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Changing Faces and Persistent Patterns for Education in the New Latino/a/x Diaspora

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The study of education in the New Latino/a/x¹ Diaspora (NLD) was initiated in the 1990s with an understanding that education research from regions where the Latino/a/x presence is long-standing might not always fit well for places where Latino/a/x populations were newer and where histories of discrimination, political organizing, and resistance were much more limited. This chapter is the fourth in a series of “bigger picture” examinations of the status of education in the NLD over the past two decades (following Hamann, Wortham, and Murillo [2002] and Hamann and Harklau [2010, 2015]). Like previous iterations, this chapter points to gaps visible in hindsight and lays out new trends and directions.

1. Here we adopt the somewhat awkward and contingent form *Latino/a/x*, recognizing the gender bias and binaries implied in *Latino*, but also emerging critiques of the term *Latinx*.

Since 2015, even as NLD becomes an increasingly common shorthand taken up by researchers (e.g., Hatch, Mardock Uman, & Garcia, 2016), we find at least five significant changes. First, while comprehensive immigration reform legislation seemed within reach in 2015, it has instead become more fraught and elusive, as the Trump administration has reinvigorated xenophobia and put Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) protections in limbo. The U.S. Supreme Court did decide 5-4 in June 2020 to keep DACA intact, but in the heat of the 2020 presidential campaign, the Trump administration responded by announcing a “comprehensive review” of DACA and was attempting to replace the previous two-year renewals, with just one-year renewals (Shear & Dickerson, 2020). Eliminating DACA (without a more favorable replacement) became substantially less likely as the Biden administration began.

Second, and relatedly, immigration has become a much more partisan issue, with some NLD politicians adopting overt anti-Latino/a/x stances (e.g., Nebraska governor Pete Ricketts’ and Georgia gubernatorial candidates’ 2018 election advertising). Third, since 2010 migration flows have trended more from the U.S. to Mexico than vice versa, in what Boehm (2016), Hernandez-Leon and Zúñiga (2016), and others have called “the Great Expulsion.” Fourth, the NLD is no longer so new. It has been 20 years since the Dalton City Schools became Georgia’s first majority Latino/a/x school district (Hamann, 2003), and 40 years since the opening of a beef-packing plant outside of Garden City transformed that community and its schools in southwestern Kansas (Lamphere, 1992).

Finally (and this was not part of our original draft of this chapter crafted in autumn 2019), as with its disproportionate impact in African American communities, COVID-19 has hit the NLD early and hard, with meatpacking workers especially vulnerable as they were concurrently characterized as essential but also inadequately protected. On July 1, 2020, the front page of the *Omaha World-Herald* announced that “Hispanics make up nearly 60% of coronavirus cases in Nebraska” (Duffy, 2020). In turn, Ford (Dodge City), Seward (Liberal), and Finney Counties (Garden City) in Kansas were the top three in the state for Hispanic population and COVID infection rates (with the *New York Times*-reported infection rate as of mid-September 2020 above 7.2% in both Ford and Seward Counties and above 5.5% in

Finney, together tallying more than 5,000 cases and 27 deaths).² Nobles County Minnesota (home to Worthington noted later in this chapter) had had almost 2,000 cases and an 8.8% infection rate by mid-September 2020. While there's hardly space here to chronicle all the education effects tied to COVID-19 in the NLD (which were not finished at the time of this writing), family disruptions related to health and challenges of finding childcare, digital divide issues related to home internet access for remote instruction, the extra complexities of interpreting services with distance technology, teacher layoffs that protect those with more seniority (who also are more likely to be White), and hurt newer hires each are particularly consequential for Latino/a/x populations.

Revisiting the Concept of a New Latino/a/x Diaspora

The term *diaspora* refers to “people settled far from their homeland” (Merriam-Webster, 2003) with the connotation of being forcibly expelled by religious, political, or economic forces (Brettell, 2006). It has become a key, if somewhat imprecise, construct in recent anthropological and sociological scholarship on global migration, transnationalism, and ethnicity (Brettell, 2006; Lukose, 2007). “New Latino diaspora” was first used in the 1990s (see Murillo & Villenas, 1997) to recognize that

Increasing numbers of Latinos (many immigrant and some from elsewhere in the United States) are settling both temporarily and permanently in areas of the United States that have not traditionally been home to Latinos—for example, North Carolina, Maine, Georgia, Indiana, Arkansas, rural Illinois, and near resort communities in Colorado.

(Hamann et al., 2002, p. 1)

These locales mostly contrast with the nine states of “traditional” Latino/a/x settlement—i.e., Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Texas (National

2. See www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/kansas-coronavirus-cases.html and www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/minnesota-coronavirus-cases.html#county

Taskforce on Early Childhood Education for Hispanics, 2007)—that have long-standing Latino/a/x populations that often predate even becoming part of the U.S., as well as many newcomers (although the presence of Colorado and Illinois on both lists highlights the limitations of defining “new” and “traditional” using state borders).

We have previously referenced a “Traditional Latino/a/x Diaspora” to juxtapose it with the NLD, but we are avoiding such phrasing here (except in this explanation). The big problem with the notion of a “Traditional Latino/a/x Diaspora” is that, if diaspora references a homeland away from where one lives, then using it erases the fact that Florida and what’s now the U.S. Southwest have long been home to people who now refer to themselves as Latino/a/x (among other self-references). There isn’t a different “homeland.”

As Murillo and Villenas (1997) also long ago noted, Aztlán—the myth-shrouded original homeland of the Aztecs before they migrated to what became Mexico City—may have been in the Four Corners region or elsewhere in the Southwest. How indigenous heritages intertwine with Latino/a/x identities is an important topic (albeit somewhat tangential to our focus), but in all events, in Murillo’s and Villenas’ memorable phrasing North Carolina was “East of Aztlán.” Calling the NLD a diaspora does not obfuscate, like using “Traditional Latino/a/x Diaspora” would.

In making both of these notes, we emphatically reject any assertions that NLD locations are not or should not be “home” to the millions of Latinos/as/xs who live there. Our point is just to juxtapose the relative novelty of arrival with much longer standing roots. Although the nine states with long-standing Latino/a/x populations continue to host the majority of Latinos/as/xs, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s July 1, 2018, population estimate, a not insignificant 25.2% of Latinos/as/xs (15,062,014 individuals) live in the NLD.

In 2018 New Mexico, a “traditional” state had the ninth largest Latino/a/x population in the country (1,029,233), exceeded only by the eight other “traditional” states. It was also poised (at 49%) to soon become America’s first majority Latino/a/x state. However, in terms of raw *numbers*, it was about to be overtaken in terms of total Latino/a/x inhabitants by an NLD state, Georgia, where 1,026,737 Latinos/as/xs lived. Three other NLD states were poised to soon follow (North Carolina=997,349, Pennsylvania=976,142, and Washington=970,358).

So “traditional” was fading as a shorthand for home to the largest Latino/a/x populations.

While NLD communities have hosted higher proportions of first-generation immigrants compared to more established communities, U.S.-born Latinos/as/xs predominate in both. **Table 1** (from Stacy, Hamann, & Murillo, 2015, p. 338) demonstrates that in 2011, of 22 NLD states with a 10% or higher Latino/a/x school-age population, only Maryland’s was majority foreign born. Starting just before then (between 2010 and 2018), the proportion of foreign-born Latinos/as/xs has declined in each of these states, even as, using U.S. Census estimates from American FactFinder (factfinder.census.gov/), the Latino/a/x population grew nationwide by 9.39 million (51% of America’s total growth) in that span. Of that growth, 74.6% was due to births among U.S.-based families and only 25.4% was from international migration.

Table 1 Hispanic Populations in NLD States Where >10% Were Hispanic in 2011

<i>State</i>	<i>Total Hispanic population</i>	<i>Percentage of 18 and under population that is Hispanic</i>	<i>Percentage of Hispanic population that is foreign born</i>
Nevada	738,000	40%	41%
Oregon	466,000	21%	37%
Rhode Island	135,000	21%	41%
Washington	790,000	20%	35%
Utah	373,000	17%	40%
Kansas	307,000	17%	34%
Idaho	182,000	17%	31%
Nebraska	174,000	16%	39%
Massachusetts	650,000	15%	31%
Oklahoma	347,000	15%	33%
Hawaii	126,000	15%	9%
Wyoming	52,000	15%	19%
North Carolina	828,000	14%	47%
Connecticut	494,000	14%	26%
Delaware	76,000	14%	32%
Georgia	880,000	13%	47%
Maryland	489,000	12%	51%
Virginia	649,000	11%	47%
Arkansas	190,000	11%	42%
Pennsylvania	750,000	10%	23%
Indiana	397,000	10%	34%
Wisconsin	344,000	10%	30%

The national origins of Latinos/as/xs in NLD communities has also been changing. In most of the U.S., NLD communities were largely pioneered by Mexican-origin newcomers. So *Latino/a/x* has often been shorthand for *Mexican*, and the majority of Latinas/os/xs are still of Mexican descent.

Yet, driven by lower birthrates and improved educational and economic opportunities in Mexico, new Mexican immigration to the U.S. is now declining, with outflows exceeding inflows (Zúñiga & Hamann, 2020). A decreasing proportion of Mexican immigrants are of school age (65.2% in 2010 to 50.2% in 2017) (Radford & Noe-Bustamante, 2019).

At the same time, economic conditions in Central America, while improving, still significantly lag conditions in Mexico and birthrates remain higher (Lane, 2019; World Bank, 2019), contributing to higher rates of emigration from there. (As Urrieta and Bybee, this volume, also note, also contributing to emigration from Northern Triangle countries—Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—are high levels of violence, which partially originate in the history of U.S. interventions in these countries and deportations of previously incarcerated Central America-born, U.S.-raised young adults who have few chances to join the formal economy.)

By 2017, Central American-born residents outnumbered Mexican-born residents considerably in some NLD areas including Maryland, Virginia, Washington D.C., and Massachusetts (Pew Hispanic Center, 2019). The Caribbean also increasingly contributes to NLD migration. Rhode Island's NLD population has long been predominantly Dominican and Guatemalan (Portes, Guarnizo, & Haller, 2002); in 2017 its 30,272 Caribbean-born residents exceeded its 21,681 born in Central America (Radford & Noe-Bustamante, 2019).

This demographic shift has several educational implications. The U.S. Central American-born population (some 3.5 million) is proportionally more school-aged (59% in 2017) than the Mexican-born one (Radford & Noe-Bustamante, 2019). In terms of family educational background, current Central American migrants are more similar to the Mexican group who migrated pre-1992, before Mexico expanded compulsory education beyond primary school. Central American arrivals, particularly from Guatemala, are also much more likely to speak Indigenous languages than antecedent Mexican populations (Garsd, 2015; Tussey, 2017).

Although the demographics and groups represented within the NLD continue to evolve and vary by state, overall the populations and proportions of Latinos/as/xs among K-12 students are holding steady or growing. Nevada continues to top the list, with more than one in three (39.7%) school-age individuals from Latino/a/x backgrounds. The Latino/a/x school-age population is also expanding geographically. While the 2010 Census counted 22 NLD states with a >10% Latino/a/x population age 18 or under (see Table 1), using the Census Bureau's July 1, 2018, population estimates, by 2018 there were 24 (adding Iowa and Tennessee), and several states below 10% representation reported Latino/a/x under-18 populations in the six figures (Michigan, 197,000; Ohio, 178,000; Minnesota, 126,000; South Carolina, 112,000; Missouri, 101,000).

The Heterogeneity of the NLD

Hamann et al. (2002) suggested that in the NLD, newcomer Latinxs were confronted with “novel challenges to their senses of identity, status, and community” (p. 1) and that responses by non-Latinx established residents were improvisational, as local norms of inclusion/exclusion and assimilation/accommodation were lacking. In short, the NLD was defined by *who*, *where*, and encountering *what*.

While the issue of who gets counted as Latinx (or Hispanic) is mainly a topic for other publications, it is worth mentioning here several more dynamics that contribute to the NLD's heterogeneity. First, as Oboler (1995) noted in her study of Peruvian newcomers, immigrants from Latin America often think of their ethnic identity in nationalistic terms (e.g., Peruvian) and are surprised by the racialized nature of Latino/a/x/Hispanic identity in the U.S. The relatively small initial number of Latinos/as/xs in NLD communities tends to facilitate the formation of a pan-ethnic Latinx identity. Nevertheless, as Sierk (2019) documented at a rural Nebraska high school, the undifferentiated aggregation under labels like “Latino” or “Hispanic” may be perceived and enforced primarily by Whites. Sierk found that students from various Latin American heritages were acutely aware of nation-of-origin-related status hierarchies and Indigeneity-related hierarchies, with Mexicans ahead of Spanish-speaking Guatemalans, who

were ahead of more Indigenous background Guatemalans. NLD youth may embrace a pan-Latino/a/x identity, but it is not certain that they will do so, or that this affiliation will matter more to them than national heritage or ethnolinguistic identities. Referencing an “NLD” may name the semiotic taxonomies of the larger host society and community as much as the self-identity of the diaspora’s ostensible members.

In light of the increased flow of Mexican-heritage NLD families from the U.S. to Mexico in recent years, school-age youth have become increasingly transnational. If newcomers to the U.S. find themselves subject to pan-ethnic labeling, what label pertains to the growing numbers of children and youth who have moved/returned to Mexico or Central America? As **Figure 1** shows, Mexican schools host more than 600,000 children born in the U.S., including in NLD communities (Masferrer, Hamilton, & Denier, 2019, p. 1458).

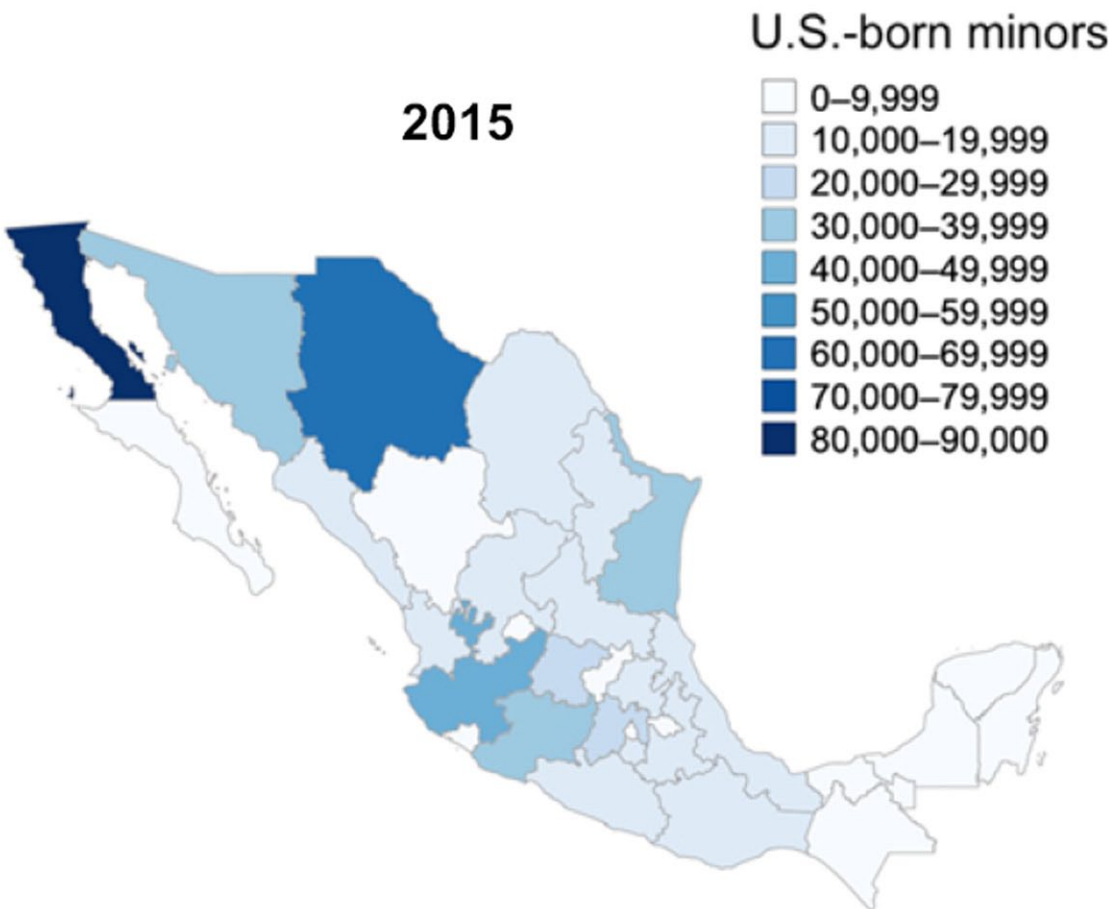


Figure 1 Numbers of U.S. Nationals Attending Mexican K-12 Schools by State

Are these youngsters Mexican? American? Recalling the concept of diaspora as “people settled far from their homeland,” are these children settling away from a geographic identity touchstone? Does “Latino/a/x” aptly index that nation-based labels may not illuminate how students see themselves, nor how they are regarded by others? Or do we need a new term, such as “Generation 0.5” proposed by Zúñiga and Giorguli Saucedo (2019) where the “0” “pushes back at the framing of being an immigrant or emigrant” (Zúñiga & Hamann, 2020, p. 4).

Defining NLD in terms of location is complicated. For one thing, we risk overlooking previous histories of Latino/a/x settlement in NLD areas. For example, in her compilation of historic *corridos* (folk-songs) created by Mexican migrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries, folklorist Herrera-Sobek (1993) noted references in song to steel work in Pennsylvania and work with sugar beets in Kansas and Michigan. Likewise, McConnell (2004) traces the recruitment of Mexican labor in the rural upper Midwest to the 1917 Immigrant Act that curtailed European-origin labor. While many Mexican-origin migrants left or were forcibly repatriated in the depressions of 1920-1921 and 1929, recruitment and migration flows renewed during labor shortages in World War II and subsequent years.

Gouveia, Carranza, and Cogua (2005) therefore proposed an alternate label, “re-emerging Latino/a/x communities.” Acknowledging that Nebraska’s Latino/a/x population had grown to 125,000 in 2005, they also pointed out that Nebraska’s 1980 Census had tallied 28,000 Hispanics, many of whom were third and fourth generation. While calling states like Nebraska “new” might obscure these histories, excluding them from our list would mean overlooking locations where most of the story is “new.”

The broad term *NLD* may also obscure important regional differences in Latino/a/x enrollment growth and impact on educational systems. We can illustrate with contrasting state examples. Using the terminology of the tallies, in 1995-1996 Virginia counted 1,079,854 students, of whom 34,597 were Hispanic, while Washington state counted 956,572 students, of whom 74,871 were Hispanic (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1998). Two decades later in 2015-2016, Virginia enrolled 1,279,200 students (+200,000), of whom 184,200 were Hispanic (+149,600). In the same interval, Washington’s

student population grew to 1,061,300 (+104,700) of whom 237,730 (+162,900) were Hispanic (NCES, 2013, 2017). In other words, while increased Hispanic enrollment accounted for more than half the growth in Virginia's student population, it not only accounted for *all* of the increase in school enrollment in Washington, but also explained why the total student population did not decline.

In some places, the NLD helps explain the proliferation of classroom trailers behind school buildings to accommodate growing enrollments and shortages of teachers trained in TESOL or bilingual education (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2017). In other places, such as Iowa (Grey, 2006), growing Latino/a/x enrollment is the reason that schools have not closed and that teaching lines have not been discontinued; it is stabilizing district populations and budgets, even if it is not necessarily viewed as such.

In this newest account of education in the NLD, we again face complications in characterizing varied "contexts of reception" (Callahan, Gautsch, Hopkins, & Unda, 2020) to Latino/a/x students and families. Variable community investment in school funding is one issue. The educational reception of Latinos/as/xs in the NLD is often influenced by aging non-Latino/a/x established residents with no school-age children and a racialized aversion to paying taxes or otherwise supporting other people's children, as highlighted in a poignant *Washington Post* story about Worthington, Minnesota (Miller, 2019).

NLD educators are seldom from local NLD linguistic and ethnic communities and may hold biased attitudes towards Latino/a/x students (e.g., Straubhaar, Vasquez, Mellom, & Portes, 2019). How this manifests in educational programs and policies varies. Focusing on a small-town high school on the Great Plains, Gray (forthcoming) notes the paradox of a high school ESL classroom functioning both as sanctuary and trap, using the latter term to note how this space hid the primarily Latino/a/x English learners from the rest of the school population, allowing them to largely ignore such students' very presence. At the other extreme, Harklau and Yang (2020) show how one southeastern NLD school district exploited a state policy loophole to mainstream most English learners with little additional support for either teachers or learners.

Improvisation and innovation have been hallmarks of language education policies for Latinos in the NLD. Eckerson (2015) has written

about the proliferation of Spanish heritage language programs across Nebraska as the poor fit of traditional foreign language instruction (assuming an initial lack of language) does not work well for students who have negotiated some portion of home, religious, and community life in Spanish. The proliferation of Spanish/English dual-immersion programs is another response (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). The Center for Applied Linguistics (2019) indicates that 42% (326 of 781) of such dual-immersion programs are located in NLD states.

A related development is the surging popularity of Seal of Bilingualism/Biliteracy programs recognizing high school graduates who demonstrate fluency in more than one language (Mitchell, 2018). By 2018, only six NLD states did not have such a program. Likewise, Lew (2019) documents how one high school program in a rural southeastern NLD area used its International Baccalaureate program to foster advanced bilingual and heritage language development among Latino/a/x students. To be sure, these programs often find local community and state support not because of their benefit to Latino/a/x students, but rather because of the advantages that privileged, White middle-class parents see in cultivating their children's multilingualism (Colomer & Chang-Bacon, 2019; Villenas, 2002; Williams, 2017). Nevertheless, research suggests that they result in better than average Latino/a/x schooling outcomes (NASEM, 2017).

Finally, while the notion of the NLD might imply a blank slate or new starting point for the local negotiation of inter-ethnic relationships and educational practices, local interactions are never entirely free of broader national influence. Indeed, the general mobility of the U.S. population, Latino/a/x immigrants' common pattern of secondary migration from established to new diaspora areas, nationally and transnationally circulating images of Latinos in mass media including social media (Catalano, 2017; Chavez, Campos, Corona, Sanchez, & Ruiz, 2019), and national policies and ideologies regarding language, culture, and education (see Ricento, 2000) all continually merge the local with the national. For example, changing stances in national media coverage seems to explain Georgia's vacillating attitudes towards Spanish-English bilingual programs since the 1990s (e.g., Hamann, 2003; Georgia Department of Education, 2019).

Educational Outcomes in the NLD

A critical and continuing question is whether Latinos/as/xs in the NLD are subject to obstacles and hazards equivalent to those that have hindered prospective achievement in traditional locations. **Table 2** illustrates that the handful of NLD states where Hispanic high school graduation rates outpace the average rate and/or that of their White peers are all NLD states. However, in most states, Latino/a/x outcomes lag behind. In 36 of the 51 states (i.e., including Washington D.C.), the Hispanic graduation rate in 2016–2017 was at least 3% lower than the overall rate. This includes just over half of traditional states, but three quarters of NLD states. Moreover, all ten states where Latinos/as/xs' graduation rate was 10% lower than statewide average were in the NLD.

Table 2 also illustrates that while the Hispanic high school graduation rate lagged that of their White peers by 8.6 percentage points nationally (problematic in itself), in over half (24/42) of NLD states, the gap was even bigger. While English learner and Latinx (or Hispanic) are not synonyms, 78% of identified English learners (ELs) are Hispanic (U.S. Dept. of Education, 2017). So the fact that EL graduation rates were below 60% in one-third (14 of 42) of NLD states highlights a frequent inadequacy of the school response across the NLD.

Latino/a/x college-going rates and policies also differ significantly among NLD states. College policies regarding the so-called dreamers or un(der)documented students form one barometer of NLD state aspirations for Latino/a/x youth and higher education opportunities. A number of NLD states (Arkansas, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Washington) offer in-state tuition to such students. In at least three of these (Minnesota, Oregon, Washington) students are also eligible for state financial aid (National Council of State Legislatures [NCSL], 2019).

Looking at the effect of these policies in several states, Flores (2010) found “a significant positive effect in the odds of college enrollment after the enactment of the tuition policies in states with the resident tuition legislation” (2010, p. 257). Indeed enrollment likelihood jumped by more than 50%. On the other hand, two NLD states, Oklahoma and Wisconsin, initially offered in-state tuition but then rescinded it. Yet

Table 2 2016-2017 High School Graduation Rates in the Traditional Areas and the NLD

<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Traditional States (n=-9)</i>	<i>NLD States (n=-42)</i>
States with Hispanic graduation rates below the national Hispanic average of 80%; Bold = below 74%, Underline = below 70%	44%: Arizona, Colorado , New Mexico , New York (4 of 9)	55%: Alaska, Connecticut, Georgia , Idaho, Indiana, Louisiana , Maryland , Massachusetts, Michigan , Minnesota , Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio , Oklahoma, Oregon , Pennsylvania , Rhode Island, South Dakota , Utah, Virginia , Washington , Washington D.C. (23 of 42)
States where the Hispanic graduation rate is 3 percentage points lower than that state's overall graduation rate. Bold = 6 percentage points below, Underline = 10 percentage points below	56%: Arizona, Colorado , Illinois, New Jersey , New York	74%: Connecticut , Delaware, Georgia , Idaho, Indiana , Iowa , Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana , Maryland , Massachusetts , Michigan , Minnesota , Missouri, Montana, Nebraska , New Hampshire , North Carolina , North Dakota , Ohio , Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania , Rhode Island , South Dakota , Tennessee , Utah, Virginia , Washington , Wisconsin , Wyoming
States with greater than 8.6 percentage points separating the higher White graduation rate from the lower Hispanic one (8.6% equals the national average separation)	33%: Colorado, New Jersey, New York	57%: Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, . Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Washington D.C., Wisconsin
States where English Learner graduation rates were below 60%	22%: Arizona, New York	33%: Alaska, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington
States where the Hispanic graduation rate is higher than White high school graduation rate	None	7% Maine, Vermont, West Virginia
States where the Hispanic graduation rate exceeds the total national graduation rate of 84.6%	11%: Texas	12%: Alabama, Arkansas, Maine, Vermont, West Virginia

Source: *NCBS Common Core of Data*: Public high school four-year adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR), by race/ethnicity and selected demographic characteristics for the United States, the 50 states, and the District of Columbia: school year 2016-2017.

other NLD states including Indiana and Georgia specifically prohibit undocumented students from in-state tuition, and Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina all prohibit undocumented students from attending at least some of their state's colleges (NCSL, 2019).

Based on such data, Callahan et al. (2020) describe a bifurcated NLD in which some states (e.g., North Carolina) are taking steps towards equitable, assets-based approaches to immigrant education while others such as Georgia, Kentucky, and Nevada, formulate educational policies that constrain opportunities for *Latino/a/x* immigrant children and youth.

Conclusion

Almost by definition, the concept of a "new" *Latino/a/x* diaspora will continue evolving. This will present educational researchers with continued opportunities to trace the evolution of these new communities as they enter the third and fourth generations. Hamann et al. (2002) proposed the possibility that the historical absence of substantial anti-*Latino/a/x* racism in the NLD at least left open the prospect that the troubling dynamics in areas of long *Latino/a/x* settlement could perhaps be avoided. However, as we noted in the first Handbook chapter (Hamann & Harklau, 2010) and even more sharply five years later (Hamann & Harklau, 2015), that possibility has not materialized. While improvisational or exceptional state and local responses to meeting the educational needs and rights of this community might have once been explainable (albeit not acceptable), any continued excuses for a lack of readiness ring increasingly hollow.

On a broader level, the future of education in the NLD is caught up in uncertain sociopolitical and economic crosscurrents regarding immigration and the labor force. On one side are a new nationalism and increasingly explicit and virulent xenophobia. These are reflected in presidential rhetoric and social media (Chavez et al., 2019) that have lent new political acceptability to racist tropes of *Latino/a/x* immigrants as criminal undesirables. They are also manifested in the most restrictive and punitive U.S. immigration and refugee policies in decades, including policies that have resulted in children being indefinitely detained, separated from their families, and even dying. While

contemporary politics has emboldened some NLD states to pass more restrictive policies, such as Alabama's 2011 HB 56 (Sheets, 2019), in others it has catalyzed community resistance and more explicitly pro-immigrant legislation (Pham & Van, 2019).

Counterposed with this xenophobia are the strong historical ties that have bound the U.S. to Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean economically and politically through generations of migration and powerful forces of neoliberalism and globalization that have fostered the growth of NLD communities in recent decades. Concurrently, teacher professional development efforts and teacher recruitment efforts are both changing *how* Latino/a/x students are received in the classroom and *who* receives them (Herrera, 2015; Morales, 2018).

Ultimately, in spite of the "othering" rhetoric of Trumpian neo-nationalism, the majority of Latinos/as/xs currently in NLD schools are in fact U.S. citizens. An ongoing process of linguistic and cultural accommodation and change is therefore already a *fait accompli* in NLD communities and schools. The question then becomes not whether Latino/a/x children and youth are a part of NLD communities, but rather what sorts of future citizens and workforce participants NLD schools will educate them to be.

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