of race and social class. Vulnerable populations tended to stay in the unstable communities, while those who had the ability tended to move to capital cities like Stockholm. One result that Hedberg's research finds with regard to the vulnerable populations which stay in the stressed communities is an increase in social segregation along lines of both race and class. These findings are consistent with the reported behaviors and movement patterns with the residents in Immokalee. Those who can move out, do move out. Those who cannot remain in their vulnerability and increasing ethnic segregation.

Transportation was a source of stress and cost for the participants. The connection between transportation and jobs was raised often. One participant said that Immokalee would be better if there were jobs that were close enough that residents "could like just walk there, and that would do something rather than think about how am I going to get to work tomorrow." As such, the distance to work and need for reliable transportation illustrated the ways in which Immokalee's geographic isolation aided in the Haitian community's overall instability. This problem arose with both work and those who were attending one of the universities in the larger areas. Isolation due to rurality has been found to be connected with inequal social outcomes in a both education as well as poverty status in general (Tickamyer and Duncan, 1990; Roscigno, Tomaskovic-Devey, and Crowley 2006).

Also consistent with the literature on rural families in other areas Haitian parents reported that they work hard to give their children a better opportunity, but then when their children achieve the skills and credentials necessary for the improved social outcomes, they tend to leave home in search of better work and a better place to live (Car and Kefalas 2009). The percentage of both males and females who are 25-34 years old is smaller than the adjacent age groups, as such the population trends for Immokalee supports the stories that were shared by the participants. However, considering that some of the participants who were in this younger age brackets had only recently come to the USA from Haiti, it is also possible that the smaller population in these age brackets is also the result of lower numbers of in-migration among this demographic category.

Table 3: Hispanic/Latino Population in Immokalee by Age and Sex, Data from 2015 ACS 5-yr. estimates

| Age	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total
0-4	1037	3.88	1476	5.52	2513
5-9	1304	4.87	1011	3.78	2315
10-14	1180	4.41	821	3.07	2001
15-19	1479	5.53	1182	4.42	2661
20-24	1526	5.70	1105	4.13	2631
25-29	1154	4.31	1244	4.65	2398
30-34	1420	5.31	898	3.36	2318
35-39	1147	4.29	737	2.76	1884
40-44	881	3.29	1033	3.86	1914
45-49	938	3.51	766	2.86	1704
50-54	897	3.35	644	2.41	1541
55-59	327	1.22	786	2.94	1113
60-64	354	1.32	321	1.20	675
65-69	238	0.89	256	0.96	494
70-74	175	0.65	114	0.43	289
75-79	201	0.75	53	0.20	254
80-84	10	0.04	9	0.03	19
85+	17	0.06	10	0.04	27
Total	14285	53.40	12466	46.60	26751
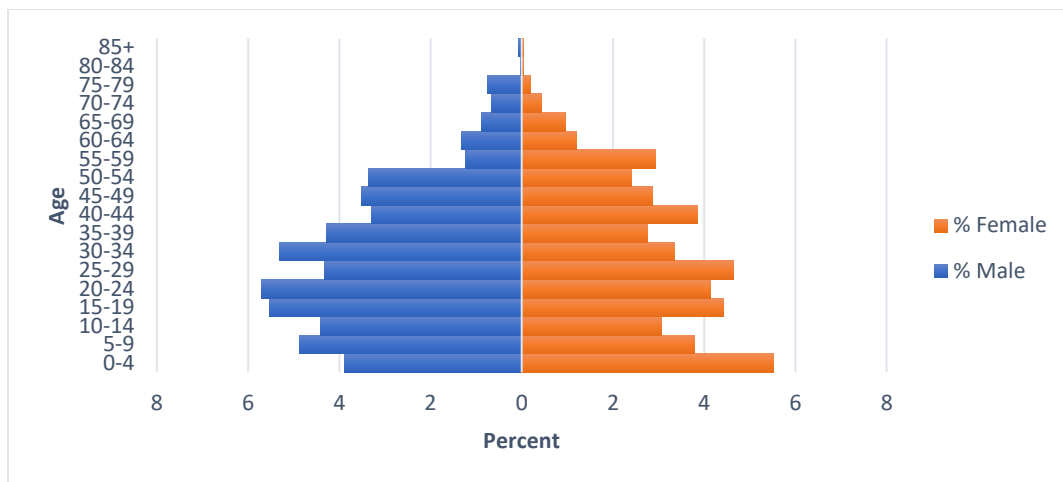
Figure25: Pyramid of Hispanic/Latino Population in Immokalee

The Hispanic/Latino population pyramid is suggestive of a steadily growing population. The spikes and gaps that are evident in the Haitian population are missing in this one. This would indicate that the population in Immokalee who are Hispanic/Latino have a somewhat more stable community. This would also be consistent with the description of an enclave as presented by (Portes and Stepick 1985; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002). While research into the Hispanic/Latino population in South Florida has not specifically looked at Immokalee, it would logically follow that the stable communities that built and maintained enough businesses to keep the heritage language dominant and provide employment for newcomers to the country, would also represent growing, stable populations (Portes and Manning 2005). This is just the type of population that is evident with the Hispanic/Latino community in Immokalee. Significantly more children are represented than senior citizens, and those who are eligible for the labor force outnumber those who would be dependent. This would represent a growing population, as there are more people who are in their younger years than older.

Table 4: Non-Hispanic/White Population in Immokalee by Age and Sex, Data from 2015 ACS 5-yr. estimates

Age	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total
0-4	583	2.51	732	3.15	1315
5-9	398	1.72	558	2.40	956
10-14	625	2.69	1316	5.67	1941
15-19	1027	4.43	664	2.86	1691
20-24	700	3.02	509	2.19	1209
25-29	557	2.40	492	2.12	1049
30-34	412	1.78	350	1.51	762
35-44	1215	5.24	1533	6.61	2748
45-54	1304	5.62	1100	4.74	2404
55-64	1371	5.91	1560	6.72	2931
65-74	1932	8.33	2080	8.96	4012
75-84	874	3.77	682	2.94	1556
85+	200	0.86	432	1.86	632
Total	11198	48.28	12008	51.73	23206

Figure 26: Pyramid of Non-Hispanic/White Population in Immokalee
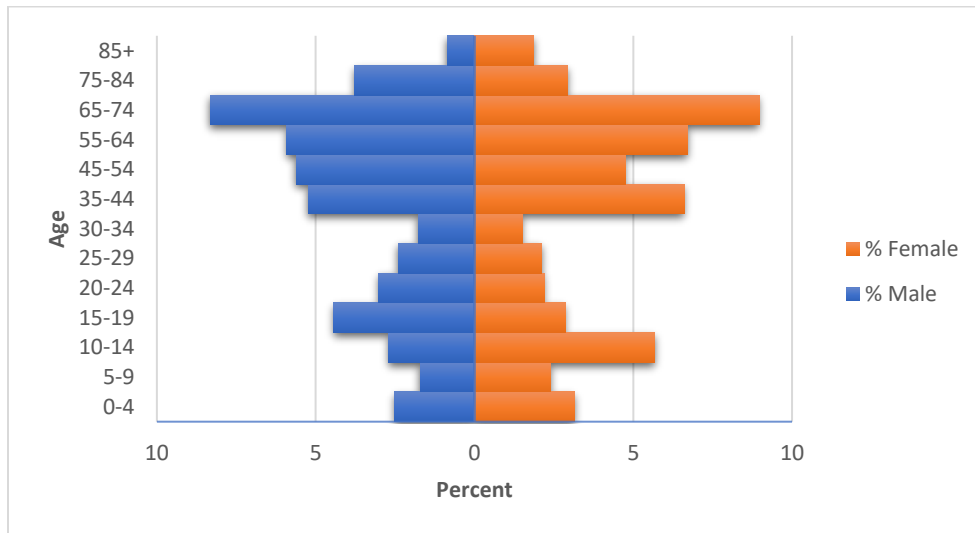
The Non-Hispanic White population presents a stark contrast to the

Hispanic/Latino population. This group is characterized by the largest number of the

population being 65-74 years old. This represents a significantly aging population, with

very few members of the work force able to support those who are aging. This is not surprising, as the region is known to be a hub for those who want to retire due to the mild weather conditions all year. Unless more retirees keep moving to the region, the White population will be in decline in the decades to come. This presents the potential for a dramatic shift in the ethnic makeup of the area, as the Haitian and Hispanic/Latino populations have larger percentages of young people represented in their demographic makeup.

The upcoming demographic shift toward an increase in people of color, especially Hispanic/Latinos, is well documented (Lichter, 2013). According to this research, if trends continue, Hispanic/Latino percentages of the population will overtake that of Non-Hispanic White populations within 40 years. In Immokalee, this shift has already taken place, as the Hispanic/Latinos occupy 47% of the overall population while Non-Hispanic Whites comprise 41% of the overall population. See figure 27 below for a comparative view of the three principle racial/ethnic groups and their economic and social outcomes. All together, these population numbers present a frame which helps to contextualize the qualitative findings presented in this paper.

Of particular emphasis are the ratios between the numbers of adults in the workforce compared to the number of dependents as defined by those who are younger than 15 and older than 65. This is called the dependency ratio. In looking at these numbers for the three principal groups in Immokalee, the dependency ratio is smaller for the Hispanic/Latino population (42) than it is for the Haitian population (54) or the Non-Hispanic White population (80).
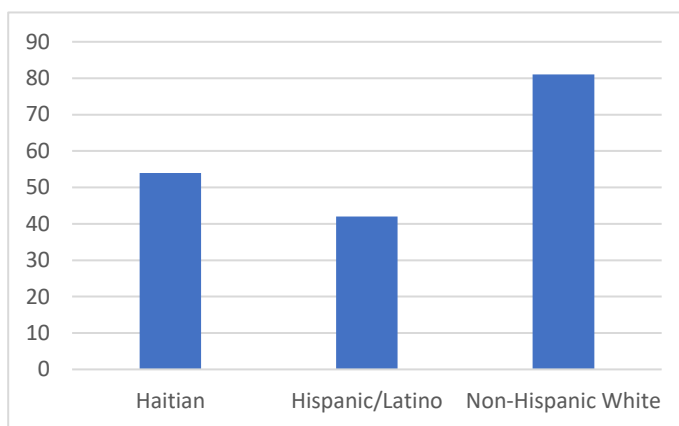

Figure 27: Dependency Ratios for the Principle Groups in Immokalee by Race/Ethnicity

A central argument of this paper and the participants is that the Haitian population living in Immokalee have worse social outcomes than other major groups residing in the same area. In this paper, I am attempting to explain the mechanisms by which the Haitian population is disadvantaged in the local habitus. That argument is predicated on the idea that the Haitians do, in fact, have a lower position in the social order than other groups operating within the same social field, as illustrated by the chart above. Portes and Manning (2005) show that immigrants are most typically incorporated into the local structure through the development of immigrant enclaves. Central factors defining an enclave are sufficient business ownership to afford the distribution of social and economic capital to other newcomers of the same ethnic background through the offer of jobs within the businesses (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002). Research into Haitian

immigrants in Florida finds that they have not been able to develop such enclaves, as there is limited evidence of sufficient business ownership to offer jobs to other Haitian newcomers (Portes and Stepick 1985). The following quantitative data indicate that similarities exist between the current situation in Immokalee and Portes and Stepick's findings in Miami in 1985.

This quantitative analysis does not try to approach the scope of the Portes and Stepick (1985) research. It does, however, attempt to correspond with the areas in the local community identified by the Haitian participants in detailing the ways that they were excluded from the local community. Major domains that were identified by the participants were employment, education, services, and governance. The American Community Survey (ACS) data provide a quantitative perspective of three of these four indicators. Language was also identified as being a major source of exclusion for the Haitian community, and the ACS data also provide a quantitative look into that domain as well. The choice of the specific variables extracted from the ACS data will be explained below, along with comparative charts showing the ways in which the major populations of Immokalee fare along these variables.

Table 5: Selected Characteristics of Immokalee's Population

	Haitian	Hispanic/Latino	Non-Hispanic White
Total Population: 56,726 **% of Total Population**	3,672	26,751	23,206
	6	47	41
Language			
% Speak English Very Well	42	54	89
% Speak English < Very Well	60	37	1
Education			
% < High School Diploma	62	48	7
% High School Diploma	20	24	24
% Some College	14	18	29
%Bachelors +	5	9	40
Employment & Economic Factors			
% Employed	75	88	95
% Below Poverty	47	32	6
% Annual Household Income <$30,000	66	41	16
% Households receiving SNAP or Food Stamps	50	40	5
% Without Health Care	48	45	12
Median Household Income	$23,293	$37,724	$80,625
Migration in Past Year			
% Same house	91	85	82
% Moved from same county	6	10	7
% Moved from different county in same state	1	2	6
% Moved from different state	0	3	5
% Moved from abroad	2	.6	.2

One specific note of caution when presenting quantitative data along terms of race and ethnicity is the occurrence of situating race as a problem. Quantitative analysis of communities along variables of race is inherently faulty as problematizing race has historically been used to validate arguments of intrinsic differences along racial lines (Zukufu & Bonilla-Silva 2008). To be clear, the purpose of the quantitative analysis in this section of the project is the opposite of this outcome. Race is not a causal factor in

the social outcomes displayed. The qualitative data show that other structural limitations are more important in keeping the Haitian community from achieving success commensurate with other people groups in the area. As such, it is not the Haitian or the Hispanic populations who should be viewed as problematic in these analyses. Instead, it is hoped that the overarching analysis will demonstrate the ways in which the social field is structured to favor the White population at the expense of the other people groups.

To further elaborate on these points, the population statistics that will be presented and discussed in this section of the paper only serve to frame and support the overall arguments made through the presentation and analysis of the qualitative data. In this, the social order as a stratified structure which is legitimated by local policies and beliefs in the habitus is the ultimate object of this analysis. Quantitatively, the social order can be viewed by its effects, which show that the Haitian population is disadvantaged in the local habitus, the Hispanic/Latino community fair only marginally better than the Haitians. The social outcomes of the White population are by far superior to those of the other social groups.

One of the key arguments of the participants and other local community members involved in this study was that language was the overarching problem for the Haitian population. In this, those who were outside the Haitian community indicated that the Haitians needed to learn English. And those who were members of the Haitian population indicated that their lack of English as well as the hostility towards Haitian Creole were significant factors in their exclusion. In the chart below, about 42% of the Haitian population are able to speak English very well, contrasted with 54% of the Hispanic/Latino population who report they are able to speak English as natives or very

well. The vast majority of the Non-Hispanic White population are able to speak English natively or very well. It is of some surprise that only 89% of this population can speak English natively or very well. More work needs to be done with this population to understand more deeply their characteristics.

When looking at English speaking ability from the other perspective, lack of proficiency, 60% of the Haitian population and 37% of the Hispanic/Latino population report having English-speaking skills that are categorized as less than very-well. These data are somewhat problematic for a couple of reasons. Firstly, these data are self-reported, and there might be a difference between how someone reports their language proficiency and how an outsider would report on language proficiency. Secondly, as mentioned in the discussion on language acquisition, ability to speak English does not necessarily relate to ability to read or write in English. This criticism cannot meaningfully be addressed, as the ACS data only report on the language domain of "speaking." More significantly, however, is the realization that three out of every five Haitians are not able to communicate in the dominant language of the social habitus. This fits with the overarching theme of exclusion based on language. With roughly one-third of the Hispanic/Latino population unable to speak English proficiently, this group does fair better along the lines of language, however, these findings do indicate that the Hispanic/Latino population do experience significant exclusion from the dominant linguistic habitus as well.

The exclusion of the Haitian and Hispanic/Latino populations on the basis of language as contrasted with the White population is striking when viewing that only 1% of the White population cannot speak English natively or very well. As such, the local

social processes such as encounters with the education system, use of the health care services, and participation in local government will linguistically advantage the vast majority of the White members of the population.

Figure 28: Percent of Population by Race/Ethnicity and Ability to Speak English
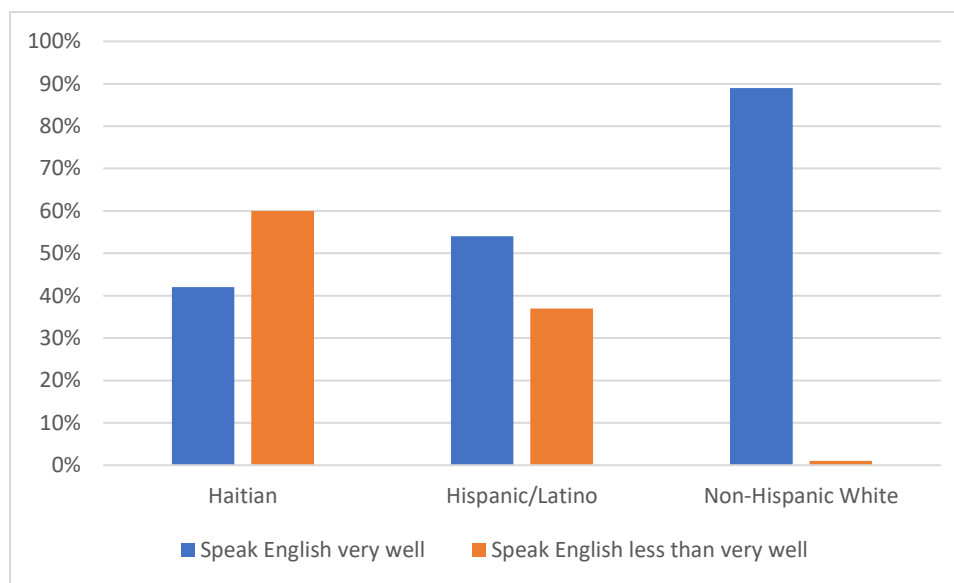
The next domain of the local community which was identified as problematic by the Haitian participants was the education system. For the purposes of this analysis, the variables included are the percentages of educational attainment of the population who are 25 and older. The reason for this metric as being used to analyze education is that the participants reported exclusion from their children's education by lack of language translation in the forms sent home and school meetings, but that would not indicate that the children did not receive an education in the local public schools. As a result, looking at indicators of public school attendance would not support or refute the arguments presented by the participants. On the other hand, the adults that were involved in the research project also indicated that they had been frustrated and excluded from local education services themselves. This group includes both those who had attended the

public school in Immokalee and those who had experience with the adult education programs at Immokalee Technical Institute. Those who were in adult classes were highly frustrated and reported bias against their learning by their instructors. Other participants reported that they wanted to take classes, but they were precluded from doing so because they had to work to support their families. As such, the data that are used to analyze the educational outcomes of the local community focus on the attainment of those adults who are over 25 years old.

*Figure 29: Percentage of Population over 25 by Race/Ethnicity & Educational Attainment*
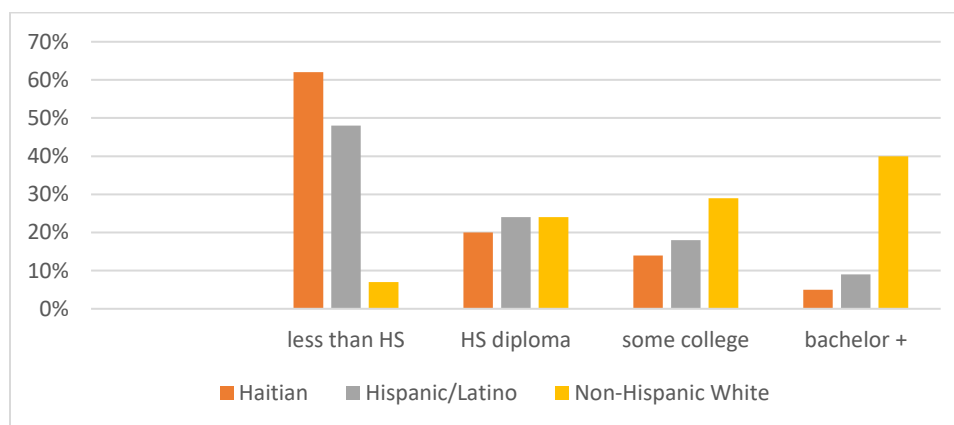
This chart shows that the Haitian population are less likely to have earned a high school diploma and less likely to have attended college than the other two groups in the local area. However, almost half of the Hispanic/Latino population are also estimated to be without a high school diploma. Likewise, only 5% of the Haitian population and 9% of the Hispanic/Latino population in Immokalee have a bachelor's degree or higher. These figures starkly contrast with the educational outcomes of the White population who have only 7% of the population without a high school diploma and 40% of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher. While the Hispanic/Latino population do fair slightly better than the Haitian population, both of these groups do significantly worse than the

White population. As is shown in the qualitative data, the meritocratic principles which underlie the messages proliferated by the schools as evidenced by the signs outside the elementary school favor Whites at the expense of people of color. This suggests structural privilege that supports better social outcomes for the Non-Hispanic White population.

As educational outcomes are directly linked to occupational and economic outcomes, the next area under examination is in the labor market. The participants repeatedly indicated that they were "the last ones hired and the first ones fired" in the local area. As such, it would be reasonable to theorize that the percentage of 16-64-year-olds employed in the labor force would be lower for the Haitian population than for the Hispanic/Latino or White populations. This was reflected in the data. Seventy-five percent of the Haitian population who are in the labor force are estimated to be employed, while 88% of the Hispanic/Latino populations and 95% of the Non-Hispanic White populations who are in the labor force are currently employed. These numbers are not fully sufficient to address employment because the only report estimates of the population in the target ages who are employed at least once in a 12-month period. As such, they do not differentiate between full and part-time employment or seasonal employment which is evident in the rural community.

Figure 30: Labor, Insurance, and Poverty by Race/Ethnicity
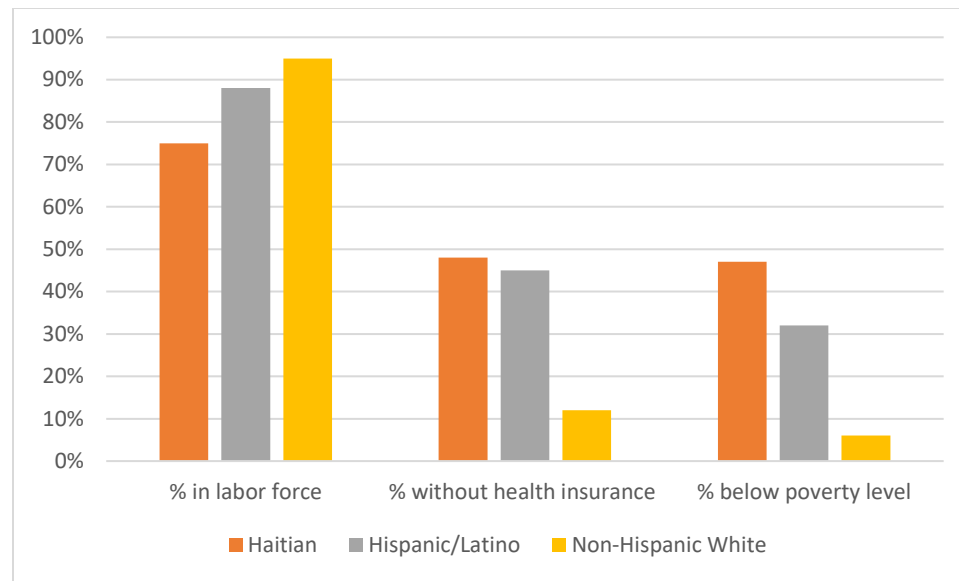
The lack of parity between percentages of employment between the Haitian and Hispanic/Latino populations further supports that the Haitian participants' assessment of their lower social outcomes. Even with 75% of the job force employed, lower social outcomes indicate that these are not as stable jobs. As much of the work in Immokalee is agricultural, in seasons of harvest there are likely to be jobs for as many people in the community who are able to work.

Position in the labor force can also be loosely linked with percentage of the population receiving health insurance, as better jobs will subsidize health insurance for employees. As such, looking at percentages of the groups who are not receiving health insurance will loosely indicate which are receiving better jobs. This is not a perfect variable to look at quality of jobs, as some of the health insurance might come from public subsidy. The percentages of the Haitian and Hispanic/Latino populations without health insurance are 48% and 45% respectively. A slightly higher percentage of Haitians are uninsured when compared to Hispanic/Latinos; however, this difference is minimized

when a comparison is made between both of these groups and the Non-Hispanic White

population, of whom only 12% are uninsured. Again, the social structure is arranged to

benefit the Non-Hispanic White members of the population at the expense of the people

of color.

Like with health insurance, high labor force participation does not equate to

stability of work or economic advantage. This assessment is supported by the estimates of

those members of the community who are living below the poverty level. Almost one-

half (47%) of the Haitian population and one-third (32%) of the Hispanic/Latino

population are living below the poverty level. Contrasted with the almost three-fourths

(73%) of both groups who are employed in the labor force, the data indicate that the

majority of the jobs available in the local community do not bring sufficient earnings for

the families. Once again, the position of the Haitian and Hispanic/Latino populations

starkly contrast with the White population, as only 6% of that group are living below the

national poverty line.

Only looking at poverty is insufficient to measure the income inequality in

Immokalee. To represent this measure of inequality, the median household income is

presented. This variable was selected to avoid the skew of extremes that occurs when

reporting mean incomes. The chart below shows that the median income by the Haitian

population is $23,293 annually. The median income of the Hispanic/Latino populations

indicate that generally, this group does earn more, at $37,724 annually. Both of these

figures are dwarfed by the median annual income of the White population in Immokalee

which is $80,625. These numbers are particularly striking when the percentages of

increase between the populations are presented. The Hispanic/Latino median income is

an increase of 62% over the Haitian population. The median White household income, however, is an increase of 114% over the Hispanic/Latino median household income and 214% over the Haitian median household income. These differences are stark and point to a highly stratified social order which privileges White people over populations of color, and especially over the Haitian population.

Figure 31: Median Household Income
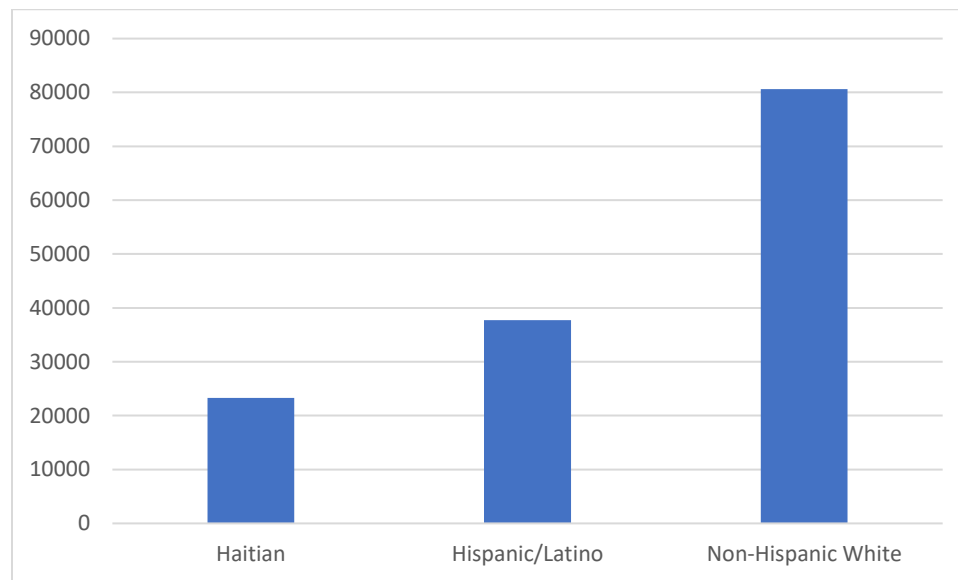
Inferential Data:

The descriptive data that are presented above support the overall impression of the social and economic conditions of Immokalee and the placement of the various groups in the stratified order of the community that was gained in the gathering of qualitative data. The Haitian population is the most vulnerable, the Hispanic/Latino population has slightly stronger outcomes in terms of employment, poverty, and median income. And both groups fare worse than Non-Hispanic Whites when looking at these outcomes. The

information gained from the American Community Survey are consistent with the information that was given by the participants in the focus groups and interviews.

Because these data are descriptive in nature, they do not help to explain the relationships between the Haitian population's characteristics and their social outcomes. When collecting qualitative data, one assumption was made in every discussion about the Haitian population. Whether talking with the study participants, members of the broader community who were not Haitian, or even elected officials, everyone said something like, "the problem with the Haitians is their language." There was a general consensus that the language issue is the central cause for the unequal social outcomes faced by the Haitian population.

Because of this centrality of language, much of the qualitative research looked at the use of language to exclude the Haitian population from the wider community. And this exclusion of the population on the basis of language was pervasively found. They reported difficulty finding jobs due to language. Those who did have jobs did not have supervisors who spoke their language. The Haitian population did not receive language support in the hospitals or clinics. And language translation was glaringly missing in the education sectors. Language was a key technique that was employed to exclude the Haitian population from the community and maintain their vulnerability as a population while simultaneously placing the responsibility for their exclusion on the shoulders of the Haitian members of the community.

The theoretical position of this paper argues that language is indeed a mechanism used by the dominant to exclude and justify the exclusion, but it is not the key problem faced by the Haitian community. Common wisdom would indicate that language, as

measured by ability to speak English, is a variable that helps to explain economic outcomes. The theoretical position of this paper takes a different view and argues that language is merely an excuse for the exclusion of the Haitian population, not a sufficient explanation of the outcomes. If common wisdom is correct, then statistical testing will show that language is a significant predictor of the economic outcomes of the Haitian population. If the theoretical position of this paper is correct, then language as measured by English ability will not be a significant predictor of social outcomes.

In order to test this theory, a linear regression analysis was conducted to see which independent variables are responsible for the level of poverty of the Haitian population. Poverty was selected as an outcome variable because past studies have shown that the "structure of work opportunities [have] prevented poor rural people from escaping poverty" (Tickamyer and Duncan 1990). As such, poverty is presented as the outcome of a variety of structural inequalities that are faced by those in rural communities. Structure of the work is cited as linked to the outcome of poverty, and this can be conceptualized by a number of factors including the spatial realities which structure work (Hedberg 2009), the linguistic realities which were identified in the qualitative data, educational attainment, and employment status. Based on these ideas, poverty rates were conceptualized as the outcome variable and educational attainment, employment status, and English ability were conceptualized as the input variables.

One potential problem with this conceptualization of the inferential analysis is the use of ordinal-level data with regression modeling. In looking into this issue, Peter McCullagh (1980) argues that ordinal-level data can be used for linear regressions, with an important caveat. In doing this type of analysis, care needs to be taken with extending

the inferences beyond the sample that is includes, as such, when using this level of data

with these tests, "there is a difference between modelling and testing" (122). Imposing

this limitation on the present analysis of the regression data fits with the intended purpose

of the overall analysis. The variables selected are not sufficiently robust to adequately

make any future predictive claims as is usual for regression modeling. Likewise, the

theoretical approach that is being taken is that language is insufficient in the explanation

of social and economic outcomes, therefore testing is the ultimate goal of this project.

The linear regression is useful because of the way that it tests the data, but it is beyond

the scope of this present work to use these findings to construct a model that would make

any future predictions.

Table 6: Effect of English Ability on Poverty

Dependent Variable: Poverty Status	
Independent Variable	Standardized Coefficient
Educational attainment	.240***
Employment status	.208***
English Ability	.040
Total family income	-.120**
Total personal income	.141*
Constant	82.383
R^2	0.128
n	525
*p<.05	
**p<.01	
***p<.001	
Source: IPUMS ACS 2015 5-year estimates	

As previously mentioned, care needs to be taken when making predictive analyses

based on the table above. Even so, the test indicates that educational attainment,

employment status, and total personal income are significant predictors of poverty status

with positive correlations. This would indicate that as these independent values increase,

so does the level above the poverty line. The counterintuitive value is the total family

income which shows an inverse relationship. According to this model, as the family income increases, the Haitian population are going down closer to poverty. One way to possibly explain this could be household size. Increasing levels of family income could correspond to higher numbers of people in the homes, which would then adjust the poverty level findings. As the participants in the project were hesitant to discuss household arrangements and issues of housing in general, this is only suggested. More exploration into household income, household size, and housing is needed to better understand these findings. A significant weakness of this model is the low R^2 value (0.128). Other variables will need to be identified that can better account for poverty status than the ones above. As mentioned earlier, housing will probably need to be looked at with greater detail.

The key finding that is represented here is that English ability is not a statistically significant variable in explaining the level of poverty of the Haitian population in Immokalee. While educational attainment, employment status, total family income, and personal income are statistically significant predictors of poverty, level of English ability is not. This would fit with the general theory that using language to explain and justify position in the social order is a form of colorblind racism. Other factors work to maintain the vulnerability of the Haitian population in this region, proficiency in English does not significantly account for poverty status.

Summary of Quantitative Findings

The descriptive analysis of the Haitian population indicates that when compared to the Hispanic/Latino population and the Non-Hispanic White population, the Haitians have increased levels of vulnerability in every arena of the community. They are less

likely to have jobs, more likely to be in poverty, they have lower levels of education attainment, and they have lower median household incomes than the other groups. While the participants in the qualitative section of this analysis indicated that their major struggle was with the Hispanic population, these data seem to indicate that the Non-Hispanic Whites are clearly the dominant group with access to the majority of the resources in the region. As such, there is a principle conflict between the dominant Non-Hispanic Whites and everybody else. While the Haitians are more vulnerable than the Hispanic/Latino populations, both groups are operating in a situation of economic and social inequality when compared to the outcomes of the Non-Hispanic White members of the community.

The second overall finding came from the inferential analysis. This showed that while educational attainment and employment status can significantly be used to explain poverty levels, proficiency in English is not sufficient in explaining the levels of poverty of the Haitian sample in Immokalee. This supports the overall conclusion of this paper that finds that language is used as a mechanism to exclude the Haitian population and then justify that exclusion. Deeper analysis into the causal mechanisms for the social and economic outcomes of the Haitian population are necessary because language does not statistically explain the vulnerability of the Haitian population.

Chapter 5: Conclusion & Limitations

This research project uses the story of the Haitian situation in Collier County and particularly the area of Immokalee to explore the role that language plays in the overall stratification of the region. As Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2012) argues, ethnic and racial inequalities are apparent in the structure of a region and evident in the racial habitus of a social field. This argument for a racial habitus directly references a Bourdieusian analysis of racism and symbolic violence in a social field. With regard to the Haitian population in Immokalee, the various actors in the field cite language as the key factor structuring their social outcomes. In this, language operates as a form of color-blind racism. Color-blind racism is the use excuses that purportedly do not reflect on the race of the individual or group to explain the exclusion or consideration of the person/group from the overall situation. Language, in this situation, works in a similar way. By saying that the problem of the Haitians is the language, community members blame the Haitian population for their exclusion. In reality, this region is structured with a racial habitus that excludes people of color, in ways similar to much of the USA. Language is just the excuse that is put on the shoulders of the Haitian population, obscuring the structures which excludes them.

To more fully expand this argument of language as colorblind racism, the current project presents language as an observable mechanism that is used to exclude the Haitian members of the community from the overall social structures. In this project, mechanisms can be viewed as observable tools of exclusion in the habitus and the dispositions that would support their use and acceptance (Lau 2004). In theorizing the ways in which language as colorblind racism operates mechanistically in the social field, this project

presented a matrix of legitimation that shows the processes by which the majority

members of the local community use and rationalize language as a method of exclusion

of the Haitian population, and how this use is accepted by the Haitian participants even as

they chafe against it.

Photographs are used in this project in an attempt to access the observable, visual

habitus of the social field (Sweetman 2009). This project shows that the signs on

buildings and in hazard areas are mostly bilingual, with only English and Spanish. The

exceptions to this exclusion were the County Tax Collector's office and the local jail. The

participants who viewed these photographs of their local habitus indicated that the

community does not include them when it comes to helping them or offering them

services. However, when it comes to getting their money or putting them in jail, the

broader county wants to make sure that the Haitians understand what is happening. This

points to a selective inclusion by county officials that is commensurate with the early

phases of the project which found that the 135-page Collier County 2016 demographic

and planning guide systematically excluded the Haitian population from the document.

Exclusion from the overall community was evident in each portion of the social

structure that the participants discussed. They were excluded from the job market in that

they had difficulty finding and keeping jobs. When they were working, there were not

signs identifying hazards in their language, and information about their rights was not

fully present in Creole. This points to increased vulnerability experienced by the Haitian

population, a vulnerability that was reported by participants who had been injured while

working. The lack of services in Haitian Creole in the health care system meant that the

participants could not be fully involved in their care. In order for them to participate,

participants reported having to pay friends who were bilingual to attend clinic visits with them. This increases the cost of care and it deteriorates from human dignity of the Haitian population in the region. These factors converged for one participant in particular, as the injury on the job force combined with exclusion from health care services caused him to lose his documentation status as a resident in the USA.

In addition to services, labor, and health care, participants reported language as being a site of exclusion from the education services of the region. Parents reported being unable to participate in their children's education because of lack of translation services. Others told stories of language policing when speaking Haitian Creole in classes. Those who were involved in the adult education system were not able to fully participate in their education as the language policing was pervasive in the English classes. They were unable to ask each other for clarification. The teachers would, however, speak Spanish and translate unclear points for the Spanish-speaking students. According to the participants, this discriminatory practice was evident even when the majority of the students in the class are Haitian. Likewise, Haitian teachers did not have the freedom to translate into Creole when teaching at the adult technical college. These factors point to a systemic use of language to exclude the Haitian population from fully participating in the education services.

When looking at the data quantitatively, there is evidence that the Haitian population has increased levels of vulnerability in terms of social and economic outcomes when compared to the Hispanic/Latino and the Non-Hispanic White populations. While both the Haitian participants and the other community members that were consulted for this project identified language as the primary cause of this vulnerability, inferential

testing indicated that language, as measured by English proficiency, is not a significant predictor of economic outcomes in terms of poverty levels.

The qualitative and quantitative findings support the overall position of the paper that language is used as a form of "color-blind racism" to justify the exclusion of the Haitian population in the overall habitus of the community. Language is necessary for inclusion, but it does not sufficiently explain the exclusion. The position of the Haitians in this area can be characterized as one of layers of oppression. Rather than viewing that these layers are independently occurring, this project shows that they interact with each other to combine and form other identities of oppression. While some of the participants have been able to achieve social mobility and are striving for improved economic outcomes, the majority reported feeling like they were "dying inside."

While the data and analyses that are presented in this dissertation center on the theoretical, as is appropriate for a paper which is attempting to contribute to sociological theory, the initial project was conducted as participatory action research. As such, in the last session, I presented my preliminary findings to the participants along with suggestions for community development. This was done for a number of reasons. Primarily, it functioned as a form of member checking my interpretations, analyses, and recommendations with the research subjects. This gave them the ultimate control in deciding whether they agreed with the story that was told about them and the ways in which their lived experiences were interpreted. In terms of the recommendation, this also provided a place for a dialog to occur. They provided recommendations as well as the ones that I had prepared. The participants could also comment on the feasibility of the recommendations and propose alternatives. All of this was done in an effort to increase

the agency of the participants. And it had a very positive outcome. In the sessions in the middle of the project, the discussions were emotionally difficult, revealing the depth to which the Haitian community is excluded and oppressed in the overall social structure. In this last meeting, however, the community members were left with hope that there are actionable steps that they can take and recommendations that need to be met by the local government as well as employers in order to increase the recognition, participation, and inclusion of the Haitian community.

The specific recommendations that were determined in dialog with the participants of the project involved a variety of action steps to be taken. In terms of government, there needs to be widespread inclusion of Haitian Creole on the signage in the community. Wherever there is Spanish and English, there should also be Haitian Creole. This is especially important in the schools, health care facilities, and work place. Secondly, language services need to be provided to all of the community members. Haitian Creole translators should be employed in order to create a bridge between the various community institutions and the Haitian population.

On the population side, the English education services that are currently offered are not working for many members of the Haitian community. Mothers who have to navigate both paid and unpaid labor in supporting and nurturing their families do not have access to the adult classes for a variety of reasons including time, cost, and the availability of child care. Likewise, the language policing that occurs in the adult education courses creates an environment in which the Haitian students who do attend those classes are excluded. Consequently, it is recommended that the churches which are spaces that are in control of the Haitian population become sites for language education.

It is recommended that they teach English classes as well as literacy in Haitian Creole. These would allow the increased involvement of the community members, a safe place to learn, and provide means of employment of those bilingual English/Creole speakers who would be able to function as teachers.

Another recommendation that came directly out of the focus group sessions was that the Haitian population meet together in larger community groups. While there are several churches in the area, there was no evidence of organized events for the wider Haitian population to meet together. It is recommended that various congregations and even those members of the community who are not attending a congregation to have community meetings in which they sit and discuss what is happening, organize a leadership, and be more systematic in their inclusion in the wider community. In this way, they would hopefully develop solidarities and a sense of community identity and social power that comes from increased discussions and activity. Community activism can be central to a struggle for increased recognition and better social outcomes.

This project has several limitations. The primary being the identity of the researcher. Because I am not Haitian, and because I do not speak Haitian Creole, I was not able to present the population from a truly emic perspective. There was a lack of cultural penetration as the translators would filter messages that came to me. Also, the number of participants whose trust I was able to garner in order to participate in the focus groups was limited. Some contacts were made at the end of the field experience, and I do have active networks that would allow me to get more participants if I were to return to this area and further develop this research. This project ends with more questions than

answers; for example, questions of housing and incorporation in the criminal justice system were not fully explored.

Another particular area necessary for future research involves the youths who have recently come to the USA or came when they were younger. Those members of the population who are in the years of their older teens and early twenties are of particular interest in the discussion of internalized ascriptions. This group contains those members of the population who have struggled for the equal representation of Haitian Flag Day in the public-school systems but do not want to speak Haitian Creole in formal settings. These are the youths that could soon be leaving their parents behind, in search for better job opportunities and lives. Future research into the views of this group on their opinions about their language and heritage can help illuminate some of the lasting, inter-generational effects of language as color-blind racism which justifies social and economic exclusion.

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