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# Centering Community Voices Through Children's Literature:

## Co-authoring an #Ownvoices Picture Book for the Maine Migrant Education Program

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER IN MIGRATION STUDIES

by Melanie Shelton

May 14th 2020

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this applied project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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#### Dedication

For Estela, Alan y Cinthia

y para Carlos Ernesto Escobar Mejía and Ahmaud Arbery; may they rest in power.

#### Acknowledgements

Thank you to Amy, Bill, Christina, Genevieve, Karina, Kathy, and Lois. It has been an honor to work with you all for the past four years.

Thank you to my friends at Mano en Mano and the Blueberry Harvest School, especially Christina, Emma, Ian, Maria, Mary Noella, Stephen, and Vivian.

Thank you to my parents, Laura and Steve, and my grandparents, Betsy and Joe, for your unwavering support (even though I didn't go to law school).

Thank you to my lifelong friends Abby, Amelia, Ari, Emma, Lizzie, and Julie, for believing in me and loving me in spite of my deplorably slow texting response time.

Thank you to my compas at Otay Mesa Detention Resistance; your friendship has been truly healing.

Thank you to my editorial team, Frankie and Philip Sizemore, and to Karmen Sizemore for patiently waiting until friend o'clock.

Thank you to Scarlett, Lyra, and Quinn for being the best roommates I will ever have.

Gracias a Estela por quererme como si fuera su propia hija y por aceptarme tal y como soy.

Thank you, Kelly, for your true and unconditional love throughout it all. I hereby promise to be finished with higher education (barring any urgent and unforseen circumstances).

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#### Abstract

Since its inception, the field of migrant education has been characterized by a tension between honoring the subjectivity of migrant families and positioning them as victims. This same tension exists in the analysis of children's picture books that depict the daily lives of migrant farmworkers. In response to Eve Tuck's (2009) call for a moratorium on damage-centered research in the field of education, this report describes the collaboration process between a representative of the Maine Migrant Education Program and a migrant farmworker and her family to write, illustrate, and present an autobiographical picture book. Las aventuras, travesuras, y peligros del campo: Tres historias de mi niñez, by Estela Albor Villafuerte (see Appendix A), offers a much-needed intervention to the scholarship on migrant education and a valuable contribution to curricula developed by the Maine Migrant Education Program. Without ignoring the reality of oppression, Villafuerte's work describes a life defined by independance, interpersonal connection, creativity, ingenuity, and humor. Aventuras should be utilized in Maine Migrant Education curricula because it offers children a reflection of themselves, their families, and their communities as whole rather than broken, and as complex individuals in control of their subjectivity rather than simplified victims in a story told by and for outsiders.

"[Desire] is important because it more closely matches the experiences of people who, at different points in a single day, reproduce, resist, are complicit in, rage against, celebrate, throw up hands / fists / towels, and withdraw and participate in uneven social structures - that is, everybody."

-Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to

Communities"

#### **Summary of the Organization**

The United States has always relied on oppressive, racialized agricultural systems.

Colonial settlers appropriated agricultural technologies from Indigenous peoples while waging a genocidal war to gain control of the continent. Descendants of these settlers enslaved Africans and African Americans and subjected their freed descendants to sharecropping. With the Dust Bowl came the expectation that agriculture would depend not only on the exploitation of vulnerable groups but specifically upon their ability to travel to follow the crops. Much has been written to critique the United States' dependence on the labor of Black and brown bodies to feed the nation. Bill Ong Hing (2006; 2010) and Mae Ngai (2004) examine how the intersecting politics of labor and immigration - in particular the Bracero program - paved the way for this country's current dependence on undocumented Latinx workers. Ethnographies including Seth Holmes' Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies (2013) and Sarah Bronwen Horton's They Leave their Kidneys in the Fields (2016) describe the dangerous living and working conditions that migrant

farmworkers have experienced in the 21st century. Never passive victims of systemic violence, migrant farmworkers have long been at the forefront of the labor movement. Today, groups like the Coalition of Immokalee Workers in Florida continue the organizing legacy of Larry Dulay Itliong, Dolores Huerta, Cesar Chavez, and countless others.

The agricultural industry depends on the mobility and labor not just of workers, but of their families as well. In fact, Gonzalez refers to the Mexican family as "the basic unit of migratory agricultural labor" (2013, 126). It is difficult to know the number of migrant farmworkers in the United States today; most available estimates can be traced back to data from the 1990s, and range from one million to three million (see: Larson et. al., 1993; Immigration Policy Center, 2009; NCFH, 2012; Zarate et. al., 2017). This means that children and youth might attend multiple schools during any given year, each with its own curriculum and academic calendar. It is well-documented that high mobility, especially when paired with poverty, has negative impacts on the education of children and youth (NCHE, 2011). The Migrant Education Program (MEP), governed by the United States Department of Education (DOE), exists to address the unique needs of migrant children in order to ensure that they receive the same quality of education as their non-migrant peers (Migrant Education Program, 2019). As a federal program, the purpose of the MEP is not to change the country's oppressive agricultural system, but rather to help the children of migrant farmworkers complete their secondary education and prepare them for "responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment" (Migrant Education Program). MEP personnel understand that students who are not enrolled in school run the risk of laboring in the fields alongside their parents (Granados, 2019).

The MEP operates programs in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. In 2016, the Department of Education allocated 374,751 million dollars to the National migrant education program (Department of Education, 2016), which served 227,692 children and youth during the 2016-2017 school year during which I began the study (Migrant Education Program). At their best, MEP services are designed with specific local communities in mind. Educators and community outreach workers, employed by the MEP, work alongside schools, but are also responsible for addressing any incidents of discrimination and mistreatment on the part of the schools. The MEP is a supplementary program; it is prohibited for the MEP to offer services, such as ESL classes, that public schools are required to provide (Zarate, 2017). The supplementary services offered by the program can include advocacy, tutoring, extracurricular activities, family literacy programs, and summer school programs intended to prevent summer learning loss. Some programs, like the High School Equivalency Program, are designed to support youth who choose to work rather than attend school. The MEP also supports students in their postsecondary education through the College Assistance Migrant Program (Zarate, 2017).

The founding of the MEP is largely attributed to the 1960 CBS documentary *Harvest of Shame*, which exposed the oppressive conditions under which migrant farmworkers lived and worked, advocating for legislation to improve these conditions (see: Pappamihiel, 2004; Cranston-Cingras and Rivera-Singletary, 2017). Although the majority of children and youth who qualify for MEP services belong to immigrant families or to families who travel internationally to work in United States fields, the term "migrant" does not refer to immigration. The term "migratory child" is defined in Title 1 Part C of the Every Child Succeeds Act. This definition includes anyone between the ages of zero and of twenty one who travels to accompany

a primary caregiver who is a migratory agricultural worker. A youth under the age of twenty one who is a migratory worker themself or is married to a migratory worker will also qualify. While it is difficult to know exact demographics, a 2008 study indicated that 80% of migrant farmworkers in the United States were Mexican, and that 96% of this majority was undocumented (Zarate, 2017, 30).

#### The Maine Migrant Education Program (MMEP)

Maine MEP serves between 300 and 400 students each year (see: Mano en Mano 2016, 11; 2018, 6 and ED Data Express). Maine is a largely rural state with a long history of producing potatoes, broccoli, apples, blueberries, sea food, Christmas wreaths, and dairy products. The history of migration on Wabanaki land predates its colonization; Mi'kmaq and Passamaquoddy families have always traveled to what is now known as Washington County or Downeast Maine to harvest wild blueberries (Mano en Mano, 2018, 3). Passamaquoddy families from other parts of Maine and Mi'kmaq families from Canada continue this tradition today. Latinx farm workers began working in Maine during the late 1970s, and during the early 1990s families chose to settle permanently in and around the town of Milbridge rather than continue living by the migrant circuit (Mano en Mano, 2018, 3). Many of the families who live year-round in Washington County come from the same small town in Michoacán, Mexico, as many families who travel from other states for the blueberry harvest.

Mano en Mano, a nonprofit based in Washington County, is the official LEA for the state of Maine, meaning that they run year-round MEP programming for the entire state. For 15 years, Mano en Mano has worked with the Downeast Maine community "to ensure access to essential

services, increase economic and educational opportunities & foster community leadership and equity" (Mano en Mano, 2018, 3). Mano en Mano describes the blueberry harvest school as "a hands-on, interdisciplinary summer program through the MEP that seeks to build self-esteem, reduce summer learning loss, and promote a lifetime love of learning among students whose families migrate for the blueberry harvest in Downeast Maine" (Mano en Mano, 2018, 6). The month-long curriculum is designed to honor and engage with the diverse identities of BHS students. Each classroom is staffed with teachers and assistants who speak a combination of Mi'kmaq, Spanish and English. Teachers balance time in the classroom with field trips and outdoor activities. For youth who are eligible for the MMEP but work in the fields or do childcare for younger siblings, the BHS offers in-camp services including classes and field trips. In 2017, the MMEP enrolled and served 64 students, lower than usual,- "due to a market crisis affecting blueberry producers¹ (Mano en Mano, 2017, 10)."

The BHS prioritizes parental involvement, and employs community liaisons to visit homes each day to: 1) provide information about the program and encourage families to enroll, 2) share updates from teachers with enrolled families about curriculum and field trips, and 3) to address families' questions and concerns. In addition, community liaisons advocate for students and families to ensure that the BHS is meeting their needs. The majority of families who travel to Maine for the blueberry harvest are afforded temporary housing by their employers in small cabins on or near company land. The land where these cabins are located is colloquially referred to as "camps." Cabins are small, with bunk beds, electricity, and an outdoor water spigot. Jasper

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;2016-17 saw a steep decline in Maine's blueberry harvest, the agricultural activity that typically accounts for the majority of migratory work in the state. Due to a glut of frozen product from the 2014-15 and 2015-16 harvests and the resulting decline in the crop's market value, one of the state's largest blueberry companies decided not to rake in 2016-17. The company would ordinarily hire approximately 6,000 migratory rakers for the month of August. The elimination of these positions led to a greater than 10% reduction in identified migrant students" (Ed Data Express).

Wyman & Son (known as Wyman's) is the largest employer with the largest camp, featuring more than 50 cabins, dormitory housing for single men, parking spaces for mobile homes, two communal kitchens, both covered and open-air picnic tables, port-o-potties, a large soccer field, and a central space where local restaurants set up temporary summer locations. In recent years, wifi has been made available at one specific location in the camp. The camp adjoins the blueberry processing plant, which means that workers can easily walk to their shifts each day. The camp is located Deblois, a town with a year-round population of 57. Wyman's camp is nine miles from the closest general store and 15 miles from the closest grocery store. Workers without cars or drivers' licenses are isolated in the camps, and essential services including the Migrant Education and Migrant Health programs provide in-camp programming throughout the harvest season. The role of the community liaison involves spending several hours a day at the different camps.



Fig. 1. Jasper Wyman & Sons Camp and Processing Plant from "Deblois, Maine." Map, *Google Maps*. Accessed 10 May 2020.



Fig. 2. Shelton, Melanie. Photograph of Wyman's Camp. August, 2017. Author's personal collection.

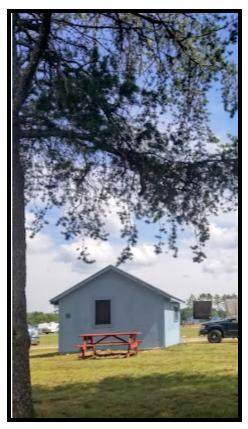


Fig. 3. Shelton, Melanie. Cabin and picnic table at Wyman's Camp. August, 2018. Author's personal collection.

#### Meeting Estela

María Estela Albor Villafuerte is a 54-year-old mother of nine who moved from Michoacán, Mexico to Florida in 2013. I met her during the summer of 2015 when I worked as a community liaison for the BHS. This was the second year Estela and her family had traveled from Florida to participate in the blueberry harvest. She, her mother, and younger brother worked from 7:00 pm to 7:00 am at the processing plant, while her husband worked from 7:00 am to 7:00 pm harvesting blueberries. Two of her sons in their late teens and early twenties also

worked the morning shift raking blueberries by hand. Estela's two elementary-school-aged children, Alejandro and Maite<sup>2</sup>, were enrolled at the Blueberry Harvest School.

Estela and I formed a warm working relationship, which over time turned into a friendship based on a shared desire to advocate for her children, our extroverted personalities, and are-our critiques of inequality within public schools and the agriculture industry. At the end of August, Estela, her mother, and her school-aged children returned to Florida while her husband, brother, and older sons travelled to Pennsylvania to harvest apples until October. In September, I traveled to Florida as part of an initiative to facilitate collaboration between Maine's and Florida's Migrant Education Programs. I had the opportunity to visit some Blueberry Harvest School families, including Estela's. I visited her home twice, and it was a privilege to share meals together, to visit her children's elementary school, and to learn about her life in Florida. We kept in touch intermittently after this visit. I was unable to return to Maine for the 2016 blueberry season, and so the following summer we were reunited after two years. Based on my knowledge of Estela as a strong advocate for her children, her honest communication style, and her critical perspective, I was eager to hear her analysis of the picture books about migrant farmworkers. Estela was enthusiastic about reading and discussing the books. She was motivated, I believe, partially by her interest in the topic, partly by her desire to support my education by helping me with a school project, and partly because the project afforded us an opportunity to spend time together as friends.

#### **Literature Review**

<sup>2</sup> All names except for Estela's have been changed to protect participants' privacy

It is tempting to tell the story of the scholarship of migrant education as a progression from oppressive to empowering; the truth, of course, resists such simplicity. The central question for the field of Migrant Education is how can educators meet the needs of migrant students to facilitate their academic success? Not all of this scholarship is produced by MEP personnel, but MEP practitioners and "migrant-impacted" public school teachers and administrators are the audience. The MEP primarily measures success in high school graduation rates, reading scores, and math scores. Racism, classism, nativism, and language erasure are foundational aspects of the U.S. public school system, and migrant students' position in society places them at the intersection of all of these. The MEP holds a complicated position within the Department of Education. Charged with helping students overcome barriers to educational success, the program is funded and overseen by a department which has a vested interest in maintaining these barriers firmly in place. Perhaps it is for this reason that educators invested in the wellbeing of migrant students focus on bottom-up changes, calling for teachers and administrators to see and understand their migrant students and to develop affirming pedagogies. Cárdenas and Cárdenas (1977, 2004) are renowned for their Theory of Incompatibilities, which describes the ways in which public schools are not designed to support migrant students. Migrant students are not failing in school, they argue; rather, schools are failing migrant students. They assert that migrant students will succeed when schools utilize curricula that embrace their languages, cultures, and unique assets. The Cárdenas' work has informed the best of what the field has to offer. There has been an increased emphasis on parent involvement with the goal of developing programming that responds to parents' understanding of what their children need to help them succeed. The majority of the scholar / practitioners featured in the volumes Scholars in the Field: Challenges

of Migrant Education (Salinas and Franquiz, 2004) and Facilitating Educational Success for Migrant Farmworker Students in the US (Pérez and Zarate, 2017) center student and family perspectives. They make use of Moll et. al's Funds of Knowledge (1992) theory and Yosso's theory of Community Cultural Wealth (2005) to build pedagogies that center the assets that migrant students bring to the classroom. It is noteworthy that Pérez and Zarate open their book by explaining how Pérez's experiences growing up in a migrant family is the guiding force behind her work (11).

Unfortunately, alongside scholarship that centers the subjectivity of migrant families, other frequently-used educational tools approach migrant farmworkers as invisible, suffering "others" whom the scholar must reveal. Most, though not all, of these narratives are produced by white scholars who do not come from migrant communities. For Whittacker et. al. (1997), Romanowski (2002, 2003), Vocke (2007), Beck (2009, 2015), Lundy-Ponce (2010) and Free and Kriz (2015, 2016), migrant families are defined primarily by the suffering they experience. Although their intentions are good, I argue that the act of "revealing" others rather than holding space for them to reveal themselves is a method of control that contributes to oppression rather than ameliorating it. Maintaining control of someone else's story signifies an assumption of superiority and dominance. This trend suggests that even those teachers and MEP personnel who carefully research best practices are taught to see migrant students first and foremost as products of oppression rather than as complex human beings. I submit that this way of understanding and explaining migrant farmworkers is rooted in the documentary *Harvest of Shame*. This 1960 film

<sup>3</sup> Consistent with the racism, classism, and nativism that underpins our public school system, some of the literature not only defines migrant students by their problems, but defines them as problems themselves. ESCORT, a consortium dedicated to helping MEPs improve at the state level, continues to promote a guidebook for teachers entitled Help! They Don't Speak English! (1991).

is credited with inspiring lawmakers to create the Migrant Education Program (Branz-Spall and Wright 2004, 3). Within the first 10 minutes of the film, then-Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, describes migrant farmworkers as

...the great mass of what I call the excluded Americans. They are people who cry out. The workers and their children and their wives who cry out for some assistance. And whose plight is a shame, it's a shame in America.

Murrow goes on to say, "These are the forgotten people. The under-protected, the under-educated, the under-clothed, the under-fed." I argue that this early characterization of migrant farmworkers as a suffering and forgotten mass rather than as complex individuals is connected to the prevailing sense that they are invisible. When non-migrants are taught to imagine them as the embodiment of suffering, even in the name of making them visible by calling attention to their plight, our view of these community members is obstructed rather than enhanced.

In 2009 Eve Tuck, Unangax scholar of educational research and Indigenous studies, wrote an open letter to those involved with education projects in marginalized communities. The letter questions the unwavering focus on suffering characteristic of this field, and calls for a moratorium on what Tuck terms "damage-centered research." Tuck suggests that when educators and advocates wish to rectify an unjust situation, they take on the role of litigators, recording the ways in which a community has been damaged with the goal of restitution in the form of "political or material gains" (413). *Harvest of Shame* is an example of this phenomenon; Murrow documented migrant farmworkers' hardships, and advocates leveraged this work to fund a federal program intended to help migrant students succeed in spite of these hardships. Although

Tuck acknowledges the good intentions of approaching advocacy in this way, she expresses concern about the unintended negative impacts that damage-centered research has on the communities it aims to support. No matter the suffering that any given human being may experience, Tuck argues, no person is defined by their damage alone. In fact, "even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that - so much more that this incomplete story is an act of aggression" (416). Teaching migrant students that the American public associates them primarily with shame is, however unintentional, an act of aggression as well.

MEP practitioners have a choice in the literature we access and the voices we allow to inform our work. We have the choice to seek out more complete stories, to learn from them, and to teach with them. Tuck calls us to recalibrate our understandings of the communities we wish to support by "researching for desire" (416). Desire-based research, she explains, is "concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives" (416). She argues that "by documenting not only the painful elements of social realities but also the wisdom ate hope," researchers have the potential to "depathologize" our understandings of the people with whom we work, whether or not we consider ourselves part of their communities. This act, she continues, can serve as an antidote to "the frameworks that position these communities as damaged" (416).

Diverse children's literature is another field that aims to offer depathologizing antidotes to children who have been taught to see themselves as damage; the aims of the authors, illustrators, and publishers advocating for the publication of diverse children's literature align with Tuck's descriptions of desire. In the 1990s, scholars including most notably Dr. Rudine

Sims Bishop and Violet Harris, Alma Flor Ada and Isabel Campoy decried the whiteness of the children's publishing industry and advocated for the publication of authentic and representative children's literature by and for people of color. In 1991, the publishing company Lee & Low books was founded with the goal of publishing contemporary diverse stories; today Lee & Low is the largest publishing house in the United States devoted to multicultural children's literature ("About Us," Lee & Low). In 2014, the nonprofit We Need Diverse Books was founded by a group of women of color and "advocates for essential changes in the publishing industry," as it strives to "help produce and promote literature that reflects and honors the lives of all young people." The following year, writer and disability advocate Corinne Duyvis used the hashtag #ownvoices to describe "kidlit about diverse characters written by authors from that same diverse group." This hashtag helped authors, librarians, teachers, parents and guardians, and children to share recommendations and to advocate for the publication and inclusion of more #ownvoices stories. I argue that #ownvoices is a useful concept to keep in mind when evaluating the scholarship about the education of migrant children. Cárdenas and Cárdenas write, "Going forward, the actual stories of migrants must be at the center of advocacy and efforts to improve the education and life and chances of migrant children and their families" (2004, 246-7). I argue that incorporating #ownvoices books by members of migrant communities into MEP pedagogies is consistent with this goal.

#### Centering Marginalized Voices through Literature

Through words and images, picture books invite children to explore their relationship to the world around them. Books pass down stories from the past; they call children to reflect upon the present moment, and they invite children to imagine the vast possibilities of the future. The movement for multicultural children's literature, in both education and in publishing, describes the ways in which books contribute to the development of children's identities. Sims-Bishop (1990) famously compared books to windows, mirrors, and sliding glass doors - means through which children see their own lives reflected back at them, teach them about the lives of others, or allow them to step between worlds - sometimes all three in the same book. Alma Flor Ada describes reading as a "magical encounter" for children, arguing that books provide children with essential spiritual and emotional nourishment (2003, 1). Both Sims-Bishop and Ada argue that when children see themselves and their communities portrayed in high-quality literature, they are afforded a sense of belonging and acceptance. Ada advocates for literature as a way for children to access "the right to have one's identity validated" (2016, x). Sims Bishop (2012, 9) and Gonzalez (2011, 321) emphasize the extent to which representation contributes to a sense of belonging and being valued.

The children's publishing industry in the United States has long been dominated by a disproportionately high number of white storytellers and an overabundance of stories that center whiteness (Gonzalez, 2018; Cooperative Children's Book Center, 2019). What's more, white authors and illustrators have been afforded the agency to tell stories of people of color, while authors and illustrators of color are not afforded equitable access within the industry (Gonzalez, 2018; Koss, 2015). The consensus among scholars is that the majority of these stories are, at best, inauthentic to the experiences of the people being represented and, at worst, unabashedly racist. Sims-Bishop and Ada explain that when authors and illustrators use stereotypes to portray marginalized communities, children learn that the world does not value or respect them. Further,

they claim that when children do not see their communities represented in the books they read, they internalize the lesson that the world does not want or need them. Building on Dr. Sims Bishop's metaphor, Naidoo compares negative images of Latinx culture as "broken mirrors" for Latinx children; he states children exposed to these fractured reflections "feel worthless, embarrassed, or alienated," and that they may view their own "cultural heritage" and "ethnic identity" in a negative light" (2011, 25). These scholars agree that children in marginalized communities need to see themselves reflected lovingly and authentically in high-quality literature created by members of their own communities.

In addition to advocating for diversity in the publishing industry, advocates for diverse representation in children's literature also encourage grassroots self-publishing. Maya Christina Gonzalez argues that creating children's books is a radical act which helps to dismantle the structures that repress the stories of people of color (2018). Gonzalez views self-publishing as a form of power: the power to tell your own story in your own voice, to your own community. To this end, Gonzalez writes, illustrates, and publishes "for every child who is invisible, excluded, denied: girls, all children of color, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) and gender-variant (sissies and tomboys) children, and differently abled children" (2011, 321). The transformative power of authorship is central to the curriculum laid out in Ada and Campoy's *Authors in the Classroom* (2004). As teachers, they see representation in children's literature as a tool to overcome the history of devaluing the experiences of students of color. In particular, they value bookmaking and self-publishing as a means for both children and adults to "listen to and record numerous voices that have gone unheard, lives about which no one has written" (3).

Only two publications have attempted to compile complete lists of children's books about migrant farmworkers. Whittaker, Salend and Gutierrez created an annotated bibliography of fiction, nonfiction, poetry and plays written for a K-12 audience. The first list of its kind, it was published in 1997, the year when the majority of picture books depicting migrant farmworkers were published in the United States. Whittaker et. al discuss 27 works published between 1939 and 1995. In 2009, Scott A. Beck published a list of 26 children's picture books that depict migrant farmworkers<sup>4</sup>. Drawing on both of these lists, I narrowed the focus of my study in two ways. First, I chose to focus on picture books rather than chapter books and novels because of the limited time available during the blueberry season. It was also important to me to make the study as inclusive as possible, and picture books, especially those that include Spanish text, are accessible to a wide range of reading levels. Because my central question was whether or not migrant families in Maine felt that these stories reflected their lives, I narrowed down the list of picture books to the ones whose main characters would qualify for the MEP program today (see Appendix A and B).

The majority of these books center Mexican stories, while two feature Black families and one describes a Japanese family. Four books are biographies of historical figures, four are memoirs, the rest of the books describe the daily lives of fictional migrant children. Most of the books were published in the 1990s and early 2000s as part of the "little boom" in Latinx children's literature (see Ada, 2003, 47). Scholars of Latinx literature have evaluated many of these books individually in the context of teaching multicultural literature in elementary school

<sup>4</sup> Sánchez and Landa (2016, 78) observe that farmworkers are actually overrepresented in books published in the U.S. depicting Latinx immigrants

classrooms (see Clark et. al., 2016). Beyond their utility as educational tools, children's picture books can and should be viewed as literature and art in their own right. Christina Garcia Lopez calls children's picture books "an important site of knowledge production and cultural memory, meriting scholarly attention not only for their value for early childhood education, but also because they negotiate timely issues in creative ways meant to inspire dialogue and reflective action" (2019, 124). Picture books, perhaps more than any other artistic form, call for an interaction between children and adults. In sharing a story, children and adults are invited to learn from each other's<sup>2</sup> interpretations and expand their own understandings. What's more, a child who encounters a book created by and for members of their community alongside a caretaker or teacher is affirmed at least three times: by the images, by the text, and by the adult whose endorsement lends authority to the story of belonging.

Whereas Sims-Bishop, Ada, Campoy, and Gonzalez consider reading part of spiritual and emotional development, Whittacker et. al. and Beck see books more pragmatically as tools to promote literacy and classroom engagement. Citing reader response theory, Whittacker et. al. argue that migrant students may do better in school if they are able to engage with books they can relate to. Like Whittaker et. al., Beck asserts that representation within literature in the classroom will help Latinx children stay engaged with school, while the books will also help non-migrant students learn about "the existence and labor of migrants" (100). Beck is concerned with evaluating the books for the authenticity of how they represent migrant experience. He argues that books about migrant farmworkers should be included in curricula for migrant and non-migrant students alike: first, because high-quality representations of their own lives will be meaningful to migrant students; second, because these books will teach non-migrants about the

suffering migrant farmworkers endure and inspire them to work toward equity; and third, because these books have intrinsic artistic merit. Although Beck claims to define authenticity primarily as books written with an "insider's perspective," he demonstrates a clear preference for books which accurately document migrants' suffering, no matterr the authors' background (102). Many of the books that Beck prefers were written by white non-migrants, while he is highly critical of books written by former migrants and by Latinx authors. Beck wants to raise awareness about the suffering of migrant farmworkers so that "with a better understanding of where their food comes from, the adults of tomorrow will develop the knowledge and courage to challenge the status quo" (100). This statement implies that Beck values migrant' stories for their potential utility in the education of non-migrant students. This attitude in and of itself is not a problem; the problem is that Beck seems to conceptualize migrant students *primarily* as symbols of "systemic economic and social oppressions" (102). Although Beck claims books which accurately depict oppression will help migrant students feel represented and engage with the text, he does not interrogate his own assumption that oppression is the only experience these children will relate to. This focus on accurately depicting hardship in the name of representation suggests that Beck believes that for migrant farmworkers, suffering is the dominant and most important characteristic of their lives. An example of this focus on suffering as authenticity is Beck's analysis of Juan Felipe Herrera's autobiographical book Calling the Doves (1995). Beck writes, "Herrera's reminiscences on the wonders of a childhood full of travel, new discoveries, and love do not reflect critically on the status of migrants" (106). In analyzing Herrera's work with a damage-centered framework, Beck misses the merits of the book. Herrera's focus on beautiful memories is an intentional choice, not an oversight. Herrera *chooses* to conjure mirrors that

reflect the love and joy he experienced in his life. It's true that if a child is experiencing suffering, reading about someone going through the same struggle will be valuable. However, he knows that migrant students are intimately familiar with their own suffering, and so instead he offers validation of their joy. Members of migrant farmworker communities already understand the facts of the damage they have experienced; it does not follow that they believe their damage is the most important or interesting aspect of their lived experiences. The facts of damage to migrant communities are well-known. By centering the words and artistic expressions of community members, we learn - and celebrate - all that has been left out of the story.

It is clear that the existing literature depicting migrant farmworkers is a necessary but not sufficient representation in reflecting migrant families. That fact that migrant education programs have successfully incorporated bookmaking and self-publishing into their curricula over the past three decades suggests that MEPs are in the position to collaborate with migrant families in creating the books they need, books that reflect not only their damage but their desire. Ada (1988) writes about the profound experience that MEP parents had reading picture books and then creating their own book to read with their children. Cappiello and Savage (2013) describe how teachers at East Migrant Head Start, unable to find books that represented their students' experiences, worked with parents to co-author books to incorporate into their early literacy curriculum (see Axelrod and Gillanders, 2016). Scott Beck has also incorporated self-publishing into his work with migrant students. In 2015, he and fellow Georgia Southern University professor Alma D. Stevenson used the books evaluated in his 2009 article in an MEP summer class designed "to remediate and enrich the English literacy skills of individual students by valuing their home language and placing their shared experiences at the center of the curriculum"

(59). Beck and Stevenson presented the books for evaluation by the middle school class; the students then used elements from the books to write collaborative stories in small groups. With funds from Georgia Southern University, Beck and Stevenson self-published the final result: Growing Up Migrant: Three Stories / Creciendo Migrante: Tres Historias / K'enarhAn Migrante: T'animu UAndantskua. They distributed the book to students, their families, and their home-base schools - schools where migrant students spend the majority of the academic year. Books were also distributed to MEP teachers as educational tools and for teacher training. This project has many admirable qualities: Beck, Stevenson and Storm center students' analysis of the books and affirm them as experts of their own experiences. Further, they project validates students' stories and art as publishable work. Beck et. al. also took pains to honor students' home languages, including text in English, Spanish, and Perhépecha. However, the creative expression that the teacher-researchers offer to their students through this project extends only as far as their research interests. By offering students "enabling texts" that focus exclusively on migrancy instead of asking the students if they found these texts "socioculturally relevant" in the first place, they imply that they know everything they need to know about their students' identities without having to ask. Their description of the students' work as "the creation of new books about migrancy" (162) implies that the researchers consider the students' stories valuable because they are stories of migrancy, not because they represent migrant students' subjectivity.

Given all of this, my central research questions were 1) Do the families whose children attend the Blueberry Harvest School see themselves reflected in any or all of the seventeen picture books depicting families who would qualify for the Migrant Education Program today?

2) How do families respond to the books? and 3) Is the depiction of suffering important to this

group of readers? I initially planned to interview between ten and fifteen families, to share the books with BHS teachers and students, and use the data to compile a guidebook to this collection of picture books intended for use by parents, teachers and other educators involved with planning MEP curricula. The unexpected outcome was that my friend Estela's response to the books was ultimately the desire to create her own, and so I shifted my priorities away from working with other families and in BHS classrooms to collaborating with Estela to self-publish her own stories. Given the importance of #ownvoices representation in children's literature and my limited time with Estela, it seemed more valuable to help create a new book than to evaluate existing ones.

#### Methods

I used a mix of participant observation research and semi-structured interviews, and kept a running field journal describing my interactions with Estela and her family as well as my observations of life at Wyman's camp. During all interviews, I obtained consent from all participants before audio-recording. I transcribed selective parts of every interview and storytelling session. The recordings have since been deleted to protect the privacy of the participants. Not all of the books I was utilizing in my project were available in Spanish; this limited the number of books I was able to read and discuss with the family. Rather than ensure that parents and students read each book, I made a selection of books available and followed Estela's lead about which books to discuss. My intention was to understand how the family members (most likely the parents) of BHS students responded to both the text and the images in the books, to understand if the parent thought that the books might be valuable for their children

to read, and to understand whether or not the books resonated with some aspect of their own lives. My goal was not for each family member to answer every single question, but rather for one or two questions to spark a conversation which would organically reveal answers. The IRB-approved unstructured interview questions that I used at the beginning of the project are listed in Appendix C.

#### **The Reading Sessions: Three Encounters**

Radio Man / Don Radio: Romanticization or reflection?

The first book Estela and I read and discussed was *Radio Man / Don Radio* (1993), written and illustrated by Arthur Dorros. Because the harvest had not yet started, I had the opportunity to share the book with more members of the family. Estela, her husband, her youngest children Alejandro (age 11) and Maite (age 10), and I sat around the table in the retrofitted school bus, passing the book around in a circle. We each read a page in our preferred language before passing the book to the next person. If somebody chose to read in English, the next person read the Spanish translation so that everyone would understand the story.

Dorros got to know migrant farmworkers in his youth when he worked alongside them doing agricultural jobs over the summer. *Radio Man / Don Radio* uses side-by-side bilingual text to tell the story of Diego, a young boy who travels the migrant circuit with his family in the early 1990s. Diego experiences suffering throughout the story. He must say goodbye to his best friend when his family travels from Texas to California. He works in the field alongside his grandfather picking melons "as heavy as elephants." Diego experiences moments of wonder and joy as well. He stays up late in the front seat of the family's car, listening to the radio while his abuelo drives

from one harvest to the next. When music comes in from a Mexican station, Abuelo is inspired to tell Diego stories from his homeland. The images communicate the beauty Diego witnesses on the road, whether the family is traveling through a moonlit desert in the southern borderlands or a national forest in Washington state.

Radio Man / Don Radio also includes moments that could be construed as stereotypical. Beck (2009) criticizes the book for including a scene with a piñata party, a trope often found in books that stereotype Latinx people. However, it is possible that including a piñata party in the story as part of Diego's life, not the only symbol of his identity, makes this aspect of the story less troubling. Citing Barrera and Garza de Cortes (1997), Beck argues that the book romanticizes the experiences of migrant farmworkers rather than accurately depicting their struggles (Beck, 106).

The family's response to the book indicates that the story reflected their lives in a meaningful way. They were excited to see that the main characters travel for agricultural work, just like them. Husband was particularly engrossed in the book, so much so that he would forget to stop reading at the end of the page, continuing until Alejandro or Maite reminded him that it was someone else's turn. Estela looked at me in surprise and amusement as her husband read page after page with concentration; later she confided in me that he had never expressed an interest in reading before now. We speculated that this experience was different because both the words and the images reflected his life. Alejandro, observing an illustration of Diego and his grandfather, exclaimed "¡Es mi papá y yo!" Alejandro is bilingual, and his choice to make this observation in Spanish indicates not only that he was excited to see his relationship with his

father represented in the story, but also that he used the story as an opportunity to express to his father that he values their time together.

Radio Man / Don Radio also includes an aspect of migrancy that most narratives ignore. While most fiction and nonfiction about migrant farmworkers emphasizes the hardships associated with mobility, Radio Man / Don Radio shows that mobility also provides the opportunity for joyful reunions with loved ones. While Diego is sad to leave his best friend, he is also reunited with his cousins over the course of the story. This echoes the experience of many of the people who stay at Wyman's camp during the blueberry season in Maine, who, like Estela's family, come from the same small town in rural Michoacán. While they must say a temporary goodbye to their year-round communities in the United States, blueberry season is an opportunity for friends and relatives who live in different U.S. locations to see each other again. It is also an opportunity for children and youth to reunite with friends and teachers they have gotten to know during previous summers. Estela has often told me that coming to Wyman's feels like being back home on her rancho in Michoacan, because so many families who originated in her rancho now live in or migrate to Maine. It is also meaningful for Estela to be reunited with the people she has met through MEP programming. In the introduction to her book Estela writes,

...I wait excitedly for the season when we migrate to New Jersey and Maine. Even though our future and our fortune are uncertain, even though we don't know if the harvests will be good, and we have just a few pots and pans wherever we go, even so, I see my children happy to arrive in Maine. To see their friends, and to see their teachers who have supported us so much (7).

This sense of homecoming and community by no means negates her critiques of her living and working conditions; the two aspects of her experience exist together within her. I believe that this

is what Tuck means when she talks about desire, which "more closely matches the experiences of people who, at different points in a single day, reproduce, resist, are complicit in, rage against, celebrate, throw up hands / fists / towels, and withdraw and participate in uneven social structures" (420).

Beck argues that while picture books about migrant farmworkers "must be developed beyond the stereotype of the ever-suffering migrant," they should also depict at least "some of the systemic economic and social oppressions faced by migrant farmworkers." Books that do not appropriately address oppression, he argues, "can be criticized for romanticizing the migrant experience" (2009, 102). Beck faults *Radio Man / Don Radio* for being "overly romantic," and echoes Barrera and Garza de Cortes' critique that the illustrations do not accurately represent the substandard housing conditions that most migrant families contend with (2009, 106). Beck posits that migrant children who encounter this book will not see themselves reflected in its pages because it does not accurately depict their hardships. In my estimation, Estela's family did not interact with *Radio Man / Don Radio* as a romanticization of their experiences, but rather as a reflection of their desire. As Estela and I continued discussing these books together, the stories called her to reflect on her complex feelings about her lived experience, which Tuck frames as desire. The act of witnessing a complex reflection of herself and her desire within the text prompted Estela, in turn, to tell her own stories.

Gathering the Sun: Responding to story with story

The next time I visited Estela, the harvest had begun and the family had relocated from the school bus to their cabin. This would ordinarily mean that Estela would be working

twelve-hour night shifts at the processing plant six days per week while her husband worked the opposite shift harvesting blueberries. In addition, Estela was solely responsible for cooking to feed the family and for getting Alejandro and Maite ready for school. However, there was a record low of blueberries that summer. With more people like Husband driving harvesting machines rather than raking blueberries by hand, and with fewer blueberries harvested, hours at the packaging plant were drastically reduced. Most days, Estela did not know whether or not she would be called in to work a shift, and when shifts did become available they ended early. One bright side to this stressful situation was that Estela and I were able to spend more time together than would have been possible under ordinary circumstances.

The day we read *Radio Man / Don Radio* together, I left a stack of books from the collection that had bilingual text or were translated into Spanish. I left books for the family to keep, including: *Calling the Doves / El canto de las palomas* (1995) and *The Upside Down Boy / El niño de cabeza* (2000) by Juan Felipe Herrera, *Tomás y la señora de la biblioteca* (1997) by Pat Mora, *Primer día en las uvas* (2004) by L. King Pérez, and *Gathering the Sun* (1997) by Alma Flor Ada, *The Christmas Gift / El Regalo de Navidad* (2000) by Francisco Jiménez. I maintained contact with Estela through Whatsapp, which allowed us to plan our following meetings. I went to visit with the intention of interviewing Estela about her experience of reading these books. I arrived at the cabin to talk about books in the mid-afternoon; Estela was multitasking, preparing dinner for her family before her shift would begin at 7:00 that evening, chatting with neighbors who passed by to borrow vegetables, and talking to me about books. One of her older sons had ingeniously rigged a computer game console in the rafters, and was playing the game from the top of one of two bunk beds in the cabin. Through all of the noise and

bustling, Estela's enthusiasm for talking about the books was still palpable. Estela read them on her own, and I returned the following week to discuss them with her. The books she was most interested in discussing were *Gathering the Sun* (1997) by Alma Flor Ada, and *Tomás and the Library Lady* (1997) by Pat Mora. Like Ada, Mora is a giant in the world of Latinx children's literature. *Gathering the Sun* is an alphabet book that depicts the lives of a Mexican migrant family in the 1990s. Each letter of the alphabet is accompanied by a poem that describes an aspect of the family's experience. For example, B is for betabel (beet); C and Ch are for Cesar Chavez; H is for honor (which has the same meaning in English). The book is illustrated by Simon Silva, who has dedicated much of his artistic career to honoring Mexican farmworkers. The illustrations depict a range of experiences. The illustration for Betabel depicts adults and children laboring in fields, C and Ch for Cesar Chavez show a two-page portrait spread with the activist's face. Other images show the family engaged in daily activities outside of farm work, including the sister reading with her father, and the young brother helping in the kitchen.

Our shared encounter with *Gathering the Sun* created the opening for Estela to tell me about her childhood for the first time. I asked her what most called her attention from the book, and without hesitation she turned to the page for B, Betabel. The poem reads,

Betabel

agachándose a pizcarla!"

Betabel, beterrega, remolacha, tres nombres para la misma verdura colorada. Dulce, roja betabel, jay, cómo duele la espalda

Beet

Betabel, beterrega, remolacha, three different names for just one vegetable. Sweet red beets yet what a pain

I read the poem out loud in Spanish, and, gesturing to her back, she told me, "It hurts me here just listening to it!" Her encounter with Ada's words was powerful enough to conjure a physical sensation within her. I remarked that the illustration showed children picking lettuce alongside the adults, and she told me, "Yes, because I was there too." For the first time, she began to tell me that at six or seven years old, she started working in her family's fields planting and harvesting corn and beans. She explained in great technical detail the methods she used for planting and harvesting the crops. I flipped to the page for N, Niña Campesina, and said, "When you talk about this, it makes me think of this page." I read the poem out loud, excited to have made this connection. She responded, "Sí, así nosotros lo pasábamos con la esperanza de la mañana. Ay, la esperanza. A veces éramos, yo era mala, o sea, mis pensamientos .... Si llovía, no íbamos. No podíamos trabajar. Decía Dios mío, ayúdame que no encuentre los animales mi papá!" This interpretation of the idea of esperanza, or hope, is acutely personal. Whereas I interpreted the poem to say, basically, children are the future, these words brought Estela back to the childlike feeling of hope that her father would lose his animals or that it would rain, so that she would not need to go to work the next day. She confided in me that she looked forward to the days when she did not need to work in the fields so that she could study and go to school. This moment reframed my understanding of Estela's perspective as a reader. While Radio Man had resonated with her because it reflected her experience as an adult. Gathering the Sun called to her because it reflected her experiences as a child. This was the first book she had read where she

could see herself reflected in the protagonist of the story, rendered with beautiful language as well as visual art.

Tomás and the Library Lady is a historical fiction retelling of Dr. Tomás Rivera's childhood in a migrant family. Like Diego in Radio Man, Tomás travels from Texas with his parents, siblings, and a grandfather who tells captivating stories. When the family follows the crops from Texas to Iowa, Abuelo tells Tomás that he has told him all of his stories and encourages him to go to the local library to learn more. Apprehensive at first to enter a building that represents a white, English-speaking world, Tomás overcomes his fear and is rewarded with the friendship of the Library Lady - an older white woman. The two teach each other new words in their native languages, and Tomás travels to imaginary worlds though the stories the Library Lady helps him find. Tomás brings books back to his family and reads and interprets the stories to them. Although Tomás and his new friend must part at the end of the harvest season, he leaves bolstered by the new imaginary world of stories he can carry with him wherever he goes.

Estela told me that apart from *Gathering the Sun*, she also identified with Tomás. The aspect of the story that she most related to was not the family's mobility, or the feelings of alienation and anonymization, or even the hard labor the family does in the fields; she identified with the importance of storytelling within the family. Specifically, she recalled a time in her childhood when storytelling was an important part of her role in the family. When Estela's brother Mon was old enough to help in the fields, their father sent them to plant corn and beans. As the older sibling, Estela was not only responsible for the agricultural labor but also for watching her brother and helping him stay on task. When Mon got bored, he asked Estela to tell him a story. "And I didn't know a single one," Estela told me as we sat together at the picnic

table. "I told him one story or another, all of my grandparents' stories. I told him the stories my dad told me: scary, true stories. And children's stories what weren't true." Although she claims that she did not know any stories, it is clear that she did in fact value and remember the stories that had been passed down to her and that, much like Tomás, she had taken on the role of storyteller in her generation. She continued, "I told him stories until I was tired, and there wasn't a single cuento left. I didn't know a single one!" But her brother continued to pester her, threatening to stop working unless she told another story. She continued, "I couldn't think of anything to tell him, and I invented a story. I remember this story. Dios mio, I don't remember how it went, but I remember the title: El Gato Gris."

Although Estela did not remember the content of the tale, she remembered clearly the impact the story had on her brother - the two reminisce about it to this day. She explained, "Now my brother couldn't live without the cuento." He asked for it every day for an entire year, past the point where she was so tired of telling it that she regretted making up the story in the first place. She told me, "I made the story long, but it seemed like he didn't get sick of it. He wanted it to go on and on." Still a skillful storyteller, Estela's words, intonation, and comedic timing had me laughing during this part of our interview. "Yes," she reflected, "it was really funny." She concluded, "I do miss those times, even though we were poor."

I do not argue that *Tomás* gave her the idea to write or to publish, although it may have been inspiring to learn that the child in the story grew up to write his own, publish it, and reach an important role in education. I believe Estela's encounter with Tomás is important because in Tomás, Estela saw herself reflected not as a suffering child, but as a hard-working child with an important responsibility and skill. El Gato Gris served the practical purpose of keeping Mon

engaged in work, but it also showed Estela that her own words had the power to deeply impact someone she loved. A different reader with different life experience may have needed *Tomás and the Library Lady* to teach them about migrant farmworkers' suffering; Estela already brought that understanding with her as a reader. She was not evaluating the book as a means of documenting grievances. Instead, she looked at young Tomás Rivera and saw herself. Without focusing on damage, she found something that was true and equally important - something that an outside reader could never have seen.

Further, the opportunity to share an encounter with this story and hear Estela's analysis deepened and complicated my own understanding of the book. As an educator and advocate who does not come from Estela's community but is charged with educating the community's children, it was imperative to expand my analysis of the book. If I only read for damage, I can only teach damage. If I want to teach desire, I can look for it myself, but I could never have understood Tomás's relationship to the story without Estela's interpretation. We must learn from the analysis of people within a community to understand if the books we think will reflect them actually do so, and to understand what it is that they reflect.

After this conversation, it should not have been surprising when Estela was called upon to tell her stories again. One evening, when she was not called in to work, I stayed for dinner. Over our meal, Estela, Alejandro, Maite and I talked about the project I was planning - at that time I still intended to compile the BHS communities' analyses of the picture books and use that to create teaching guides for parents and teachers. It was dark by the time I left, and so Estela and Maite insisted on walking me to my car. On the way, Maite told us that what *she* wanted to read more than anything else was a book about the adventures her mother had had as a child. She

was less interested in the books I had brought than in the stories they had inspired her mother to tell. I believe this indicates that the books in the collection did not feel particularly representative to Maite. What *did* spark her curiosity and imagination was the idea of her mother as a protagonist, having adventures in a familiar place, the rancho in Michoacán that the family still visited every year. I remember the three of us jumping up and down with excitement in the dark; it was clear that I should change the direction of my project to reflect the desire of Estela and her daughter.

# **The Storytelling Sessions**

Once I shifted focus from analyzing existing picture books to creating a new one, my methods shifted as well. Estela and I listed the stories she wanted to tell about her childhood and youth, and we sat at the picnic table outside of her cabin and recorded her telling them. As the summer progressed, a small group of BHS students started coming to our table to listen to the stories when the bus dropped them off from school. Apart from her own two children, one child was Estela's nephew, and two others were students who lived in other Maine counties during the regular school year. When the children joined us, they listened actively, interjecting with questions. The three children who were part of Estela's family and had spent time in El Toronjo tended to ask questions that located the stories more firmly in a place. For example, "What was the name of the store that you went to? That's the place where we went to eat carnitas, right?" The students who were not connected to El Toronjo asked questions more focused on the plot of the stories - "Your Mom really did that? Wow. How did she do it?" When asked what stories from the list they wanted to hear next, they always chose the ones that sounded scary. Estela's

nephew was inspired to tell a "true" scary story of his own, and they talked back and forth, negotiating the details of a story which had taken place in a home that they shared, among people that they both knew. This interaction suggests that storytelling is enriched by dialogue - in this case intergenerational dialogue that affirms the child's sense of belonging to a transnational community with a shared history.

After each storytelling session, I transcribed the audio file. I kept one document as a verbatim transcript which included pauses and digressions and copied the story elements into a second document. In putting each spoken sentence onto the page, I tried to maintain as much of Estela's original voice and wording as possible. When I arrived at a word or phrase that I did not understand, I made a note asking for clarification. After I transcribed and formatted each story, Estela reviewed the draft and I edited the document according to her notes. When Estela approved the Spanish version of the story, I translated it into English and returned to Wyman's with copies of the story in both languages. As interested students arrived at the table, I gave them copies of the drafts in the language they preferred, and we took turns reading the stories aloud in both languages. After several failed attempts to entice the children to illustrate the stories, I brought paper and drawing supplies to the storytelling table and invited them to draw as they listened to the new stories we were recording. I think that setting up the table as an open space for freeform creative expression kept the children involved with listening to the stories and asking questions, turning the process of recording the stories into a meaningful community event rather than a traditional interview between researcher and subject.

The process of recording the stories, turning them into drafts on paper, workshopping and editing the drafts, was not linear. Estela could tell stories faster than I could transcribe and edit,

so not all of the stories she told that summer went through the same editing process. By the time we went our separate ways at the end of the harvest, there were still a number of stories left for me to transcribe, and a number of transcribed stories covered in notes left for me to edit. When I returned to California, I updated the backlog, leaving a pile of drafts at various levels of completion and needing Estela to fill in the gaps.

I visited Estela's home in central Florida for one week at the beginning of January. The family had just returned from visiting Michoacán for Christmas, and the house was full. All of the adult men in the family were beginning to look for jobs that would last them until the blueberry harvest this summer, and Estela's two youngest children were getting back into the routine of elementary school after their winter break. Estela was busy fulfilling her home-making responsibilities, babysitting neighborhood children and working at the local frutería on the weekends. In the midst of all this, she still found the time to sit down with me and closely edit the stories. While the process was almost exactly the same as that we'd used in Maine, I made more of an effort to make space for Estela to be the one taking notes on the drafts instead of me, to give her as much editorial control as possible.

The next decision we needed to make was which stories we would include in this picture book. One night, the family had gathered around the fire outside to roast elotes. As we ate, I asked Estela's son if he would like to read the stories and rate them, to help us decide which ones would go in the book. He enjoyed almost all of the stories, and his comments included, "It was awesome!" "I loved that one!" "That one was even more awesome!" and "I liked it, but not as much as the one before." At the end, his favorite story was "El alacrán / The Scorpion," because

"I can't believe that my mom survived that!" Based on his input, we decided on "El caballo y la burra / The Horse and the Donkey," and "El guajolote / The Guajolote."

Estela drew pencil outlines of all the illustrations, and put me, her son, daughter, and niece to work with colored pencils, telling us the exact colors of each plant, animal, building, outfit, and person. We drew and colored together at the kitchen table, on the couch, in bed, and even at the laundromat. At the end of the trip, I took all of the illustrations that had not yet been colored on the plane with me and completed them based on Estela's instructions. The last piece of creative collaboration we did during the trip was writing our author's and editor's notes. I wrote mine and read it to Estela, and then asked her, "What do you want the readers of this book to know?" She spoke slowly and carefully, and I wrote down each word.

The Stories: Reading for Desire in Las aventuras, travesuras y peligros del campo: Tres historias de mi niñez

The three stories that make up *Las aventuras, travesuras y peligros del campo: Tres historias de mi niñez*, or *Adventures, Mischief, and Danger in the fields: Three True Stories from my Childhood*, are as follows. "El Caballo y la Burra," or "The Horse and the Donkey," describes how Estela learned to ride a horse at the age of nine in order to help her family harvest corn. Estela goes on to tell about how she learned to carry water from the well while riding a donkey, and how, later, she tried unsuccessfully to teach her younger brother Mon to ride the donkey. In second story, "El alacrán" or "The Scorpion," twelve-year-old Estela is bitten by a scorpion while she is working in the fields with her father. As she walks the two miles home, she

gradually loses her vision but manages to make it to her waiting mother. The family has no access to medical care, and they tend to Estela with home remedies which do not aleviate her pain. Estela wakes up the next morning and, with the pain gradually subsiding, returns to work in the fields. In the third story, "El guajolote" or "The Guajolote," the five-year-old protagonist goes to play at her grandmother's house. Her mother and grandmother go to do laundry, and she is left in the care of two aunts. The child is sensitive to the heat of the sun, and faints. When she comes to, her aunts cheer her up by giving her a coin and send her to the store. On her way out, she wants to make some mischeif, and so she lets her grandmother's dangerously violent pet turkey out of its cage. Upon her return from the store, she must evade the guajolote in order to return to the safety of the house. The holds the guajolote off long enough for her aunts to rescue her before she faints again. When her grandmother comes home, she kill the turkey so that it will no longer pose a threat to her grandchild.

Given the ways in which migrant farmworkers are portrayed in the literature, it is easy to imagine a version of these stories that frames Estela as a victim, if not of her family for putting her in harm's way, of the poverty that necessitated her to work to support her family at six or seven years old (Villafuerte, 7). In the 21st century United States it is troubling to think of a child being pulled out of school in order to do manual labor until nightfall, walking alone in the woods blinded by scorpion venom, and attacked by a bloodthirsty turkey. It is especially unusual for a children's book published today to tell stories that do not resolve with a happy ending, but two of the stories have somewhat grim endings. It would be equally possible for her to romanticize these childhood experiences, glossing over her fear and pain and focusing on the humor and mischief. Instead, Estela is able to show the good and the bad at once, without resisting the

contradiction. In fact, I argue that these stories are characterized by the same contradiction that Tuck invokes in her discussion of desire. She writes, "Desire is a thirding of the dichotomized categories of reproduction and resistance. It is neither / both / and reproduction and resistance" (Tuck, 419-20?) Throughout the book and during our conversations, Estela expresses her desire through both / and statements. During our first conversation about her childhood, she told me,

"We suffered so, so much, always going to the fields. But I didn't care! I didn't care what happened, I loved going to the fields. I felt free. I didn't feel - well, yes, I felt enslaved working in the fields, but at the same time I felt free."

Her description of working as a child in the author's note of the book expresses a similar sentiment, "I didn't care that my back hurt. I was happy. Yes, working in the fields is *bien bonito*, but very tiring." She continues,

I enjoy seeing that my children are interested in what my childhood was like. I wish they could have been with me back then. I experienced moments of exhaustion, of danger, but I was also happy. I felt free in the fields, even though I felt that my back and my waist were breaking, my skin toasted by the sun. It was still a happy time (7).

She finishes the authors note by writing,

I want the children who read this book to learn from my past experiences. And I want them to take advantage of their opportunity to study so that they can have good jobs, and not have to live the way we used to (7).

The contradictions between these two statements encapsulate Tuck's description of desire for me. She wishes that her children could go back and experience the joy that she felt back then, and at the same time, she desires for her children to live a different life, a life with more opportunities and less hard work and pain. On the one hand, her desire calls her to reproduce her

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "...sufriendo bien bien mucho nosotros, y siempre al campo. ¡Pero no me importaba! No me importaba lo que pasaba, me encantaba ir al campo. Me sentía como libre. No me sentía - que me sentía esclavizada trabajando en el campo, pero sentía al mismo tiempo libre" (interview).

past in the form of stories; on the other, she desires something that she perceives as better for her children.

Tuck's analysis is also useful when considering the way that hardships are framed in these stories. It would be possible - even easy, to use *Las aventuras, travesuras y peligros del campo: Tres historias de mi niñez* as a text through which to map Estela's victimhood and childhood suffering. As Eve Tuck reminds us, Estela's story is "so much more than that," and it would be "an act of aggression" to pretend otherwise (416). In that spirit, I will examine some of the ways in which Estela's book exemplifies Tuck's description of desire.

These three stories demonstrate that Estela's family trusts her to be responsible; she is given tasks that she must complete alone, and she is trusted to care for her younger brother. This responsibility means that Estela is left to problem-solve independently when confronted with danger. Even when she eventually receives help, she is only able to access the people who help her through her own ingenuity. I argue that in overcoming her fears to survive the danger she faces, Estela I argue that in doing this she resists victimhood. In honestly recounting both the good and the bad in each tale, she embraces her complex personhood. From the outset, we learn that Estela was obligated to support her family from a young age by working in the fields. In "The Horse and the Donkey," she writes,

"When I was nine years old, my Abuelo loaned his great, big horse to my Papá. My Papá loaded it with sacks of corn during the harvest. Then I had to get on. There was a stone fence where we kept the horses. I was so little that I had to bring the horse next to the fence, and then climb up. I sat between two sacks of corn, and would ride for such a long way - about three miles! I was afraid to be up high on that huge animal! My Mamá told my Papá not to send me out on the horse, because it was too dangerous. But for my Papá, it was more important to keep the sacks of corn from falling" (20).

In addition to Estela's fear of getting on the horse, the text indicates that she felt undervalued by her father; he is more concerned about keeping the sacks of corn from falling off the horse than he is about his nine-year-old daughter falling off. The significance of this lack of regard is heightened by the fact that, as she makes clear in the author's note, every day Estela spent working in the fields was a day she was not able to attend school, an activity she confided in me she would have preferred as she loved to study.

Estela worries, "What if this horse starts to run?" but ultimately rises to the task, explaining "I didn't know what I would do, but I got on the horse because I had to" (21). The phrase "because I had to" could indicate a lack of agency, and given the power dynamic between a nine-year-old girl and her father, that would be a valid reading. However, I argue that Estela reclaims her agency by facing her fear and successfully mastering the skill of horseback riding. She writes, "¿Y qué crees? There I went on the horse. Afraid, so afraid. It was night by the time we finished! I was afraid, but happy" (23). I interpret the expression "¿y qué crees?" to mean and "what do you know?" The phrase as she spoke it during the storytelling session was loaded with surprise, wonder, bemusement, and pride, underscoring the importance she placed on having risen to the occasion all those years ago. Later in the story, Estela leverages her riding skills to innovate a more comfortable way of carrying water from the well, further bolstering her agency. She writes.

I also had to bring clean drinking water to my house from a place called *El Ojo de Agua*, a spring about two and a half miles away. Instead of going on horseback, I would climb up on some rocks and get on a donkey...At first, when I started riding the donkey, the older girls made fun of me. But that didn't matter. It was easier to ride the donkey [and] to carry the water that way than with a jug on my shoulder. After only a few days, all of the *muchachas* were riding donkeys like me! (23).

I argue that her success at riding the horse reinforced the self-confidence she needed to complete a task in her own way in spite of ridicule from the older girls. This choice in turn paid off by positioning her as a role model to the girls who had laughed at her at first.

In "The Scorpion," Estela shows quick thinking and perserverance in the face of mortal peril. When the twelve-year-old is bitten by a venomous alacrán, her father wraps her hand in a handkerchief and sends her to walk the two miles to her house alone. On the way, the scorpion's venom causes her to gradually lose her vision, so that "By the time I got to my *rancho*, I could hardly see anything" (38). In this situation, it would be reasonable to expect a child to panic; however, Estela utilizes her knowledge of her land to find one of the "many stone fences" in the rancho and use it to "feel my way home" in order to avail herself of her mother's help. In "The guajolote," Estela relies on her ingenuity and perserverance to rescue herself from a dangerous situation - this time one of her own making. In this story, the five-and-a-half-year-old felt the urge to "make some mischief," and lets her Abuela's pet turkey loose in her yard before walking to the store. This seems like a harmless prank, but it was no ordinary pet turkey.

Oh, that turkey was ferocious! It was bad. It was *malo*. *Guajolotes* are *malos*. They're like dogs that jump at you and grab you with their beaks. They're very strong. When they get angry, they puff out their feathers like peacocks, and *el moco* comes out of its nose. That's what they do when they're about to run. Their talons are very sharp (52).

Underscoring the danger of the guajolote, she asks the reader, "Does that scare you? Well, it scared me even more! (52)." The very fact that, at the age of five, Estela is brave enough to challenge the guajolote reveals her to be a brave, even over-confident child - a trait that children's literature usually reserves for boys. Although she is weak from the heat of the sun, she manages to make it through the gate and outrun the turkey long enough for her aunts to hear her

calling for help. At the end of the story, young Estela emerges the clear victor; her abuela kills her avian nemesis so that he will never harm her again.

Although I did not have the opportunity to have a more in-depth conversation with Alejandro about why he chose these particular stories to publish out of the X that we had recorded and transcribed, I believe it is significant that he chose stories that so poignantly encapsulate his mother's desire and leave so little room to interpret her as a victim, in spite of the dificult circumstances she describes. Entering his pre-teen years during the Trump administration, where the narratives in public discourse that portray Mexican immigrant mothers as victims, villains, or martyrs, Alejandro gravitated toward the stories that showed his mother's strength, tenacity, and sense of humor.

It is noteworthy that throughout the process of writing, illustrating, and sharing the book with Blueberry Harvest School Students, none of the children responded to the stories with pity or incredulity about Estela's circumstances. Without being instructed to approach the stories from a damage-centered perspective, it simply did not occur to them. I believe it is especially important to note this in light of the fact that for Estela's children and newphew, these stories represented the lives of their family members and community members. But Estela does not share her hardships, as Scott Beck would ask of Juan Felipe Herrera, with the aim of providing an accurate account of her oppression. In approaching her storytelling this way, she gave these children the gift of a counternarrative that frames their families and communities as whole people. Further, Estela's position as an author, especially a visiting author to Blueberry Harvest School classrooms, showed the students that their mother, aunt, and community member is an expert on many topics with valuable information to share, not someone whose only role within

the BHS community is to need and receive help. Beyond being impressed by her ability to survive attacks from dangerous animals, children related to Estela as an expert at the craft of storytelling and visual art. In addition, each story includes knowledge and warnings about how to safely interact with animals. When Estela and I shared "El alacrán" with a classroom of eight to ten year old BHS students, it was important to her to impress upon the class just how dangerous a scorpion could be. I was nervous that the subject matter would frighten the children and earn us raised eyebrows from the teachers. Instead, the children were fascinated by Estela's scorpion facts, and used almost all of their question and answer time to press her for detailed information. A follow-up study, perhaps employing reader response theory, would be beneficial to explore the ways in which BHS students responded to the stories.

Appendix A

Picture Books about Migrant Farmworkers Published Before 2017: Overview							
Title	Author	Illustrator	Year Published	Publisher	Genre	Time Period	Language
Gathering the Sun: An Alphabet in Spanish and English	Alma Flor Ada	Simón Silva	1997	HarperTrophy	Poetry	1990s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
Amelia's Road	Linda Jacobs Altman	Enrique O. Sanchez	1993	Lee & Low Books	Fiction	1990s	English; Spanish translation
An Elegy on the Death of César Chavez	Rudolfo Anaya	Gaspar Enríquez	2000	Cinco Puntos Press	Biography	1920s- 1990s	English
César: ¡Sí, se puede! Yes, We Can!	Carmen T. Bernier-Grand	David Díaz	2004	Marshall Cavendish	Biography; Poetry	1920s- 1990s	English
Going Home	Eve Bunting	David Díaz	1996	HarperTrophy	Fiction	1990s	English
Radio Man: A Story in English and Spanish / Don Radio: Un cuento en ingles y espanol	Arthur Dorros	Arthur Dorros	1993	HarperTrophy	Fiction	1990s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
The Adventures of Connie and Diego / Las aventuras de Connie y Diego	Maria Garcia	Malaquias Montoya	1978	Children's Book Press	Fable	1970s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
Calling the Doves / El canto de las palomas	Juan Felipe Herrera	Elly Simmons	1995	Children's Book Press	Memoir; Poetry	1950s - 1960s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
The Upside Down Boy / El ñino de cabeza	Juan Felipe Herrera	Elizabeth Gomez	2000	Children's Book Press	Memoir	1950s - 1960s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
The Christmas Gift / El Regalo de Navidad	Francisco Jiménez	Claire B. Cotts	2000	Houghton Mifflin Company	Memoir	1950s - 1960s	Bilingual: Spanish and English
La Mariposa	Francisco Jiménez	Simón Silva	1998	Scholastic	Memoir	1950s - 1960s	English; Spanish translation
Harvesting Hope: The Story	Kathleen Krull	Yuyi Morales	2003	HMH Books	Biography	1920s-1	English;

of Cesar Chavez				for Young		990s	Spanish
				Readers			translation
Tomás and the Library Lady	Pat Mora	Raúl Colón	1997	Dragonfly Books	Historical fiction	1940s	English; Spanish translation
First Day in Grapes	L. King Pérez	Robert Casilla	2002	Lee & Low Books	Fiction	Unclear	English; Spanish translation
The Hard-Times Jar	Ethel Footman Smothers	John Holyfield	1997	Farrar, Straus and Giroux (BYR)	Fiction	1950s	English
Ghosts for Breakfast	Stanley Todd Terasaki	Shelly Shinjo	2002	Lee & Low Books	Fiction	1920s	English
Lights on the River	Jane Resh Thomas	Michael Dooling	1994	Hyperion Paperbacks for Children	Fiction	Unclear	English
Working Cotton	Sherley Anne Williams	Carole Byard	2003	HMH Books for Young Readers	Memoir; Poetry	1950s - 1960s	English

Appendix B

Picture Books about Migrant Farmworkers Published Before 2017: Author and Illustrator Backgrounds						
Title	Author	Author Background Illustrator		Illustrator Background		
Gathering the Sun: An Alphabet in Spanish and English	Alma Flor Ada	Immigrant from Puerto Rico; worked with migrant families as a teacher	Simón Silva	Immigrant from Mexico; former migrant farmworker		
Amelia's Road	Linda Jacobs Altman	White; no experience with migrant farmworkers	Enrique O. Sanchez	Immigrant from the Dominican Republic		
An Elegy on the Death of César Chavez	Rudolfo Anaya	Chicano	Gaspar Enríquez	Chicano		
César: ¡Sí, se puede! Yes, We Can!	Carmen T. Bernier-Grand	Puerto Rican Immigrant	David Díaz	Latinx		
Going Home	Eve Bunting	Immigrant from Northern Ireland; story is informed by communication with a California MEP	David Díaz	Latinx		
Radio Man: A Story in English and Spanish / Don Radio: Un cuento en ingles y espanol	Arthur Dorros	Ethnic background unknown; did summer jobs alongside migrant farmworkers	Arthur Dorros	Ethnic background unknown; did summer jobs alongside migrant farmworkers		
The Adventures of Connie and Diego / Aventuras de Connie y Diego	Maria Garcia	Chicana	Malaquias Montoya	Chicana; child of migrant farmworkers		
Calling the Doves / El canto de las palomas	Juan Felipe Herrera	Chicano; child of migrant farmworkers	Elly Simmons	Ethnic background unknown		
The Upside Down Boy / El ñino de cabeza	Juan Felipe Herrera	Chicano; child of migrant farmworkers	Elizabeth Gomez	Ethnic background unknown		
The Christmas Gift / El Regalo de Navidad	Francisco Jiménez	Mexican American; former migrant farmworker	Claire B. Cotts	Ethnic background unknown		
La Mariposa	Francisco Jiménez	Mexican American; former migrant	Simón Silva	Immigrant from Mexico; former migrant farmworker		

		farmworker		
Harvesting Hope: The Story of Cesar Chavez	Kathleen Krull	White American	Yuyi Morales	Immigrant from Mexico
Tomás and the Library Lady	Pat Mora	Chicana	Raúl Colón	Puerto Rican American
First Day in Grapes	L. King Pérez	White American; wife of Latinx former migrant farmworker	Robert Casilla	Puerto Rican American
The Hard-Times Jar	Ethel Footman Smothers	Black American; child of migrant farmworkers	John Holyfield	Black American
Ghosts for Breakfast	Stanley Todd Terasaki	Japanese American; descended from farmworkers	Shelly Shinjo	Japanese American
Lights on the River	Jane Resh Thomas	White American	Michael Dooling	White American
Working Cotton	Sherley Anne Williams	Black American; child of migrant farmworkers	Carole Byard	Black American

## Appendix C

#### Unstructured interview questions:

### Preliminary questions for families

- What did you think of this book?
- What did you like about it?
- What did you dislike about it?
- Would you want your child to read this book? Why or why not?
- What do you think your child might learn from this book?
- Do any parts of this book remind you of events in your own life?
- Do any parts of this book seem very different from your own life?
- If you had a chance to talk to the author of this book, what would you say?
- I'm going to be talking to other families about this book as well is there anything you'd like me to ask them about it? [If we haven't already discussed the question they suggest, how would you answer that question?]

# Preliminary questions for students

- After reading the book, what would you say about it to:
  - o A family member
  - o A friend or classmate
  - o A teacher or other educator
  - o The author of the book
  - o Someone you met while living in [current location]
  - o Someone you met while living in another state or country
- What was one part of the book you liked?
- What was one part of the book you did not like?
- Do any of [character]'s experiences remind you of times in your own life?
- Do any of [character]'s experiences seem very different from your own life?
- What do you think other people could learn from this book?

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