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Katherine Rennie
Providence College

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Correlations Between Language, Identity, and Discrimination
Among Spanish Speakers in Providence

Katherine Rennie
Providence College
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I. Abstract

This study examines how perceived discrimination based on language hinges on the importance of language to one's personal identity. In order to understand the connections between discrimination and language, the literature on discrimination and its various components is investigated. Scholars' findings concerning the connection between language and identity are then examined. A discussion will follow of the neuropsychology of language and of the scientific argument that human language came about in response to an evolutionary need for symbolic communication. These themes create a framework for the following study. In order to understand the experience of discrimination as a result of language, the perception of discrimination by Spanish-speakers in Providence, R.I. is explored. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, it was investigated how language factors into perceived discrimination of Spanish-speakers in Providence, and what the role of language barriers are in the perception of discrimination. It was confirmed that the Spanish language is an essential element to one's identity as a Spanish-speaker, more so even than race or gender. However, this study was inconclusive on the correlation between language as it is tied to identity with the frequency of perceived discrimination. It was discovered that Spanish speakers in Providence experience discrimination, and oftentimes perceive it as a result of language issues. The goal of this study is to provide an understanding of Spanish-speakers' perception of discrimination, so that we may eventually overcome it.

*And the LORD came down to see the city and
the tower, which the children of men builded.*

*And the LORD said, Behold, the people [is] one,
and they have all one language; and this they
begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained
from them, which they have imagined to do.*

*Go to, let us go down, and there confound
their language, that they may not understand
one another's speech.*

*So the LORD scattered them abroad from thence
upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.*

*Therefore is the name of it called Babel;
because the LORD did there confound the
language of all the earth: and from thence
did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the
face of all the earth.*

Genesis 11: 5-9

II. Introduction

Language, identity, and communication combine to form a unity, a trinity of sorts, which gives humans something to hold on to that makes them unique, but also brings them into communication with each other. But what happens when, as in the case of Babel, humans are separated into different language communities? No longer is there a shared language or a shared linguistic identity. Tensions, miscommunication, and discrimination results.

This study will examine how discrimination based on language hinges on the importance of language to one's personal identity. Studies have shown that humans define themselves in terms of language because it is meaningful use of spoken language that sets humans apart from other animal species. Neuropsychology has shown that an evolutionary need for communication prompted the initiation of language. The human need for communication, in conjunction with the interconnectedness of language and identity, thus exists as a potential explanation for language discrimination.

In order to understand the experience of discrimination as a result of language issues, the perception of discrimination by Spanish-speakers in Providence, R.I. will be explored. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, it will be investigated how language factors into perceived discrimination of Spanish-speakers in Providence, and what role language barriers play in the perception of discrimination. The goal of this study is to provide an understanding of Spanish-speakers' perception of discrimination, so that we may eventually overcome it.

III. Literature Review

Introduction

In today's increasingly globalized and interconnected world, the collision of various language communities has become an everyday occurrence. A unique form of discrimination exists as a result of conflict and miscommunication caused by these collisions of language communities. Language discrimination refers to a form of discrimination that is based on a person's membership or non-membership in a particular language community. Understanding the causes of language discrimination is important in that once we understand its causes, we might be able to overcome its effects.

In order to understand the connections between discrimination and language, the literature on discrimination and its various components will be investigated. Scholars' findings concerning the connection between language and identity will then be examined. A discussion will follow of the neuropsychology of language and of the scientific argument that human language came about in response to an evolutionary need for symbolic communication.

The exploration of these various subthemes pertaining to discrimination and language will provide a foundation for the following study. My research will examine what role language and language barriers play in the perceived discrimination of Spanish speakers in Providence, and what the implications are for communication. In order to answer these questions, the kinds of discrimination that Spanish-speakers face will be examined, as well as their own perception of language as it relates to identity, and how language might facilitate or hinder communication.

A. Discrimination

Mary E. Kite and Bernard E. Whitley (2005), in *The Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*, define discrimination as, “treating people differently from others based primarily on membership in a social group,” (p. 12). They then qualify that like prejudice (defined as an attitude directed toward people because they are members of a specific social group), people tend to think of discrimination as especially negative, while someone might in fact be treated more positively because of his or her membership in a particular group, (Kite and Whitley, 2005, p. 12). Kenneth L. Dion (2001), however, defines discrimination as “unfair behavior or unequal treatment accorded others on the basis of their group membership or possession of some arbitrary trait,” (p. 2). Similarly, Harold D. Fishbein (2003) defines discrimination as harmful actions toward others because of their membership in a particular group, (p. 115).

These different definitions pose the question of whether discrimination is *negative* treatment of a person/persons due to membership in a specific group, or just *different* treatment. One could argue, however, that to treat someone positively due to his or her membership in a particular group would be to also treat someone else not as positively, which would be “unfair,” as per Dion’s definition. In essence, if certain groups are treated positively, others are not. Kite and Whitley’s definition of discrimination also fails to take into account the social connotation of discrimination as something especially negative, which is in fact relevant since discrimination is a social phenomenon to begin with, one that is most often identified as negative. This may be a result of more “positive” discrimination going unnoticed, and being considered the norm.

Regardless of which specific definition one chooses, we are still left with the question of where discrimination comes from and why it occurs. According to Kite and Whitley (2009), prejudice and intergroup conflict are seen as inevitable, and have evolved over time, to serve a purpose in society, (Kite, p. 31). Fishbein (2003) explains, “Our genetic/evolutionary heritage provides the initial push toward prejudice,” (p. 113). Primates, Fishbein argues, are evolutionarily predisposed to show in-group favoritism, which may then lead to out-group antagonism in times of resource scarcity. As argued in *The Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*, interaction or cooperation with the “wrong” person could produce harmful effects on an individual or group. For this reason, humans developed a system of categorization clues that aided in distinguishing between those whom it was or was not appropriate to interact with, (p. 32). This theory is supported by the idea that ethnocentrism is found in all human cultures, and that humans have a drive to categorize things, (Kite, 2009, p. 32). Thus, the foundation for prejudice and discrimination may in fact be built into human nature. However, Kite (2009) qualifies that that “does not make them right or even excusable,” (p. 33).

Discrimination can be further categorized into interpersonal discrimination versus institutional discrimination. Kite and Whitley (2009) explain that interpersonal discrimination occurs when one person treats another unfairly because of the person’s group membership, (p. 13). This situation occurs at the individual level, and is often a manifestation of prejudice, or the directing of an attitude toward someone because he or she is a member of a specific group, (Kite and Whitley, 2009, p. 11). Fishbein’s (2003) discovery that prejudice and discrimination feed on and enhance each other supports the idea that interpersonal discrimination might be fueled by prejudice, (p. 115).

Institutional discrimination, on the other hand, is “when the practices, rules, and policies of formal organizations, such as corporations or government agencies have discriminatory outcomes,” (Kite and Whitley, 2009, p. 13). Rather than being at the individual level, this form of discrimination resides in official policies and procedures that have been agreed upon by a group of people. For example, Gloria Anzaldúa (1999) investigates the institutional discrimination that she faced while living near the border of Mexico and the US in her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*. She describes how Spanish-speaking children like her were discriminated against in elementary school: “I remember being caught speaking Spanish at recess- that was good for three licks on the knuckles with a sharp ruler,” (p. 75). In this context, discrimination against Spanish-speakers was supported by the school and was therefore a form of institutional discrimination.

Fred Genesee (1994) found that this form of discrimination is especially evident for ESL students, who are victims of discriminatory policies in the areas of special education, psychological assessment, streaming/tracking, and entry/exit criteria for bilingual or ESL programs, (p. 34). He argues, “Curriculum that reflects only the experiences and values of the middle-class white native-English-speaking population effectively suppresses the experiences and values of ESL students,” (p. 34).

Cultural discrimination exists as yet another category. It is not quite interpersonal, for it is on a larger scale, nor organizational, for it manifests itself not in official rules or policies but rather in group dynamics. According to Kite and Whitley (2009), cultural discrimination is when “the powerful group establishes and maintains its dominance by rewarding those values that correspond to its views and punishing those values that do

not,” (p. 17). As a result, the minority group is marginalized and its cultural heritage suppressed. Fishbein (2003) would agree, for he argues that the attempts of the dominant group to continue holding the power and privileges they have is the initial motivating force for the development of prejudice and discrimination, (p. 114-115). However, cultural discrimination can potentially lead to institutionalized policies, thus intertwining the two.

Discrimination is partially innate, but it is also learned through the transmission of cultural institutions related to this power dynamic. Kite and Whitley (2009) define culture as “a unique meaning and information system, shared by a group and transmitted across generations, that allows the group to meet basic needs of survival, pursue happiness and well-being, and derive meaning from life,” (p. 5-6). Fishbein (2003) argues that the values assigned to various groups are determined by the particular culture in which individuals grow and mature, (p. 114). This is because, as Kite and Whitley (2009) explain, members of a culture hold set beliefs in common, including beliefs about behaviors, values, attitudes, and opinions, (p. 6). These values, norms, and beliefs, however, are not innate- they are learned, just as discrimination is learned, (Fishbein, 2003, p. 114).

B. Discrimination and Language

This discussion of culture is what returns us to the question of language. Language is not only a means of transmitting that those beliefs, values, attitudes and opinions, but also a part of that information system described by Kite. As David D. Laitin (2000) explained, it is “not only a means of communication, but it is also a marker

of identity and through its pragmatics, a cultural institution,” (p. 144). Language, then, is an identifying factor for individuals that may be used in cultural, as well as interpersonal and organizational discrimination.

As seen in the discussion of discrimination, people discriminate against others based on membership in a particular group or social category. Language, as a cultural institution, functions as one of those groups, in addition to its role as an indicator of a group. Kite and Whitley (2009) explain, “When people know a person’s basic category membership, they use that information to draw conclusions,” (p. 81). These conclusions, they say, often draw on history. For example, the institution of slavery created a social hierarchy with African Americans on the bottom, a hierarchy that continued even after the abolition of slavery, (Kite and Whitley, 2009, p. 20). Similarly, certain conclusions might be drawn about someone speaking a particular language, because people tend to infer that the language they speak is an indicator of what social category they are part of, and thus what history and social connotations are correlated with that category.

Anzaldúa (1999) also explains how the Chicano language emerged from the struggle between the English, Spanish, and Indigenous languages and heritages. She says, “Chicano Spanish sprang out of the Chicanos’ need to identify ourselves as a distinct people. We needed a language with which we could communicate with ourselves, a secret language,” (p. 77). Chicano emerged as both a means of communication and identification. However, this occurred within the context of the border conflict between the United States and Mexico, resulting in negative attitudes toward those people who were caught between the two and identified themselves as Chicano. Anzaldúa says, “I

have so internalized the border conflict that sometimes I feel like one cancels out the other and we are zero, nothing, no one,” (p. 85). Due to these negative attitudes and a refusal to ascribe Chicanos their Chicano identity, those who identify as Chicano like Anzaldúa face an extreme identity crisis.

This situation is not limited to the border of the US and Mexico. As a Greek immigrant to Sweden, Theodor Kallifatides (1993)' situation is similar, for he was caught in an identity crisis because of his new language. Unable to express certain Greek characteristics that he identified with in the Swedish language, and unable to communicate with anyone in his native Greek language, his identity changed to satisfy the Swedish language. He says, “My moral values, strongly connected to my identity as a Greek, started to deteriorate under the burden of alienation... My new language did not seem to tolerate my Greek identity,” (p. 115-117). This identity struggle was directly caused by his inability to communicate and his forced learning of the Swedish language so that he could communicate. Kallifatides claims that a person's entire system of values and ideas can disintegrate with the use of a new language, and “that is exactly what happens to immigrants, although very few are conscious of it,” (p. 113).

As we have seen in the accounts of Kallifatides and Anzaldúa, the tensions created between language communities as a result of categorization may result in a personal identity crisis, especially for the bi-lingual or multi-lingual person. In *Language and Borders*, Bonnie Urciuoli (1995) explains, “This intersection [between multiple languages] can put the speaker into what amounts to the cross-hairs of a language-culture dichotomy,” (p. 535). Which language to speak, and which language to identify with?

This struggle is created by language as a means of categorization and ascription of identity.

But why is it that we categorize people based on language? Urciuoli (1995), who studied language and borders, explains, “The phrase ‘language and borders’ suggests that language differences signify categories of person defined by ethnic or national origin and that these categories are opposed to each other,” (p. 525). To categorize people based on language inherently pits them against each other for speaking a different language. But as Kite and Whitley (2009) found, it is natural to determine a person’s basic category membership, (p. 81). This causes even more discrepancy when those language groups are linked to specific nations, for “When languages take on sharp edges, i.e. borders, they are mapped onto people and therefore onto ethnic nationality (which may or may not map onto a nation-state),” (p. 533). Therefore the lines that distinguish language communities do not line up with nation borders, creating language tensions within and across those borders. This method of categorization and ascription of identity is not always accurate and often leads to problems, especially in the context of globalization.

C. Language Choice

In her article *Language Ideology*, Kathryn Woolard investigates the social significance of language and how it can be seen very distinctly in language choice. As Spanish officials found during the attempted revival of the Catalan language in Spain, the social significance of speaking Catalan had more of an effect on language choice than the institutional dicta, (Woolard, 1994, p. 311). Essentially, the institutions do not directly influence the language that one chooses as long as there is an option between multiple

languages. Rather, the social significance of the language determines language choice. In the case of Catalonia, institutions, namely schools, created an arrangement that encouraged the use of Catalan so as to preserve it. However, the social implications were what really determined the choice of using Catalan versus Spanish. Woolard explains, “Generally, only people ethnically identified as Catalan spoke Catalan,” (p. 314). Therefore, the social implications, as discussed previously, dictated that only native Catalan speakers, or those who ethnically identified as Catalan, speak Catalan.

On the other hand, John Lucy (1997) in his article *Linguistic Relativity*, argues that institutions may in fact influence language choice more than Woolard admits. He says, “The inclination of the speaker to involve language categories in thought may be affected by institutionalized discursive practices in culture,” (p. 307). Thus in the case of Catalonia, the fact that there was an institutionalized revival of Catalan at all influenced the choice of language that participants in Woolard’s study chose. Perhaps if there had not been this institutionalized revival going on, participants’ language choices would have been different.

D. Language and Identity

This social significance of language indicates that the language a person speaks reflects his or her personal identity. But what is it that makes language and identity struggles so personal and important to us? Some have argued that the particular language one speaks is a great influence on one’s personality and how he or she views the world.

This way of thinking leads us to the hypothesis of language relativity. Language relativity, as described by Lucy (1997), is “the proposal that the particular language we

speak influences the way we think about reality,” (p. 291). Essentially, one’s thought process is influenced by certain characteristics of the language that one speaks. Theodor Kallifatides (1993), the Greek immigrant to Sweden, expressed this theory based on his personal experiences with the Greek and Swedish languages. He says, “The Swedish language has its own picture of the world, and that world is different from the world of my Greek language,” (p. 118). According to Kallifatides, reality as described in the Swedish language is different from the reality described in the Greek language. This is due to the fact that the language you speak influences the way you see the world.

However, the closeness of language and culture poses a problem for language relativity. Is it the language that influences the way we think, or the culture that happens to be tied to that language? Lucy (1997) argues that language relativity is distinct from cultural relativity because “Linguistic relativity proposals emphasize a distinctive role for language structure in interpreting experience and influencing thought,” (p. 295). Language relativity focuses on the effect that language specifically has on the way we think. Cultural relativity focuses on the different ways that various communities think about reality. Concerning language relativity, Lucy says that even though such relativity may contribute to an overarching cultural relativity, it may also crosscut it, (p. 295). Language relativity provides a potentially interesting theory for how language might influence our worldview, but it fails to answer the question of how exactly to discern the influences of language from the influences of culture.

More importantly than the influence of language on perception is how people identify themselves in relation to language. The most accurate way to determine the

connection between language and identity is to study the effect of language change on identity. Kallifatides (1993) explains, “The Swedish language has made me a different Greek from the Greek I used to be,” (p. 120). He describes how certain nuances in the Greek language, which were essential to his identity, cannot be expressed in Swedish. When he emigrated from Greece to Sweden, he was forced to learn Swedish in order to communicate, which then changed the way he identified himself.

Just as Kallifatides experienced an identity shift as a result of his new language, Bonnie Urciuoli (1995) explains this trend in terms of group identity. She says, “In many instances, language and group identity are not isomorphic, and people do not always see language shift vitiating their cultural identity,” (p. 533). Language and group identity are not two separate concepts; they depend on each other and are affected by each other. For this reason, when there is a change in a group’s language, there is a change in their identity as well. This explains why Kallifatides experienced such an identity shift when he was forced to make Swedish his primary language.

This trend can also be seen in other situations of language learning, even when there is no relocation involved. For example, in the Catalonia region of Spain, there was a recent revival of the Catalan language where before, Spanish was the dominant language. Kathryn Woolard (1994) studied the attitudes directed at various people for their choice of language amidst the language revival. She found that “The identity marking value of the Catalan language restricted it to use only between native speakers, and its significance as an in-group, ethnic language constrained use of Catalan even by those young people who were learning it in school.” (p. 315). Native Catalan speakers

felt positively toward other native Catalan speakers speaking Catalan, while they felt negatively against native Spanish speakers speaking Catalan. Native Spanish speakers felt positively toward other native Spanish speakers speaking Spanish, while they felt indifferent toward native Spanish speakers speaking Catalan. This indicates that according to native Catalan speakers, the “in-group,” Catalan language use should be (socially) restricted to native speakers, and native speakers of Catalan should only use Catalan. Hence, the identity of the group would be maintained by its language.

E. Language as Identity

As seen in the studies of Urciuoli (1995), Kallifatides (1993), and Woolard (1994), language is an important element to identity. But exactly how important is it? To some, it is *the* identifying factor. Benjamin Bailey (2000) studied high school students who were first and second generation immigrants to the US from the Dominican Republic, and found that language is the most important identifying factor for them. Despite the appearance of being “black,” Bailey found that “Dominican Americans explicitly define their race in terms of language rather than phenotype, explaining that they SPEAK Spanish, so they ARE Spanish,” (p. 556). Bailey observed the interactions of one particular dark-skinned Dominican American student who vocally identified himself as Spanish rather than African American or Dominican American. Thus his self-achieved identity is Spanish because he speaks Spanish. Bailey also found that, “Many of their peers, including non-Hispanics, accept this evidence of non-African American identity,” (p. 556-557). He explains that a girl of Asian ancestry first thought that this one particular student was African American, but realized that he was Spanish after she heard

him speak. This indicates that identity is not only self-achieved based on language, but that it is ascribed by others based on language.

Gloria Anzaldúa (1999) also indicates that her language defines her identity. She investigates the social and personal implications of speaking Chicano Spanish in the United States, in the context of tensions along the border of Mexico and the US. She says, “If a person, Chicana or Latina, has a low estimation of my native tongue, she also has a low estimation of me,” (p. 80). This indicates the same identification process that Bailey found exists in Dominican Americans: language is the most significant factor in both self-achieved and ascribed identity. She also argues that, “Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity- I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself,” (p. 81). Not only is language the most important identifying factor for her, but language is also tied to pride in oneself.

F. Language as a Form of Communication

As the literature suggests, language is an essential factor to one’s identity- often it is even *the* identifying factor. Some scholars would say that language is one of the things that identify us as a species as well, for we are the only animal species that uses spoken language. Others would say that many species use language, but it is the way in which humans use it that makes them unique. The exact definition of language, however, is clouded by much controversy.

There are several different interpretations of the word *language*. In his article, *Cultural Darwinism and Language*, D’Andrade (2002) investigates three different interpretations of the word: the sounds, words, and grammar used by a community;

audible, articulated, meaningful sound, and; a systematic means of communicating ideas or feelings by means of signs, sounds, gestures, or marks that have understood meanings, (p. 224). By any of these standards, humans make use of language as well as many other animals. For example, a dog's bark would be considered language because it is a meaningful sound that communicates an idea, just as a bird's song or a bear's growl. Deacon (1996), on the other hand, argues that language is "A mode of communication based upon symbolic reference and involving combinational rules that comprise a system for representing synthetic logical relationships among symbols," (p. 638). By this definition, he argues, humans alone have the capacity for language. Sign language, mathematics, and musical scores would be considered a language, but the songs of birds or humpback whales would not. The definition of language is, therefore, a highly contested one, and not something that is easily dissected. In order that we might discover the true nature of language, we must look to its origins in communication.

Marc D. Hauser (2000), who studied human newborns in comparison with cotton-top tamarin monkeys, found that "humans are born with capacities that facilitate language acquisition and that seem well attuned to the properties of speech," while the monkeys were not, (Hauser, 2000). Unlike other animals, humans are born with a tendency toward language specifically, not just communication in general. This trend can also be seen in the study by Goldin-Meadow and Feldman (1977) in which deaf children created their own form of sign language to communicate with their parents. Hauser concludes that humans alone make meaningful use of spoken language, (Hauser, 2000). However, we can only assume that he is taking after Deacon's definition of language, for at no point does his study define what is meant by language.

Aleksandra Derra (2008) evaluates the view of Noam Chomsky, an influential language theorist, who argues that language is in fact unique to humans. Derra argues that according to Chomsky, “the language faculty is a distinct state of the mind/brain, whose initial state is common to the entire species... this faculty constitutes a characteristic and unique system specific to the human species,” (p. 87). His argument is that the capacity for language is common among all humans, and that it is a uniquely human characteristic. He would, therefore, agree with Deacon’s definition of language, that it is a system of symbolic communication based on relationships between symbols, as previously discussed.

As is seen in his definition of language, Deacon (1996) would agree with Hauser and Chomsky that language is unique to humans. He says, “Among the vast multitude of animal species, languagelike communication is the anomaly, not the rule. It’s not just unusual or rare, it’s essentially nonexistent except in one peculiar species: *Homo sapiens*,” (p. 638). This is not only because of language as a system of relationships among representatives (rather than just the representatives themselves), but also a unique characteristic of the human brain, (p. 635). Deacon found that the prefrontal area of the cerebral cortex influences the learning and thinking styles of humans, not only their language. Therefore, our complex system of language depends on our unique way of thinking and learning, which is due to this enlarged prefrontal cortex, (p. 635). In response to D’Andrade’s argument that other animal species use language to communicate, Deacon would say that those are simply “rote-level associations, and thus not symbolic,” (p. 639). Despite much controversy, the majority of linguists agree that language is unique to humans.

G. Fundamentality of Communication

Whether language is unique to humans or not, communication is very much essential to every-day human life. However, languagelike communication can also be observed in all many animal species as well. Therefore, what makes humans special? D'Andrade (2002) would argue that the capacity for language, or the "language faculty" as Noam Chomsky puts it, is evident in the communication systems of other animals as well as humans. What makes human language different from animal language is the complexity. "Human language representatives," he says, "typically involve more complex grammatical relations," (p. 225). Animal languages, on the other hand, "tend to be limited to giving information about the here and now and usually also function as directives," (p. 225). Therefore, according to D'Andrade, all animals, including humans, use language as a form of communication.

Others, however, would argue that meaningful use of language is an inherent characteristic of humans, as previously discussed, and indicates the importance of communication for them. D'Andrade (2002) investigates this innateness of communication in a study done by Goldin-Meadow and Feldman (1977). They found that functionally deaf children whose parents have not taught them sign language developed their own form of sign language and taught it to their parents, "thereby bringing the parents into communication with them," (D'Andrade, 2002, p. 224). This indicates that the faculty for communication and the desire for communication exist in humans, even without having been taught a specific language (i.e. sign language).

Terrence Deacon (1996) argues that the human brain came to be this way in response to the need for it to understand symbolic communication. The prefrontal area of the cerebral cortex, which controls the faculties for thinking and learning, is markedly larger in humans than in other animals and very early hominids. Deacon argues that the impetus behind the restructuring of the human brain was not simply a general demand on intellectual capacity, but rather, “the unusual nature of the cognitive demands imposed by symbolic communication,” (p. 668). There was a demand on the human brain to understand symbolic communication, causing the prefrontal area of the cerebral cortex to enlarge over time through evolution.

D’Andrade (2002) explains how this phenomenon emerged in response to external conditions. Like Deacon (1996), he argues that the human brain changed in response to the need for it to understand symbolic communication. However, D’Andrade explains in more detail how that could have happened. He says, “A cultural way of life increased the fitness of individuals who were more effective at producing and understanding representatives,” (p. 226). Essentially, those early humans who were better at communication were more likely to survive and produce offspring, harkening back to Darwin’s theory of survival of the fittest. This happened, he argues, because ideas more complex than the “here and now” became relevant and important, (p. 226). This explains why and how humans developed a system of meaningful spoken language.

Conclusion

Communication via language is thus an innate characteristic in humans, if not one of the major features that distinguishes humans from other animal species. Additionally,

scholars have found that the particular language a person speaks heavily influences how that person defines him or herself. Consequently, language brings people together into communities, joined by a shared identity and ability to communicate. As a result, these communities function as in-groups, thus excluding those with whom the group does not share an identity and cannot communicate. The resulting social structure provides a theoretical cause for discrimination. In reflecting on this literature, it will now be investigated how language factors into perceived discrimination of Spanish-speakers in the Providence, and what the role of language barriers is in discrimination.

IV. Methodology

Conceptual Framework

This study evolved out of the personal relationships and experiences working with Spanish-speakers and English-learners in Providence, RI. In addition, classroom discussions, seminars and lectures concerning discrimination and the immigrant experience inform the context of this research.

The conceptual framework for this investigation is also based on previous research concerning language and identity. In a 2010 study, *Language and Identity*, it was found that language is an important factor to one's identity, and is sometimes the most influential factor. Both self-achieved and ascribed identities are inextricably reliant on language, (Margenot, Podgorski, & Rennie, 2010).

The literature has shown that discrimination evolved as a natural tendency in which humans form communities or "in-groups," which then result in the exclusion of those with whom the group does not associate. Language communities function as in-groups, providing a shared identity as well as a shared method of communication for the group. Thus the particular language one speaks has a significant influence on his or her personal identity. As a result, different language communities combined with stereotypes and prejudices provide an environment conducive for language discrimination.

This study is therefore grounded in several assumptions. Based on past research, it will be assumed that language does in fact influence identity. Additionally, it will be

assumed that language functions as a characteristic, similar to race or gender, in that it may provide a system of categorization necessary for discrimination.

In this study, it will be investigated how language factors into perceived discrimination of Spanish-speakers in Providence, RI, and what the role of language barriers are in the perception of discrimination. It is expected that Spanish speakers in Providence experience discrimination and perceive discrimination as oftentimes-based on language. Additionally, those who feel that language is more strongly tied to their personal identity will perceive discrimination as based on language more than those who do not feel that language is particularly tied to their personal identity. Finally, it is hypothesized that Spanish speakers in Providence who have felt discriminated against would perceive their discriminator as an English speaker and, as a result of discrimination, feel unable to communicate with him/her.

Methods

Fieldwork for this study took place at various research sites in Providence RI including the Roman Catholic Diocese of Providence, Dorcas Place, The International Institute of RI, and English for Action. Participants were male and female over the age of 18 and fluent in Spanish. The fieldwork for this study took place between February 10, 2012 and April 21, 2012.

The sample for this study was chosen through access to ESL and Citizenship Classes provided by the Feinstein Institute for Public Service at Providence College. The Feinstein Institute works collaboratively to increase an understanding of and promote positive, sustainable social and economic change through community building. Through

partnerships with various community service sites, students participate in classes, projects, etc. in Providence and the surrounding area. Contacts were made and data was collected through these partnerships.

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Providence, RI, offers a night class for individuals preparing to take the US citizenship test. Data collection included a total of 20 surveys in English and Spanish as well as observations of a typical 2-hour class.

Dorcas Place is a community literacy school in Providence RI that seeks to assist low-income adults in realizing their full potential through literacy, employment, advocacy, and community involvement. Data collection involved a total of 8 surveys in English and Spanish, as well as participatory action research and observations of a level 1 ESL class.

The International Institute is a non-profit agency serving immigrant, refugee, and native-born individuals and families by providing educational, legal, and social services. Data collection involved a total of 10 surveys in English and Spanish from an IIRI Citizenship class, which helps individuals prepare to take the US citizenship test, as well as interviews of IIRI staff.

English for Action is a language school in Providence RI that promotes language learning, leadership development, and community-building through the acquisition of English. Data collection included observations of a panel discussion on the experience of immigrant English-language-learners as well as facilitators.

Surveys were chosen as the primary method of research for this study for several reasons, (See Appendix A for survey). First, in order to understand language discrimination as a phenomenon, it was necessary to investigate the experience as a whole. It would have been interesting, but a very different study, to go into depth on the experiences of discrimination by select individuals. However, this study seeks to understand the “story” of perceived language discrimination itself, rather than the stories of those who have experienced it. In effort to see this bigger picture, surveys were used for their ability to reach a larger sample size.

Additionally, surveys were used to identify a common experience among participants. While interviews and ethnography provide a window into unique experiences, surveys allowed for the integration of similar experiences. It is important to acknowledge that all experiences with discrimination (whether related to language or not) are unique- there is rarely a “who, what, when, where, why, or how,” that are all the same from one experience to the next. However, the ability to categorize experiences based on similarities allows people to come together with a shared experience, thus providing a more unified understanding.

The sample for the quantitative aspect to this study consisted of 38 surveys from The Diocese of Providence Citizenship Class, Dorcas Place Level 1 ESL Class, and an International Institute Citizenship Class. 31.6% of respondents were male while 50% of respondents were female and 18.4% did not select gender. This is comparable to the overall demographics of Providence with 48.27% male and 51.73% female, according to

the 2010 US Census. 65.8% of respondents were 40 years of age or older, while 18.9% were under the age of 40 (and 5% did not respond).

As this study will deal specifically with Spanish-speakers, 100% of participants were Spanish-speakers (non-Spanish speakers were excluded from the data). Additionally, 100% of participants were foreign-born, with the highest concentration from the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Colombia. (See Appendix B Figure 1 pp. 53).

Data analysis for this study took place on the individual level as well as through the statistical analysis software program SPSS- Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (See Appendix C pp. 55). Quantitative data was entered into the program, and correlations were used to determine statistical significance of the relationship between survey questions and variables. Additionally, qualitative findings such as observations, open-ended survey questions, and interviews were analyzed in relation to survey results.

V. Findings & Analysis

A. Sample

The sample for the quantitative aspect to this study consisted of 38 surveys from The Diocese of Providence Citizenship Class, Dorcas Place Level 1 ESL Class, and the International Institute Citizenship Class. 31.6% of respondents were male while 50% of respondents were female and 18.4% did not select gender. 65.8% of respondents were 40 years of age or older, while 18.9% were under the age of 40 (and 5% did select an age group).

B. Language

As this study will deal specifically with Spanish-speakers, 100% of participants were Spanish-speakers (non-Spanish speakers were excluded from the data). Additionally, 100% of participants were foreign-born, with the highest concentration from the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Colombia. (See Appendix B Figure 1 pp. 53). Of the 38 participants, only 1 was not a native Spanish speaker or born in a Spanish-speaking country.

As the control for this study, 100% of participants were fluent in Spanish. However, 94.7% of participants were *only* fluent in Spanish, while 18.4% of participants indicated that they were fluent in both Spanish and English. While the majority of participants were female, men tended to be more fluent in English.

94.7% (37 out of the 38) of participants indicated that they speak Spanish most frequently at home, while only 1 person indicated that he/she speaks English most

frequently at home, and 1 person indicated that he/she speaks both English and Spanish equally. There was a positive correlation between native language and language spoken at home, indicating that participants tended to speak their native language most frequently at home, in this case the overwhelming majority spoke Spanish. Similarly, those who indicated fluency in English (in addition to Spanish) tended to speak more English at home.

The language spoken most frequently at work or school was fairly split between “English only,” “English and Spanish,” and “Spanish only.” A total of 71% of participants indicated that they speak English at work/school. 47% of participants reported that they spoke *only* English at work/school, while 23.7% of participants reported that they spoke both English and Spanish at work/school. While 52.6% of participants reported that they spoke Spanish at work/school, 28.9% reported that they spoke *only* Spanish at work/school. While conducting this survey, participants generally spoke in Spanish to each other, but spoke English to their teachers/facilitators.

C. Identity

In order to determine the importance of language to each individual’s identity, participants were asked to rate language, heritage, race, religion, and gender according to how important each element is to his or her personal identity. While 31.6% of participants did not respond, 42% (16 people) indicated that language is of #1 importance to them, 15.8% (6 people) indicated that language is of #2 importance to them, and 5.2% (2 people) indicated that language is of #3 importance to them. Nobody indicated

language as #4 importance, and 5.2% (2) of participants indicated that language is the least important (#5) to them.

Only 4 participants rated language as of #3 importance or below, indicating that the majority of participants consider language to be very important in defining someone's identity. This is significant, because it confirms the hypothesis that language is an important factor in defining one's identity for Spanish speakers in Providence.

When asked how strongly language is tied to your personal identity, 50% of participants indicated that language is strongly tied to identity, 7.9% indicated that language is somewhat tied to identity, 7.9% indicated that language is very little tied to identity, and 7.9% of participants indicated that language is not at all tied to identity, (18.4% did not respond). (See Appendix B Figure 2 pp. 53) While not statistically significant, this shows that of participants who responded, the majority feels that language is tied to identity to some degree. As a negative correlation between gender and language tied to identity, men tended to feel that their identity is more strongly tied to language than women.

There were no significant correlations between native language(s), language(s) spoken fluently, language(s) spoken most frequently at home, or language(s) spoken most frequently at work/school with the importance of native language to identity. This disproves the hypothesis that those who speak English and Spanish or those who speak English at work/school would feel that their identity is less tied to their native language than those who only speak Spanish (in general, or at work/school).

D. Discrimination

When asked if they had ever felt discriminated against in the United States, the majority of participants indicated that they had experienced discrimination at least once, (68.8%). However, participants reported varying frequencies of discrimination: 18.4% reported that they felt discriminated against many times, 42% reported that they felt discriminated against several times, and 18.4% reported that they had experienced discrimination once. 18.4% of participants reported that they have never felt discriminated against in the US, and 5.3% did not respond. This confirms the hypothesis that Spanish speakers in the US experience some degree of discrimination.

Additionally, participants were asked, in an open-ended question, how it felt to be discriminated against. Of those who responded, 100% indicated that they experienced negative sentiments as a result of discrimination. Responses varied from sad to angry, with the majority simply reporting that it made them feel “bad.” Other, more detailed responses included sentiments such as discomfort, disappointment, frustration, powerlessness, and humiliation. According to one individual, “I felt very sad. Sometimes I cry because I feel like people don’t want to help me.”

In order to gauge the *perceived* reason for/cause of discrimination, participants were asked to indicate what reason(s) they thought they were discriminated against for from the list consisting of: language, race, religion, economic status, gender, and other, (See Appendix B Figure 3 pp. 54). The two most frequent responses were language and race, with 68.4% indicating that language was a factor in discrimination and 36.8% indicating that race was a factor in discrimination. This confirms the hypothesis that Spanish speakers in the US perceive discrimination as based on language.

This was also evident in the case of Manolo, a Spanish-speaking immigrant who participated in English classes at English for Action. Manolo reported that language was the main barrier he faced when first came to the US. He said, “It’s frustrating when people ask to repeat things that I know they understand- they just want to bother someone like me.” Manolo felt discriminated against, and language was both the (perceived) cause of discrimination, as well as the method of discrimination (in asking him to repeat what he said, assuming the discriminator could actually understand what he was saying). This also confirms the hypothesis that Spanish-speakers in the US perceive discrimination as based on language. However, that does not mean that Spanish-speakers in the US perceive language as the *only* cause of discrimination.

39.5% of participants reported that language was the only factor in discrimination and 10.5% of participants reported that race was the only factor in discrimination, with the remaining 26.3% indicating that both language *and* race were reasons for discrimination. Results for the other categories were negligible, with 1 person indicating economic status, religion or gender as a reason for discrimination. This indicates that language is not the *only* perceived reason for discrimination, with race being another important factor, and economic status, religion, and gender existing as other perceived reasons for discrimination.

E. Language, Identity, and Discrimination

Of those who rated language as #1 importance to their personal identity, 81.25% reported having felt discriminated against at least once; 31.25% reported discrimination many times, 31.25% reported discrimination several times, and 18.75% reported

discrimination once. 18.75% of participants, who rated language as #1 importance, reported never having felt discriminated against in the US.

Similarly, of those who rated language as #2 importance to their personal identity, 100% of participants reported having felt discriminated against at least once, with 83.3% reporting discrimination several times and 16.7% reporting discrimination once. None of those who rated language as #2 importance to identity reported having experienced discrimination either many times or never.

Of those who indicated that native language is strongly tied to their personal identity (50% of total sample), 89.4% reported having felt discriminated against at least once, with 26.3% reporting discrimination many times, 42.1% several times, and 21% once. 10.5% indicated that they had never felt discriminated against, (See Appendix B Figure 4 pp.54).

Of those who indicated that native language is somewhat tied to their personal identity (7.9% of total sample), participants were equally split between reporting discrimination many times, several times, or once, (33.3% for each). 0% reported having never experienced discrimination.

Of those who indicated that native language is very little tied to their personal identity (15.8% of total sample), 66.7% reported having felt discriminated against at least once, with 16.7% reporting discrimination many times, 50% reporting discrimination several times, and 0% reporting discrimination once. 33.3% of participants who indicated language as of very little importance to identity reported that they had never experienced discrimination in the US.

Of those who indicated native language as not at all tied to their personal identity, (7.9% of total sample), 66.7% felt that they had been discriminated against several times, and 33.3% felt that they had been discriminated against once. None of those who indicated native language as not at all tied to personal identity reported experiencing discrimination either many times or never.

F. Language, Identity, and Perceived Reason for Discrimination

Of those who indicated that language is strongly tied to their personal identity, 82.2% perceived the reason for discrimination to be language. Of those who perceived language as a reason for discrimination, 56.25% reported language as the *only* reason for discrimination, while the remainder reported language as a contributing factor.

Of those who indicated that language is somewhat tied to their personal identity, 33.3% perceived language as a reason for discrimination. 100% perceived the reason for discrimination to be race, and the overlap can be attributed to the 33.3% reporting both language and race as reason for discrimination.

Of those who indicated that language is very little tied to their personal identity, 83.3% perceived language as a reason for discrimination and 16.7% perceived language as the only reason for discrimination. 33.3% perceived both language and race as the cause for discrimination, and 16.7% did not respond. For those who indicated that language is not at all tied to personal identity, 66.7% perceived language as the only reason for discrimination and 33.3% perceived language and race as the reason for discrimination.

Despite men reporting more frequently a tie between language and identity, women tended to report language as a reason for discrimination more often than men. Additionally, there was a positive correlation between language spoken at home and language as a reason for discrimination- those who speak Spanish at home reported experiencing discrimination [perceived to be] caused by language significantly more often than those who speak English at home.

The correlation between language tied to identity and language as a perceived reason for discrimination was inconclusive. Based on Figure 4, it is unclear whether or not the perception of language as a reason for discrimination is more frequent in those who feel that their native language is more strongly tied to their personal identity. Therefore the hypothesis that perception of discrimination as based on language correlates with the tie of language to personal identity is refuted.

An interesting relationship exists between race as a perceived cause for discrimination and language as a perceived cause for discrimination. There was a negative correlation between language and race as perceived causes for discrimination. This shows that generally, participants felt that discrimination was either caused by one or the other: language or race, but not both. Additionally, those who reported their heritage as being more tied to their personal identity tended to report race as the perceived cause for discrimination, rather than language.

G. Communication

In order to determine the effect of language and discrimination on the perceived ability to communicate, participants were asked to indicate what language their

discriminator(s) was/were speaking, if it was heard, and whether or not they felt that they were able to communicate with their discriminator(s). 44.7% of those who experienced discrimination reported that their discriminator was speaking English, and 47.3% reported that their discriminator was speaking Spanish. 2.6% of participants indicated that their discriminator was speaking both Spanish and English, and 10.5% reported that they did not hear their discriminator speak. This indicates that participants' perception of their discriminator(s) is generally split between being Spanish speakers and English speakers.

There was a significant correlation between language spoken at work/school and the language of the discriminator; participants who reported that they speak English at work/school tended to report that they experienced discrimination from a Spanish speaker. Likewise, participants who reported that they speak Spanish at work/school tended to report that they experienced discrimination from an English speaker.

Similarly, of those who felt that language was a factor in discrimination, participants were generally split on which language their discriminator(s) was/were speaking. 52% of participants reported that their discriminator(s) was/were speaking English, while 48% reported that their discriminator(s) was/were speaking Spanish. While not significant, this indicates that those who felt language was a reason for discrimination tended to report their discriminator(s) as speaking English, while those who did not feel that language was a reason for discrimination tended to report their discriminator as a Spanish speaker.

When asked if they felt they could communicate with their discriminator(s), the majority of participants (57.9%) responded that they did. 27.3% indicated that they did not feel as though they could communicate with their discriminator(s), and 18.4% did not respond. This trend can be seen in both those who did and those who did not perceive language as a reason for discrimination. Of those who felt that language was a factor in discrimination, 60% felt that they could communicate while 36% felt that they could not communicate with their discriminator(s), regardless of which language they were speaking, (4% did not respond).

As expected, those who reported fluency in English felt significantly better able to communicate with their discriminator than those who are not fluent in English. Similarly, participants who speak English at work/school felt better able to communicate with their discriminator, while participants who speak Spanish at work/school tended to feel less able to communicate with their discriminator. This shows that language is a significant factor in communication, and those who speak English either fluently or at work/school feel better able to communicate with their discriminator, regardless of which language the discriminator spoke.

H. Assimilation

Finally, participants were asked what measures (if any) they had taken to avoid future discrimination (not language specific). Responses were split between yes and no, but the majority of those who indicated that they are actively doing something to avoid discrimination in the future reported that they are studying English. This indicates that Spanish speakers who have felt discriminated against perceive fluency in English to be a

possible “solution” to that discrimination. While indirect, this implies that the perceived cause of discrimination was language.

According to several professionals who work with immigrants, fluency in English does in fact help to prevent discrimination. David Wamback, the teacher of a citizenship class, asserted that English is necessary for an immigrant’s success because “if an immigrant can speak English well, they are more likely to be accepted... to avoid discrimination, mastering of English is key.” Susan Bragg, another citizenship class teacher, agreed that English fluency (or lack thereof) greatly affects an immigrant’s experience with discrimination, “especially depending on what the American stereotype believes about that accent.”

Laura Faria, of the International Institute, added that the media has a significant effect on the perception of discrimination by Spanish-speakers. She said, “there is much negative media, stereotypes and judgments passed by others about Spanish speakers, or English speakers with a heavy accent.” The influence of the media may have an effect on the perception of discrimination by Spanish-speakers.

J. Threats to Validity

While measures were taken to eliminate as many threats to validity as possible, several limitations of this study could have an effect on the validity of the results. The primary limitation of this study involves the scope; as a short-term project (in the grand scheme of things) the total number of surveys collected may not have been enough to determine any significant trends among the Spanish speaking population of Providence.

Similarly, as an outsider in that the researcher is not a fluent Spanish speaker, this study is limited by the relatively few Spanish speaking contacts and research sites.

As a result, surveys were distributed to citizenship classes and ESL classes in the Providence area. Each of these research sites promoted the use of English, which may have affected the results. The population of Spanish speakers who participate in citizenship classes or ESL classes may not accurately reflect the overall population of Spanish speakers in Providence, especially in relation to their views on language.

Other limitations of this study relate to the execution of the surveys. While not intended, it is possible that participants were “primed” to answer questions favorable to the researcher’s bias. For example, questions dealing with the respondent’s experiences with discrimination came after questions dealing with the respondent’s native language, language fluency, language spoken at work/school, etc., thus bringing the concept of language to the forefront of their thinking *before* asking about discrimination. Additionally, despite the survey being in both Spanish and English, there was a degree of confusion in answering certain questions. It is possible that some questions were unclear, or that participants were not literate in either English or Spanish.

There was also a degree of an insider/outsider dilemma in the execution of this research. While non-Spanish speaking respondents were excluded from the data, some of the research sites did include non-Spanish speaking individuals. These individuals often promoted a feeling of hostility because their native language(s) was/were not options listed on the survey (despite the fact that there was an option to write in another language). These feelings of hostility promoted by the non-Spanish speaking individuals

created an uncomfortable situation for the researcher, and may have affected the responses that Spanish-speaking individuals gave.

K. Discussion

The findings suggest that according to Spanish speakers in Providence, language is an important factor in defining one's identity. This may be, as John A. Lucy (1997) discussed in his work *Linguistic Relativity*, because the language one speaks influences how one thinks about reality, (p. 291). Therefore something about the Spanish language influences how Spanish speakers think about language and their identities. The majority of the sample felt that language is tied to identity to some degree, although it was not conclusive on language being *the* defining factor, as Benjamin Bailey found in his study (2000). However, there was no significant correlation between the fluency of English with language being tied to identity.

The findings also suggest that Spanish speakers in Providence experience some degree of discrimination, just as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) discussed in her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*, (p. 75). Additionally, Spanish speakers in Providence perceive discrimination as based on language to a certain degree. Like the importance of language to identity, the role that language plays in discrimination is not absolute- language is not the *only* perceived reason for discrimination- but it does play a significant role in the perception of discrimination.

The findings were inconclusive on the relationship of language being tied to identity with the frequency of perceived discrimination. This study sought to determine whether or not language being tied to identity had an effect on discrimination

experienced or perceived. Therefore, the more one experiences perceived discrimination is not significantly correlated with the importance of language to personal identity. Additionally, the perceived inability to communicate with one's discriminator, regardless of the language spoken, was inconclusive.

VI. Conclusions

This study sought to investigate how language factors into perceived discrimination of Spanish-speakers in Providence, RI, and what the role of language barriers are in the perception of discrimination. Various forms of fieldwork were used, including surveys, observation, and interviews. Research was conducted at the Roman Catholic Diocese of Providence, Dorcas Place, The International Institute of RI, and English for Action. Participants were male and female over the age of 18 and fluent in Spanish. The fieldwork for this study took place between February 10, 2012 and April 21, 2012.

One of the main findings of this study is that Spanish-speakers in Providence experience discrimination, and oftentimes perceive discrimination as based on language. This is significant because in the past, discussion of discrimination has generally been constrained to categories such as race, gender, religion, and economic status. This is also significant because it suggests that language may create the framework for the in-group/out-group phenomenon that Kite (2009) and Fishbein (2003) discuss as leading to prejudice and discrimination. Language as an in-group/out-group phenomenon would be an interesting topic for further study to augment the findings of this research.

The limitations of this study constrained research to *perceived* discrimination, rather than *actual* or *observed* discrimination. The implication of this study is that since Spanish speakers perceive discrimination as based on language and language barriers, Spanish speakers may actually be discriminated against for these reasons. However, it remains unclear to what extent one can measure discrimination itself, if it is even

possible. An interesting follow-up to this study would investigate discrimination from the discriminator's perspective, or from the perspective of an outside observer. An investigation of this topic would provide the "other side" to this study, and allow the reader to compare the perception of what is going on from various perspectives so as to get a better picture of the phenomenon.

Another significant finding is that language is an important factor in defining one's identity for Spanish-speakers in Providence. While this finding was suggested by past research, this study solidifies it. Anzaldúa and Kallifatides both reported feeling a strong personal connection to their language, especially when their language was being challenged, as in the border conflict for Anzaldúa, and immigration for Kallifatides. Additionally, Benjamin Bailey found that language is an important factor in both self-achieved identity and ascribed identity in second-generation immigrants from the Dominican Republic to the US. This study confirms the finding that language is an important factor in defining one's identity, and indicates that this is the case for Spanish-speakers in Providence. Another interesting follow-up study would investigate the importance of language to identity in those who have immigrated versus those living in their country of origin.

The findings were inconclusive on the relationship of language being tied to identity with the frequency of perceived discrimination. While it was hypothesized that those who feel that language is more strongly tied to personal identity would experience discrimination more often, results were mixed and there were no significant trends. Additionally, the effect of discrimination on perceived ability to communicate was also

inconclusive. It was hypothesized that if there were a (perceived) language barrier between the participant and the discriminator, the participant would perceive discrimination as based on language. However, there were no significant trends and more research is needed on this topic.

Call to Action

Based on these findings, it is clear that Spanish-speakers in Providence perceive discrimination as oftentimes based on language. Additionally, Spanish-speakers in Providence who reported having experienced discrimination also reported especially negative sentiments that this perceived discrimination caused, such as sadness, anger, and depression. The hope of this study is to bring under scrutiny a (perceived) discriminatory practice so that we might be able to avoid it in the future. While it must be recognized that one cannot directly influence the perception by others of his or her actions, one must still hold himself/herself accountable for his/her actions. Therefore, it is important to terminate all discriminatory practices that may create negative sentiments in others, including those pertaining to language and language barriers.

Welcoming R.I.

The organization Welcoming America perfectly embodies the call to action that this study seeks to make. Welcoming America was created in effort to promote mutual respect and cooperation between foreign-born and U.S.-born Americans. The ultimate goal of Welcoming America is to create a welcoming atmosphere in which immigrants are more likely to integrate into the social fabric of their adopted homes. Facilitating language acquisition as well as creating an environment that not only tolerates but also

celebrates many languages is a key component of this campaign. Welcoming America has the potential to bring an end to language discrimination. The hope is that if US-born citizens become more welcoming to immigrants, perceived discrimination based on language will no longer be an issue.

Welcoming RI, an affiliate of Welcoming America, is a community-based initiative intending to create a more welcoming atmosphere where foreign-born individuals can thrive and become well respected specifically in Rhode Island. This initiative is sponsored by the International Institute of Rhode Island, and focuses on grassroots outreach and education to build a stronger community, rather than government and public policy. Welcoming RI seeks to further the goals of Welcoming America within the state of Rhode Island, and it is based out of Providence.

In order to facilitate language acquisition and create an atmosphere of tolerance of foreign languages in RI, one of the Welcoming RI projects is to focus specifically on education and ESL classes in public elementary schools. In order to do this, Welcoming RI presents innovative solutions to schools to inspire them to teach in accordance with the principles of Welcoming RI. Welcoming RI calls on English language facilitators to respect and celebrate their students' native languages, while also providing a solid foundation in English in order that students might achieve a high level of success in the US. The proposal of this study is that education will provide the solution to language discrimination. Students will grow to celebrate other languages as well as thrive in shared communication, thus eliminating any form of discrimination as caused by language and the perception of it.

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VIII. Appendix A: Survey

Providence College
Global Studies Senior Capstone
Katherine Rennie: krennie@friars.providence.edu

Instructions (Instrucciones)

The following is a survey conducted by a Providence College student in a Global Studies class, who is investigating the relationship between language and discrimination. Your answers are of great value to our research and we thank you for your time. Choose the language with which you feel more comfortable answering.

(Español): Esta encuesta fue formulada por un estudiante de Providence College, del programa de Global Studies. Ella esta investigando la relación entre idioma e discriminación. Su respuestas son de gran valor para la investigación, y le agradecemos su tiempo. Escoja el idioma con el cuál se siente más comodo a la hora de responder.

Language and Discrimination

1. Age (*Edad*) : _____
2. Gender (*Sexo*)(circle one): Male(*Hombre*) / Female(*Mujer*)
3. Birthplace (*Lugar de nacimiento*): _____
4. Place of Residence (*Lugar de residencia*): _____
5. Native Language(s) (*Idioma Nativo(s)*):
English Spanish French Other: _____
6. Language(s) spoken fluently (*Idioma(s) hablado(s) con soltura*):
English Spanish French Other(s): _____
7. Language spoken most frequently at home (*Idioma hablado más frecuentemente en casa*):
English Spanish French Other: _____

8. Language spoken most frequently at school/work (*Idioma hablado más frecuentemente en la clase/el trabajo*)
English Spanish French Other: _____
9. Rate the following characteristics in order of importance, in defining someone's identity, with 1 being the most and 5/6 being the least.
(*Ordene las siguientes características según su orden de importancia, en la definición de identidad, 1 de mayor importancia, y 5/6 de menor importancia*)
- ____ Language (*Idioma*)
- ____ Heritage (*Herencia*)
- ____ Race (*Raza*)
- ____ Religion (*Religion*)
- ____ Gender (*Sexo*)
- ____ Other (*Otro*): _____
10. How strongly is your native language tied to your personal identity? (*¿Que grado de conexión siente entre su lengua native y su identidad personal?*)
- Strongly tied to my identity (*Muy fuerte*)
 - Somewhat tied to my identity (*Relativamente fuerte*)
 - Very little tied to my identity (*Poco fuerte*)
 - Not at all tied to my identity (*No existe conexión alguna*)
11. Have you ever felt discriminated against in the United States? (*¿Ha sentido usted discriminado en los estados unidos?*)
- Yes, many times (*Sí, muchas veces*)
 - Yes, several times (*Sí, a veces*)

- c. Yes, once (*Sí, una vez*)
- d. Never (*Nunca*)
12. For what reason do you think you were discriminated against? (*Para que razón cree que estaba usted discriminado?*)
- a. Language (*Idioma*)
- b. Race (*Raza*)
- c. Religion (*Religion*)
- d. Economic Status (*Estatus Económico*)
- e. Gender (*Genero*)
- f. Other (*Otro*): _____
13. What language was he or she speaking (if heard)? (*Que Idioma habló?*)
- English Spanish French Other: _____
14. Did you feel that you could communicate with this person effectively? (*Sentía usted que podría comunicar con esta persona efectivamente?*)
- Yes No
15. How did it make you feel to be discriminated against? (*Como Ud. Sentía?*)
16. What measures (if any) have you taken to prevent this from happening again? (*Ha ido algo para prevenir esta forma de discriminación en el futuro?*)

Thank you for taking our survey and please add any comments you feel would be relevant.

(*Gracias por completar nuestra encuesta y por favor, añade otros comentarios que le parezcan relevantes*)

IV. Appendix B: Charts and Graphs

Figure 1

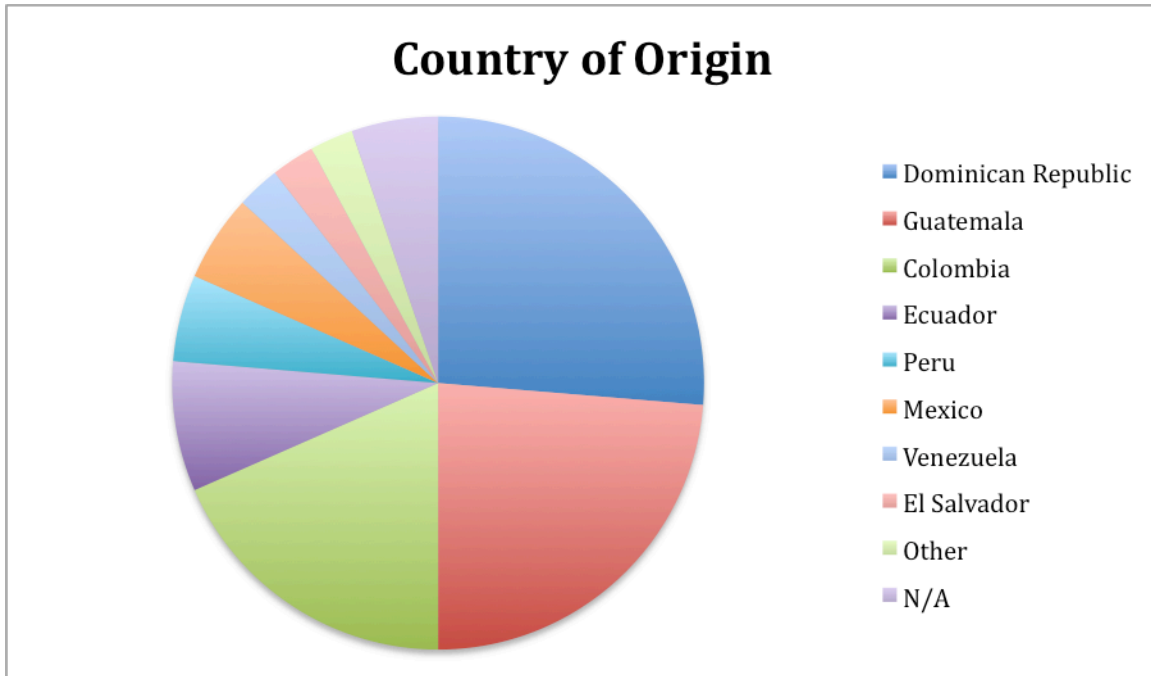


Figure 2

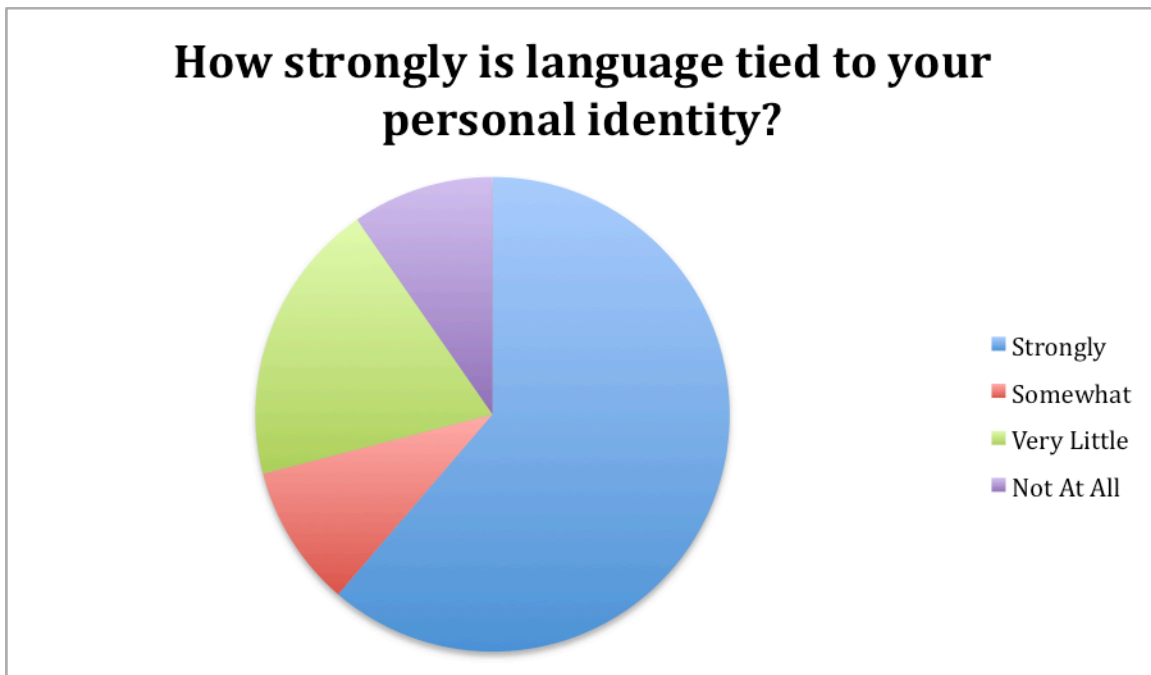


Figure 3

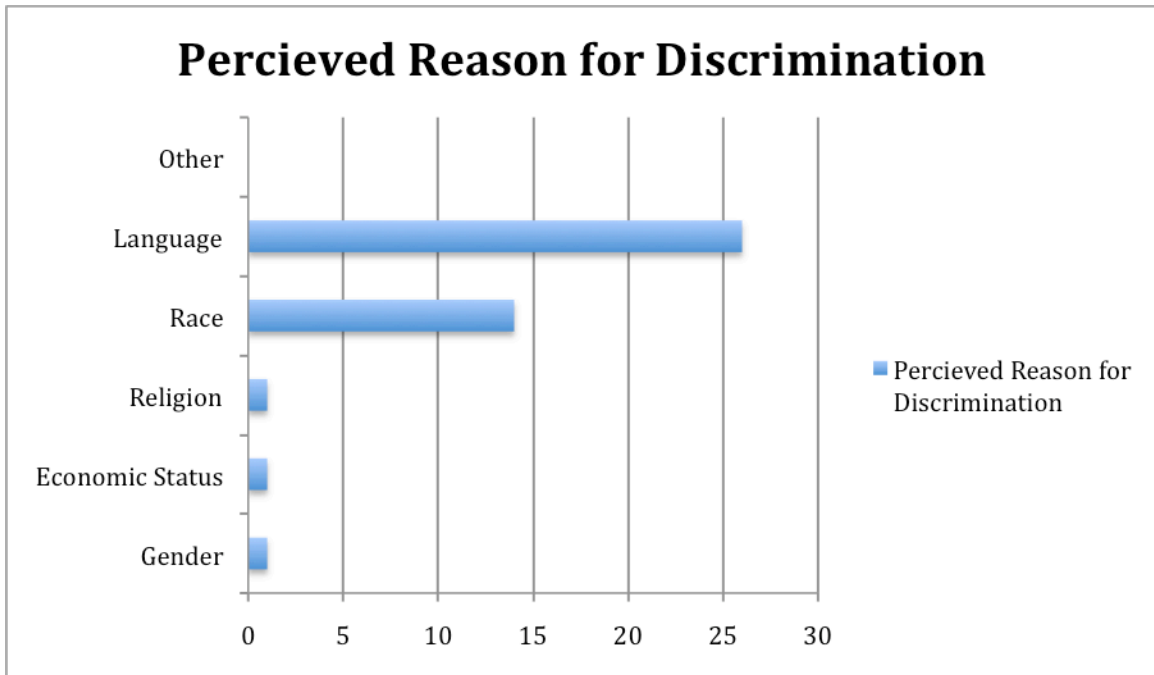
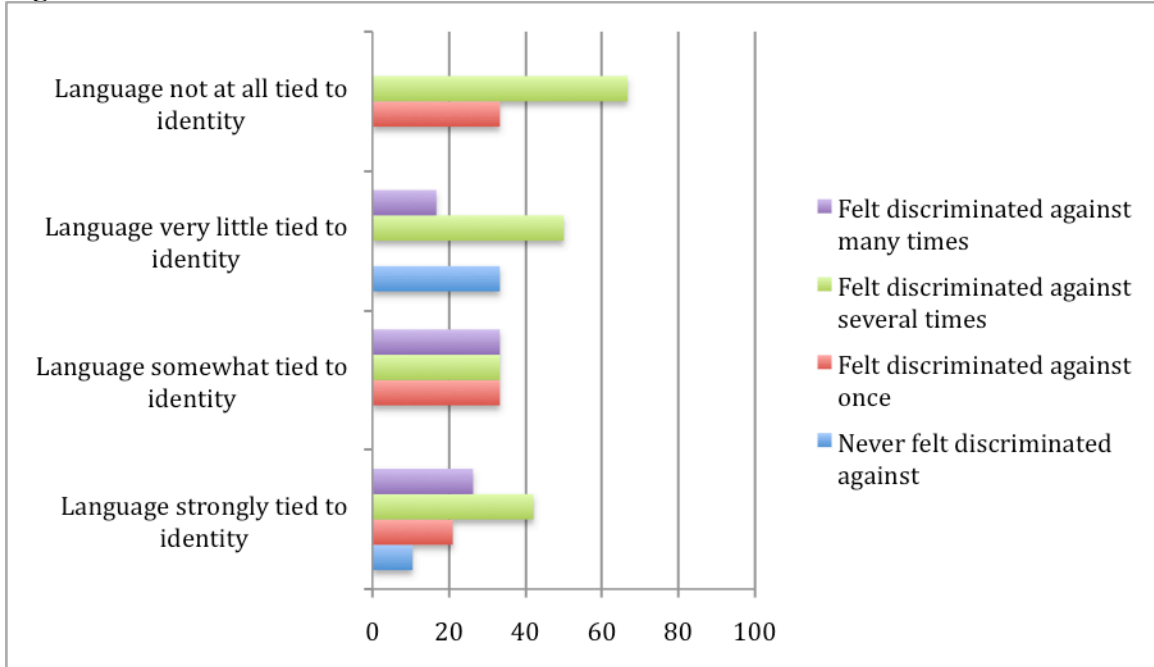


Figure 4



V. Appendix C: SPSS Data Output

Descriptives

Notes

Output Created		22-Apr-2012 13:48:56
Comments		
Input	Data	G:\Survey.sav
	Active Dataset	DataSet1
	Filter	<none>
	Weight	<none>
	Split File	<none>
	N of Rows in Working Data File	38
Missing Value Handling	Definition of Missing	User defined missing values are treated as missing.
	Cases Used	All non-missing data are used.

Syntax		DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=economicstatus12 englishathome englishatwork englishfluency gender gender12 heritage language language12 nativelanguage other12 otherathome otheratwork otherfluency Q10 Q11 Q13 Q15 Q14 Q16 race race12 religion religion12 sex spanishathome spanishatwork spanishfluency /STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV MIN MAX.
Resources	Processor Time	00 00:00:00.000
	Elapsed Time	00 00:00:00.047

[DataSet1] G:\Survey.sav

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
economicstatus12	30	1	2	1.93	.254
English Spoken at Home	38	1	2	1.95	.226
English Spoken at School/Work	38	1	2	1.26	.446
Fluent in English	38	1	2	1.82	.393
gender	31	1	2	1.61	.495
gender12	30	2	2	2.00	.000

heritage	28	1	6	3.50	1.503
language	28	1	5	1.89	1.343
language12	31	1	2	1.13	.341
Native Language	38	2	4	2.05	.324
other12	30	2	2	2.00	.000
Other Language Spoken at Home	38	2	2	2.00	.000
Other Language Spoken at School/Work	38	2	2	2.00	.000
Fluent in Other Language	38	2	2	2.00	.000
Language tied to identity	31	1	4	1.77	1.087
Ever felt discriminated against in US?	37	1	4	2.38	1.010
What language was he or she speaking?	29	1	2	1.52	.509
How did it make you feel?	0				
Did you feel that you could communicate with this person?	29	1	2	1.31	.471
What measures have you taken?	0				
race	28	1	6	3.25	1.323
race12	30	1	2	1.53	.507
religion	28	1	6	3.86	1.268
religion12	30	1	2	1.97	.183
sex	28	1	6	3.54	1.453
Spanish Spoken at Home	38	1	2	1.03	.162

Spanish Spoken at School/Work	38	1	2	1.47	.506
Fluent in Spanish	38	1	1	1.00	.000
Valid N (listwise)	0				

Frequencies

Notes

Output Created	22-Apr-2012 13:49:43	
Comments		
Input	Data	G:\Survey.sav
	Active Dataset	DataSet1
	Filter	<none>
	Weight	<none>
	Split File	<none>
	N of Rows in Working Data File	38
Missing Value Handling	Definition of Missing	User-defined missing values are treated as missing.
	Cases Used	Statistics are based on all cases with valid data.

Syntax		<pre> FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=economicstatus12 englishathome englishatwork englishfluency gender gender12 heritage language language12 nativelanguage other12 otherathome otheratwork otherfluency Q10 Q11 Q13 Q14 Q15 Q16 race race12 religion religion12 sex spanishathome spanishatwork spanishfluency /STATISTICS=MEAN MEDIAN MODE /ORDER=ANALYSIS. </pre>	
Resources	Processor Time		00 00:00:00.015
	Elapsed Time		00 00:00:00.010

[DataSet1] G:\Survey.sav

Statistics

		economicstatus1 2	English Spoken at Home	English Spoken at School/Work	Fluent in English	gender
N	Valid	30	38	38	38	31
	Missing	8	0	0	0	7

Mean	1.93	1.95	1.26	1.82	1.61
Median	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Mode	2	2	1	2	2

Statistics

		gender12	heritage	language	language12	Native Language	other12
N	Valid	30	28	28	31	38	30
	Missing	8	10	10	7	0	8
Mean		2.00	3.50	1.89	1.13	2.05	2.00
Median		2.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Mode		2	5	1	1	2	2

Statistics

		Other Language Spoken at Home	Other Language Spoken at School/Work	Fluent in Other Language	Language tied to identity	Ever felt discriminated against in US?
N	Valid	38	38	38	31	37
	Missing	0	0	0	7	1
Mean		2.00	2.00	2.00	1.77	2.38
Median		2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
Mode		2	2	2	1	2

Statistics

		What language was he or she speaking?	Did you feel that you could communicate with this person?	How did it make you feel?	What measures have you taken?	race
N	Valid	29	29	0	0	28
	Missing	9	9	38	38	10
Mean		1.52	1.31			3.25
Median		2.00	1.00			3.00
Mode		2	1			4

Statistics

		race12	religion	religion12	sex	Spanish Spoken at Home
N	Valid	30	28	30	28	38
	Missing	8	10	8	10	0
Mean		1.53	3.86	1.97	3.54	1.03
Median		2.00	4.00	2.00	3.50	1.00
Mode		2	5	2	5	1

Statistics

		Spanish Spoken at School/Work	Fluent in Spanish
N	Valid	38	38
	Missing	0	0
Mean		1.47	1.00

Median	1.00	1.00
Mode	1	1

Frequency Table

economicstatus12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	5.3	6.7	6.7
	No	28	73.7	93.3	100.0
	Total	30	78.9	100.0	
Missing	System	8	21.1		
Total		38	100.0		

English Spoken at Home

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	2	5.3	5.3	5.3

no	36	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

English Spoken at School/Work

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	28	73.7	73.7	73.7
no	10	26.3	26.3	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Fluent in English

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	7	18.4	18.4	18.4
no	31	81.6	81.6	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
--	-----------	---------	---------------	--------------------

Valid	male	12	31.6	38.7	38.7
	female	19	50.0	61.3	100.0
	Total	31	81.6	100.0	
Missing	System	7	18.4		
Total		38	100.0		

gender12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	30	78.9	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	8	21.1		
Total		38	100.0		

heritage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	4	10.5	14.3	14.3
	2	4	10.5	14.3	28.6
	3	4	10.5	14.3	42.9
	4	7	18.4	25.0	67.9
	5	8	21.1	28.6	96.4

6	1	2.6	3.6	100.0
Total	28	73.7	100.0	
Missing System	10	26.3		
Total	38	100.0		

language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	16	42.1	57.1	57.1
	2	6	15.8	21.4	78.6
	3	2	5.3	7.1	85.7
	4	1	2.6	3.6	89.3
	5	3	7.9	10.7	100.0
	Total	28	73.7	100.0	
Missing System		10	26.3		
Total		38	100.0		

language12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	27	71.1	87.1	87.1

	No	4	10.5	12.9	100.0
	Total	31	81.6	100.0	
Missing	System	7	18.4		
Total		38	100.0		

Native Language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Spanish	37	97.4	97.4	97.4
	Other	1	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	38	100.0	100.0	

other12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	30	78.9	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	8	21.1		
Total		38	100.0		

Other Language Spoken at Home

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

Other Language Spoken at School/Work

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fluent in Other Language

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

Language tied to identity

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	19	50.0	61.3	61.3
2	3	7.9	9.7	71.0
3	6	15.8	19.4	90.3
4	3	7.9	9.7	100.0

Total	31	81.6	100.0
Missing System	7	18.4	
Total	38	100.0	

Ever felt discriminated against in US?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	7	18.4	18.9	18.9
2	16	42.1	43.2	62.2
3	7	18.4	18.9	81.1
4	7	18.4	18.9	100.0
Total	37	97.4	100.0	
Missing System	1	2.6		
Total	38	100.0		

What language was he or she speaking?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid English	14	36.8	48.3	48.3
Spanish	15	39.5	51.7	100.0
Total	29	76.3	100.0	

Missing	System	9	23.7	
Total		38	100.0	

Did you feel that you could communicate with this person?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	52.6	69.0	69.0
	No	9	23.7	31.0	100.0
	Total	29	76.3	100.0	
Missing	System	9	23.7		
Total		38	100.0		

How did it make you feel?

		Frequency	Percent
Missing	System	38	100.0

What measures have you taken?

		Frequency	Percent
Missing	System	38	100.0

race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	2	5.3	7.1	7.1
	2	7	18.4	25.0	32.1
	3	7	18.4	25.0	57.1
	4	8	21.1	28.6	85.7
	5	2	5.3	7.1	92.9
	6	2	5.3	7.1	100.0
	Total	28	73.7	100.0	
Missing	System	10	26.3		
Total		38	100.0		

race12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	14	36.8	46.7	46.7
	No	16	42.1	53.3	100.0
	Total	30	78.9	100.0	
Missing	System	8	21.1		
Total		38	100.0		

religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	2.6	3.6	3.6
	2	4	10.5	14.3	17.9
	3	5	13.2	17.9	35.7
	4	7	18.4	25.0	60.7
	5	10	26.3	35.7	96.4
	6	1	2.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	28	73.7	100.0	
Missing	System	10	26.3		
Total		38	100.0		

religion12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	2.6	3.3	3.3
	No	29	76.3	96.7	100.0
	Total	30	78.9	100.0	
Missing	System	8	21.1		

religion12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	2.6	3.3	3.3
	No	29	76.3	96.7	100.0
	Total	30	78.9	100.0	
Missing	System	8	21.1		
Total		38	100.0		

sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	3	7.9	10.7	10.7
	2	4	10.5	14.3	25.0
	3	7	18.4	25.0	50.0
	4	4	10.5	14.3	64.3
	5	9	23.7	32.1	96.4
	6	1	2.6	3.6	100.0
Total		28	73.7	100.0	
Missing	System	10	26.3		
Total		38	100.0		

Spanish Spoken at Home

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	37	97.4	97.4	97.4
no	1	2.6	2.6	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Spanish Spoken at School/Work

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	20	52.6	52.6	52.6
no	18	47.4	47.4	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Fluent in Spanish

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

Correlations

Correlations

		econimicst atus1 2	Englis h Spok en at Home	Englis h Spok en at Scho ol/Wo rk	Fluent in Englis h	gen der	gen der 12	heri tag e	lan gua ge	lang uage 12	Nativ e Langu age	oth er1 2	Other Langu age Spok en at Home	Other Lang uage Spok en at Scho ol/Wo rk
econimicst atus12	Pearson Correlati on	1	-.071	.147	-.147	-	. ^a	-	.13 .06 4	.105	.050	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)		.708	.437	.437	.22 3	.	.76 3	.53 1	.581	.795	.	.	.
	N	30	30	30	30	26	30	24	24	30	30	30	30	30
English Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlati on	-.071	1	.141	.496**	.06 1	. ^a	.18 8	- .02 3	-.291	-.697**	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.708		.399	.002	.74 5	.	.33 8	.90 9	.113	.000	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
English Spoken at School/Wo rk	Pearson Correlati on	.147	.141	1	.284	.46 9**	. ^a	.18 8	- .08 3	-.208	-.098	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.437	.399		.084	.00 8	.	.33 8	.67 6	.262	.557	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Fluent in English	Pearson Correlati on	-.147	.496**	.284	1	.36 3*	. ^a	.25 1	.14 1	-.252	-.346*	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.437	.002	.084		.045	.	.197	.475	.171	.033	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
gender	Pearson Correlation	-.247	.061	.469**	.363*	1	.a	.330	.254	-.422*	.145	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.223	.745	.008	.045	.	.	.125	.242	.032	.436	.	.	.
	N	26	31	31	31	31	26	23	23	26	31	26	31	31
gender12	Pearson Correlation	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	30	30	30	26	30	24	24	30	30	30	30	30
heritage	Pearson Correlation	-.065	.188	.188	.251	.330	.a	1	-.064	-.475*	.065	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.763	.338	.338	.197	.125	.	.	.745	.016	.742	.	.	.
	N	24	28	28	28	23	24	28	28	25	28	24	28	28
language	Pearson Correlation	.134	-.023	-.083	.141	.254	.a	-.064	1	.391	.016	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.531	.909	.676	.475	.242	.	.745	.	.053	.937	.	.	.
	N	24	28	28	28	23	24	28	28	25	28	24	28	28

language1 2	Pearson Correlati on	.105	-.291	-.208	-.252	-	. ^a	-	.39	1	-.070	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.581	.113	.262	.171	.03	. ^a	.47	.05		.707	.	.	.
	N	30	31	31	31	26	30	25	25	31	31	30	31	31
Native Language	Pearson Correlati on	.050	-.697**	-.098	-.346*	.14	. ^a	.06	.01	-.070	1	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.795	.000	.557	.033	.43	.	.74	.93	.707		.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
other12	Pearson Correlati on	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	30	30	30	26	30	24	24	30	30	30	30	30
Other Language Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlati on	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Other Language Spoken at School/Wo rk	Pearson Correlati on	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38

	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Fluent in Other Language	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Language tied to identity	Pearson Correlation	.202	-.055	-.049	-.186	-.384 [*]	-. ^a	-.078	-.178	-.108	.209	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.304	.767	.792	.316	.048	. ^a	.710	.395	.585	.258	.	.	.
	N	28	31	31	31	27	28	25	25	28	31	28	31	31
Ever felt discriminated against in US?	Pearson Correlation	.369 [*]	.091	-.089	.184	-.036	. ^a	.112	.366	.172	-.063	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.045	.593	.601	.277	.849	. ^a	.572	.056	.356	.710	.	.	.
	N	30	37	37	37	31	30	28	28	31	37	30	37	37
What language was he or she speaking?	Pearson Correlation	.009	.196	.384 [*]	.358	.131	. ^a	.262	.326	.102	-.196	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.961	.309	.040	.056	.533	. ^a	.226	.129	.600	.309	.	.	.
	N	29	29	29	29	25	29	23	23	29	29	29	29	29
Did you feel that you could	Pearson Correlation	.183	.183	.393 [*]	.378 [*]	.194	. ^a	.387	.059	-.268	-.127	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.343	.343	.035	.043	.353	.	.062	.784	.159	.512	.	.	.
	N	29	29	29	29	25	29	24	24	29	29	29	29	29
How did it make you feel?	Pearson Correlation	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
What measures have you taken?	Pearson Correlation	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
race	Pearson Correlation	.000	.267	-.160	.048	.033	.a	.028	.328	-.107	-.333	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.170	.416	.810	.882	.	.888	.088	.611	.083	.	.	.
	N	24	28	28	28	23	24	28	28	25	28	24	28	28
race12	Pearson Correlation	.018	.018	.200	-.042	.300	.a	.481*	.000	-.419*	.174	.a	.a	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.925	.925	.289	.825	.136	.	.017	1.000	.021	.359	.	.	.
	N	30	30	30	30	26	30	24	24	30	30	30	30	30

religion	Pearson Correlation	-.175	-.255	-.302	-.397 [*]	-	. ^a	-	.16	.028	.177	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.413	.191	.118	.036	.513	.	.929	.405	.893	.369	.	.	.
	N	24	28	28	28	23	24	28	28	25	28	24	28	28
religion12	Pearson Correlation	.695 ^{**}	-.050	.102	-.102	-	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	.073	.034	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.795	.590	.590	.403	.	.000	.000	.702	.856	.	.	.
	N	30	30	30	30	26	30	24	24	30	30	30	30	30
sex	Pearson Correlation	.229	.007	.090	-.130	-	. ^a	-	-	-.006	-.072	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.282	.972	.648	.509	.092	.	.325	.317	.977	.715	.	.	.
	N	24	28	28	28	23	24	28	28	25	28	24	28	28
Spanish Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	.050	-.697 ^{**}	-.098	-.346 [*]	-	. ^a	-	.01	.474 [*]	-.027	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.795	.000	.557	.033	.210	.	.096	.937	.007	.872	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Spanish Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	.000	.224	-.567 ^{**}	-.093	-	. ^a	-	.10	.180	-.156	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.177	.000	.579	.343	.	.905	.609	.332	.350	.	.	.

	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38
Fluent in Spanish	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	38	38	38	31	30	28	28	31	38	30	38	38

Correlations

		Fluent in Other Language	Language tied to identity	Ever felt discriminated against in US?	What language was he or she speaking?	Did you feel that you could communicate with this person?	How did it make you feel?	What measures have you taken?	race	race12	religion	religion1	religion2	sex	Spanish Spoken at Home
economicstatus12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.202	.369*	.009	.183	. ^a	. ^a	.000	.018	-.175	.695**	.229	.050	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.304	.045	.961	.343	.	.	1.000	.925	.413	.000	.282	.795	
	N	30	28	30	29	29	0	0	24	30	24	30	24	30	
English Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.055	.091	.196	.183	. ^a	. ^a	.267	.018	-.255	-.050	.007	-.697**	

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.767	.593	.309	.343	.	.	.170	.925	.191	.795	.972	.000
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
English Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.049	-.089	.384 ⁺	.393 ⁺	. ^a	. ^a	-.160	.200	-.302	.102	.090	-.098
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.792	.601	.040	.035	.	.	.416	.289	.118	.590	.648	.557
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Fluent in English	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.186	.184	.358	.378 ⁺	. ^a	. ^a	.048	-.042	-.397 ⁺	-.102	-.130	-.346 ⁺
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.316	.277	.056	.043	.	.	.810	.825	.036	.590	.509	.033
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
gender	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.384 ⁺	-.036	.131	.194	. ^a	. ^a	.033	.300	-.143	-.171	-.362	-.230
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.048	.849	.533	.353	.	.	.882	.136	.515	.403	.090	.214
	N	31	27	31	25	25	0	0	23	26	23	26	23	31
gender12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	30	28	30	29	29	0	0	24	30	24	30	24	30

	N	30	28	30	29	29	0	0	24	30	24	30	24	30
Other Language Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Other Language Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Fluent in Other Language	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Language tied to identity	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.1	.115	.232	-.039	. ^a	. ^a	-.100	.066	.091	.140	.461 [*]	-.132
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.538	.245	.848	.	.	.635	.738	.666	.478	.020	.478	
	N	31	31	31	27	27	0	0	25	28	25	28	25	31
Ever felt discriminated against	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.115	.1	.173	.007	. ^a	. ^a	.317	.341	-.130	.257	-.151	-.063

race	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.100	.317	.147	-.077	. ^a	. ^a	1	.070	-.088	. ^a	.140	-.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.635	.100	.505	.721	.	.		.745	.655	.000	.478	.852
	N	28	25	28	23	24	0	0	28	24	28	24	28	28
race12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.066	.341	-.038	-.098	. ^a	. ^a	.070	1	.504 ⁺	.199	-.405 ⁺	-.199
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.738	.066	.844	.614	.	.	.745		.012	.293	.050	.293
	N	30	28	30	29	29	0	0	24	30	24	30	24	30
religion	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.091	-.130	-.158	-.274	. ^a	. ^a	-.088	.504 ⁺	1	. ^a	-.017	.177
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.666	.509	.471	.195	.	.	.655	.012		.000	.931	.369
	N	28	25	28	23	24	0	0	28	24	28	24	28	28
religion12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.140	.257	-.183	.127	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	.199	. ^a	1	. ^a	.034
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.478	.171	.343	.512	.	.	.000	.293	.000		.000	.856
	N	30	28	30	29	29	0	0	24	30	24	30	24	30
sex	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	.461 ⁺	-.151	.237	.249	. ^a	. ^a	.140	-.405 ⁺	-.017	. ^a	1	.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.020	.443	.276	.240	.	.	.478	.050	.931	.000		.751

	N	28	25	28	23	24	0	0	28	24	28	24	28	28
Spanish Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.132	-.063	. ^a	-.127	. ^a	. ^a	-	-	.17	.034	.06	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.478	.710	.000	.512	.	.	.857	.299	.367	.856	.753	
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Spanish Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	-.205	.227	-.519 ^{**}	-.396 [*]	. ^a	. ^a	.155	.003	.143	.186	-.159	-.156
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.270	.176	.004	.033	.	.	.432	1.000	.469	.326	.418	.350
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38
Fluent in Spanish	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	38	31	37	29	29	0	0	28	30	28	30	28	38

Correlations

		Spanish Spoken at School/Work	Fluent in Spanish
economicstatus12	Pearson Correlation	.000	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.
	N	30	30
English Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	.224	. ^a

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.177	.
	N	38	38
English Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	-.567**	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	38	38
Fluent in English	Pearson Correlation	-.093	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.579	.
	N	38	38
gender	Pearson Correlation	-.343	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.
	N	31	31
gender12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	30	30
heritage	Pearson Correlation	-.025	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.900	.
	N	28	28
language	Pearson Correlation	.101	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.609	.
	N	28	28
language12	Pearson Correlation	.180	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.332	.
	N	31	31

Native Language	Pearson Correlation	-.156	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.350	.
	N	38	38
other12	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	30	30
Other Language Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	38	38
Other Language Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	38	38
Fluent in Other Language	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	38	38
Language tied to identity	Pearson Correlation	-.205	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.270	.
	N	31	31
Ever felt discriminated against in US?	Pearson Correlation	.227	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.176	.
	N	37	37
What language was he or she speaking?	Pearson Correlation	-.519 ^{**}	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.

	N	29	29
Did you feel that you could communicate with this person?	Pearson Correlation	-.396 [*]	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	.
	N	29	29
How did it make you feel?	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	0	0
What measures have you taken?	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	0	0
race	Pearson Correlation	.155	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.432	.
	N	28	28
race12	Pearson Correlation	.000	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.
	N	30	30
religion	Pearson Correlation	.143	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.469	.
	N	28	28
religion12	Pearson Correlation	.186	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.326	.
	N	30	30
sex	Pearson Correlation	-.159	. ^a

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.418	.
	N	28	28
Spanish Spoken at Home	Pearson Correlation	-.156	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.350	.
	N	38	38
Spanish Spoken at School/Work	Pearson Correlation	1	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	38	38
Fluent in Spanish	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
	N	38	38

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Notes

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Appendix D: Observations

English For Action – 2/10/12 Panel Discussion 5pm-6pm

There were probably about 12 people sitting down, all looked to be college students and they all seemed to know each other, as well as Eliza. While we were waiting for everyone else to come in, Kim, the education director, started a game. She read aloud a piece of paper that said something like “When I was in elementary school, there were three grades in one classroom, for one teacher.” Then, she explained, we were to guess who in that room wrote that note. We were to narrow it down to 2 people, and then those two people would each tell a story of how that note was theirs. People started offering guesses as to who it could be, and eventually narrowed it down to Eliza and another girl, Bella. Eliza told an obviously far-fetched but funny story of how two of the teachers at her elementary school were madly in love and somehow combined their classes. Then, Bella said that she grew up in Mexico in a very small village which only had a few teachers, so they had to combine grades. Everyone started talking about who they thought it could be, and finally one person stood up and said that Bella’s story was much more believable. Then Bella smiled and nodded, indicating that her story was true while Eliza’s was made up.

The people that were in this classroom were not necessarily Spanish speakers or immigrants- they were facilitators and teachers at the school, and this panel discussion was part of a training session. So, I was not sure how well they knew each other. Did they choose Bella’s story because it sounded more believable? Or did they choose it because she had tan skin, dark hair and brown eyes, while Eliza has clear skin, blond hair and blue eyes? Or was it because when Bella spoke English, there was a hint of a Spanish accent? Or was it because Mexico is more likely to have schools where grades are thrust into one classroom together than the US?

After the game we went around the circle and did introductions. Most people were college students and teachers/facilitators at EFA, except for me, another GST student there for a project, and the 4 panelists: Shirley, Alan, Rosa, and Manolo. The environment was very friendly, and everyone seemed to know everyone. The panel facilitator (whose name I did not catch) spoke both in English and Spanish (when speaking to us she used English followed by Spanish, when speaking to the panelists she used Spanish followed by English). She seemed to be a native Spanish speaker, and at times stumbled on English words, asking for help from the college students. The first topic she introduced was culture shock, and from then on it kind of snowballed into discussion. Generally, the panelists spoke in Spanish and the facilitator translated. (My notes are half in Spanish, half in English, depending on whether I was listening to the panelist directly or via the translator- my Spanish might be good but it’s not that good!)
 Rosa: From Mexico, Yucatan. Came to the US 6 years ago and started the voz mujer class.

- “I was surprised that some people could not read/write even in their native tongue even in the US. It is common in my country, but I did not think that it would be so here. That was why I wanted to help teach here at EFA”

- She was also surprised by the “cliente fria, ambiente fria” coldness and impartiality which people exude

Shirley: From Bolivia, also started with voz mujer

- “I was surprised by the injustice in a developed country. It was common in Bolivia, but I did not think that it would be here”
- “That’s why I started volunteering to fight against social injustice”

Manolo:

- “I considered changing my name because nobody understood it” (la gente no entiende) but his teacher discouraged him
- language was the main barrier
- “It’s frustrating when people ask to repeat things that I know they understand, they just want to bother someone like me”

Shirley:

- “Yes, but some people are very nice” & told a story about how a woman helped teach her the word “stipend”

Alan: Came to US 9 years ago from Guatemala

- “Culture shock is an every day struggle” (diaria siempre es todo) & compared it to a “guerra psicológica,” psychological war
- “I don’t believe there are differences in races and skin color, but in education and lack of information on social justice issues

Rosa: on her first day of class

- she was coming straight from work to class, no time for dinner —> teacher brought her a salad for dinner, reminded her of how the teachers back in Mexico used to bring in breakfast for the kids because otherwise they could not learn, and many of their families could not provide breakfast for them —> EFA is like a family

Shirley: on EFA classes

- “Classes are in agreement with our needs” topics about immigration, topics important to them

Manolo:

- Classes talk about culture

Rosa:

- “I realized the need to learn English... I know I could be better but I chose to help others first”

Alan:

- “oportunidad” EFA allowed him to ask questions and talk with equals, not “superiors,” intercambio* equal exchange

Shirley:

- “EFA gave us the opportunity to learn English and becomes part of the community, to be part of the US”

After this discussion, Kim outlined how the rest of the night was going to go. The panelists were done, and it was to be more like a training session for ESL teachers/facilitators and conversation partners. I thanked Eliza, Kim, and the panelists for allowing me to be there, and then headed home.

The Diocese of Providence Citizenship Class – 3/6/12 6pm-8pm

- The classroom was one of many rooms in the (new) Diocese building. It was pretty small and cramped with everyone for the class in there, there weren't enough seats for all of the PC students volunteering. Most of the class appeared to be about middle-aged
- When I got there, the lights were off- the PCers were taking them through a powerpoint about US history
- The students were mostly speaking Spanish to each other, both about classwork and life outside the classroom
- The PCers were periodically asking questions, and the students seemed very engaged and wanted to learn. Sometimes even role-playing type questions, such as "I freed the slaves, who am I?"
- A woman that worked there (maybe a teacher? not sure) came in to say goodbye, she said "buena suerte, good luck!"
- Some of the questions everyone was able to answer, and others nobody was able to answer- everyone seemed to be around the same level
- All the students had binders with information and worksheets; they all seemed to understand the directions given in English by the facilitators, but they had more trouble understanding the language of written questions
- When I gave out my survey, at first everyone was silent filling it out, then gradually as people began to finish they started speaking, almost exclusively, in Spanish to each other. They continued to only speak Spanish during their 10min break
- Next activity was to go up to the white board and draw a line matching events to their corresponding dates- they all appeared excited once they understood the instructions, several people raised their hands for each one
- Then they were instructed to make a timeline of their own- these directions were somewhat misunderstood, the PCers went around to help a lot
- One of the PC girls told me that in order to pass the citizenship test, they have to answer 6 out of 10 multiple choice questions right, as well as read a sentence and write a sentence in English
- She also told me that they didn't have too many problems communicating in English- usually they explain things more in depth in English, rather than translating
- The last activity was a dictation, one of the volunteers read a sentence about US history aloud several times while the students wrote it down. Then someone would come up to the board and write what they had written on their packet- all three were correct

Dorcas Place ESL Classes – 3/7/12 9-10:30am

- The few students that were there when we got there seemed to know each other, were talking to each other about inside jokes, family, work, etc. in English

- After I explained what my survey was about, the teacher turned to the woman wearing the head-covering and asked if she was Iranian. She shook her head no, and waited for the teacher to keep guessing. Finally, she gave up and said Moroccan & the teacher exclaimed “oh that’s right, I knew that...”
- They understood the survey for the most part, but a few asked questions about the ranking question, and the teacher helped explain to several of them
- Also hard for the non-Spanish speakers to understand the concept of discrimination in English
- When I went back into the first classroom, there were 8 students, all sitting in groups with the PC volunteers and working independently on worksheets
- I gave out my survey, but it took much longer for this group to fill it out. The volunteers and I helped them understand the survey.
- After giving out my survey, I spent the rest of the time helping Dorris, a woman from Liberia, with a few worksheets. She was very new to the class and to learning English- we mostly did letters and vowel sounds

Appendix E: Interviews

Interviews were conducted by Lauren Podgorski, a fellow Global Studies student studying expectations of assimilation and exclusionary feelings in the immigrant population of Providence, RI between February 2012 and May 2012. Interviewees were contacted through the International Institute of RI.

1. Interview with Laura Faria

Citizenship teacher at IIRI, teaching ESL for 3 years here in the US at IIRI and at JWU, also taught English in Quito, Ecuador for 3 years.

Do you know of any stories in which an immigrant is affected by the push to assimilate? *"I don't want to be a "negative Nancy" with my response, but assimilation is a rampant message in the US and here is my (I'm so sorry!!) view on it. Normally, I am a positive person, but I feel very strongly about the topic of assimilation and how the US "forces" assimilation on it's inhabitants.*

In my opinion, assimilation happens all the time, and it is unfortunate. Assimilation is a way that in the US many people think of different cultures as being added to the "melting pot" making everyone the same, instead of thinking of the different cultures as adding to the "mosaic" that makes up the US.

Having an accent, or being a 1st generation immigrant is sometimes looked down upon because of lots of negative media floating around about what "illegals" and other immigrants are doing in the US (imagine being given the title "illegal alien", gosh! That's a tough one to swallow!). It is a sad situation. I think you see the effects of assimilation most with teenagers, but no generation is exempt from the negative messages. For example, their parents are immigrants and their children are either born here or moved here at a young age. Assimilation takes place when children refuse to speak their heritage language with their parents, this can be in part because there is much negative media & stereotypes and judgements passed by others about Spanish speakers, or English speakers with a heavy accent.

So in a way, young people (among others) begin to "deny" their roots, deny their native language and become more "American". Little do they know that speaking Spanish and representing their home culture is an important and valuable part of the American Mosaic. This message is not nearly as widespread as the negative messages immigrants are bombarded with.

For example, my neighbor (I live in Cumberland) is from Portugal, he visits Portugal and his parents each summer. His first language is Portuguese and he speaks English well as well. His daughter refuses to speak Portuguese with him. He speaks to her in Portuguese and she responds in English. Why wouldn't she want to speak Portuguese with her father? He feels hurt that she doesn't "like" the her heritage language, but must accept it. One can imagine that she refuses to speak Portuguese because there is a widespread negative connotation with speaking a non-English language, or having an accent."

2. Interview with David Wamback

Citizenship class teacher and has been teaching ESL classes to immigrants for many years.

What makes an immigrant want to become a citizen?

Off the top of my head I would say security is number one. Economic security. Acceptance into the mainstream might be number two.

Why is citizenship important?

Citizenship is important for immigrants for their self-esteem. Who wants to be referred to as an outsider, guest, or drain on the economy? As a citizen an immigrant can claim to be participating on a level equal to anyone.

Are citizenship classes effective?

Yes. Firstly, and obviously, they begin the process of introducing the material necessary for becoming a citizen. Second, they begin to integrate immigrants into the mainstream society as they are introduced to the institution, personnel, and mission statement of the places these classes are held. And of course, we know students go on to pass the citizenship exam as proof of the classes' effectiveness. Moreover, success breeds more success, and the more immigrants who attend classes and go on to pass the exam, the more immigrants will find their way to further success in our society.

Is assimilation a goal? If so, how is it achieved?

Good question.... Assimilation is probably the goal in 1/3 of the cases. Another 1/3 sets out to retain their heritage at home and in their ethnic community, while participating in the mainstream society at work, school, and maybe some leisure or civic activities. While the last 1/3 will not look to assimilate for the most part. Assimilation can be achieved through language acquisition, civic participation, educational advancement, and employment.

In your experience, do most immigrants feel welcomed and accepted by United States citizens? (If no, why not?)

No.... Not at first. Most of society will judge an immigrant firsthand. Unless the immigrant proves the person wrong - for example, if the immigrant holds a highly esteemed job, or something of that nature.

Is English necessary for an immigrant's success?

Positively, this relates back to your previous question. If an immigrant can speak English well, they are more likely to be accepted.

Is an immigrant affected if they cannot speak English well, or if they have an accent?

Yes. Discrimination on any level is a good possibility. To avoid this, the mastering of English is key.

Do most immigrants live in neighborhoods with other co-ethnics?

Yes. Just like my immigrant great grandparents did 100 years ago. Shows how much society has "progressed", doesn't it?

Is attending a local church helpful for an immigrant to integrate into their surrounding community?

Yes. Provides acceptance into a larger community, social opportunities, economic assistance and guidance through spiritual opportunities.

Do most immigrants abandon their native country's traditions and replace them with American traditions?

No. If it wasn't for poor economic conditions in their native country, most immigrants wouldn't be here in the first place. They hold on to their traditions. Traditions and heritage is a strong source of strength and one's identity. The challenge comes when they feel like they are losing their identity, and don't what to do about it.