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No Mas Excusas: Parent Latino Initiative

Kimberly L. McGlaughlin
Claremont Graduate University

NO MAS EXCUSAS: PARENT LATINO INITIATIVE

BY

KIMBERLY L. MCGLAUGHLIN

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APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This thesis has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Kimberly L. McGlaughlin as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Master of Arts in Women's Studies in Religion.

Ruqayya Khan, Chair
School of Religion
Associate Professor of Religion

Cecilia Rios-Aguilar, Committee Member
School of Educational Studies
Associate Professor of Education

Grace Yia-Hei Kao, Committee Member
Claremont School of Theology
Associate Professor of Ethics

Abstract

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Claremont Graduate University: 2014

Immigrant Latino parents are invested in their children and have an authentic interest in assisting their children to acquire an education and to succeed in school, but many parents face socioeconomic, language, and cultural barriers. This qualitative study looked at a group of immigrant Latino parents whose children attend a high school that is composed of predominantly Caucasian students from well-educated, middle-to-upper-class backgrounds. The parents are involved in a program developed by the researcher and her colleague.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the cultural beliefs and values of the program participants, the educational beliefs and values of the program participants, and the socioeconomic considerations of the parents.

The study included a questionnaire, a focus group session, observations, and relevant documents pertaining to the program.

Dedication

My beloved husband for 30 years

My compass

Iraj Hejazi (1948 - 2013)

My dear friend for 20 years, a beacon of strength

Elisabeth Feiss (1957 - 2013)

My courageous sister-in-law

Sylvia Hejazi (1964 - 2014)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

There is substantial research and literature that enumerates the necessity for parent involvement in the educational achievement of their children (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Walker, 2011). In addition, parental involvement contributes to parents' empowerment in their own lives. This study probes the multifaceted beliefs and values of immigrant Latino parents participating in a high school program. By examining the parents' cultural, social, educational, and religious convictions as factors in their engagement, participation, and involvement in the program, the researcher will have a broader understanding of how the program can be made more effective and increase the numbers of parents who are involved.

The current U.S. educational system is geared towards the majority culture of the middle and upper class. In order to negotiate this system, immigrant and language minority students of lower social-economic status are encouraged and expected to mirror the dominant culture and the values promulgated by the American educational system. As well, immigrant parents are encouraged to integrate themselves unquestioningly into a system that negates their particular funds of knowledge because it is marginalized. "Funds of knowledge" refers to "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al., 1992). For students who are immigrants or are the children of recent immigrants, and are viewed as economically, socially, and educationally "poor," negotiating the U.S. school system can be a harrowing and confusing experience. It is imperative that schools and educators understand and appreciate the knowledge

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and skills of immigrant Latino parents and their children in order to cultivate positive relationships and achieve the educational goals of Latino children.

Latino immigrant families are invested in their children and have an authentic interest in assisting their children to acquire an education and to succeed in school (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004), but many parents face socioeconomic, language, and cultural barriers. Furumoto andMontaño contend that both children and their parents are oppressed in schools that serve primarily poor and working class minority students (2006). However, oppression, marginalization, and the obstacles faced by parents may be exacerbated when their children are enrolled in schools where students are predominately Caucasian and are from well-educated, well-to-do families. Minority parents are discouraged from questioning the power structures in the educational setting, and only by acquiescing to a passive role, are they welcomed into the fold (Furumoto & Montaño, 2006). Immigrant minority parents value education as a tool for advancement for their children and thus their involvement in their children's education is paramount (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004; Jones & Velez, 1997; Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

There is considerable literature that characterizes nonwhite racial and ethnic cultures' parental involvement as detached and as less involved than other races and ethnicities (López & Stoelting, 2010; Moreno & Valencia, 2002; as cited in Miano, 2011). Basing parental involvement on a standard of formally educated, privileged, European-American parents' practices negates the ways in which immigrant Latino parents engage with their children and participate in their schooling (Miano, 2011; De Gaetano, 2007; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004). When those who are advantaged in society represent the normalized standard then those parents outside this "norm" are prejudged as being less than or inferior to the norm. Rather than transform the situation and structure of the educational system, it is easier and more beneficial for the majority

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culture to maintain it and have minority cultures adapt to the "standard" (Friere, 1970) A perfunctory and bureaucratic distribution of minimal resources for non-White minorities in a largely White school is not an acceptable authentic stance and most certainly does not initiate the necessary and positive changes in consciousness, policy, and organization that would benefit and empower underserved minority students.

Richard Shaull's Foreword to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, praises Brazilian educator, scholar, and activist Paulo Freire's ability to identify the ways that, "the power of thought [serves] to negate accepted limits and open the way to a new future" (p. 32). Freire defines an individual's "ontological vocation" as being a "Subject who acts upon and transforms his [sic] world, and in so doing moves toward ever new possibilities of [a] fuller and richer life individually and collectively" (p. 32). Freire asserts that for those individuals who are "submerged in the 'culture of silence'" it is not only possible but also vital to critically engage with others in an effort to recreate reality (p. 32). With the proper tools, parents can discern their personal and social reality, become conscious of their unique perception of that reality, and see the dichotomous contradictions that may exist within it, thus leading to a critical examination of the possibilities for change (Freire, 1970). Being active Subjects, engaged and participatory parents have the opportunity to "name the world," as Freire phrases it, on their own terms. Freire's theoretical ideas and praxis are extremely relevant for educators in their work with minorities whose struggles to negotiate alien and malignant educational and bureaucratic systems serves to nullify their human potential. When immigrant Latino parents become active agents, and use their knowledge and experience to negotiate the U.S. American educational system, they are able to come to a "new awareness of self, [have] a new sense of dignity, and [are] stirred by a new hope" (Freire, 1970).

Reimagining the educational system is a process not a product, and insights from Freire's work can be used to establish a productive milieu for parental participation in schools (Borg and Mayo, 2002). To have the skills, knowledge, and confidence to advocate for their children will lead to parents' empowerment and subsequently students attaining their goals.

This study looks at a group of Latino immigrant parents who face socioeconomic, cultural, and language barriers. Their children attend a high school that is composed of predominately Caucasian students from well-educated, middle-to-upper-class backgrounds. The families experience the aforementioned barriers as well as obstacles associated with immersion in an unfamiliar and isolating educational institution (Marschall, 2006). The research seeks ways to understand the culture of Latino parents and students, and to subsequently use that understanding to actualize Freire's ideas.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Freire's "banking concept of education," wherein students are "containers" and "receptacles" to be filled (1970, p. 72) with the canonical knowledge of the dominant class is the antithesis of valuing students' individual funds of knowledge. By extension, the systematic disregard of non-White poor and working class parents' funds of knowledge (Furumoto & Montaño, 2006) may lead parents to forgo engaging with an educational institution that does not reflect or value their cultural beliefs and norms. The marginalization of minority students and parents occurs in schools that are socioeconomically and culturally advantaged. Being a minority student and parent relegated to a passive role within a system that favors those who already have advantages of social, cultural, and economic capital gives rise to a new generation of students who reinforce the status quo. In order for the cycle of inaction to be broken, minority parents

and students must endeavor to "develop a collective consciousness of their own constitution or formation" as well as an "ethos of solidarity and interdependence" (McLaren, 2000, p. 153).

Most definitions of parent involvement are construed by the dominant culture as "activities visible to school personnel and other parents" (Ryan et al., 2010, p. 393). Epstein's (2006) outline of the types of parental involvement is a seminal and commonly-accepted framework for conceptualizing parental involvement (Hoover-Demsey & Sandler, 1995; Fishel & Ramierez, 2005; Barnard, 2004; as cited in Ringenberg, McElwee & Israel, 2009). The alliance of family, school, and community is integral in supporting students' learning and development and Epstein's (2006) framework provides a guide for educators to implement this strategy. Epstein (2006) identifies six types of involvement for successful partnerships; however, four of the categories involve "direct interaction with the school and community" (Ryan et al., 2010, p. 393) and this may be problematic for Latino immigrant parents.

Epstein's Six Types of Parental Involvement[1]

Type 1: Parenting	Assist families with parenting skills and setting home conditions to support children as students. Also, assist schools to better understand families.
Type 2: Communicating	Conduct effective communications from school-to-home and from home-to-school about school programs and student progress.
Type 3: Volunteering	Organize volunteers and audiences to support the school and students. Provide volunteer opportunities in various locations and at various times.

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[1] Note. From "Keys to Successful Partnerships: Six Types of Involvement," by J. Epstein, 2009, *National Network of Partnership Schools, John Hopkins University*. Retrieved from http://www.csos.jhu.edu.

Type 4: Learning at Home	Involve families with their children on homework and other curriculum-related activities and decisions.
Type 5: Decision Making	Include families as participants in school decisions, and develop parent leaders and representatives.
Type 6: Collaborating with the Community	Coordinate resources and services from the community for families, students, and the school, and provide services to the community.

Although Epstein (2006) discusses the necessity of including English Language Learners and low-income families, immigrant Latino families are not contemplated in this framework and Epstein (2006) does not address the specific cultural and linguistic difficulties that these parents encounter. It is useful to also include behavioral change theorists' eight factors that influence behavior in order to frame and understand Latino parental involvement (Pollack, 2002; Fishbein, Triandis, Kanfer, 2001; as cited in Pollack, 2002). Stemming from a 1991 National Institute on Mental Health workshop, several theorists including Martin Fishbein, concluded that in "order for a person to perform a given behavior, one or more" of the eight behavioral factors must be present (Gielen & Sleet, 2003, p. 70). The table below illustrates Pollack's (2002) "research findings about Latino parental involvement as they apply to the eight main factors that affect behavior" (p. 2). The framework can be used as a tool for "planning campaigns, interventions, and their evaluations" (Pollack, 2002, p. 2). According to Fishbein (Gielen & Sleet, 2003), the "first three factors are viewed as necessary and sufficient for producing behaviors, while the

remaining five are viewed as modifying variables influencing the strength and direction of

intentions" (p. 70).

Eight Factors Known to Influence Behavior

and Findings about Latino Parent Involvement[2],[3]

Behavioral Factors	Applicable Research Findings
1. Intention – a commitment to perform the behavior	• Latino parents rear their children within the cultural frame of *educación*, which refers to "the total task of bringing up a moral and responsible child."
2. Environmental Constraints – restrictions to performing the behavior	• Parents may have time constraints, e.g., jobs that do not offer working hour autonomy or flexibility. • Parents may lack affordable or trusted child care or transportation. • Many schools serving Latino students lack Latino teachers who can establish rapport with families.
3. Skills – abilities to perform the behavior	• Latino parents may not be able to understand or speak English, limiting their types of involvement. • Level of education can be a barrier to homework help. • Teachers lack training to work with parents.
4. Attitudes – beliefs about performing the behavior	• Latino parents care about their children's education, have high goals for them, and are interested in being involved. • Parents may have a low level of comfort and previous negative experiences with schools. • Latino parents express a cultural belief in the authority of the school and teachers and tend to

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[2] Note. From "Using Behavioral Change Theory to Communicate Effectively: The Case of Latino Parent Involvement," by A. Pollack, 2002, *The Evaluation Exchange* 8.3, p. 3.

[3] Due to the limited nature of the paper, a critique of Pollack's alignment of research findings with the behavior factors will not be included.

	have limited knowledge of the U.S. school system. • Teachers may intimidate Latino parents. • Teachers and parents may have different conceptions of what parent involvement means.
5. Social Norms – perceived social pressure to perform a behavior	• Parents are more likely to be involved when their friends are involved.
6. Self-standards – whether performing the behavior is consistent with self-image	• Latina mothers may view themselves as educated people and identify themselves as teachers who give their children an *educación*. • Latino parents can transcend their fear of schools to become involved for the benefit of their children. Family involvement is an expression of parents' love and concern for their children.
7. Emotion – emotional reaction to performing the behavior	• Latino parents can gain pride and confidence by participating in family involvement projects that deeply respect their knowledge and strengths.
8. Self-efficacy – perception in one's capability to perform the behavior	• Latino parents can be resourceful and seek family and friends to help their adolescent children with homework • Latino parents stress the positive effects they can have on the school environment and acknowledge the importance of establishing a strong relationship with the school.

Research complied by Pollack offers a new approach to analyzing Latino parental involvement in schools (2002). Utilizing items from Epstein's (2006) framework of parental involvement and Pollack's adoption of the eight factors from behavioral theory, this study will discuss in Chapter Five how a high school program for immigrant Latino parents aligns with the two conceptual models.

In this study, Latino students at Coastal High School (pseudonym), who are English Language Learners (ELL), have historically experienced numerous obstacles due to language barriers, lower socioeconomic status, and cultural differences. It was the researcher's experience that many of the students placed in her English Language Development (ELD) class were overlooked, underserved, often academically misplaced, tracked into non-academic classes, and not offered the full range of services and programs that the school offered. Many ELL students' parents were ill equipped to advocate and demand appropriate placements and resources because they were monolingual non-English speakers who were not versed in academic language and did not have experience with U.S. educational institutions and their protocols. Thus, the burden fell on students to self-advocate which for the ELD student is rare.

The egregious lack of administrative attention to this vulnerable student population led to the researcher and her colleague, a Bilingual English/Spanish Community Outreach Specialist, interceding on behalf of several ELD students and working to correct errors. In one case, the researcher had a student who was completely misidentified and placed into an ELD class when that same student should have been in a regular English College Preparatory class for native speakers. The student had finished her ELD courses in middle school and should have been placed in a regular English class, but ended up in the researcher's ELD class and a Limited English Placement (LEP) class. In another case, a student who had not passed the California High School Exit Exam (CAHSEE) in the 10th grade, was not offered the special CAHSEE prep class the following term when other juniors where in fact enrolled in the class. There were several instances of seniors who were close to graduate and whose transcripts were being reviewed for completion when the registrar found that the students were missing the required classes to graduate. Last year, a senior needed to be placed into U.S. History; however, he was

placed in World History even though he had already received credit for that class. He only took the class for one semester, but was given credit for the entire year so that he could meet the graduation requirements.

The student population in the ELD classes included students from various countries, but the majority of the students were Latino. Due to the continuing flagrant errors, the researcher and her colleague decided to investigate the tools with which they could help the ELD students and their families in improving their experiences at Coastal High School. They decided to formulate a working relationship and enlisted the help of a human relations facilitator from the Orange County Human Relations (OCHR) office in order to set up a program, the Parent Latino Initiative, to advocate for Latino students and their families.

The researcher is part of the dominant culture of Coastal High School and does not speak Spanish, but she has known and worked with many of the parents and their children for years. This outsider/insider dimension of the ethnographer is discussed in Chapter Three under "Role of Researcher."

This study will explore the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) parents' beliefs and attitudes and how those beliefs and attitudes shape their opinion of, reaction to, and interaction with the program. The cultural, educational, social, and religious beliefs of immigrant Latino parents play a role in their active participation in their children's school experience. The major concern guiding the study was to discover what patterns of beliefs and values were exhibited by the participants in order for the researcher and her colleague to work more successfully and collaboratively with the parents in support of their children's educational goals.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The researcher intends this study as an investigation into the cultural beliefs and values of PLI parents; the educational beliefs and values of PLI parents; and the socioeconomic considerations of PLI parents.

The participation rate of parents in the program is minimal, thus, placing their children in a perilous position when it comes time to graduate from high school. With a greater understanding of the responses of the parents' cultural, educational and religious beliefs, the researcher can identify areas stemming from the program that require modification in order to broaden the reach and the depth of the program.

Through this research the organizers of the Parent Latino Initiative will have a deeper understanding of the participants in the PLI program and will use this understanding to shape and modify the PLI curriculum to increase parent participation, and consequently to use this model for all the high schools in the district.

It is important to develop strategies and programs for immigrant Latino parents that offer education, support, and encouragement in order for them to be agents of change for themselves and their children.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The population of Latino parents and students is increasing across the United States. According to the 2010 Census, the Latino/Hispanic population constituted 16.7 percent of the United States population. This study takes place in Southern California where the numbers of Latinos are significant. In 2010, there were 37 million people in California and 14 million of

those individuals were of Hispanic origin (U.S. Census Bureau). In the case of Coastal High School, the population of Latino students is 15% which presents a microcosm of the overall percentage of Latinos in the United States.

Immigrant Latino parents value education and support their children's aspirations and schooling although they are limited by their "lack of knowledge of the school culture and its expectations" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004, p. 41). Factors involved in the difficulty of some parents accessing knowledge and resources in the educational setting are seen in the intersection of social, cultural, and financial capital[4]. These topics are discussed in Chapter Two, "Review of Literature."

This investigation will serve to further elucidate the complex social, cultural, and economic factors that shape immigrant Latino parental involvement in their children's educational experience. This study is significant as it contributes knowledge about parents' advocacy on behalf of their children's educational success.

1.5 Definition of Terms

Behavioral Change Theory: For the purposes of this paper, Behavioral Change Theory is confined to the discussion of Pollack's research in connection with empirical data that correlates Latino parental involvement to the eight factors that influence behavior: intention, environmental constraints, skills, attitudes, norms, self-standards, emotion, and self-efficacy (2002).

Caucasian/White: Caucasian and White are used interchangeably and are construed as individuals who are non-Hispanic, European-American, and members of the dominant culture.

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[4] For a brief explanation, see Definition of Terms.

Critical Pedagogy: An approach to education that seeks to address hegemonic practices in the educational system by finding ways to negotiate and transform the "production of knowledge, the institutional structures of the school, and the social and material relations of the wider community" (McLaren, 2000, p. 35).

Cultural Capital: Bourdieu's (1986) conception of cultural capital discusses inherited and consciously acquired "cultural practices, norms, expectations, and assumptions" (Bernhardt, 2013, p. 209; Ringenberg, McElwee & Israel, 2009). Cultural capital is acquired over time and aligns with the majority culture's beliefs, values, and expected behaviors.

District-level English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC): According to the California Department of Education, District-level English Learner Advisory Committee, "[e]ach California public school district, grades kindergarten through 12, with 51 or more English learners must form a District-level English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC) or subcommittee of an existing district-wide advisory committee" (www.cde.ca.gov). For the role, purpose, and requirements of the DELAC, see the California Department of Education website.

Dominant class: Refers to European-American, Caucasian, middle to upper-class population.

English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC): According to the California Department of Education, the English Learner Advisory Committee is "comprised of parents, staff, and community members specifically designated to advise school officials on English Learner program services" and "[e]ach California public school, grades kindergarten through 12, with 21 or more English learners must form an English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC)" (www.cde.ca.gov).

English-Language Development (ELD): A specialized program of English language instruction appropriate for the English Language Learner student. The "program is implemented and designed to promote second language acquisition of listening, speaking, reading, and writing" (California Department of Education). The student is placed in ELD 1, 2, 3, or 4, depending on the level of proficiency.

English Language Learner (ELL): Students who are at varying levels of English proficiency. *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) uses the term "limited English proficient (LEP) to refer to students acquiring English for their education" (California Department of Education).

Economic Capital: Income is the monetary payment for services and/or goods and is volatile. Wealth and assets measure the total sum of financial resources available to a family (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997, p. 2; as cited in Jez, 2008; Destin, 2013).

Funds of Knowledge: A framework that refers to "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al., 1992).

Immigrant Latino: For the purposes of this study, "immigrant Latino" refers to first generation immigrants.

Latino/Hispanic: Many Latinos view the categorization of race and ethnicity as a contentious issue and respondents on the Census questionnaire view their "Hispanic origin as their race rather than an ethnic group" (El Nasser, 2013). For the Census Bureau, racial categories "generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race item include racial and national origin or sociocultural groups" (United

States Department of Commerce). For this paper, Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably and refer to ethnicity.

Majority Culture: Refers to European-American, Caucasian, middle to upper-class population.

Orange County Human Relations (OCHR): Founded in 1971 to "deal with intergroup tensions; to foster mutual understanding among all residents of Orange County; to promote measures to eliminate prejudice, intolerance and discrimination against any individual or group" (www.ochumanrelations.org).

Parent Latino Initiative (PLI): The program at Coastal High School for immigrant Latino parents whose children are English Language Learners.

Respect: For Latinos, *respeto* means having high esteem for authority, for other adults, and for professionals in the community (Gonzalez, 2013). Children are expected to show deference to their adult family members and other adults in positions of authority.

Social Capital: Beneficial connections between people in social networks (Willingham, 2012; Gamarnikow, 2011).

Target culture/group/population: This term is used to refer to the dominant Caucasian culture/group/population at Coastal High School.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

This study explores the multifaceted nature of parental involvement in connection with parent and student success. Parental involvement is a critical factor in contributing to children's academic and general success in school (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Esptein, 2006). The research on parent involvement shows that there are "differences in how parents define their place in their children's education based on cultural and socioeconomic status" (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001, p. 121). For Latino immigrant parents situated in poverty, with low levels of education, and with inadequate English fluency, participation in their children's education is challenging (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001). Because immigrant Latino parents are in a precarious situation, using the theoretical lens of various types of capital provides a framework for parents' state of affairs.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

(a) Resources: Social, Cultural, and Economic Capital

Bourdieu and Coleman's concept of social capital focuses on the benefits individuals and/or families accrue from their interactions and connections to others (Portes, 2000; Coleman, 1988). Social capital involves the "ways social networks and connections are sustained (Perna & Titus, 2005). For Coleman, whose approach is used in educational research, social capital extends to the community and these ties to the community benefit individuals (Coleman, 1988). That is, individuals in the dominant culture since, "working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital" (Putnam, 1994, p. 7). In Bourdieu's view, social capital is a "mechanism that the dominant class uses to maintain its dominant position"

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(Perna & Titus, 2005, p. 488). For marginalized immigrant adults, gaining entrance into the

dominant culture is difficult and requires many tools and skills that take time to acquire and time

to develop. They may have arrived in the country with tangible skills, but without the social

capital valued by the receiving country (Perna & Titus, 2005).

Coleman defines three forms of social capital: "obligations and expectations, information

channels, and social norms" (Coleman, 1988, p. 95). Social capital plays a role in

communicating "norms, trust, authority, and social controls that an individual must understand

and adopt in order to succeed" (Perna & Titus, 2005, p. 488). The first form of Coleman's

concept of social capital depends on "trustworthiness of the social environment"; an individual

trusts that "obligations will be repaid" (Coleman, 1988, p. 102). Marginalized individuals may be

wary of the dominant culture's social environment. In Lareau's research, working class and poor

parents were distrustful and fearful when interacting with representatives of social institutions

such as schools (2002). In a hierarchal and stratified system, those with limited social capital are

disadvantaged from the start, and may not feel a sense of obligation. "When an individual asks a

favor from another, thus incurring an obligation, he does so because it brings him [sic] a needed

benefit; he does not consider that it does the other a benefit as well by adding to a drawing fund

of social capital available in a time of need" (Coleman, 1988, p. 117). In this context, individuals

on the peripheral are left out of this reciprocal relationship. The second form of social capital,

information channels, depends on social relations whereby individuals provide information to

each other that is relevant for facilitating some action. For example, "parents can promote their

children's school achievement and educational attainment" by accessing school resources, thus

using a means to an end (parents' actions resulting in children's potential success) (Lee &

Bowen, 2006, p. 196). When marginalized parents are outside of this form of social capital, their

children's success is at risk. Social norms, the third form of social capital, are beneficial to those responsible for establishing them (Coleman, 1988). In the social sciences, social norms are the beliefs, expectations, and rules that govern behavior in groups and societies. In this case, the social norms are of the dominant group, benefiting that community, at the expense of others.

Social capital involves relationships that provide access to resources and a "means to gain socially desirable ends" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197). Bourdieu's social capital theory discusses the inequalities of social capital in terms of the amounts that individuals have or are able to acquire. When an individual's experience and social norms ("habitus") are consistent with the dominant system ("field"), the individual has a distinct social advantage (Lareau, 2002). In contrast, newly-arrived immigrants who are generally outside this field do not receive the benefits from these relationships and, subsequently, their children do not have access. Instead, immigrants largely depend on their own "networks and bonds of solidarity in order to adapt and move ahead in American society (Portes, 2000, p. 5). In addition, their children depend on parental guidance and support from the community in order to navigate educational institutions (Portes, 2000). Social capital within immigrant communities "reinforces group identity, solidarity, and trust, and establishes a basis for in-group exchanges" (Pfeffer & Parra, 2009, p. 246). However, they must become adept at negotiating the two realms in order to be successful in the receiving country, for themselves and their family (Peña, 2000; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004). Children "depend not only on their parents' social resources, but also on the social resources of their parents' ethnic group. Even workplace integration and upward mobility by successful members of minority groups cannot overcome these persistent effects of inequalities in social capital" (Putnam, 1994, p. 14). Like their parents, children in the school setting need to learn the intricate and special skill of negotiating the two realities, and becoming full participants of both.

Parental involvement, according to Coleman, can build social capital by fostering the "relationship between a student and his/her parents; and [cultivating] relationships between a student's parents and other adults, particularly adults who are connected to the school that the student attends (Perna & Titus, 2005, p. 488). Individuals usually establish relationships with those who have similar socioeconomic backgrounds, beliefs, values, and attitudes; however, some individuals purposely seek relationships with those who have a higher socioeconomic status and social capital in order to gain additional resources (Lin, 1999). For some immigrant parents who find the educational institution intimidating, coupled with their marginalized status, developing these relationships is difficult.

Relationships forged in the dominant culture of social capital can be a valuable resource. Lareau's research found that middle-class parents overwhelmingly "reported social networks that included professionals" whereas working-class and poor parents were less likely to have these associations (2002, p. 765). Having this experience, middle-class parents are "better equipped to exert influence over other adults compared with working-class and poor parents" (Lareau, 2002, p. 766). In relation to the school setting, this translates into wealthier parents being able to wield influence over school officials when faced with a concern or problem, and leaving those with less social capital, and thus inadequate experience, to confront the situation with trepidation. Children observe the behavior of their parents and pick up on social cues. If the parent is feeling apprehensive and fearful in handling a situation with those in authority at the school, the child may construe that this is the behavior to be mirrored. In Lareau's study, middle-class children displayed an "emerging sense of entitlement by urging adults to permit a customized accommodation of institutional processes to suit their preferences" whereas working-class and poor children displayed an "emerging sense of constraint" (2002, p. 768-769). In addition,

because middle-class parents are generally well-educated and have a more extensive vocabulary, they are able to comfortably engage in persuasive dialogue using educational jargon (Lareau, 2002). Latino immigrants who have limited English fluency skills will find this type of interchange with educational professionals intimidating. Overall, the sense of entitlement for privileged families and the sense of constraint for disadvantaged families is a vortex that either builds social capital or creates a barrier to earning social capital, creating a cycle of deprivation.

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital refers to the "system of attributes, such as language skills, cultural knowledge, and mannerisms, that is derived in part from one's parents and that defines an individual's class status" (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; as cited in Perna & Titus, 2003, p. 488). Perreira, Harris, and Lee add that cultural capital is embedded in "family-mediated values and outlooks that … facilitate access to education" (2006, p. 515). Lee and Bowen discuss three forms of cultural capital in the educational systems that are important for parents, "personal dispositions, attitudes, and knowledge gained from experience" (2006, p. 197). An individual's habitus (mental and emotional outlook, inclinations, experience, and social norms), functions in relationship with the educational institution (Lee & Bowen, 2006). The structure and norms of the educational system are advantageous for middle-class, educated European American parents since their habitus is congruent with the school's culture (Peña, 2002). Because these parents comfortably operate in a system aligned with their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, they have access to gaining experiential knowledge. In addition, Perna and Titus, describe four variables in cultural capital that "reflect an individual's language skills, cultural knowledge, values about higher education, and class status" (2006). Several factors influence students' success in school: English fluency and the primacy of English spoken in the home, children partaking in the dominant culture's perception of "cultured" activities, such as

music and art, along with parents' educational level and parents' expectations for their children to attend college (Perna & Titus, 2006). Because social class plays a part in these variables, many Latino immigrant parents begin at a disadvantage. The situation is akin to the cycle of poverty, wherein families find it difficult to acquire and pass on cultural, social, and intellectual capital. The dilemma for immigrant parents lies in gaining access to the cultural capital situated in the dominant system. This predicament results in "unequal access to institutional resources" and consequently less power in supporting their children's academic success (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197). The most valued forms of cultural capital are possessed by the middle and upper class members of society (McDonough, 1997; as cited in Perna & Titus, 2005). Parents from the non-dominant culture possess less cultural and social capital and may need to "make more extensive efforts to ensure their children's academic success" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 199).

Of particular importance for immigrant families is using their parental values, beliefs, and attitudes in supporting their "children's educational aspirations, monitoring their behavior and friendships, and developing close, supportive relationships that facilitate communication with their children," all of which assists their children in academic success (Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2006, p. 515). For Perreira, Harris, and Lee, the measures of cultural capital include "school attachment, college aspirations, parental closeness, and parental control/monitoring" (2006, p. 515). Immigrant optimism, as explained by Kao and Tienda, suggests that children of immigrants are regularly reminded that their parents made enormous sacrifices to come to the United States primarily for socioeconomic opportunities (1995). Parents strive to instill academic motivation so that their children will put forth effort in school and thus increase their chances for career success (Sakamoto, Woo & Kim, 2010). Adapting to and assimilating in the dominant culture of school provides an avenue to collecting culture capital, if not by the first generation then by the

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second generation since the "greater an individual's cultural capital, the greater his or her advantage in procuring additional capital that will benefit family members" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197). However, assimilation can create discord in the family, and parents and children need to diligently work to negotiate the two cultures (Peña, 2000). Immigrant parents come to the United States for socioeconomic benefits as well as for educational opportunities not afforded in their home country (Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2006). European-American parents often choose neighborhoods for the quality of schools, whereas immigrant parents tend to choose their "area of settlement to be close to kinship or friendship ties" (Perreire, Harris & Lee, 2006, p. 514). According to Perreire, Harris, and Lee, "coethnic contact may delay assimilation of foreign-born youth who feel more comfortable with coethnic friends and mentors" (2006, p. 514). Individuals gain benefits from residing in ethnic enclaves and in maintaining relationships with those of similar cultures, beliefs, and values; however, it is "not clear that immigrants are best served relying on coethnic social relations" and, according to Sanders and Nee, immigrants are likely to experience more economic success if they enter the mainstream labor markets (Pfferer & Parra, 2009, p. 246). The social, cultural, and economic capital of immigrants is an intricately woven web.

Socioeconomic status, in general terms, describes an "individual's or a family's ranking on a hierarchy according to access to or control over some combination of valued commodities such as wealth, power, and social status" (Muller & Parcel, 1981; as cited in Sirin, 2005, p. 418). There is a substantial gap in wealth ownership by race and ethnicity, with Whites accumulating and inheriting more wealth than Latinos, and more likely to own homes than Latinos (Ozyegin, 2007). Socioeconomic status (SES) includes "measures of family income, parental education, and parental occupation (Willingham, 2012, p. 34). Household wealth is associated with school

achievement, graduation rates, and college attendance (Willingham, 2012). Having a higher socioeconomic status confers opportunities not available to marginalized and disadvantaged individuals. Economic capital is quantifiable material accumulation. According to Anheier et al. (1995), economic capital "refers to monetary income as well as other financial resources and assets and finds its institutional expression in property rights" (p. 862). Parents with high SES have access to social and cultural capital that aligns with the dominant culture, allowing them to produce and reproduce valuable capital. Families with more social, cultural, and economic capital tend to invest more of this capital in their children and their education (Willingham, 2012). Parents with higher socioeconomic status are able to "provide more and better learning opportunities for their children" (Willingham, 2012, p. 33). Altschul claims that children's "academic success is considered to be a key mechanism for disrupting the intergenerational transmission of poverty" (2012, p. 13). Compared to students from poorer families, affluent children have access to more resources both within the fmaily and the broader community (Destin, 2013). According to the American Psychological Association, low SES correlates to "lower education, poverty, and poor health" (apa.org). Families with low socioeconomic status, struggling to meet their obligations, experience long-term stress that "makes parents less effective" and harms children physically, mentally, academically, and socially (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Willingham, 2012; 34; Altschul, 2012). Low SES families often live with much uncertainty about employment, health, and safety (Willingham, 2012).

White, wealthy and middle-class parents have higher expectations for their children's educational success and attainment, and have more contact and involvement with their children's schools (Zhan, 2006; Moles, 1993; Chavkin, 1993). Marginalized, low-income families typically have less contact with educational institutions. Destin (2013) reports that "families without

sufficient assets find themselves less able to yield the capital necessary to encourage high academic achievement" (p. 172).

Research consistently documents a positive relationship between high socioeconomic status and academic achievement (Altschul, 2012; Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Across ethnicities, students who come from middle and upper income families have higher academic success than do those who come from lower SES homes (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Middle and high SES parents tend to be highly educated and are "better able to facilitate their own children's learning both through the direct investment of their time and through financial investments in other resources (e.g., books, computers, tutors) that are expected to improve educational outcomes" (Perreira, Harris and Lee, 2006, p. 514). As discussed previously, Lareau's and Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital points out the social advantages "accrued to children whose parents share the same cultural repertoire about how children should be raised as the professionals who operate the educational system" (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009, p. 26). Middle-class and upper-class parents are culturally, socially, and financially aligned with the educational system and its representatives, and thus have an advantage over working-class and lower-class parents (Lareau, 2002). Academic success is related to economic success, but for many children mired in poverty, their chances for academic achievement are jeopardized. Couple this with low social and cultural capital found in many immigrant families, and students become vulnerable. Working to make connections outside of coethnic familial and social ties are important to economic and educational mobility and success for immigrants (Pfferer & Parra, 2009).

(b) Religion

"Religious organizations are recognized in the social capital literature as producers and facilitators of social capital" (Yeary et al., 2012, p. 334). Social capital is concerned with "specific types of social bonds that sustain a sense of connection among individuals" and establish, enact, and enforce norms and values in the community (Gamarnikow, 2003; Hussain & Kersen, 2010). Coleman's social capital tenet, "trustworthiness of the social environment," is an important feature for religious institutions since they facilitate friendships, networks, norms, and social trust in order to foster cooperation (Coleman, 1988; Smidt, 2003). Religious social capital can be viewed as "moral resources" that nurture community fellowship (Smidt, 2003). Thus, religious organizations provide a moral and spiritual component of social capital that influences an individual's beliefs and values. Religious values such as "forgiveness, hope, and gratitude in interpersonal relationships and social networks and support offered through religious institutions may also provide members with a sense of social trust or well-being with others and surrounding society" (Yeary et al., 2011, p. 334). As previously discussed, Lareau's research highlights working class and poor parents distrust and fear when dealing with representatives of social institutions (2002). Having a connection with religious establishments may ease marginalized individuals discomfort and assist in promoting relationships. Churches play a central role in many neighborhoods and being a member of the religious community, may "facilitate membership in other organizations … and other social institutions" (Yeary et al., 2011, p. 334).

Parents and their children who are members of religious institutions have improved academic performance (Granovetter 1985; Hurlbert, Haines and Beggs 2000; Pong 1998; as cited in Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005). Numerous studies have found a positive relationship between the influences of religion and academic aspirations and achievement (Mueller, 1980; Putnam, 1994;

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Smidt, 2003). Parents and their children are "able to draw resources from various social networks within their religious, familial, and cultural lives" which "broaden the scope of choices students have for their future" (Hussain & Kersen, 2010, p. 386). Students with high levels of religious social capital are more likely to have college aspirations and increased educational success (Hussain & Kersen, 2010). However, generally the parents and children who are activity and consistently involved in school, church, and voluntary associations are from middle and upper class backgrounds whereas those from working class and poor backgrounds are increasing disconnected from these institutions (Putnam, Frederick, & Snellman, 2012).

Research suggests that "religious participation improves parent-child relationships" since religious teachings emphasize establishing and maintaining strong familial relationships (Pearce and Axinn 1998; Wilcox 1998; as cited in Glanville, Sikkink, & Hernández, 2008). Families benefit from the cohesive nature of religious institutions and from the corollary activities it offers which may lead to newfound relationships. "Like schools, religious congregations act as a bridge between families and society; they foster additional, secular social connections" (Putnam, Frederick, & Snellman, 2012, p. 17). These connections benefit the individual by leading to increased social capital.

In addition to social capital, religion plays a part in economic capital. Keister identifies five main factors in wealth mobility that examine the "interaction between values held, behaviors exhibited, actions taken, and decisions made in one's family" (Ozyegin, 2007, p. 271). Keister's first factor, "family background," describes "parental achievement (parents' income and education), wealth, family size and structure, race, and religion" (Ozyegin, 2007, p. 271). Keister posits that religion plays a major role in educational attainment and success, with religious values shaping attitudes and behaviors that influence income and wealth creation (Turner, 2012).

For example, religion and wealth are intricately connected, with the data showing the upper

social mobility of White Catholics who have "high levels of education, relatively high

occupational positions, and beneficial" low family size (Turner, 2012, p. 572). Latino Catholics,

on the other hand, have the "opposite characteristics" but "Keister anticipates that they will rise

up the social ladder" (Turner, 2012, p.572). In assisting marginalized individuals and families,

investments in social, cultural, and economic capital are "complementary, not competing

alternatives" (Putnam, 1994, p. 15). For instance, investment in education and social

relationships stimulates employment options. The sometimes perilous ascension of the

hierarchal social ladder is best climbed with partners.

2.3 Parent Involvement

Researchers have stated that parental involvement is beneficial to their children's

learning, their academic achievement, and their overall success in school (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004;

Epstein, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997; Gonzalez, Borders et al., 2013). In addition,

the parent involvement section of the No Child Left Behind policy states that schools are to

provide "support necessary to assist participating schools in planning and implementing effective

parent involvement activities to improve student academic achievement and school

performance," "to build the schools' and parents' capacity for strong parental involvement," to

identify "barriers to greater participation by parents" … "with particular attention to parents who

are economically disadvantaged, are disabled, have limited English proficiency, have limited

literacy, or are of any racial or ethnic minority background, and use the findings of such

evaluation to design strategies for more effective parental involvement, and to revise, if

necessary, the parental involvement policies," and "involve parents in the activities of the

schools" (NCLB, Section 1118.b-f). Establishing effective relationships between parents, students, and those in educational institutions benefit all involved (Henderson, 1988).

There are numerous factors associated with parental involvement in education, and there is no simple comprehensive definition. Parents can support their children by "attending school functions and responding to school obligations" or they can become "more involved in helping their children improve their schoolwork – providing encouragement, arranging for appropriate study time and space, modeling desired behavior (such as reading for pleasure), monitoring homework, and actively tutoring their children at home" (Cotton and Wikelund, 1989). In addition, parents can assist in school activities, volunteer for extracurricular events, and participate in the parent-teacher association and other decision-making organizations. Benefits of parent involvement include "higher grades and test scores, better long-term academic achievement, positive attitudes and behavior, more successful programs, and more effective schools" (Henderson, 1988, p. 149). Parental involvement, both at home and at school, has "significant, long lasting effects. In fact, these effects vary directly with the duration and intensity of the parent involvement: the more, the better" (Henderson, 1988, p. 151).

Parents who are valued and respected by school representatives, feel confident and empowered in participating in their children's education (Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). Parental participation in secondary schools is essential for student success (Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Involved parents increase their educational social capital by interacting with and learning from teachers and other parents concerning "school procedures, ways to enhance their children's education at home, extracurricular opportunities, and ways to handle difficult situations" (Ryan et al., 2010, p. 392). For high school parents and students, it is critical to learn about preparation for college (entrance process and requirements, course placements, and

financial aid). Marginalized students are disadvantaged in the college enrollment process due to low levels of social, cultural, and economic capital (Perna & Titus, 2005). It is important to "promote educational attainment among disadvantaged groups of students by developing the skills, knowledge, confidence, aspirations, and preparation that are needed to enroll in and graduate from college (Perna & Titus, 2005, p. 486).

Despite opportunities provided by the school, various reasons impact why parents may not participate. Foremost, the prevailing paradigm for parent participation envisioned by the educational system is one dominated by the social and cultural capital of the middle and upper classes. This model of parent participation is one of visibility. The parent is present in the school: communicating with teachers and administrators, volunteering, attending meetings and going to events. As Lareau explains, middle class parents practice, regardless of race or ethnicity, "concerted cultivation," a form of parenting that places "an emphasis on children's structured activities, language development and reasoning in the home, and active intervention in schooling" (Lareau, 2002, p. 32). Because this type of parenting is "culturally aligned with the educational system and its personnel, students whose parents practice this form of parenting are at a distinct advantage in that they are provided the necessary cultural capital to effectively negotiate inside the institution of education" (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Lareau contends that working class and poor parents practice an "accomplishment of natural growth," childrearing that does not align with the norms of the educational system (2002). These parents "believe that as long as they provide love, food, and safety, their children will grow and thrive. They do not focus on developing their children's special talents [and their] children participate in few organized activities and have more free time and deeper, richer ties within their extended families (Lareau, 2002, p. 749).

Immigrant parents who cannot "communicate well with English-speaking parents and teachers may *appear* to be less involved – even though they engage in a variety of less visible behaviors" (Ryan et al., 2010, p. 393). Some Latino families do not participate in school because they view the school as a "bureaucracy controlled by non-Hispanics" who are insensitive to their culture, traditions, language, and beliefs (Peña, 2000, p. 44). Seeing the school and home as separate realms, many Latino parents believe that maintaining a courteous distance is helpful (Peña, 2000). Both parenting styles have their benefits and shortcomings, but the later style of parenting does not contribute to building educational social capital. A component of Lareau's concerted cultivation is parental participation and parents who "practiced concerted cultivation were more actively engaged in every facet of their children's lives" (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009).

Research suggests that there are differences in how parents define their role in their children's education based on culture and socioeconomic factors (Coleman, 1988; Lareau, 2002). The differences in meaning for parent participation lead to variations in the levels and types of parent involvement. Low socioeconomic, disadvantaged, and less well educated parents may feel threatened by the authority of teachers, administrations, and staff, feel insecure about their socioeconomic status, and feel embarrassed by their lack of formal knowledge (Peña, 2000). Less educated parents and immigrant parents with limited English fluency, are "intimidated by educational jargon, which impedes communication between them and teachers" (Peña, 2000, p. 44). Also, parents are less inclined to participate when they perceive their culture and language as disfavored by the school (Peña, 2000). Other factors that influence parental involvement include parents' employment, family obligations, childcare issues, and transportation difficulties (Peña, 2000; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). For some struggling immigrant Latino

families, parental involvement involves providing their children food, clothing, shelter, and the opportunity to attend school (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004).

Family structure, culture, ethnic background, and social class affect parental involvement in education (Scribner et al., 1999). For Latino families, emphasizing only the involvement of parents as opposed to others' involvement, such as siblings and extended family members, reflects a dominant White cultural belief (Ryan et al., 2010; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004). For Delgado-Gaitan, the preservation of the Latino family unit is vital to the "continuity of social, political, religious, and cultural order" (2004, p. 2). *Educación* is part of Latino culture and is more than just schooling; it is used to "describe how people comport themselves politely, how they are willing to act collectively with others, how they support and respect everyone, and how they are deferential to authority" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2010, p. 4). For children, e*ducación* means knowing "their own culture and their expected role within the culture" (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001, p. 122). However, a dissonance may occur within the family when home and school cultural values and expectations collide (Henderson, 1988).

Immigrant Latino parents and their children are generally unfamiliar with the U.S. educational system and it can be an intimidating experience. Immigrant parents have a high regard for educators and the thought of interfering in their profession is viewed as disrespectful (Perriera, Harris & Lee, 2006). Having beliefs and values that differ from the school, and not grasping the importance of advocacy for their children creates barriers that hinder their participation (Garcia, 2002). Creating effective family and school relationships means understanding the culture, values, and beliefs of immigrant Latino families, as well as considering their socioeconomic situation.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this study was to examine the beliefs and values of immigrant Latino parents involved in the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI), a high school program developed to assist them in educating and empowering themselves and their children. Cultural, social, educational, and religious beliefs and values were studied as influencing factors in parents' engagement, participation, and involvement in the program. The qualitative approach to the study was the most appropriate in order to understand immigrant Latino parent participation. Because qualitative research looks into the world of the individual and allows for in-depth analysis, the following qualitative methods were used:

    (a) selecting a small number of nonrandom participants (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008);

    (b) examining beliefs and values of participants (Creswell, 2009);

    (c) conducting the study in the natural setting of PLI meetings (Creswell, 2009); and

    (d) interacting with participants (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013; Whyte, 1979).

The researcher is concerned with understanding parent participation from the PLI parents' personal frame of reference and in extrapolating meaning from the qualitative data (Bogden & Biklen, 1982). The ethnographic design of this study used data from a questionnaire, focus group, observations, and PLI documents. By considering the beliefs, values, convictions, and thoughts of immigrant Latino parents in this study, the researcher is able to glean information from a slice of the parents' lives (Chrispeels and Rivero, 2001; Green, Dixon & Zaharlick, 1991; as cited in Chrispeels and Rivero, 2001). Through various data, the researcher compiled a portrait of the PLI parents' perspectives and offers an interpretation of ways parent

participation in the program can be more effective (Fetterman, 1989; as cited in Chrispeels and Rivero, 2001).

The privacy of the program and high school will be maintained in all publications and presentations resulting from this study.

This chapter is organized into six sections: context, role of researcher, participants, procedures, qualitative data collection, and limitations.

3.2 Context

In April 2007, the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) program was started by the researcher and her colleague, a Spanish-English bilingual Community Outreach Specialist, in order to assist immigrant Latino parents of English Language Learner students at Coastal High School (pseudonym). The program was started to facilitate and encourage parental involvement on campus. Over the past several years, PLI has connected parents from a variety of Latino/Hispanic cultures in the community with the common purpose and goal of developing parental leadership and advocacy skills, of supporting and encouraging their children in their academic and social endeavors, of communicating and engaging with teachers, other parents, school administrators, and community members in educational and informational meetings.

The Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) meetings took place in the evening in the library at Coastal High School. Participation in the program was completely voluntary and parents who participated were invited to weekly meetings to discuss sundry topics, to engage in activities pertaining to education, leadership skills, and team building, to listen to guest speakers, and to partake in special events. The meetings generally lasted from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and some parents stayed later in order to learn information about their child's progress in school, to discuss issues of concern about their child, and to seek advice for personal difficulties. Parents often

brought their high school children, as well as any younger siblings of the high school student, to these meetings. Older students studied, completed homework, and collaborated on school projects. Younger children read, worked on age-appropriate educational workbooks, colored, and made small projects under the guidance of high school student volunteers, both PLI students and other student volunteers from the high school.

3.3 Role of Researcher

With her colleague, the researcher started the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) program in 2007 and in 2010 they were conferred with a prestigious county-wide community service award. Throughout the years, the researcher and her colleague have established a trusting relationship with the parents (Ochoa and Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Rudestram & Newton, 2007). During the course of her work with PLI and with this study, the researcher has been both a direct observer and a participant observer. According to Whyte (1979), the participant observer "participates in social activities with the subjects of study over an extended period of time" (p. 56). The researcher's work with PLI parents has gone beyond merely conducting workshops, arranging for guest speakers, and advocating for their children at school; the researcher has helped parents with personal and professional issues and participated with parents in numerous celebrations. Building relationships is essential in conducting this type of research, and without a solid relationship with the participants, the methods of inquiry used would be unsuccessful (Whyte, 1979). Assisting parents and their children and providing mutual favors are beneficial for all parties (Whyte, 1979). In Whyte's (1979) discussion of what participants receive from being involved in the research, he says that it may be "advantageous to offer something of value, on a collective [and individual] basis, to those involved in the study" (p. 59). For the past seven years, the researcher and her founding partner have provided the PLI program participants with food,

clothing, books, and school supplies. In addition, PLI parents have been introduced to school administrators, district representatives, local police officers, and government agents thus opening access to social capital (Whyte, 1979). The philosophy of PLI extends to helping parents and their children in ways that go beyond the notion of what the educational system expects of its stakeholders. For example, the researcher has aided parents in contacting appropriate people to answer tax questions, to provide community support, to report being a victim of fraud, and to acquire assistance with an abusive renter. Because the researcher has access to various types of "capital" not currently available to the immigrant Latino population of PLI, this type of assistance is valuable (Whyte, 1979).

Two years ago, concerns arose about the program being considered only a token program in the school in order to curry favor with the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) committee's four year evaluation and accreditation. In addition, for several years, the researcher's colleague received conflicting signals from the administration that impaired her ability to effectively perform her job. After much discussion between the researcher and her colleague, a decision was reached for the researcher to discuss the issues with PLI participants and elicit their opinions. The researcher, with her colleague interpreting, explained the situation to the parents about the lack of support and the possibility of moving the program off campus. Ethnographic research requires "balancing the tension between an intimate familiarity with the situation and a detachment from it" (Ybema, Wells, & Kamsteeg, 2010, p. 349). Yet, Whyte (1979) explains that sometimes the researcher needs to be aligned with one side of a conflict in order to maintain alliances and relationships and this was such a case. A few months later, the researcher's schedule was altered after teaching ELD Level 2 and 3 for several years. The researcher no longer saw many of the children of PLI parents on a daily basis. Based on the

factors enumerated, a decision was made by all involved to reduce the program until the parents, the researcher, and her colleague evaluated the situation in more depth. Maintaining the program at Coastal High School and of increasing parent participation is of the utmost importance.

It is the responsibility of the ethnographic researcher to interpret the meaning and significance of empirical data (Creswell, 2009). In this study, the researcher's dichotomous role as participant and direct observer merged, simultaneously creating an insider and an outsider perspective (Ybema, Wells, & Kamsteeg, 2010). The researcher is an outsider in the PLI program in that she does not speak Spanish and is part of the school's dominant culture. With this study, there are several perils in analyzing the data, such as a conflict in meaning-making, dissimilar "realities," and hegemonic entanglements. There are ontological and epistemological assumptions which underline ethnographic research and it is necessary for the researcher to elucidate the context of her situation (Ybema, Wells, & Kamsteeg, 2010).

Since the researcher does not speak or adequately understand Spanish, she relied on observing body language and tone when parents spoke at the meetings. During pivotal moments, the researcher's colleague or a PLI student would discreetly interpret for the researcher. Being an outsider in this regard means that that the researcher's interpretation is not wholly authentic but subjective to her experiences (Rock, 2001). The researcher has an insider perspective since she has known many of the PLI parents for several years. Navigating the outsider and insider role is complicated. Qualitative research asks the researcher to be introspective, honest, and forthright about the nature of her bias. In a "socially constructed" reality there are multiple ways of interpreting knowledge and experiences (Burger & Luckmann, 1967). Interpreting the information from the researcher's experience in the dominant culture, a different reality than that of the PLI parents, is difficult. In an effort to minimize personal bias, the researcher will analyze

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data by using direct quotations from the questionnaires and focus group responses. The use of documents, such as agendas and handouts, from PLI meetings will also provide for unbiased analysis.

3.4 Participants

In this ethnographic study, the researcher's goal to acquire an in-depth understanding of the Parent Latino Initiative's participants led to using the criterion sampling method (Goulding, 2005; Merriam, 2009). The researcher used her knowledge and experience with the PLI program and chose to employ purposive sampling as the means for participant selection (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). For particular situations, such as the investigation of a specialized population, the purposive sample of participant selection is desirable (Neuman, 1997). In this study, a homogeneous sampling of immigrant Latino parents involved in a special high school after-school program provided the data for exploring the effect that various beliefs and values have on their participatory role in their child's education (Patton, 2001).

The participants in this study are the parents who attend the PLI program on the campus of the high school and chose to participate in additional meetings in order to complete the questionnaire and participate in the focus group interview. The researcher had an established and trusting relationship with the parents of PLI and this was anticipated to lead to honest, open, and candid responses concerning the phenomena being studied (Moustakas, 1994; as cited in Subramaniam, 2011). Participation in PLI and in this study was completely voluntary and there were no adverse consequences or repercussions for those who chose not to participate nor advantages or benefits to those who did participate.

The researcher presented the following introductory text, which was interpreted into Spanish by her PLI colleague:

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I am completing work for my master's thesis at Claremont Graduate

University. Because I am already active with PLI, I consider this to be an

opportunity to discover how our work is progressing in PLI and what we can

do to improve our effectiveness, increase participation and understand our

parents in a deeper way. Through the use of a questionnaire and five (5) focus

group sessions, I will examine educational and cultural beliefs. It is my hope to

better understand how to assist our PLI parents to become more successful as

individuals and as involved parents in their child's education. For those

parents who wish to participate, I have a Consent Form and, as a group, we can

discuss when would be the best time to have our five meetings. (McGlaughlin)

The presentation to Parent Latino Initiative parents emphasized continuing our reciprocal

work, and that their participation in the project subsequently helped them and the PLI program in

general. Having PLI participants as active collaborators has always been a priority for the

program (Whyte, 1979).

The introductory text and the Internal Review Board (IRB) application addendum state

that parents were to participate in five focus group meetings; however, due to circumstances

beyond the researcher's control, only one focus group meeting ensued. All documents presented

to the participants were written in English and Spanish; the focus group questions were first

presented in English and then interpreted into Spanish. After the questionnaire was finalized, the

researcher determined the prominent themes and developed questions for the focus group

interview. In addition, no extra meetings were needed as all parents who had been attending the

PLI meetings since the beginning of the study year signed consent forms to participate in the

study, thus separate meetings were not needed.

The original estimate for the number of participants was between fifteen and twenty-five. Seventeen PLI parents signed consent forms; however, three parents had to drop out of the study due to various issues (stress over losing a job, financial concerns, and having to handle an issue with middle school child). Of the fourteen participants, ten were female and four were male. There were five females and two males between the ages of 35-44, and five females and two males between the ages of 45-54. All participants were from Mexico and all participants were Catholic. According to the California Department of Education, for the 2012-2013 school-year, there were 2,909 students at Coastal High School, of which nearly 60% reported "White/Non-Hispanic," with the next highest percentage, "Hispanic or Latino of any race" at close to 16%. The 2008-2012 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate, reports that 70% of the population in the Coastal High School community earned over $50,000; one PLI parent stated earning over this amount. PLI parents' income ranged from less than $10,000 to $39,999.

3.5 Procedures

The principal of Coastal High School was notified of the study and the school district's Director of Curriculum, Instruction, and Categorical Programs signed an approval letter. The Internal Review Board of Claremont Graduate University expedited the application.

The researcher introduced the study to the general population of Parent Latino Initiative parents explaining the purpose of the study and the procedures. Because the researcher has also been an active participant and co- leader in the PLI program for years, the parents were familiar with her and comfortable in accepting or declining participation in the study. It was explained that the study was an opportunity to discover how the PLI work is progressing and what PLI advisers can do to improve the effectiveness of the program, increase participation in the program, and understand the parents in a deeper way. The researcher's colleague interpreted the

introduction into Spanish and a question and answer session followed.

The individual privacy of the participants is maintained in all publications and presentations resulting from this study. The participants' names were not used in the written study or in any form of communication or in any other dissemination of findings. Upon the conclusion of the study, video recorded interviews were destroyed. Even though detailed demographic information was collected, the study does not identify individual participants in any way or present the data in a manner that could identify the participants. All electronic data was password protected and all documents, including videos, were stored in a locked cabinet.

The consent form for participation was handed out and an agreed upon time to meet to begin the questionnaire was discussed. The consent form given to the participants was in English and Spanish. Since the questionnaire asks comprehensive questions concerning personal demographic and socioeconomic factors, the consent form explains that each participants'

> individual privacy will be maintained in all publications or presentations
> resulting from this study. Your name will not be used in the written study.
> Upon the conclusion of the study, video recorded interviews will be destroyed.
> Even though detailed demographic information is being collected, the study
> will not identify individual participants or present the data is a manner that
> could identify participants. In order to preserve the confidentiality of your
> responses, all electronic data will be password protected and all documents,
> including videos, will be stored in a locked cabinet. (McGlaughlin)

As mentioned earlier, of the seventeen consent forms signed by PLI parents, a total of fourteen participants completed the questionnaire in this study and their responses were used for

analysis. The remaining three parents encountered unexpected severe personal difficulties and had to withdraw from the study and temporarily from the general PLI meetings.

3.6 Qualitative Data Collection

During the course of the study, the following data was utilized: (a) questionnaires, (b) focus group interview, (c) observations, and (d) Parent Latino Initiative documents (e.g., agendas, handouts, memorandums). All documents were written in English and Spanish. Data collection took place at prearranged PLI meetings between April and June of 2013 during the evenings in the school library beginning at 6:00 p.m. and generally ending around 9:00 p.m. In addition to the data aforementioned, factual information from the inception of the program in 2007 is included to enhance the analysis.

The qualitative method of data collection enabled the researcher to examine and analyze information pertinent to the study of the PLI participants' cultural, social, educational, and religious beliefs and values as factors in their engagement with and participation in the program. Using multiple sources of data collection and connecting questions raised in the survey to questions asked in the focus groups enhanced the researcher's understanding of the participants (Yin, 1994).

During the initial exploratory process of the study, the researcher used her knowledge of the Parent Latino Initiative community in determining the commonalty and uniqueness of the participants (Ryan & Bernard, 2003; Patton, 2001). Themes come "from the characteristics of the phenomena being studied. And they come from already-agreed-upon professional definitions, from local common-sense constructs, and from researchers' values, theoretical orientation, and personal experience with the subject matter" (Bulmer, 1979; Strauss, 1987; Maxwell, 1996; as

cited in Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 88). The themes in this qualitative study were conceived a posteriori since the researcher based the development of the survey questions and the focus group questions on her years-long experience with the PLI program. The researcher created categories on the questionnaire based on information deemed as relevant for the study: Demographic Information; Family and Relationships; Employment/Labor History; Resources/Assistance; Educational Experiences and Language Use; Religious Behaviors and Attitudes; Moral, Social and Political Attitudes, and Race and Ethnicity. In answer to the survey questions, there were a variety of responses; however, many similarities emerged. The researcher used group descriptors to look at group similarities and differences, and cultural descriptors to examine the beliefs, values, and practices shared by the group (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

 (a) *Questionnaire*

For the first phase of data collection, participants completed a survey of one hundred twenty-five questions which was divided into three sections in order to be manageable. The participants check-marked boxes and wrote short answers if "Other: Please explain" was marked by the participant.

The first section of the questionnaire was thirty-two questions pertaining to "Demographic Information" and "Family and Relationships." The second section of the questionnaire consisted of fifty-four questions and continued with the "Family and Relationship" section. The remaining sections were "Employment/Labor History," "Resources/Assistance" and "Educational Experiences and Language Use." The final section of the questionnaire had thirty-nine questions with a continuation of the "Educational Experiences and Language Use" section, and the additions of "Religious Behaviors and Attitudes," "Moral, Social, and Political Attitudes," and ending with a "Race and Ethnicity" section.

Most parents completed the questionnaire over the course of three meetings; however, some parents were absent for meetings and thus needed to complete the questionnaire at home.

(b) Focus Group Interview

The participants in the focus group have the common characteristic of belonging to Coastal High School's Parent Latino Initiative and were a small group composed of eight female and two male immigrant Latino parents (Krueger, 2000). The moderator, my PLI colleague, presented the focus group members with questions, first in English and then in Spanish (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). The video-taped session lasted ninety minutes and later a full-text transcript was written, with corresponding empirical data notes added (Kruger, 2000). The data obtained through the focus group provided a clearer depiction of PLI participants and helped connect their experiences and views with trends detected in the questionnaire.

There are advantages and disadvantages to focus group interviews. Some advantages are that participants have face-to-face interaction and in-depth conversations leading to new insights, and the researcher has access to empirical data, all of which are unobtainable from survey questions. Having PLI participants interact as a group on relevant topics provides a richer and more complex picture than individually interviewing the participants (Montell, 1999). Some disadvantages include having the conversation dominated by a few individuals, which happened in this focus group. Also, some participants may not feel comfortable sharing opinions in this public forum. One PLI male participant spoke only twice in the focus group and there were various possible reasons, such as not wishing to express a different opinion, not feeling the issue was relevant, or not having the opportunity to speak due to other members dominating the conversation (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). Another disadvantage was that there was only one focus group meeting due to unforeseen circumstances.

The focus group format worked well with the Parent Latino Initiative participants because they were already familiar with each other and felt a sense of cohesiveness and community which helped them feel secure (Krueger, 2000; Peters, 1993; Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996). According to Kulavuz-Onal, focus group methodology can be "situated in three theories:

(a) symbolic interactionism, in the sense that focus groups allows collective

sense-making and co-construction of meaning through interactions of the

participants in a group;

(b) feminism, in the sense that women's voices are empowered in interaction

with others in a focus group; and

(c) critical pedagogy, in the sense that the focus group methodology also

allows raising the voices of the oppressed marginalized populations." (2011)

For this study, the focus group participants voiced their opinions, contributed their perspectives, and thoroughly interacted to provide data that aligns with Kulavuz-Onal's enumerated theories. As the discussion ensued, immigrant Latino participants of PLI co-constructed realties with female members articulating their viewpoints in a meaningful manner. Kulavuz-Onal's critical pedagogy theory for focus groups aligns with Freire's "study circles," both envisioning the collective process as emancipatory for marginalized groups (Liamputtong, 2011).

In the 1960s and 1970s, consciousness-raising groups were prevalent in the women's liberation movement, and much of focus group process parallels feminist research practices (Montell, 1999). However, consciousness-raising groups were focused on discussing personal experiences, met over an extended period of time, and were leaderless whereas the purpose of

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focus groups is to elicit research data for analysis, generally meet only once, and have the researcher as a leader (Montell, 1999). An auxiliary outcome of focus groups is that participants become more aware of personal, social, and/or political matters (Montell, 1999). Focus groups allow participants to narrate their personal experiences, beliefs, and values in a context that fosters socially produced knowledge (Goss & Leinbach, 1996). According to Cook and Fanow (1991), one of the "five basic epistemological principles that concern feminist researchers" is the empowerment of women, which is one important objective of the PLI program (p. 79; as cited in Kohil & Burbules; Montell, 1999). Feminist methodology endeavors to conduct research valuable to women, to minimize exploitation, and to provide an avenue to social action and change which is beneficial to women (DeVault, 1996). Focus group interviews provide a means for feminist researchers to meet these goals and for participants to construct new knowledge in a shared experience (Montell, 1999).

 (c) Observations

The researcher has been involved with the Parent Latino Initiative program for seven years, and has been both a direct observer and a participant observer in the program in general, and specifically in this study. Because of the researcher's extended history with the PLI program and its participants, there is ample anecdotal information in addition to empirical data. Participant observation "aims to generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence" (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 14). During the course of this two and half month study, the researcher observed various phenomena such as participant's interaction with each other, with their children, and with guests, verbal and nonverbal behavior, and spatial relations. Informal observations and reflections were used in this qualitative study

and provided material in order to examine patterns and themes for a descriptive narrative of the

PLI program in a naturalistic setting (Angrosino, 2007).

(d*) Documents*

Document analysis in qualitative research can give additional meaning and relevance to

the studied topic. Having worked with the Parent Latino Initiative for several years, the

researcher has substantial archival data to use for interpretation. Interacting with participants is a

direct source of data in qualitative inquiry, whereas examining "products of peoples' activities

and interactions, like artifacts [and] documents" is an indirect way to access meaning through

tangible objects (Bradley, 1993, p. 440). The following organizational documents were used in

this study: meeting agendas, notes, memorandums, emails, PLI and guest speakers' handouts,

certificates of program completion, certificates of recognition, participant created posters,

photographs, student transcripts, newspaper articles, and program awards and

acknowledgements.

3.7 Limitations

A principle limitation to the study is the researcher's own cultural and language barriers.

The researcher does not speak Spanish and has a different ethnicity, cultural background,

socioeconomic status, beliefs, and motivations. This presents difficulty in accessing the

phenomena of the Parent Latino Initiative program meetings. Additionally, it must be taken into

account that the researcher's role in the dominant culture may possibility skew interpretation.

The findings of this qualitative study cannot be generalized out to the larger population of

Latino parents at Coastal High School nor can they be generalized to the entire English

Language Learner immigrant Latino population in California since the participants are predominately from Mexico.

The number of participants was small and thus an inference to other parents or other settings is unclear. Ten females and four males participated in the questionnaire, and eight females and two men participated in the focus group, which raises the question of gender roles and what part they play in men participating in the PLI program.

The data derived from this study is from parents with children who attend a large suburban high school and may not represent urban or rural populations of immigrant Latino parents or their children. In addition, the population of the high school and surrounding area where the Latino parents live and work is predominately White, non-Hispanic with a mid to high socioeconomic status and thus sweeping statements cannot be made to all Latinos residing in suburbs.

The Parent Latino Initiative meeting times were in the evening and not all parents could attend. Reasons for absences were due to weather conditions which made it difficult for parents when it was raining since many of them walk to the meetings, general lack of transportation, attendance at confirmation classes for children, religious occasions such as Ash Wednesday, employment responsibilities, and other sundry personal reasons.

The questionnaire had numerous problems. It was comprehensive and long, with some questions being unclear due to formatting and wording. For those parents who completed the questionnaire at home, they did not have the benefit of being offered clarification. Some parents had difficulty with comprehension. For example, one male participant with an elementary school education marked "very well" for all Spanish and English competency questions and yet the

answers written in Spanish were difficult to read and decipher; his writing did not make sense. He may have had difficulty reading and understanding the written word.

One of the issues with the research instrument is that many of the issues being probed such as gender, race, class, education and religion coalesce in reactions to the questions which make it difficult for the researcher to have a clear understanding of which one of these factors is actually dominant and/or most relevant.

For the focus group, the translation was simultaneous at the time of the taping so some of the questions that were being posed were not clear and some confusion ensued. Participants would have benefited from having a written translation of the questions to discuss in small groups before responding to the facilitator on tape. The homogeneous nature of the focus group may have inhibited disclosure on certain topics discussed by participants (Krueger, 2000).

Because there was no pre-assessment or post-assessment instrument used with this group, it is unclear the impact PLI involvement has had on parents. There are no quantitative figures to indicate what shifts in attitude and/or involvement PLI parents have experienced.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Results

4.1 Introduction

The study investigated the beliefs, values, and socioeconomic status of participants in a high school program for immigrant Latino parents of English Language Learner high school students. The goal of the study was to gain a fuller understanding of the participants in order to discern how to increase participation and how to develop an improved model with effective implementation strategies. With the information obtained from the study, the researcher can identify areas of the program that require modification in order to broaden the reach of the program by increasing participation of Latino parents at Coastal High School and expanding the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) program to high schools across the district.

The study analyzed the data collected from participants in the Parent Latino Initiative program at Coastal High School in relation to previously researched beliefs, values, and socioeconomic status of Latino parents.

The study evaluated the creation, implementation, and effectiveness of the Parent Latino Initiative program at Coastal High School. The qualitative data for this study was assembled from a questionnaire, a video- taped focus group, observations, and documents pertaining to the PLI program.

The chapter is organized first with an overview of the demographics for Coastal City school district, then the community-at-large, and finally Coastal High School. Next, the Parent Latino Initiative program is profiled. Finally, the data is presented around the themes discovered during the review of the questionnaire and focus group responses. The following themes are outlined below: education, parenting styles, family and childbearing, communication in the

family, communication with Coastal High School, cultural/generational gap, values, education, gender, religion, relationships, attitudes on race and ethnicity, and language.

4.2 Research Questions

1. What are the cultural beliefs and values of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

2. What are the educational beliefs and values of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

3. What are the socioeconomic considerations of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

4. How does the data obtained for the aforementioned questions align with previous research?

4.3 Demographics

Throughout Coastal City's school district, there are six high schools, one adult school, one community day school, and one continuation school. The data below highlights the statistics by ethnicity for the high schools. The majority of students in the Coastal City school district are "White, Not Hispanic." According to the 2010 Census, the entire population for the district was 189,992, with 145,661 white (76.7%) and 32,411 Hispanic (17.1%). For the 2012-2013 school year, the student population in the district had 19% fewer White students and 9% more Latino students (See Table 1) than Coastal High School (See Table 3).

Table 1

District-wide Enrollment by Ethnicity								
	2012 – 2013	% of Total Enroll.	2011 – 2012	% of Total Enroll.	2010 – 2011	% of Total Enrol.	2009 – 2010	% of Total Enroll.
White, Not Hispanic	6,629	40.4%	6,820	41.4%	6,969	42.7%	7,085	43.8%
Hispanic or Latino of Any Race	4,042	24.6%	3,890	23.6%	3,748	22.9%	3,702	22.9%
Asian, Not Hispanic	3,687	--	3,757	--	3,710	--	3,617	--
Each of the following groups represent less than 1% of the student population respectively: Asian, Not Hispanic, Indian or Alaska Native, Not Hispanic, Not Reported, African American-Not Hispanic Two or More Races -Not Hispanic, Filipino-Not Hispanic, Pacific Islander-Not Hispanic								
TOTAL	16,400	--	16,442	--	16,317	--	16,162	--

Source: California Department of Education. *Educational Demographics Unit*. DataQuest. Web. 13 Aug. 2012.

Although the demographics of Coastal City have changed over the years, the majority of this community self-identify as "White." The second largest ethnic group in the community is Latinos, followed by Asians and smaller groups of African Americans among others.

Table 2

Community-at-large Population for Coastal High School Area by Ethnicity[5]		
	Estimate	Percent
White	32,522	71.8%
Hispanic or Latino	6,130	13.5%
Asian	4,642	10.2%
Self-Identified as Mix of Two or More Races	1,394	3.1%
Each of the following groups represent less than 1% of the student population respectively: Black or African American-Not Hispanic, American Indian or Alaska Native-Not Hispanic, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander-Not Hispanic, and Other Races.		
TOTAL Population	45,317	100

Source: DP-1 Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data. *American FactFinder*. 2000. Bureau of the Census. Web. 20 August 2013.

In the early twentieth century, Coastal High School graduated its first class of six students out of a population of 915, and in 2012, 637 students graduated of which 107 were Hispanic.[6] Located in a predominately wealthy Southern California seaside suburb, the school has several award winning programs and it is academically highly regarded. By 1970, the

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[5] Note. The data is culled from the Census Bureau using Coastal High School's zip code. From DP-1 Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data. *American FactFinder*. 2000. Bureau of the Census. Web. 20 August 2013.

[6] Coastal City website (pseudonym)

population had increased to 11,960.[7] According to the 2010 Census, the total number of residents residing in this beach community was 45,317 for the zip code encompassing Coastal High School and currently the city's population as a whole is about 200,000.[8]

The earliest available data from the California Department of Education's website is for the 1993-1994 school year. At that time, there were 2,053 students enrolled at Coastal High School, of which 14.7% were classified as "Hispanic or Latino." Ten years later, the 2003-2004 report indicates a total population of 2,432, with 15% being "Hispanic or Latino." The most recent report for 2012 - 2013 shows the school had 2,909 students in grades 9 through 12. Nearly 60% of the students were categorized as "White, not Hispanic," followed by the next highest percentage of 15.6% of students as "Hispanic or Latino of any race," with "Asian, not Hispanic" and "American Indian or Alaska Native, Not Hispanic" designated as 6.7% and 8% respectively (California Department of Education. Educational Demographics Unit. DataQuest). The percentages across ethnic categories have remained relatively steady over the past twenty years.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

Table 3

Coastal High School Enrollment by Ethnicity								
	2012 – 2013	% of Total Enroll.	2011 – 2012	% of Total Enroll.	2010 –2011	% of Total Enroll.	2009 – 2010	% of Total Enroll.
White, Not Hispanic	1,733	59.5%	1,688	60.0%	1,687	62.7%	1,667	63.8%
Hispanic or Latino of Any Race	454	15.6&	434	15.4%	410	15.2%	425	16.2%
Asian, Not Hispanic	235	8.0%	223	7.9%	212	7.8%	223	8.5%
Indian or Alaska Native, Not Hispanic	196	6.7%	220	7.8%	219	8.1%	183	7.0%
Not Reported	184	6.3%	148	5.2%	71	2.6%	23	---
Each of the following groups represents less than 1% of the student population respectively: African American-Not Hispanic, Two or More Races-Not Hispanic, Filipino-Not Hispanic, Pacific Islander-Not Hispanic.								
TOTAL	2,909	---	2,811	---	2,690	---	2,611	---

Source: California Department of Education. *Educational Demographics Unit*. DataQuest. Web. 13 Aug. 2012.

In the school year 1993-1994 and ten years later in 2003-2004, Coastal High School continued to rank third in the district for the number of "Hispanic or Latino" students enrolled. In 2009-2010, the school dropped to fourth place and for three subsequent school years, placed fifth out of the six high schools in the number of Latino students. The high school in the district with the highest number of Latino students has remained steady since 1993-1994. For the past twenty years, Coastal High School's Latino population has remained steady at 14%-15%, with the

"White (not Hispanic)" population in the mid-60 percentage (California Department of Education). According to the 2010 Census, 308.7 million people resided in the United States, of which 50.5 (16.3%) were of Latino/Hispanic origin (The Hispanic Population: 2010 Census Briefs). In the community of Coastal High School, 13.5% of the population is "Hispanic or Latino (of any race)" (United States. Department of Commerce. Census Bureau. *American FactFinder*). The Hispanic/Latino population of Coastal High School in the 2012 – 2013 school year was 15.6% representing a microcosm of the larger U.S. population.

4.4 Program Profile

In 2007, Edgar Medina from Orange County Human Relations, with a grant from the Coastal City Human Relations Task Force (pseudonym), conducted the "Parent Leadership Institute"[9] program in Spanish beginning April 2007 and continuing through May 2008 in order to identify, explore and explain the importance and necessity of parents' involvement in campus life, and thusly in their children's educational success.

The "PLI" meetings conducted by Mr. Medina were supplemented with activities and presentations arranged by the researcher and her colleague. For example, when Mr. Medina facilitated a leadership skills exercise, the parents engaged in an activity that involved constructing a pyramid with balloons. The teams that effectively communicated, thoroughly planned, efficiently worked together were more successful. After the activity, the parents and Mr. Medina debriefed and discussed the components of effective leadership.

During the course of the first six-week session, Mr. Medina included the following topics in his presentation:

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[9] The Parent Leadership Institute will be noted with quotation marks to indicate the original program.

1. Parents, School, and Community

2. Knowing Our Rights

3. Personal Growth and Development

4. Effective Cultural Communication

5. Effective Parent Groups, and

6. Our Challenges as Parents (Medina, 2008).

At the training sessions, parents learned about the U.S. educational system and about Coastal High School's educational system in particular. Parent participants "developed some leadership skills such as running meetings, speaking in public, making decisions, resolving conflicts, and working in groups" (Medina, 2008). During the parents' discussion of school, family, and community issues, they explained some of the challenges that they faced in conjunction with their children's education. The report from Orange County Human Relations (OCHR) lists "not in priority order" that parents are concerned with the "complexity of homework, lack of bilingual teacher's assistants, mastering the English language, not using the internet to follow student progress, not receiving the school report in their native language, limited English/Spanish translation at school meetings/conferences, lack of Latino parental involvement, and lack of a parental motivation/positive attitude" (Medina, 2008). Carreón, Drake, & Barton (2005) discovered similar findings in their research involving the ethnographic study of three working-class Latino immigrant parents. Additionally, Williams and Stallworth (1984; as cited in Carreón, Drake, & Barton, 2005) report that parents desire a more equal partnership with their children's school and more influence in decision-making processes. As noted above, "PLI" parents want increased access to resources via translation services which would lead to increased parental empowerment.

While parents were participating in "PLI," Bridges students provided the parents' Coastal High School children and parents' younger children with student-led study sessions, peer tutoring, and engaging younger children in creative activities. Bridges is a multi-year program developed by Orange County Human Relations with the mission of improving intergroup relations on school campuses through creating, advocating, and sustaining a safe, inclusive climate that respects diversity. Several years ago at a Bridges retreat, the researcher and her colleague began discussions for implementing a program for immigrant Latino parents at Coastal High School and the two programs have worked together ever since.

During the initial six-week session from April 2007 to May 2007, participants in the "Parent Leadership Institute" were provided with information and training across a wide spectrum of issues. Parents developed leadership skills such as conducting meetings, speaking in public, making decisions, resolving conflicts, and working in groups. In addition, they discussed and reflected on family, school, and community issues. Relationships among parents, with school staff, and with city officials were strengthened during this time. As a result of the associations established, "PLI" parents attended School Site Council meetings and Coastal City Human Relations Task Force meetings. At the conclusion of the 2007 sessions of "PLI," the participants agreed to continue meeting every other week during the next academic year. The second session began in November 2007 with returning and new participants. Issues, concerns, and challenges highlighted by participants the previous year were addressed during this second session: parent and student motivation, parental involvement, parenting skills, complexity of homework, mastering the English language, understanding and using the Parent/Student Portal for access to grades and assignments, and lack of bilingual teachers' assistants to help students with navigating English language material in the classrooms.

One of the goals for the "Parent Leadership Institute" was to bring together parents, teachers, community members, and school administrators for training, information, and experiences that helped them work as partners to encourage parental involvement and raise student achievement. For example, beginning the first year and continuing to the present time, Coastal High School's Vice Principal of Guidance/Curriculum provided information about grade point averages, graduation requirements, tardy/truant policies, disciplinary measures, and upcoming important academic notifications. Also, each year members of the Coastal City Human Relations Task Force participate in sessions and representatives from local community colleges present information about college preparation and requirements. Delgado-Gaitan (2004) notes that "reaching out to the Latino community is a matter of building trust as a platform for creating sustained collaborations with parents" (p. 16).

At the end of 2007, Mr. Medina's report of "training outcomes," conveys the "happiness of [participants] to have a place and a program for them to learn and talk about their children['s] educational goals," and how the "parents felt more comfortable talking about parental concerns and [their ability] to come [up] with solutions" to various problems (Medina, 2008). The recommendations from the report suggest that the program continue into the next school year and that parents be supported as they "confront their concerns and challenges [and as they] participate in the different school and community groups" (Medina, 2008).

After Orange County Human Relations (OCHR) completed offering the program in May 2008, parents attended a graduation ceremony and were awarded certificates of success. The celebration was attended by the parents' children, OCHR representatives, Coastal High School administrators, and community partners. The researcher and her colleague continued the program at Coastal High School, but needed a new name due to Orange County Human Relations "PLI"

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copyright issues. After much consideration with the parents, the name Parent Latino Initiative was approved and the unique program tailored to immigrant Latino parents and students of Coastal High School commenced.

The Parent Latino Initiative (PLI), with the support of Orange County Human Relations and various members of the community and city officials, is an outreach program for Coastal High School's Spanish-speaking parents and their children. The program was started in order to facilitate and encourage parental involvement of Latino immigrant parents of English Language Learner (ELL) students on campus. Over the years, PLI has connected parents from a variety of cultures in the community with the common purpose and goal of supporting and encouraging their children in their academic and social endeavors, of developing parental leadership and advocacy skills, and of communicating and engaging with teachers, other parents, school administrators, and community members in educational and informational meetings.

With the start of the 2008 – 2009 school year, the funding from the city was no longer available so the researcher and her colleague wrote a request for funding to Coastal High School's Educational Foundation which has been a continuous supporter of the Bridges' program on campus. The Educational Foundation raises funds to benefit students at Coastal High School with assistance from parents, students, alumni, staff, and representatives from the community. The Educational Foundation is comprised of a small group of well-educated, White parents with high socioeconomic status. Unfortunately, none of the PLI parents have ever been involved with the Educational Foundation, and becoming a member of this group is both intimidating and difficult. Yet, as Delgado-Gaitan (2004) advises "the extent to which schools reach out to establish parent involvement in ethnically diverse schools is the strongest determinant of Latinos

getting involved in their children's education" (p. 15). With funding secured for educational materials and speakers, PLI moved forward with assisting parents in reaching their goals.

During this third year of working with the PLI parents, Mr. Medina continued to conduct some of the sessions and Don Han from OCHR gave a "Conflict Resolution" presentation discussing how to avoid and manage personal and work conflicts, as well as conflicts between individuals and groups competing for the same resources. In addition, Mr. Han presented "Seven Steps to Achieve Goals Faster and Easier." The program organizers expanded the program by inviting representatives from various fields to present on relevant topics important to the PLI parents (See Table 4).

Throughout the years, Parent Latino Initiative parents and students have attended numerous events. Some parents have accompanied their children to Latino/Chicano Leadership Conferences, participated in a Hispanic Heritage Month event at a local bookstore, and attended the closing event at a state conference for women. At the beginning of each year, parents are given a tour of the school campus in the evening. On several occasions, they have been invited to observe students practicing in the school's award winning performing arts program. In addition, numerous parents and students have been given complimentary tickets and attended school plays and concerts put on by this same program. Every year, the researcher and her colleague have a special Christmas celebration party for the PLI parents and students. For the event a few years ago, guests were provided with food and beverages and entertained by Folklorico dancers, presents were given to the PLI children, and parents had access to a "rummage sale" (e.g. give away). School staff and administrators attended the event, in addition to local city officials.

On May 27, 2009, PLI celebrated the end of a successful year by holding a Commencement Ceremony and potluck with guest classical guitarists playing music. PLI parents and students were joined in the celebration by school administrators, district representatives, city officials, Orange County Human Relations colleagues, Coastal City Human Relations Task Force members, and Coastal High School teachers and staff. PLI students served the food and beverages as their parents mingled with the guests.

By participating in the Parent Latino Initiative program, parents and students have the opportunity to interact with the dominant culture in the community and therefore have access to increasing their social and financial capital. Further, as Pfeffer and Parra (2009) point out, by developing ties to established community members, immigrants can utilize these sources for "information and advice as they seek employment" (p. 266). By interacting with the community, PLI parents and students have access to resources previously unavailable to them.

For years, this program was conducted pro bono at Coastal High School by the researcher and her colleague even though the school had funding for these types of programs on campus. The researcher made repeated inquiries to school administrators regarding funding for the program and the administration finally conceded and extended compensation to the researcher, but not to her colleague. The excuse used was that her colleague was a classified employee and the administration could not determine how to compensate her. Another year went by and there was no word of funding. The researcher met with a school administrator and once again requested funds for the PLI program. This time compensation was given to both the researcher and her colleague. They were informed that they would need to request funding each year. The researcher privately noted the oddity of this procedure as other programs at the school that assist parents and students did not need to follow this protocol. The irony about this supposed scarcity

of funding and the subsequent needling that was required to receive it for the program was that the school itself promoted the program as fully supported on its 2012 Western Association of Schools and College (WASC) report as a factor for student success. The Association accredits schools that it recognizes as meeting a level of quality determined by its established research.

The focus of the Parent Latino Initiative program is to inform, educate, and empower Latino immigrant parents of the school's ELL students, and the program addresses numerous issues which include, but are not limited to the following: modest parental involvement in the education of their children, including involvement in school functions and communication with faculty and administration; low student academic achievement; lack of understanding of the American school system; parental participation in the community; drug and gang prevention; help in deterring negative and harmful behavior; college/career preparation; police/community relationships; immigration; and health education.

The Parent Latino Initiative is the first of its kind in the Coastal High School district, and is a comprehensive program designed to promote the development of immigrant Latino leaders and increase parent participation in the decision-making process of their children's education. In the past PLI parents' increased confidence has been witnessed in their attendance at School Site Council meetings, District-level and school-level English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC and ELAC respectively) meetings, the city's Human Relations Task Force meetings, along with additional conferences and other activities. Another outcome of the program has led to parents' new-found comfort with navigating the school, utilizing school resources, and interacting with faculty and staff. They have developed skills and have become empowered to help their children and their community; however, the number of parents affected by the program has not grown in

the past several years and it continues to be a struggle to recruit parents to participate in the program.

The above-mentioned outcomes were achieved via regular meetings on campus in the evenings where a number of different speakers on myriad topics provided information to parents and students.

Table 4

Parent Latino Initiative Program Topics and Content	
Program Topic	Content

College/Career/Military Preparation
 	
    Various Community College Representatives
    UC College Representative
    Coastal High School College/Career Counselor
    Coastal High School Assistant Principal
    Regional Occupational Program Representative
    Current college students (former PLI students)
 	
U.S. Marine Representative (former ELD
    student)
	1. College application and enrollment process
	
	2. Financial Aid
	
	3. Scholarships
	
	4. AB540 (undocumented students)
	
	5. A-G transfer requirements to California State Universities and University of California schools
	
	6. Coastal High School policies (attendance, grades, discipline, etc.)
	
	7. Resources located in College/Career Center
	
	8. Former students' experiences in high school, PLI, and college

Civic and Legal Issues Police and Community Relationships	1. Crime Prevention and Reporting 2. Drug use, abuse, and addiction

Coastal High School community-at-large police officers and canine unit Orange County DREAM Team[10] Prominent Latino immigration lawyer	3. Civic involvement 4. Fraud prevention 5. Rights for documented and undocumented individuals 6. AB540 legislation and involvement in passing the bill 7. Immigration Issues

Health Education
 	
  Community health clinic (12 sessions)
 	
  Prominent Latino neurologist
	1. Nutrition
	
	2. Drug use, abuse and addiction
	
	3. Vaccinations
	
	4. Sexually transmitted diseases
	
	5. HPV vaccine
	
	6. Safe sex
	
	7. Brain conditions: migraines, headaches, and such

Education
 	
  English classes
 	
  Math classes
	1. Use of English Language Development Level 1 textbook
	
	2. Speaking, reading, and listening skills
	
	3. Use of various math textbooks for skills practice, construction of flashcards, and how to use same

Coastal High School Staff
 	
  Principals
 	
  Student Support Services Representative
 	
  Parent/Student Portal Presentation by researcher
	1. Introductions, welcome, and responsibilities
	
	2. Services provided (e.g., mental health, emotional health, student support team)
	
	3. Encouragement and support for parental involvement at Coastal High School

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[10] The Orange County DREAM Team, comprised of high school and college students, and their advocates, began in 2004 with the goal working to pass the California DREAM Act. Currently, the DREAM Team is working on a moratorium on deportation and on passing the TRUST Act (http://www.istillhaveadream.org).

Personal Growth and Development	1. Achieving Goals
OCHR Representatives H&R Block Representative Banking Representative	2. Taxes and the IRS 3. Money management 4. Effective parenting

4.5 Data Analysis: Questionnaire, Focus Group, Observations, and Documents

Purpose. The parent participants in the Parent Latino Initiative (PLI) completed an extensive questionnaire both during PLI meetings and at home. The purpose of the questionnaire, focus group meeting, and observations was to gather data in order to create an ethnographic portrait of the participants. Utilizing the answers to the questionnaire, focus group discussions and observations, and descriptions and documentation of the PLI meetings, along with investigation of participant's behaviors, language, and actions allowed the researcher to formulate the types of attitudes and values that affect parental involvement at Coastal High School. In addition, documents from past years were included in the study.

Recruitment. Parents who attended PLI meetings were asked to participate in supplementary meetings in order to complete an anonymous questionnaire and partake in a focus group interview. Participation was completely voluntary. Ten female parents and four male parents completed the questionnaire. Seven female parents and two male parents participated in the focus group.

Questionnaire and Focus Group Questions. The questionnaire was written in English and Spanish. In answer to questions, respondents checked boxes from an available list of options and had the opportunity to write short answers if "Other" was given for the question.

Inaccurate/Missing Data. There were minimal instances of inaccurate data and unanswered questions by participants.

Summary of Qualitative Findings. The qualitative findings are categorized into the following groups: education, parenting styles, family and childbearing, communication in the family, communication with Coastal High School, cultural/generational gap, values, education, gender, religion, relationships, attitudes on race and ethnicity, and language.

(a) Economics

The most salient feature of the PLI families' economic status is that they are making much less than their White neighbors in the Coastal High School community. According to the female respondents, 30% of the families earn less than $10,000 per year. One of the interesting features of the PLI responses to questions about income is the disparities between husbands' and wives' answers. In one case, the wife indicated an income of less than $10,000 and her husband indicated an income of $30,000 to $39,999. The result is that wives are under-estimating their family income while the husbands over-estimate it by $20,000. It is not clear if this discrepancy is due to a reporting error, a misunderstanding of the question or because of some other factor. In the Coastal High School community, 20% percent of the White residents earn over $200,000[11], yet in this sample 28% of the families are earning less than $20,000 a year. The PLI families represent an island of poverty as well as cultural and linguistic otherness in a predominantly White, wealthy, and well-educated sea where 60% of the population is White.

Most of the PLI parents live in three designated immigrant communities made up mostly of Latino residents. The parents and their children live in apartments on streets literally

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[11] Note. From DP-1 Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data. *American FactFinder*. 2000. Bureau of the Census. Web. 20 August 2013.

surrounded by wealth and prestige. Jimenez (2011) notes that it is "common for immigrants to settle in places where there is a high concentration of conationals. Immigrants often are drawn to these places because they have some connection – a family member, friend, acquaintance – upon whom they can rely for help in finding a social and economic foothold" (p. 10). The PLI families are segregated into a specific and very limited geographical area of the city. In order for the families to see the success they desire for their children, some integration into the larger community must be managed, and "if, over time, immigrants and their descendants live in neighborhoods that are less defined by members of the same ethnoracial and national origin, then integration is generally considered to be taking place" (Jiménez, 2011, p. 9).

Additionally, the majority of the White families whose children attend Coastal High School are homeowners while the PLI parents are apartment dwellers. For the Coastal High School community-at-large, nearly 80% of homeowners live in homes valued at $500,000 or more.[12] Latino students at Coastal High sit in classrooms next to peers whose families earn ten times as much as theirs do and have more financial and social capital.

Not only are the PLI children being schooled in a predominantly White and wealthy culture, but their peers' parents were principally born and reared in the United States with extensive experience operating in the U.S. educational system, both as students and as taxpayers. PLI parents were all born and raised in Mexico and emigrated in their twenties. It is fair to say that the Mexican public school system is different from the American system, and that PLI parents are not fluent in managing and accessing Coastal High School's bureaucracy.

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[12] Note. From DP04 Selected Housing Characteristics: 2007-2011 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates. *American FactFinder*. 2000. Bureau of the Census. Web. 20 August 2013.

Eight of the mothers indicated that their children received free or reduced lunch. Lee and Bowen (2006) found that "…parents whose children received free or reduced-price lunches at school reported less frequent involvement at school and parent-child educational discussions at home, as well as lower educational expectations for their children (2006, p. 204) Of the fourteen participants in the study, eight of them stated that they received no government assistance in the form of food stamps, housing benefits, disability insurance or childcare while one female received social security benefits and three of the participants received medical assistance.

Inasmuch as employment is concerned, one of the male participants is self- employed, one works in a factory, and one works as both a cook and a dance instructor. Pfeffer and Parra (2009) note that the "self-employed draw on strong social ties to attract customers, but they also provide coethnics access to certain market opportunities (p. 266). Generally, immigrants find employment through social ties, but that does not necessarily lead to the best jobs (Pfeffer & Parra, 2009). In order to find better employment, it is necessary to have more schooling and to be literate in English (Pfeffer & Parra, 2009). Five of the female parents are housewives and one of them is a babysitter and one is a rehabilitation assistant. None of the participants have a professional job or training. They are almost all working in the service industry with the exception of the factory worker. It is not the purpose here to delve into the economics of the service versus manufacturing industries, but it is worth noting that the factory worker is the only parent involved in PLI who does not live in a Latino neighborhood, and who is a homeowner.

In contrast, the majority of the PLI participants, as workers in the service economy, are vulnerable to a shrunken demand for services as a result of the economic crash of 2008. Anecdotally, the researcher notes that many of the mothers who indicated that they were not employed on the questionnaire, in fact are engaged in some type of paid work such as

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housecleaning, cooking, and babysitting. It could be the case, that since these mothers do not have formal or permanent employment, they do not consider themselves employed for the purposes of the questionnaire.

The respondents were asked about the features of their housing with regard to electronics, furnishings, and appliances. The answers were that nine females and four males had computers at their homes, and nine females and three males had printers with ten females and four males saying they had access to the internet. This response surprised the researcher as many PLI students implied that they did not have a computer, and had explicitly stated that they could not print at home. The possibility is that the parents indicated the possession of a printer, but maybe there is no paper or maybe there is no ink cartridge for printing. Six females and two males have land lines in addition to the cell phones. Most of the participants enjoyed the typical features of refrigerators, microwaves, living room furnishings, and dining room sets. Seven of the mothers and four of the fathers indicated that they have a private bedroom for themselves and three mothers and an equal number of fathers indicated that their child has a separate bedroom and seven females and one male indicated that the children share sleeping quarters. Seven mothers indicated that they have a car and three fathers indicated the same. The participants in this study are generally financially more well off than other members of PLI who did not participate in the study. The researcher and her colleague collect recyclables for several PLI families who pick them up on a weekly basis.

Lee & Bowen's study (2006) found "significantly higher academic achievement among students not living in poverty, European American students, and students with more educated parents and that "[p]overty and race/ethnicity consistently played a significant role in predicting children's academic achievement" (p. 209). Additionally, Pollack (2002) notes that the lack of

flexibility and autonomy in parents' work, the lack of child care, or the lack of connection with teachers and administrators may discourage parental involvement.

(b) Parenting Styles

"The positive quality of a parent is to always be with them, helping them in whatever they need for school. Like helping with the homework, projects, taking them to school, picking them up from school and in other words, everything; it means doing everything. It means getting up at 6 in the morning to make breakfast. And then taking them to school and picking them up from school. It means running here and there and everything. It's a never ending job. It is constant labor, day after day, so that the child has a good education. And if parents do that, then the kids are going to be fine. And they'll be better off." With this description of how to be a good parent, Parent 3 (Focus Group), emphasizes that consistency and dedication are key while Parent 4 (Focus Group) believes that, "The four qualities of a good parent [are] love, communication, being an example, and respect. By having these four qualities, we go a long way in helping our children having a better life." These were two of the ideas expressed by the parents who participated in the focus group conversation that formed part of this study and in that discussion many complicated issues around parenting and family values were articulated.

When asked about school homework, seven females and three males replied that they managed the homework by asking if their children had finished it. Just four of the mothers (no fathers) said that they checked homework to make sure it was complete, but only one mother indicated that she checked to see if it was correct. One mother indicated that her child attends an after-school program for assistance, and three mothers indicated that other family members help with homework. Four of the mothers stated that they felt their children were responsible enough

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to take care of the homework by themselves. One of the mothers and one of the fathers honestly replied that they did not know how to help their children with homework.

This last comment reflects Carrasquillo and London's (1993) findings that "parents are not prepared to help with homework because of their own limited education" (as cited in Peña, 2000, p. 44; Pollack, 2012). Further, Delgado-Gaitan (2004), explains that homework is "not an equal opportunity activity" since parents with limited English fluency and low academic attainment find assisting with homework very stressful. However, it is important that parents are monitoring homework because as Henry et al. (2008) states, "Latino adolescents in immigrant families who perceive their parents as investing time in gaining knowledge about their lives and activities (or monitoring) may perceive such efforts as evidence of fathers and mothers protecting them from exposure to external factors that detract from academic endeavors" (p. 581). Furthermore, "[r]esearch indicates that when parents engage with their children in learning activities at home, provide for basic needs, and communicate with the school, their involvement can mitigate the negative impacts of poverty and prevent students from dropping out" (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001, p. 119).

Lee and Bowen's (2006) research found that "high levels of homework help were associated with similar achievement levels among Hispanic/Latinos and European Americans [; however,] lower levels of homework help were associated with high achievement among European Americans and with low achievement among Hispanic/Latinos" (p. 209). Therefore, increased levels of homework help increased academic achievement among Latinos.

Many changes in parent-child relationships occur during adolescence, with the dominant White culture of childrearing in the United States cultivating and encouraging independence and autonomy in teenagers. There is a "broad cultural difference between individualism and

collectivism that has been observed to distinguish mainstream American and Western European cultures from the cultures of Asia … and … Latin America….” (Phinney, 1996, p. 921). Moreover, Phinney (1996) has also posited that “Western industrialized countries are said to emphasize the importance of the individual over the group and to construe the individual as independent, autonomous, and self-contained … [whereas] members of American ethnic groups from collectivistic cultures, such as … Latin American, are assumed to reflect this difference, that is, to emphasize interdependence and orientation toward the group” (p. 921). Immigrant Latino families come from a long tradition of honoring nuclear and extended family relationships and when their children enter U.S. schools, both parents and students are confronted with disparate values that counter their worldview of cohesiveness and interdependence (Dotson-Blake, Foster, & Gressard, 2009; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004). Because the majority of previous research focused on American families of European ancestry which values and cultivates independence and autonomy, many of those results from the studies are not culturally coherent with Latino family values. Fuligni (1998) investigated the parent-child relationship of American adolescents from varying ethnic backgrounds and found that Mexican immigrant families “emphasize the importance of respecting the purview of parental authority,” place significance on familial hierarchy, and deemphasize individualism and autonomy (p. 783). This is a significant feature of Latino family life which shapes the way that immigrant children interact in their social and academic matrix. Not only are Latino children encouraged to view their own significance as a member of a group and to defer to group norms and mores, but are socialized to value a “deep sense of family loyalty; extended family and social support networks; and an emphasis on interpersonal relatedness, relationships, and mutual respect” (Fitzpatrick & Travieso et al., 1980; as cited in Dixon, 2008, p. 2). For Latinos, family is the primary social unit and is a

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resource for handling difficult situations (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004).

Anecdotally, the researcher has noted that PLI participants often send their children to relatives for extended stays at the breaks in the school year. This seems to indicate that these children are being socialized into Mexican cultural practices and familial dynamics. Because Mexicans value family loyalty above all other values, they wish their children to be completely socialized as "Mexican" rather than as members of the target white culture. Interestingly, these stays may be used by PLI parents when they feel that their children are becoming too distant from the values and mores of Mexican culture, but they also serve the purpose of distancing their children from the target culture whose values must be assimilated to some degree in order to achieve academic success. One of the significant features of Mexican parenting styles is an emphasis on deference to elders, and consequently a discouragement of the expression of an individual or alternative view by children, yet in the dominant community in which these immigrant adolescents live, individual autonomy and self-reliance is cultivated and valued. Thus, the PLI children are forced to negotiate the conflicting messages of Latino familial values and dominant community values.

The adolescents in this study are being socialized into one set of values at home, but since "[t]he role of beliefs regarding authority and autonomy in parent-adolescent relationships may depend on the extent to which they are supported by the social settings of the larger society" (Fuligni, 1998, p. 783), they are navigating two conflicting cultural streams and this can result in disagreement, misunderstandings, and painful encounters between the Latino adolescents and their parents. In the context of this study, the "larger society" can be correlated to the dominant White population of Coastal High School. Because Latino students at Coastal High School spend substantial time apart from their parents while attending school, and thus interacting

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extensively with the target culture, the influence of parental values is whittled away by contact with administrators, teachers, coaches, and most importantly, peers who advocate autonomous behavior. Independent and autonomous behavior displays itself in the students who question authority and talk back to elders. Conflict arises as Latino children attempt to emulate this type of behavior when interacting with their parents and other adults in the family. Additionally, there are further complicating factors in the parent-child relationships of these immigrant families, such as when their children act as intermediaries for and interpreters of their parents' interactions with English language speakers. In these situations, the authority is reversed and the child becomes the expert and the parent is placed in the position of the child.

While there may be different ways of managing childrearing in these families, many of the parents expressed a frustration at the lack of respect that they see in their children's behavior as articulated by Parent 1 (Focus Group), "In my adolescence, we showed respect to our elders, and nowadays, it's very rare for a family to teach and show respect to the previous generation. Why? Because, we come to California and we forget about the prior generation and we don't talk about uncles and aunts and godmothers and godfathers. Nowadays, we're all equal. Like the way I was taught to respect my elders and now there's no respect shown by an adolescent to an elder." This idea is affirmed by Parent 5 (Focus Group), "Yes, we knew how to show respect for our parents." These sentiments are in accord with Dixon's (2008) findings that "Latino families encourage family interdependence and emphasize obedience and respect -toward elders, and parental authority" (p. 2). All of the parents are identifying what Pollack (2002) describes as "*educación*" or the way that Latino parents rear their children "as bringing up a moral and responsible child" (p. 3) and "how they support and respect everyone, and how they are deferential to authority" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004, p. 4).

The deference that the parents are describing may be absent in their children's behavior because their children spend significant amounts of time interacting with the target culture at school, with their peers, and through the consumption of media in movies, magazines, and television. When their children emulate the target culture's behaviors when interacting with their parents, such as not displaying a cheerful obedience to authority (respect), they create conflict, and parents react with disapproval. Clearly, many of these children are in mainstream classrooms and have ample opportunity to interact with White European peers, and yet the researcher has noted that at Coastal High School, the immigrant adolescents tend to cluster to themselves at breaks and lunch. Naturally, this is an anecdotal observation and yet it would be interesting to probe the reasons for this segregation. It is vital that PLI children become active participants in their school community because as Jimenez points out, "Public education has traditionally been an engine of integration. Schools provide training for immigrants and their descendants to successfully pursue economic aspirations, producing social and political forms of integration. Schools can also be a socializing mechanism that affords children the opportunity to interact with members of other ethnoracial groups, thereby breaking down social boundaries that are defined in ethnoracial terms" (Jiménez, 2011, p. 19).

(c) Family and Childbearing

All of the participants in this study had already had their first child in their twenties. There were no participants who were over thirty when they began having children. According to Tienda and Mitchell (2006), "Hispanic women are more likely to be married at a young age (20-24) than are non-Hispanics" (p. 7). Nine of the ten female participants responded to the question "If you are married, at what age did you marry?" Three respondents married at ages 17, 18, and 19, while the remaining women indicated that they married in their twenties, with the oldest

being 27 at the time of her marriage. All participants in the study are Mexican and all of them are married (to a Mexican male) with the exception of one mother who is separated, and who was previously married to a Mexican male. These numbers reflect Tienda and Mitchell's (2006) findings that "Hispanics of Mexican origin are less likely to intermarry than other Hispanic subgroups" (p. 7).

Interestingly, when the participants were asked to rate how comfortable they would be if a daughter or son married outside of their race or ethnicity, the majority of parents indicated somewhat to very comfortable. Despite this seemingly liberal attitude towards intermarriage, all of the female participants responded that they had never dated or been romantically involved with a person of another race. Of the four male participants who responded to this question, just one person indicated that he had been involved with someone outside of his ethnicity/race. This behavior further supports Tienda and Mitchell's (2006) finding about Mexicans' disinclination to intermarry and thus means "fewer exits from the Mexican American population due to mixed racial-ethnic backgrounds of offspring (and consequent identity shifts) compared with other nationalities" (p. 7).

Not only have these participants married at a relatively young age, they began childbearing young. Of the 10 female participants in the study, the participant who gave birth at the youngest age was just 17 when she did so and the oldest was 29 years old. Of the four males, the youngest was 20 when he had his first child and the oldest was 28 years old. It is intriguing to consider what has more influence on their children's choices: what their parents say (study hard, graduate from college, and get a good job), and what their parents do (marry young, rear children, and not pursue education). Marriage and childbearing at a young age are viewed as normal to the children of these parents as it is what their parents did, and yet this norm conflicts

with the target culture's notion of success (and even with these parents' notion of success) which includes a college degree, a well-paid job, and then marriage and childbearing. The parents exist in an important transitional space where expectations have changed, which is indicated in the following exchange recorded at the focus group:

Parent 6: "The important thing for our parents was that we [women] could wear white on our wedding day.

Parent 8: "Yeah, that's right. If everything turned out right, because if it didn't turn out right …" and paused heavily.

Parent 4: "Yeah, like getting pregnant."

Parent 8: "Yeah, if you were bad [pregnant], you were dead."

In sum, these mothers were expected to arrive at their wedding day with their virginity intact, and now their own expectations have grown much grander for their children and more closely aligned with the target culture's definition of success. Altschul (2012) notes that the "hope that parents hold for their children's success in life is often first vetted through their children's success in school. Indeed, doing well academically is related to doing well later in life economically" (p. 13). Yet for many children, academic success is hindered by the family's socioeconomic status and lack of cultural capital as dictated by the dominant culture (Sirin, 2005). Students' academic success is vital to dismantling the "intergenerational transmission of poverty" (Altschul, 2012, p. 13).

Simultaneous with the expanding expectations of these parents is the evidence that the mothers in the study are largely full-time homemakers. Six of the participants stated that they provided all childcare for their children and the other four females indicated that when they were

not taking care of their children it was because the husband was doing it. Nine of these mothers stated that they were home when their children left for school.

(d) Communication in the family

Parents in the PLI group view their children's upbringing as quite distinct from their own. "The difference between today's adolescent and when we were an adolescent is that before we didn't have the freedom of expression and the comfort towards our parents that kids have today … Now our children feel comfortable talking to us about whatever they want. … [W]e make them feel comfortable doing it, but in many cases they don't want it [to open up], and I think that is the biggest difference. Before we had to follow our parents' orders whether we wanted to or not. It was an obligation and we didn't have any choice" (Parent 4, Focus Group). Although many of the parents expressed that respect for and deference to authority was the preeminent value they must instill in their children, they also acknowledged that having a close and loving relationship with their children was also important. One of the participants commented that the parenting style of his parents emphasized obedience above all, and he felt that it was better now because in his childhood, "he did not have the opportunity to hold his father's hand and walk around the plaza," (Parent 1, Focus Group) as he does now with his own children.

PLI parents are concerned about providing affection even if they are still inculcating their children with the value of deferring to authority. Garcia et al.'s work shows, among ethnic minorities, authoritarian parenting practices are common (2002). In authoritarian parenting, children are expected to follow the guidelines and rules set by parents, and unquestioningly obey parents and other adults within the family. To disregard these expectations shows disrespect, and ultimately disrupts the sense of family cohesiveness and interpersonal relations. One of the parents indicated this tension when, in the focus group conversation, she described her children

by saying, "[T]hey feel like they have power here because you see that we can't even scold them. Or you tell them to study and they tell you 'no, later'" (Parent 5, Focus Group). This parent seems to view the target culture as an insidious influence on her children. This participant is clearly highlighting how a child here "has power" because parents here "can't even scold them" with the implication being that children from the target culture can access resources in the community to punish parents who scold them. The view of the participants is that their children should be "calm, obedient, and respectful toward adults" (Briggs, 1986, et al., as cited in Dixon, 2008, p. 2), and in Fuligni's (1998) work where adolescents from various cultural backgrounds were asked about arguing with parents on issues of disagreement, and of the adolescents in the study, Mexican and Pilipino teenagers were the least approving of and willing to challenge their parents. In response to the idea of disempowerment that was mentioned by Parent 5 (Focus Group), Parent 4 (Focus Group) asserted that, "power is given to them by us." Thus, even within seemingly similarly situated immigrant parents in the study, there is a difference of opinion about managing adolescent behavior.

Technology is playing a considerable role in these immigrant families as it is doing across U.S. society. The role of technology has impacted parenting and family dynamics and many of the PLI parents viewed these tools with ambivalence: they are both boon and bane. All of the participants indicated that they had a cell phone, but bemoaned that their children's usage of cell phones interfered with family time. Parent 3 (Focus Group) complained about, "….a lack of communication … because now we use the telephone to communicate and there is no conversation at the dinner table. So you sit at the table and the kids are on the phone and before that didn't happen. You would sit at the table and eat with the family and talk as a family and now it's very difficult to do that." However, it is not only technology that is disruptive to family

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communication but also work and school schedules because, "[W]e are always feeling rushed and so there's not that much communication between parents and children" (Parent 3, Focus Group).

Conversely, some parents praised the usefulness of technology in maintaining contact with children. Parent 6 (Focus Group) talked about how she cannot be at home when her son is dismissed from classes, so, "….I have to send him text messages before I start work to tell him to be careful on his way home, and I don't talk to him so that distances us a little bit because when I was young, I didn't have a cell phone and I had to talk to my mom in person. Now at night, when my son's going to bed, I have to send him a text message and tell him good night and sweet dreams because I can't talk to him because it's not allowed at work." The cell phone in this case seems to offer a useful and beneficial tool for communicating with children. Despite listing the numerous shortcomings of using social media, one of the participants who was most vehemently negative about technology, recognized that despite the drawbacks of cell phones they can be useful, "Because during the day, I don't talk to my sons…. I send him text messages during the day ….we are communicating."

(e) Communication with Coastal High School

PLI parents may not be able to adequately understand or speak English, limiting their types of involvement with Coastal High. Moreover, the majority of the teachers at Coastal High School are White monolinguals. There is limited communication between the PLI participants and Coastal High School which is not surprising according to Chrispeels and Rivero (2001), since "…poverty, low levels of education, and immigrant status strongly influence the nature and levels of parent and school interaction" (p. 120). Seven of the parents stated that none of the

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materials sent from the school were in Spanish and seven more indicated that just a small portion of the materials were in Spanish. Ten parents indicated that they visited the campus sometimes and there were no parents who stated that they visited the campus often. Moreover, seven parents stated that they never communicated with their children's teachers and seven parents stated that they communicated with the teachers sometimes. Most of the parents indicated that they did not communicate with teachers because of the language barrier. Not only was language a major issue, but these parents also reflect Lareau's (2002) findings that, "Overall, the working-class and poor adults had much more distance or separation from the school than their middle-class counterparts" (p. 769).

When asked about attendance at school events, ten parents indicated that they attended PLI, two mothers attended Back to School Night and freshman orientation, three mothers and one father stated that they attended a sporting event and four parents had attended a graduation ceremony at the school. None of the parents indicated that they had ever attended a Parent Teacher Student Association ("PTSA") meeting. At these meetings, many of the funds and resources available to students and programs at the school are requested, discussed, and distributed, so by not attending, the PLI parents are significantly impacting their children's education. It is not the case that PLI participants are disinterested in their children's education, but more the case that they "... face a mismatch between their expectations and those of the school. Immigrant parents hold assumptions and expectations based on their own schooling experiences in Mexico. … Parents frequently feel intimidated by teachers…Parents' perceptions of their roles may come into conflict with those of teachers who have an image of what constitutes a 'good' parent" (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001, p. 120).

Peña (2000) has written in detail about the difficulties immigrant parents face when

attending the first day of school with their children such as negotiating the school; some parents

had difficulty understanding the "association between the numbers on the list [with the child's

teacher and room numbers] and the room numbers posted above the classroom doors" (Peña,

2000, p. 48). Additionally, the language barrier that exists for the PLI respondents hinders their

ability to navigate school procedures and practices. Similar to Coastal High School, Peña (2000)

found that the "school's method of publicizing parent activities was through written notices and

the marquee. Both required a reading ability" (p. 49). In the case of the PLI parents, they have

limited or no proficiency in reading in English and at least one parent is functionally illiterate in

Spanish. Moreover, "Parents who are unable to visit the school for events and activities, for

example, may not obtain information about how best to help with homework, what school-

related topics to discuss with children, and the importance and methods of conveying high

educational expectations" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 199). It also seems that these parents do not

have satisfying interactions with the school as they indicated attendance at events only in the

cases when they were specifically asked to do so directly by a teacher or administrator. Lareau's

(2002) study found that when "working-class and poor parents did try to intervene in their

children's educational experiences, they often felt ineffectual" (p. 770). One mother in Lareau's

study "appeared relaxed and chatty in many of her interactions with other adults [but with the

school] she was very apprehensive. She distrusted school personnel. She felt bullied and

powerless" (Lareau, 2002, p. 770). PLI parents are vocal in their desire to support their

children's education, yet they may not see it "as their place to initiate communication and contact

with the school staff or to volunteer in the classroom" (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001, p. 123).

(f) Culture/Generation Gap

The participants in this study do not distinguish themselves from other parents in American society who are made to feel alien and misunderstood by the generation of young people. The participants expressed confusion and dismay at their children's choices and behavior and in particular when it comes to the issue of consumerism. As Parent 1 (Focus Group) indicated … "And now it's all about materialism and before it was about the family." In the Coastal High School community, the values of individual achievement are clearly on display in the large homes and new cars of the more affluent White families. The material achievements of individual success are seen in the displays of wealth shown by prosperous Coastal High School parents and their children. Paradoxically, these Mexican parents immigrated to the United States in order to achieve a more comfortable lifestyle, yet they negatively viewed the conspicuously wealthy lifestyles that were displayed by many of the White families in this community. In fact, they disapproved when their children expressed a desire for and emulation of this type of consumerism as illustrated by the parent who asserted," We must teach them the right values and not give them things just because they ask for them. Like my daughter who wants new shoes because she says, 'my classmate has name brand tennis shoes'" (Parent 8, Focus Group). Their children encountered conflicting cultural expectations between home and school which often leads to "dissonance and disequilibrium within the family" (Dotson-Blake, Foster, & Gressard, 2009, p. 233).

Coastal High School is located in an extremely safe and wealthy neighborhood and is well-regarded academically, so the features are present for the success that these parents say that they want for their children. Surprisingly, even when children achieve more than their parents in terms of education and training, parents may not be satisfied. This is illustrated in the case of the

mother who described her daughter who had finished high school and "…who finished cosmetology school because she wanted to, but for me it seemed like a minor degree. But she got her diploma and it does make me proud so this is what she wanted and I respect that. But I wanted more for her" (Parent 9, Focus Group). Ultimately, parental views on the target culture and on success were dissimilar to the ideas held by their children and summed up by the mother who said "we don't have the same ideas" (Parent 10, Focus Group).

(g) Values

PLI parents said that their kids have an easier, more comfortable lifestyle because of the economic resources that are available to them through parental sacrifice. "It's easier for them than it was for us" (Parent 4, Focus Group). It is puzzling that the children who have these resources are not able to achieve more than their parents. They are, in fact, starting in a much better economic position than their parents, so a reason or reasons must be found as to why they do not enroll in and succeed in academically rigorous high school classes, why they do not participate in sports or other after school activities, and why they do not attend university in large numbers. Even the parents see that despite their sacrifices, their children, "[are] not on the same road as I am, and when we talk about the future my idea of the future is very different than what they think" (Parent 5, Focus Group). While some of the parents indicated that this difference in values was a product of forces they neither controlled nor understood, there were parents who recognized that they did have some degree of control in shaping their child's values. "We have to teach them to value what they have …We have to show them to value what they [already] have." (Parent 8, Focus Group). Rather than allowing the children to think that the PLI parents have the same purchasing power as their classmates, Parent 8 (Focus Group) indicated that teaching her

children the value of money was important because "earning money is not easy" (Parent 8, Focus Group).

(h) Education

"Latino parents express a cultural belief in the authority of the school and teachers and tend to have limited knowledge of the U.S. school system" (Pollack, 2002, p. 3). PLI parents are willing to make enormous personal sacrifices for their children particularly in the kinds of work they do. Many PLI parents indicated that they have jobs which are unsatisfying or low-paying and that they used their experiences as examples for their children to explain the value of an education. Parent 6 (Focus Group) told her children "'Hey, look, I've been doing the same job since I've arrived here. Do you want to do that?' Because to be somebody in life, you have to get an education, and for me as a mother I don't want them to do the same kind of work that I do. I try to help them do better than me and tell them to do their best in school because if they do well in school and graduate from university nobody can take that away from them." Having had the same job for so many years in order to support a family is evidence of devotion to providing for the family above all other individual self-development concerns. Since all of the participants came from family backgrounds with limited economic means and of which they uniformly articulated the degree to which poverty shaped their own parents' choices, it is significant that poverty is shaping the participants' choices into the next generation. These parents' experiences as children shaped their attitudes towards education and what they wanted for their children. Akin to the mothers in the PLI study, Miano (2011) found in her research that "mothers' past experiences have influenced their current beliefs and practices surrounding their children's school" (p. 31). As economics played such a considerable role in their own upbringing and educational options, all of the parents expressed that "[our] parents didn't demand that we went

to school. The kids that wanted to [go to school] went and those who didn't [want to go], didn't [go] because at that time parents didn't have the resources to send their kids to school" (Parent 5, Focus Group). These parents were aware of their own economic hardships and were also keenly aware that despite their financial situation, their children may still have access to education. As Parent 6 (Focus Group) states "[T]hat's why I tell my kids now that they can study. Why? Because the government will help them, and before we didn't have that help. For our parents, how much did they make? Barely enough to live and for school there was no money. Because there [in Mexico], you had to buy your materials for school and here, no. The schools give the kids everything they need. And that's why they have more opportunities here."

In this survey instrument, parents were asked to identify the educational expectations they have for their sons and daughters. One mother and one father expected their son to graduate from university, and six mothers and two fathers expected their son to obtain a graduate degree, and one mother expected her son to obtain a doctorate. When asked the same question with regard to daughters, one mother and one father expected a bachelor's degree, five mothers and two fathers expected their daughters to obtain a graduate degree, and one mother expected her daughter to obtain a doctoral degree. It is clearly the case that these parents are able to view their children's prospects as more abundant than their own even despite their limited economic resources, and social capital.

One of the problematic features of the hopes of PLI respondents was that they were unfamiliar with the administrative structure of Coastal High School. "At the secondary school level, the education of middle and high school Latino students is characterized by two restricting problems: academic access to the core curriculum and access to college. Our public schools are stratified institutions in which some students are provided with 'high status' knowledge that

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yields social and economic control. Others are relegated to a second class citizenship both within our K-12 public school and in the larger society" (Ochoa & Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004, p. 27). Thus, even though these parents expressed their hopes that their children attend university, some parents did not seem aware that there was a track that their children must be on at Coastal High School in order for that hope to be fulfilled and that they had a voice in determining their child's course selection.

Not only is there lack of awareness about what the requisite steps are at the high school level to get their children to college and a lack of knowledge how their participation factors in, but there are varying attitudes about university education among parents. The participants explained that they did not always share the same values with their spouses, and that this could cause conflict in the family and undesirable behavior in children. "Sometimes it's sad. Like for example, in the case of my husband, he has some nieces whose parents gave them a university education, and then when they finished college all they did was get married. And so my husband asks 'why did they study?'" (Parent 5, Focus Group). This mother believes that her children should pursue an education despite her husband's attitude and indicated that she defends her children's pursuit of an education. "And I tell him, 'no, no, no, my children leave them alone, they need to study…. you know what, you're wrong [about studying] because here there are lots of opportunities. You're wrong. Don't think like that'" (Parent 5, Focus Group). Consequently, she tells her son, "Work hard. There's lots of opportunity here…[if] you want to be a cop, work hard, raise your grades" (Parent 5, Focus Group). Admittedly, she recognized that despite her encouragement, her son is not achieving adequate grades, and she and her spouse, "are fighting with him about this" (Parent 5, Focus Group).

All of the participants believed that an education is transformative and "can change their

[children's] lives" (Parent 6, Focus Group) and yet reflected on their own experiences with education in quite a different fashion. "It's like for us when we arrived we didn't speak English and that's why we're stuck in the same jobs like in a corner being a dishwasher and that's why education is important. At least, [it is important] to get some kind of vocational training for us. We don't get vocational training because it's more difficult for us to learn stuff now that we're older. We can barely learn English" (Parent 5, Focus Group). Many of these parents have been in the U.S. for at least a decade, and it is unclear when or how their language learning is going to start even while they express that, "it's important to learn just a little bit of English in order to get a better job" (Parent 5, Focus Group). Naturally, it is difficult to pursue further education or vocational training when struggling to earn enough money, and clearly $20,000 a year is not enough money to live in southern California, and to provide clothing, housing and food for a family.

There is a substantive body of research that indicates a connection between participating in extracurricular activities and cognitive and emotional development (Peguero, 2010; Putnam et al., 2012; Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Students have higher academic success when they participate in such activities as student clubs, performing arts, volunteering, and sports (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Hansen et al. (2003) found that extracurricular activity leads to learning how to interact with others and to developing leadership skills. Involvement in a range of activities, from participation in religious organizations to sports, helped children in the "development of identity, prosocial norms, and ties to the community" (Hansen et al., 2003, p. 50). Such benefits have been shown to "accrue to students regardless of race" (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009, p. 31). Students involved in extracurricular activities have the opportunity to develop personal relationships with peers and with coaches and "interact with other adults from

the school or community who provide support for the activity (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005, p. 162). Four mothers and two fathers indicated that their child participated in extracurricular activities, and four mothers and two fathers indicated that their child did not participate. The overwhelming reason for not participating in extracurricular activities was financial reasons. However, by participating in extracurricular activities, the PLI students could in turn encourage their parents to participate more in campus life even if it is just by coming to watch these activities.

(i) Gender

"Latina mothers may view themselves as educated people and identify themselves as teachers who give their children an *educación*" (Pollack, 2002, p. 3). Expectations change as people move across international borders and come into contact with new norms, so what was once acceptable as education in the past for one generation becomes less than desirable for the next generation. "In my family my dad used to say that education is for boys not for girls because girls just get married and then you lose your investment that you made. That was the way my father thought. That, we, women didn't have the right to an education" (Parent 8, Focus Group). Clearly, these participants have developed their own attitudes about education for their children as indicated in their answers to this question on the survey as noted above. These attitudes are powerful factors in shaping their children's ideas about education as indicated by Henry et al. (2008) who found that "… adolescents who perceive their mothers as holding high academic aspirations have higher GPAs. This finding may reflect the tendency toward *familism* in Latino immigrant families where adolescents refer to their mothers when establishing the importance of education in their lives…Thus, mothers' educational aspirations for their offspring may be an artifact of a high emphasis upon parenting roles for mothers by responding to their

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perceived emphasis upon academic goals with a higher GPA" (p. 587).

While these respondents view education as the way for their children to achieve success, they do not feel the same about their own education. One mother states, "We don't get vocational training because it's more difficult for us to learn stuff now that we're older" (Parent 6, Focus Group). At the time of answering the survey instrument, all of the mothers declared themselves to be unemployed, which made the results of the household chores and division of labor questions discussed below, surprising.

The completion of household tasks like preparing meals, washing dishes, and taking out the garbage did not sort according to gender even though all of the mothers said they did not work outside the home. Seemingly, all family members participated in the cleaning, cooking and maintenance of the household equally. The women in the study indicated that they themselves completed many of these chores and responded with nearly equal numbers that everyone participated in these chores as well; however, the male respondents replied that everyone participated in completing household tasks, yet these men, in only limited circumstances, indicated that they are completing the chores. It is plausible that the men are not actually participating in household tasks, and when they responded to this portion of the questionnaire they were referring to others when they say that "everyone" participated. In other words, everyone, except the fathers, participated and contributed to the daily tasks of running a household. The women did more household tasks than the rest of the family while simultaneously acknowledging that other family members also participated in this area. In this distribution of household chores these families are reinforcing the activity of interdependence which "in older children and adults is characterized by an expectation of performing household duties and supporting others'" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004, p. 10).

(j) Religion

All of the PLI respondents are religious and this feature may be of some significant benefit to their family lives and their hopes for their children's future. "The institutions of religion and family are closely linked, and research suggests that religious beliefs and practices are associated with relationship quality and stability" (Call and Heaton 1997; Edgell, 2006; as cited in Petts, 2011, p. 389). "Furthermore, research suggests that religious activity may encourage parents to be more involved in their children's lives" (Mahoney et al., 2003, Petts, 2007; as cited in Petts, 2011, p. 290). All participants indicated they were Catholic. Five of them attend weekly mass services, and one of them attends Mass a few times each year, one attends once a month, two of them usually attend a weekly service. There were just two participants who attend services more than once a week. All of the participants indicated that the parishioners in their churches are Hispanic. Four of them stated that they have attended the same church for 20 or more years while three participants have attended their churches for a year or less, and the rest have attended their churches between two and nine years. For the PLI families, consistent religious activities, " may strengthen families by providing opportunities for families to interact with one another, resources for building and maintaining healthy relationships, parenting guidance and support, and a moral community that helps to enhance feelings of connectedness with others" (Abbott et al.; as cited in Petts, 2011, p. 290).

Most of the participants stated that god is friendly, just, loving, kind, and forgiving and while several believe in heaven, only four of them believe in hell. This conception of god may help "to shape parental values and practices," as Barkowski and Ellison affirm in their work (2005; as cited in Petts, 2011, p. 290). Since the overriding view of god for the PLI group was a figure that is pleasant, generous, compassionate and tolerant, then this would seemingly serve as

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the model parent when raising their own children. Not only would the participants' conception of god shape their parenting practices, but regular attendance at religious services "is a greater predictor of the possible link between religion and happy and healthy parenting and family relations" (Espinosa, 2008, p. 207). Developing religious habits, such as attending religious services, reading the Bible, and praying pass on traditions and "may strengthen skills applicable in other realms. Frequent dialogue and discussion of church lessons or doctrinal teachings help children with verbal skills and social rules, such as a turn-taking to speak or to lead prayers" (Pantoja, 2005, p. 80).

(k) Relationships

Eight of the participants indicated that all or most of their friends were Hispanic. Another notable feature of the questionnaire was with regard to the friendships and their geographical proximity. The majority of respondents indicated that their closest friends lived outside of the neighborhood, community groups, and the workplace. PLI parents reside in a principally Latino neighborhood that forms a small part of a larger White community and socialize with other Latinos who reside outside of their neighborhood. These parents maintain strong ties to their first culture both in language and in socializing practices and by maintaining this strong Mexican identity through social interaction with other Mexicans, they are distancing themselves from the target culture with which their children are in constant interaction. Only two parents indicated that they were active as volunteers in a community organization. The majority of respondents did not volunteer or participate in activities in their communities.

One of the elements of the success that these parents wish their children to obtain in the future will be shaped by how well the children are able to navigate the two cultural realms in

which they live. In this case, generational status[13]plays a role. In Anna Ortiz's (2004) synthesis of "Addressing the Unique Needs of Latino American Students," she notes that

> Lower generational status usually translates into a higher degree of connection to and participation in the culture of the country of origin. In these cases, it is more likely that the use of Spanish and other cultural characteristics are maintained. The longer the family is in the United States, the more likely it is that acculturation or assimilation into the dominant culture has occurred. Compared with families who have been in the United States for longer, the more traditional first- or second-generation families will likely have fewer experiences with higher education and stronger beliefs about preserving the culture, including adherence to traditional gender roles and deference to the expectations of elders. (p. 92-93)

In the case of the PLI respondents, the generational status is relatively low as shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Generational Status of PLI Parents			
Current age of mothers	35-44	45-54	
Age arrived in United States	14	18	
	19	27	
	20	43	
	22	45	
	33	no answer	
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Current age of fathers	35-44	45-54	no answer
Age Arrived in United States	20	20	25
		25	

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[13] Generational status refers to the number of generations that a family has resided in the United States.

(l) Attitudes: Race and Ethnicity

Attitudes about other racial and ethnic groups were probed in the survey instrument. One of the questions asked respondents to indicate their attitude towards their children's choice of spouse.

Table 6

How comfortable would you be if a daughter or a son of yours married someone who is…			
	Very Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not at all comfortable
White (non-Hispanic)	6 female 1 male	3 female 3 male	
Hispanic or Latino	7 female 3 male	3 female 1 male	
Black or African-American	5 female 1 male	3 female 1 male	1 female 2 male
Asian	5 female 1 male	3 female 1 male	1 female 2 male
Some other race or Ethnicity	4 female 1 male	4 female 1 male	1 female 2 male

Although none of the PLI parents are married to someone of another race or ethnic group, these parents feel rather comfortable with the idea of their children marrying someone outside of their racial or ethnic group.

Most parents indicated that they would feel very comfortable if a White, Latino, Black, or Asian family moved next door to them with about the same income and education and three females and four males indicated discomfort at the idea. They further indicated that they would be very comfortable if one of their family members brought a White, Latino, Black, or Asian home for dinner. Six females and six males indicated that they would be very uncomfortable if

this person were Black, Asian or another race. When asked about the trustworthiness of various

ethnic groups the respondents had the following responses where "F" is female and "M" is male.

Table 7

How much would you say that you trust the following people or groups?				
	A lot	Some	Only a little	Not at all
White (non-Hispanic)	3F/1M	3F/2M	3F	1F/1M
Hispanic or Latino	4F/2M	4F/1M	2F/1M	
Black or African-American	2F/1M	2F/1M	5F/1M	1F/1M
Asian	2F/1M	4F/1M	3F	1F/2M
Some other race or ethnicity	2F/1M	1F/1M	6F/1M	1F/1M

Additionally, participants were asked to identify their attitudes with regard to working

with other ethnic groups and 10 females indicated that they would be comfortable working with

White coworkers and only one indicated discomfort with this idea. The same numbers held true

for working with other Hispanics, but there was no one who indicated discomfort. Eight females

and three males stated that they would feel comfortable working with Blacks while two females

and one male stated that they would be uncomfortable. Eight females and three males said that

they would be comfortable working with Asians, and two females and one male stated their

discomfort with the idea. Six females and three males indicated that they would be comfortable

working with another ethnic group and three females and one male said that they would be

uncomfortable.

Parents were asked if it is good for society if different ethnic groups keep their own

customs and traditions and three females strongly agreed, while five females and three males

agreed, and one female and one male neither agreed nor disagreed and just one female stated that

she strongly disagreed with this idea. When participants were asked about a presidential

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candidate who was a racial minority, eight females and three males said they would vote for him/her and one female and one male said they would not vote for him/her.

When parents were asked if they felt that their children were treated differently than White students at Coastal High School, one mother and one father said that they were, but seven mothers and two fathers stated that they were not and two mothers and one father indicated that they did not know. One of the questions asked parents to state whether they felt their children were enrolled in classes which matched their children's abilities. Six females and three males said that they were, and three mothers did not know if this were the case.

(m) Language

When respondents were asked about their language skills in Spanish and English, seven females and three males indicated that they speak, read and comprehend Spanish very well. When asked about their writing skills in Spanish, only six females and two males asserted that they write in Spanish very well. Three females and one male indicated they speak, write, and read Spanish well and one male and one female indicated that they have poor comprehension and reading skills in Spanish. When questioned about their English skills, three females and one male stated that they speak and read in English poorly. Four females and one male indicated that they have poor writing skills in English, and when it comes to comprehension, four females and two males stated that they have poor comprehension skills. Six females and two males indicated that they have very poor speaking and reading skills in English while six females and three males indicated that their writing skills in English are very poor.

It is not surprising then to see that nine females and three males speak mostly in Spanish to their children, and only one female and one male speak in both English and Spanish to their children. Five mothers and three fathers read to their children in Spanish. Seven females and

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three males sing songs in Spanish and three females and one male repeat rhymes and riddles in Spanish with their children. When it comes to corresponding with other members of the family, six females and two males use Spanish in their communications, and at the time of telling family stories, eight females and one male do it in Spanish. Latino parents support their children's schooling by "providing a strong emotional environment in the home. Telling stories about family and personal history motivates" children, especially when stories involve testimonials of the sacrifices made to come to the United States (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004, p. x). While watching television or talking about television programs, eight females and two males are using Spanish, but while listening to music just six females and three males use Spanish. Translating documents, TV programs or the news into Spanish is done by two females and two males. When asked about praying, six females and two males pray in Spanish. Literary, both oral and written, has a "strong cultural and historic tradition, even in Latino families where the parents have little formal schooling" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004, p. 8).

Five females and two males say that they read books in English to their children, while just two females and no males sing songs to their children in English. No females and one male are reciting rhymes or riddles in English, and three females and one male are using English to write letters or email to family and friends. Just one female tells family stories in English. Two females and one male watch television and talk about the programs in English with their children. Three females and one male use English to look for information. One male plays board games or cards in English with his family and three females and one male listen to English music. Two females and one male indicate that they translate from English to Spanish for documents, television programs or the news. Delgado-Gaitan (2004) notes that regardless of whether "Spanish, English, or both languages are spoken in the home, language is a fundamental

strength of Latino families (p. 8).

When asked about taking classes to improve English language skills, four females and one male affirm that they are doing so and six females and three males confirm that they are not. Exposure to English language mediums is common with four females and four males indicating that they are in an English language medium often or very often. Six females indicated that they are only occasionally in an English environment.

Statistics for the language practice of the community-at-large for Coastal High School indicated that 34,952 people speak only in English at home (about 81% of the population) and 7,989 people speak a language other than English at home (about 19%).[14] Of those non-English speakers 3,185 (or 7.4%) speak Spanish and of that group, 1,042 (about 2%) stated that they speak English "less than very well."[15]

As immigrant parents position themselves to assist in improving the quality of their children's lives and their education, they may find that the educational environment is not equitable. "Immigrant parents find that their beliefs and actions have less power" and "boundaries that position them in the lower slots of the power hierarchy manifest themselves in dimensions of language, cultural capital, and social networks" (Carreón et al, 2005). Language, like other forms of capital, is aligned with identity and power constructs, and non-fluency in the dominant language hinders PLI parents ability to cross the boundaries.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, an introduction was given discussing the nature of the study and the

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[14] Note. From DP02 Selected Social Characteristics in the United States: 2007-2010 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates. *American FactFinder*. 2000. Bureau of the Census. Web. 20 August 2013.

[15] Ibid.

organizational structure of the chapter. This was followed by a review of the Coastal High

School community-at-large, the high school, and the Parental Latino Initiative program. Lastly,

the data was presented under pertinent topics that aligned with the research questions.

Overall, the results from the data concerning PLI participant's cultural and educational

beliefs and values, as well as the parents' socioeconomic status revealed numerous similarities

with established research.

The next chapter will present a discussion of findings and implications pertaining to the

study and the Parent Latino Initiative program.

Chapter 5

Summary, Discussion, and Implications

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, an overview was presented of the Coastal High School community-at-large, the high school, and the Parent Latino Initiate (PLI) program, along with a report of the data divided into relevant topics.

This chapter starts with a summary of the purpose and structure of the study and is followed by the major findings with regard to the Parent Latino Initiative program. Conclusions from this study are discussed and implications for PLI's continued growth and development are presented.

5.2 Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to probe and analyze the beliefs, values, and attitudes, as well as experiences of PLI participants in order to understand and increase parental involvement at Coastal High School. The study included an extensive written questionnaire which respondents completed over the course of several meetings, a focus group session, observations, and relevant documents pertaining to the Parent Latino Initiative program.

In looking at this problem, the researcher utilized Epstein's (2006) framework for parental involvement (Hoover-Demsey & Sandler, 1995; Fishel & Ramierez, 2005; Barnard, 2004, et al.; as cited in Ringenberg, McElwee & Israel, 2009) which provides a guide for educators and which identifies six types of involvement for successful partnerships (Epstein, 2006). Although Epstein discusses the necessity of including English Language Learners and low-income families in the framework, Latino families are not contemplated within it, and

Epstein does not address the specific cultural and linguistic difficulties that immigrant Latino parents face. This gap makes it necessary to look for additional models that more completely consider issues pertaining to Latino parents. As a result, it is useful to include behavioral change theorists' eight factors that influence behavior in order to frame and understand Latino parental involvement (Pollack, 2002; Fishbein, Triandis, Kanfer et al., 2001; as cited in Pollack, 2002).

This study included four research questions:

1. What are the cultural beliefs and values of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

2. What are the educational beliefs and values of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

3. What are the socioeconomic considerations of the Parent Latino Initiative participants?

4. How does the data obtained for the aforementioned questions align with Parent Latino Initiative with previous research?

Questions 1 through 3 were answered qualitatively from the data obtained from the survey questionnaire and the focus group discussion and footage. Question four was addressed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 of this study.

Participants responded to a comprehensive questionnaire which they completed during PLI meetings and at home. There were 14 participants in the study, ten women and four men, and all of them were of Mexican origin.

Additionally, respondents in the study attended a video-taped focus group meeting. Seven female parents and two male parents participated in a discussion where they were asked to respond to several questions posed by the researcher's colleague:

1. A. Identify two ways that your adolescent child's attitudes, views or behaviors are different from the attitude, views, or behaviors you had when you were an adolescent.

    B. How do you think these differences impact your relationship with your child?

2. Do you encourage your child to achieve more than you have? If so, in what ways do you do this?

3. A. What were your parents' expectations for your education?

    B. What are your expectations for your daughter's education and career? What are your expectations for your son's education and career?

4. A. What do you think are the qualities of a good parent in regards to your child's education?

    B. In what ways do you think education can change your life?

    C. In what ways do you think education can change the life of your child?

5. A. What does your child's success in school mean to you?

    B. Do you think your child's vision of success matches that of yours?

5.3 Discussion of Findings

In order to analyze the cultural beliefs and values of Parent Latino Initiative participants, it is relevant to utilize Bourdieu and Coleman's concept of social capital which focuses on the benefits individuals and/or families accrue from their interactions and connections to others (Portes, 2000; Coleman, 1988). For Coleman (1988), there are three forms of social capital: "obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms" (p. 95). The first form of Coleman's concept of social capital depends on "trustworthiness of the social environment"; an individual trusts that "obligations will be repaid" (Coleman, 1988, p. 102). The second form of social capital, information channels, depends on social relations whereby individuals provide information to each other that is relevant for facilitating some action (Coleman, 1988). The third form of social capital involves social norms, which are beneficial to those responsible for establishing them (Coleman, 1988). Social capital involves relationships between individuals that provide access to resources and a "means to gain socially desirable ends" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197).

In the case of the PLI parents, their stock of social capital in relation to accessing resources to gain socially desirable objectives is severely limited by their lack of education. PLI parents apprehensively encounter an educational system that is unfamiliar. Consequently, they may be wary of their child's school, lack a sense of obligation as defined by the dominant culture, and lastly, of learning the established social norms of the educational institution. Akin, to other cycles of oppression and hegemony discussed in this paper, social capital is cyclical by design.

All of the participants in the study explained that they did not have the opportunity to continue their studies, in some cases through high school, and in other cases, through college,

because of the economic situation of their parents. None of the PLI parents studied at a post-secondary institution. While their experiential capital is rich and varied, their academic literacy and educational experience is not. For example, this influences their motivations to participate with and management of the completion of their children's homework assignments. In the survey responses, most parents explained that they felt their children were able to handle the homework without parental supervision. Additionally, all of these parents responded that they had very limited English language fluency; therefore, they quite simply are not in a position to interact substantively with their children with regard to the content of homework assignments. PLI parents have high expectations and aspirations for their children, but according to Delgado-Gaitan (2004), parents who have "less experience with the school, have low academic attainment, or speak limited English find themselves even more isolated in a stressful situation than parents with more abundant resources" (p. 47). These parents clearly have the determination and the work ethic to imagine and create a different life for themselves in a new country and culture, but their lack of experience with the bureaucratic culture of secondary institutions in California negatively shapes their ability to guide their children successfully through the administrative processes at Coastal High School, and this in turn influences their children's access to tertiary institutions.

Moreover, a lack of formal education and training shapes the types of employment the participants can hold. Only one of the participants in this survey worked in the manufacturing sector, and thus earned a wage that allowed him to maintain his family in relative comfort and allowed him to gain a foothold on the American dream by buying a home. All of the other respondents are working in the service economy or in the informal economy and are vulnerable to varying and inflexible work schedules, heavy or repetitive physical labor, and job insecurity.

In addition to their limited fluency in English, the meager nature of their academic backgrounds keeps these parents toiling hard in the types of jobs that do not lead to promotions, better pay or more job security, which in turn determines the quantity and accumulation of social capital to the disadvantage of these parents and their children.

Religion is a form of social capital, and according to Putnam (2000), "faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America" (p. 66). Wilson posits that religion should be considered more than just social capital; since it does not take into account moral motivation, it should be considered on "cultural grounds" (Wilson, 2008, p. 8). The danger in aligning religious values, beliefs, and culture to social capital, exclusively, lies in reducing actions to "self-interested entrepreneurial behavior" (Wilson, 2008, p. 220). However, John A. Coleman points out several types of "religious social capital" that differ from the secular theory (2003), and are advantageous to immigrant Latino parents. Religious social capital transcends the secular notion of social capital, and gives a voice to the voiceless, fosters social justice and action, and provides opportunities to the disadvantaged and marginalized.

All of the PLI participants indicated that they were Catholic, and participated to varying degrees in religious life. Whereas regular religious practice serves as a unifying factor for families and seemingly is a largely positive family activity (Smidt, 2003), for PLI parents their religious practices isolate them from accessing social capital with the dominant culture. In their responses to the survey instrument, participants stated that they either regularly or occasionally attended religious services where the majority of the parishioners are Latino. In this way, these parents are reinforcing their social interactions and capital with other Latinos which will serve them in the exchange of obligations and building of a network of resources within their coethnic

community, but not in the target culture. It is understandable that PLI parents would want to worship in a safe, familiar, and trusting environment, but the problem exists when all areas of their lives (e.g., family, friends, and coworkers) involve coethnic relationships. If these parents chose to worship in a church whose parishioners were largely White, or were more ethnically diverse, then relationships could be forged which could be a valuable resource in cultivating social capital. Moreover, in the survey, all of the respondents indicated that the families with whom they had most recent contact were Latino families and that these families lived outside of their neighborhood, so PLI families are worshiping and socializing with other Latinos. Unfortunately, by isolating themselves within a Latino enclave, these parents are not acquiring the type of social capital that is essential for the economic and cultural success of their children at Coastal High School.

In response to the survey, PLI parents disclosed their values and beliefs about education and family life. In reviewing these responses, Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital becomes pertinent as a construct for interpreting these attitudes and beliefs. Bourdieu's idea refers to the "system of attributes, such as language skills, cultural knowledge, and mannerisms, that is derived in part from one's parents and that defines an individual's class status" (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; as cited in Perna & Titus, 2003, p. 488). In addition, "family-mediated values and outlooks" (Perreira, Harris & Lee, 2000, p. 515), and "personal dispositions, attitudes, and knowledge gained from experience" (Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197) are embedded in cultural capital.

PLI parents have extensive cultural capital in that they are fully fluent in managing the language, norms and value system of Mexican culture. In adjusting to life in California, these parents are negotiating a new language and set of cultural practices which may be in contrast to

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what they already know and/or value. None of the participants in this study indicated that they spoke English fluently, and in fact all of them indicated that their lack of English fluency was a barrier to their communications with Coastal High School. This linguistic limitation is an obstacle to the building of both social and cultural capital for these parents, and although acquiring a second language is a long and time-consuming process, it is integral to the success that these parents wish to achieve for their families. In contrast, erudite wealthy and middle-class parents have an extensive vocabulary, that includes educational jargon, and thus are better equipped to engage teachers and administrators (Lareau, 2002). Latino immigrant parents with limited English fluency skills may be uneasy in engaging in this type of exchange with teachers and administrators, resulting in a lack of access to all of the resources and programs to which their children are entitled.

All of the participants, without exception, indicated that their children had more opportunities for success economically and educationally in the United States in contrast to the possibilities available to them in Mexico. In their responses to the questionnaire, these parents uniformly asserted that they wished their children to achieve a tertiary degree of some kind. This is more likely to happen in California for their children than if they and their families lived in Mexico. Further, they acknowledged in the survey instrument that they themselves did not have the opportunity for a college education because of the economic situation of their parents. Of the participants in this study, none of them had studied at a post-secondary institution. Many of them had graduated from high school, but several had not finished middle school. It is obvious that these parents possess rich and varied funds of knowledge, but their academic literacy and educational experience is limited and they have only minimal exposure to the expectations, bureaucracies, and mores of tertiary institutions. Educated and well-to-do parents are able to

influence school officials when faced with a concern, question, or problem, and those with less social capital and inadequate experience confront problems with apprehension and may even deliberately avoid interactions with teachers and school officials (Lareau, 2002). Children observe the behavior of their parents, so if the parent is apprehensive in handling a situation with those in authority at the school, the child may use this as a model for his or her own behavior. In Lareau's (2002) study, middle-class children displayed an "emerging sense of entitlement by urging adults to permit a customized accommodation of institutional processes to suit their preferences" whereas working-class and poor children displayed an "emerging sense of constraint" (p. 768-769).

One element that may contribute to the accrual of social and cultural capital is assimilation to the target culture and this can encompass intermarriage. Although research has shown that Mexicans are less likely to marry outside of their cultural group than other Latin Americans (Tienda and Mitchell, 2006), it is interesting to note that all of the families in the survey indicated that they would not be dismayed if their child were to marry a non-Mexican. Seemingly, these parents have assimilated at least intellectually, the idea that in immigrating to the United States, they are allowing their children opportunities for educational, economic, and cultural access. Not only have these parents expanded their educational expectations for their children from the expectations their parents had for them, but they also seem to indicate a more expansive notion of acceptable spouses for their children than the expectations with which they were reared.

This expansion of expectations is not only related to intermarriage, but also to gender. In the survey instrument, the respondents indicated that all family members participated in routine household tasks. Although mothers still tended to do the bulk of the housework, the participants

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indicated that children and spouses contributed to the household by washing dishes, taking out the trash, doing laundry and helping school-age children with homework. Moreover, all of these respondents indicated that they expected their daughters to earn a university degree at minimum, and several stated that they hoped that their daughters would earn a graduate degree. This is certainly in contrast to the expectations to which many of these respondents referred when they discussed their own adolescence in the focus group. Several of the participants stated that their parents' only expectation of their daughters was that they wanted them to wear white (be a virgin) on their wedding.

Without exception these parents reflected that they wanted different lifestyle choices for their children than they had made for themselves. In other words, these parents wanted their children to complete a university education before they began having children. One of the parents in the focus group explained how even though her daughter had finished a cosmetology certificate after high school this did not seem to her a very significant achievement. In fact, she said that it was "a small degree," but she recognized that it was what her daughter wanted, so she felt happy for her. Another mother recounted how her high school son wanted to become a police officer, but did not have good grades. She was engaged in an ongoing dialogue with her son in order to convince him that the choices he made now were going to affect his future possibilities. This mother seemed to be voicing what Lee and Bowen (2006) describe as "mak[ing] more extensive efforts to ensure their children's academic success" (p. 199).

The participants in this study revealed that there is a rather large disparity between their values and those of their children. Invariably, these parents commented that life "is easier for them [their children] than it was for us" (Parent 4, Focus Group), and that their children did not seem to appreciate how difficult it is to earn money. It is reasonable to conclude that these

children have different expectations and view money and what it can purchase in a radically different fashion than their parents. All of the PLI parents were reared in families in Mexico that faced extreme financial hardship and these parents recognized that there are abundant opportunities for success here in the United States that simply did not exist for them as young people in Mexico. These first generation children are in the position of having access to a free and compulsory education as well as growing up in an environment where electricity, running water, technology, paved roads, and shopping malls are pedestrian and unremarkable features. These are children who do not know the type of austerity that marks life in a small town in an underdeveloped country like Mexico, but they do know that their classmates drive new cars to high school and wear the latest style of tennis shoes and talk on the most recent version of the iPhone. It is not surprising given these vastly different life experiences that PLI parents and their children hold disparate ideas about money and consumerism.

Income refers to the monetary payment for services and/or goods and is volatile, where as economic capital measures the total sum of financial resources available to a family, including income and tangible assets (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997:2; as cited in Jez, 2008; Destin, 2012; Anheier, 1995), and this is perhaps the most significant characteristic shaping these PLI parents' daily lives and their plans for the future. All of these families indicated that they earn less than $30,000 per year and that is simply an inadequate amount of money to pay rent and utilities, as well as buy food and clothing for a family in Southern California. Consequently, these families undoubtedly spend enormous amounts of time discussing the quantity of bills they have against the quantity of their incomes and economic capital. Additionally, they must spend substantial psychological and emotional resources on precarious and often temporary employment situations, along with uneasiness concerning living arrangements. This situation reflects much of

the current research in this field which indicates that there is a substantial gap in economic capital by race and ethnicity, with Whites accumulating and inheriting more wealth than Latinos and more likely to own homes than Latinos (Keister, 2007; Ozyegin, 2007). For immigrant Latinos, it takes an "extra generation to produce and harness" economic capital due to marginalization (Vallejo, 2009, p. 151). Further, research consistently documents a positive relationship between high socioeconomic status and academic achievement (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Altschul, 2012; Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009).

Having a higher socioeconomic status confers opportunities to parents who are thus able to produce and reproduce valuable social and cultural capital on the basis of the capital they have already accumulated. Families with more social, cultural, and economic capital tend to invest more of this capital in their children's education, providing "more and better learning opportunities for their children (Willingham, 2012, p. 33). Families with low socioeconomic status, struggling to meet their obligations, experience long-term stress that makes parents less effective and harms children physically, mentally, academically, and socially (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Willingham, 2012; Altschul, 2012; Destin, 2013). These parents are working diligently to provide the economic capital to ensure their family's success, and it would be beneficial for these families to become aware that cultivating relationships with teachers, administrators and the parents of their children's classmates is also a significant feature in obtaining their goal to create a better life for their families.

The results of this study clearly indicate that these parents are loving, responsible and committed to their children's success. They are prepared to make great sacrifices in order for their children to attain a higher quality of life than they themselves enjoy. It is not necessary to convince any of these parents that education is important, as all of them, without exception,

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asserted that education is transformative; it is a definitive fact that they want to change their children's lives. Ultimately, the question that remains after looking at the data and reflecting on these parents' attitudes is how to access and channel these parental ambitions into concrete and proceduralized steps so that the Parent Latino Initiative can effectively support these parents in bringing about the changes that they wish for themselves and their children.

5.4 Implications

In reviewing the Parent Latino Initiative participant data and reflecting on the respondents' attitudes and beliefs, it is clear that many of the features Epstein explains in her model are represented. In order to incorporate Epstein's (2006) first type of parental involvement, assisting parents with skills and home conditions that support children as students, the PLI program could offer workshops about ways to help with their children's homework completion even if they can not actually help them complete the assignments. In terms of the second type of involvement, effectively communicating to and from school and home, it is critical that Coastal High School provide dual language materials with regard to enrollment, college track classes, and school events and activities. In Epstein's third type of parental involvement which includes volunteering, PLI can ask parents to participate in Bridges' school events. Since PLI parents are familiar with the program and the advisers (e.g. the researcher and her colleague), this type of participation can be used as a stepping stone to other involvement on campus. Although volunteering in the community for these parents is complicated as many of them are in precarious employment situations which shape their daily schedules, it is still vital to encourage PLI parents and students to join the activities. PLI could also incorporate Epstein's fourth element, involving families on curriculum-related activities and decisions, by providing workshops that focus on language instruction in order for parents to begin to become familiar

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with the jargon utilized by teachers and administrators at Coastal High School. By creating a space where PLI parents can speak of their experiences in educational institutions, and what they have known themselves as students, and what they want for their children, PLI can begin to encourage these parents to become comfortable in speaking to and engaging with others outside of their coethnic group. Actualizing Epstein's fifth type of parental involvement, including families as participants in school decisions and developing leaders, actuates PLI parents' own agency with regard to their children's educational experience. Lastly, by incorporating Epstein's suggestion to participate in the community, the PLI program can partner with the local adult school and Catholic church to identify ways in which they can support the parents in their increased involvement in their children's education.

Pollack's model uses behavioral factors aligned with applicable research findings to discover some of the underlying behaviors attributed to Latino parent participation in education, thus providing information for designing support programs. Many of the examples Pollack lists in her chart (See Chapter One), correspond to behaviors and attitudes exhibited by PLI participants and which have been elucidated in the data presentation. For example, Pollack finds that Latino parents embrace the idea of *educación* (Behavioral Factor 1) as does Delgado-Gaitin (2004). In terms of skill (Behavioral Factor 3), Pollack states that language, education, and training are barriers to participation which was discovered when reviewing the PLI data.

This study and its findings are in keeping with many other investigations into parental involvement and more specifically parental involvement by Latinos. As a result of the data found in this study, and the findings of other research there are several ways that this researcher could improve the participation of parents in the Parent Latino Initiative program at Coastal High School.

1. Create an open forum night where parents are able to share stories and experiences in order to create a sense of community for these parents. This would create a sense of community and connection for these parents which is an essential first step for growing the program.

2. Hold a workshop which focuses on the cultural differences between American high schools and Mexican ones. Parents should be asked to contribute their experiences with education in Mexico, and White parents could explain their experiences in American high schools.

3. Hold workshops for White and Latino parents to share their stories and experiences with regard to parenting issues (generational and values gaps).

4. Because most of the participants indicated that they follow a religious practice, create a relationship between a local Catholic church and the PLI program in order to use the resources of the church to encourage parents to become more involved in their children's education.[16]

5. Solicit materials from Coastal High School's administration and have PLI students provide Spanish language translations about Coastal High School's activities and events.

6. Create a list of questions generated by the parents that can be used to formulate a list of priorities for workshops, speakers and outreach to the larger community.

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[16] Espinoza's (2008) research indicates that Latinos with a high school education or less are more likely to engage in religious practices and more likely to want their "churches or religious organizations to become involved in social, educational, and political issues than those that attended college or graduate school" (p. 215).

7. Establish a PLI ambassadorship with two students acting as ambassadors and language experts as well as two PLI parents who would encourage other Latino parents to participate in the PLI activities.

8. Hold regular instructional workshops where parents learn the appropriate forms for making requests and participating in conferences and where they can engage in role playing as preparation for student-teacher conferences and Back to School night.

9. Expand the focus of PLI to include the parents of low performing students who do not regularly interact with the school or their children's teachers. More particularly, build community with parents who are struggling with economic problems and who represent similar social, cultural and financial capital backgrounds.

5.5 Conclusion

Delgado-Gaitan (2004) advises that involving parents in their children's school "requires a strong, well-defined program (p. xiv), and that educators "need to construct a conscious, deliberate, and systematic process" (p. xiv) that continually assesses Latino parents' participation. Communication is a crucial component to maintaining a program that assists parents' continual participation in the educational success of their children. With the involvement of parents, students, educators, community leaders, and city officials, the Parent Latino Initiative program at Coastal High School can enlist more parental participation and support parents in actualizing their goals and their dreams for their children. In addition, because it is the only program of its kind in the Coastal City school district, it is the hope of the researcher and her colleague that the program can be expanded to the other high schools. Although the immigrant Latino population at Coastal High School is relatively modest, Latinos

are the largest ethnic group in the United States and their culture, beliefs, values, and attitudes

will continue to influence and contribute to American society.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire for Participants of the Survey

Coastal High School Parent Latino Initiative ("PLI") Questionnaire

**Cuestionario Para Los Padres Participantes de la Iniciativa
de Padres Latinos ("PLI") de Coastal High School**

_____

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY AND PROVIDE YOUR ANSWERS IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

INDICACIONES: FAVOR DE LEER LAS PREGUNTAS CON ATENCIÓN Y RESPONDER DÓNDE SE INDICA.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION/INFORMACIÓN DEMOGRAFICA

95 Please check. Indique su género:

	Woman (Mujer)		Man (Hombre)

96.   What is your age?   ¿Qué edad tiene?

	18-24 years old entre 18 y 24 años		25-35 years old entre 25 y 35 años		35-44 years old entre 35-44 años
	45-54 years old entre 45-54 años		55-64 years old old entre 55-64 años		65 or older old mayor de 65 años

97.   How do you identify yourself in the following groups?

¿Con qué grupo étnico/cultural se identifica usted?

Mexican/Mexicano, Mexican-American/Mexico-Americano, Chicano
Puerto Rican / Puerto Riqueño
Cuban / Cubano
Other Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin group

Otro grupo hispano, latinoamericano o de origen hispano-hablante:

_____

98.   Where do you live? ¿En qué clase de vivienda vive usted?

☐ Apartment/Departamento ☐ House/Casa   ☐ Car/Coche   ☐ Shelter /Refugio

☐ Garage/Cochera   ☐ Rented Room /Cuarto alquilado

☐ Other (please specify) Otro lugar. Especifique aquí: _____

99.   If you live in an apartment or a house, how many **bedrooms** are there?
  Si usted vive en un departamento o casa ¿cuántas recámeras tiene?
       ☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4 or more/4 o más

100.   If you live in an apartment or a house, how many **bathrooms** are there?
   Si usted vive en un departamento o casa ¿cuántos baños tiene su casa?
       ☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4 or more / 4 o más

101.   Who currently lives with you? ¿Actualmente, quién(es) vive(n) con usted?

☐ Spouse / Esposo(a) o Compañero sentimental

☐ Your Child(ren) / Su(s) Hijo(s).   How many? ¿Cuántos son?_____

☐ Relative / Pariente
    ☐ Adult Male/Hombre Adulto   ☐ Adult Female/Mujer adulta:

    How many?/ ¿Cuántos?_____   How many? ¿Cuántos?_____

☐ Relative / Pariente
    ☐ Child Male/Niño   ☐ Child Female/Niña:

    How many?/ ¿Cuántos?_____   How many? ¿Cuántos?_____

☐ Friend/Amigo(a)
    ☐ Male/Hombre   ☐ Female/Mujer:

    How many?/ ¿Cuántos?_____   How many? ¿Cuántos?_____

☐ Renter/Inquilino(a)
    ☐ Male/Hombre   ☐ Female/Mujer:

    How many?/ ¿Cuántos?_____   How many? ¿Cuántos?_____

☐ Other/Otra persona
    ☐ Male/Hombre   ☐ Female/Mujer:

    How many?/ ¿Cuántos?_____   How many? ¿Cuántos?_____

102.   In the last year, how many people have moved in and out of your home?
    Durante el último año, ¿cuántas personas se cambiaron a y/o salieron de su casa? _____

How many of these people were paying relatives? In other words, they were contributing to the household in services or cash.

¿De estas personas, ¿cuántas eran parientes que pagaban renta? _____

En otras palabras, ellos colaboraban con los gastos de la casa con dinero o con algún servicio

Si este pariente no pagaba renta ¿hacía algún servicio para pagar su estancia?
No _____ Si_____ ¿Cuál? _____

How many of these were non-paying relatives? In other words, they were contributing to the household in services or cash.

¿De estas personas, ¿cuántas eran parientes que NO colaboraban con los gastos de la casa con dinero o con algún servicio? _____

How many of these were paying non-relatives? In other words, they were contributing to the household in services or cash.

De estas personas, ¿cuántas NO eran parientes que colaboraban con los gastos de la casa con dinero o con algún servicio? _____

How many of these people were non-paying non-relatives? In other words they were not contributing to the household in services or cash.

¿De estas personas, ¿cuántas eran parientes que NO colaboraban con los gastos de la casa con dinero o con algún servicio? _____

103.   Which of the following items do you have in your home?
        ¿Cuáles de los siguientes aparatos tiene usted en su casa?

☐ Computer /Compútadora   ☐ Printer/Impresora

☐ Access to the Internet/Servicio del internet   ☐ Dining room table/Mesa de comedor

☐ Cell phone(s)/Célulares.

How many? ¿Cuántos? ☐ One/Uno ☐ Two/Dos   ☐ Three or more / Tres o más

☐ Land line /Teléfono fijo   ☐ Refrigerator/Refri

☐ Washing machine /Máquina para lavar ropa ☐ Clothes dryer / Secadora de ropa

☐ Dishwasher / Lavatrastes   ☐ Microwave / Microondas

☐ Garbage disposal / Triturador   ☐ Bed(s) / Cama(s) ☐ Sofa/ Sofa

☐ A bedroom of my own / Una recámera particular para mi (y mi esposo(a))
        ☐ A bedroom for child/children / Una recámera para mi hijo(a)

            (If yes, does each child have a separate bedroom? ☐ Yes   ☐ No)

            ¿Hay una recámera para cada uno de sus hijos?   ☐ Yes/Si   ☐ No/No
        ☐ Air conditioning in my whole home / Aire condicionado en todo la casa
☐ One or more cars / Uno o más coches

104. What is your current marital status? Indique abajo su estado civil.

	Single / Soltero(a)		Divorced /Divorciado(a)		Married / Casado(a)
	Partner / Acompanado(a)		Separated / Separado(a)		Widowed / Viudo(a)

105. If you are married, at what age did you marry?   Si usted está casado(a) ¿a qué edad se casó? _____

106. Are you single, and have a partner?   Si usted está acompañado(a), ¿cuánto tiempo tiene con su pareja? _____

107. If you were previously married, at what age did you marry? Si usted estaba casado previamente, ¿a qué edad se casó? _____

108. If you are married or have a partner, is your partner Latino(a)?

¿Si usted está casado(a) o acompanado(a), es su pareja latino(a)?

☐ No / No

☐ Yes/ Sí. Indique aquí el grupo étnico o nacionalidad de su pareja _____

109.   Information about your children (including step-children) who currently live with you.

Información acerca de su(s) hijo(s)/hija(s) e hijastro(s) / hijastra(s) quien(es) actualmente vive(n) con usted.
Indique abajo el género, la edad, el grado y el primer idioma de su(s) hijo(s)/hija(s),
e hijastro(s) / hijastra(s)

	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad		Grade Grado en el colegio	Primer idioma:
	Male/Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad		Grade Grado en el colegio	Primer idioma:
	Male/Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad		Grade Grado en el colegio	Primer idioma:
	Male/Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad		Grade Grado en el colegio	Primer idioma:
	Male/Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad		Grade Grado en el colegio	Primer idioma:

110.   How old were you when your first child was born? ¿A qué edad tuvo su primer hijo(a)?

_____

111.   In what country were you born? ¿En qué país nació usted?

_____

112.   What kind of area were you raised in? ¿En qué área se crió usted?

	rural zona rural		suburban zona suburbana		small town un pueblo		city / ciudad zona urbana

113.   If you were NOT born in the United States, at what age did you arrive here?
¿Si usted no nació en los EEUU, a qué edad llegó al país? _____

114.   How frequently do you visit your country of birth?
¿Con qué frecuencia visita usted a su país de origen?

		Less than once a year		Once a year		Several times a year
	Never/nunca	Menos de una vez al año		Una vez al año		Varias veces al año

Other. Please specify.

Con otra frecuencia. Especifique aquí:

115.   Why did you leave your country of birth? Please specify below.
¿Por qué dejó su país de origen? Especifique abajo.

☐ Employment/Empleo   ☐ Political reasons/motivos politicos

☐ Family/motivos familiares

☐ Other/Otro motivo. Indique: _____

116.   By what means did you arrive in the United States? Please specify below.
¿Cómo vino usted a los EEUU? Especifique abajo.

☐ Overland/por vía terrestre ☐ Car/en coche particular   ☐ Air/por avión
☐ Bus/por autobus   ☐ Train/por tren
☐ Other/otro transporte. Indique_____

117.   Did you leave family members behind?
¿Dejó usted parientes (esposo/esposa, pareja, hijo(s) o hija(s)) en su país?

☐ Yes /Sí   ☐ No

If yes, who remains in your home country?
¿Si su respuesta es afirmativa, quiénes se quedaron?

_____

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118. Has it been mandatory for any family members (spouse, partner, children) to leave this country?

¿Tiene usted algun pariente (esposo/esposa, pareja, hijo(s) o hija(s)) quién fue obligadoa abandonar los EEUU?

☐ No / No

☐ Yes/ Sí   If yes, please explain who it was and when it happened.
           Indique aquí quién fue y cuándo ocurrió.

_____

119. Do you have children or step-children who are NOT living in the United States?

¿Tiene usted hijo(s)/hija(s) hijastro(s) / hijastra(s) que no residen en los EEUU?

_____No

_____Yes/Sí If the answer is affirmative, indicate the age and gender of the children below.

Si la respuesta es afirmativa, indique abajo los géneros y las edades de los niños abajo.

	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad
	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad
	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad
	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad
	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad
	Male/ Hijo		Female/Hija		Age/Edad

120. What is your total household income per year?   ¿Cuánto es su ingreso anual?

☐ Less than $10,000   ☐ $10,000 to $19,999   ☐ $20,000 to $29,999
Menos de $10,000

☐ $30,000 to $39,999   ☐ $40,000 to $49,999   ☐ $50,000 to $59,999

☐ $60,000 to $69,999   ☐ $70,000 to $79,999   ☐ $80,000 to $89,999

☐ $90,000 to $99,999   ☐ $80,000 to $89,999   ☐ $100,000 to $149,999

☐ $150,000 or more /Más de $150,000

121. In the past 3 years, how many cities/towns in the United States have you lived in? Do not include where you live now.

¿En los últimos tres años, en cuántas ciudades o suburbios de los Estados Unidos ha vivido usted? No incluir el lugar donde usted reside ahora.

☐ I have only lived in this city/town - Siempre he vivido en esta misma ciudad.

☐ 1 other city/town - En una (1) ciudad diferente.

☐ 2-3 other cities/towns - En dos o tres (2 o 3) ciudades diferentes.

☐ 4 or more other cities/towns - En más de cuatro (4 o más) ciudades diferentes.

122. In the past 3 years, how many times have you moved within the Coastal City area?

¿En los últimos tres años, cuántas veces se ha usted cambiado de casa dentro de la ciudad de Coastal City?

☐ Never /Nunca   ☐ 2-3 times / Dos o tres veces
☐ 1 time / Una vez   ☐ 4 or more times / Más de cuatro veces

123. Do you currently volunteer for any organization? (such as for a school, church, hospital, community organization)?

¿Actualmente trabaja usted como voluntario(a) para alguna organización civil (por ejemplo, una escuela, una iglesia, o un hospital)?

☐ Yes, regularly/Sí, con frecuencia   ☐ Yes, sometimes/ Sí, a veces   ☐ No

124. Do your children participate in volunteering?

¿Su(s) hijo/a(s) trabaja(n) como voluntario(a)s?

☐ Yes, regularly/Sí, con frecuencia   ☐ Yes, sometimes/ Sí, a veces   ☐ No

FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIPS./FAMILIA Y RELACIONES.

125.   Thinking of your close friends, how many…

¿Cuántos de sus íntimos amigos ...

	All Todos	Most La Mayoría	About Half La Mitad	A few Unos cuantos	None Ninguno(a)	Don't know No sé
Live in your neighborhood Viven en su colonia?						
Belong to the same community organization Pertenecen a la misma organización civil/comunitaria?						
Work at the same place as you Trabajan en el mismo lugar que usted?						

126. Who does the following jobs in your home?
En cuanto a las labores domesticas ¿quien las hace?

	I do Yo lo hago	Spouse/Partner Mi esposo(a)/ compañero(a)	Son(s) Hijo(s)	Daughter(s) Hija(s)	Everyone Participates Todo la familia	Not applicable No es relevante
Washing dishes lavar trastes						
Drying dishes secar trastes						
Washing clothes lavar la ropa						
Ironing planchar la ropa						
Dusting Sacudir						
Vacuuming aspirar la alfrombra						
Planning meals planear las comidas						
Grocery shopping ir al supermercado						
Cooking Cocinar						
Setting the table poner la mesa						
Clearing the table recoger la mesa						
Taking out garbage sacar a la basura						

	I do Yo lo hago	Spouse/Partner Mi esposo(a)/ compañero(a)	Son(s) Hijo(s)	Daughter(s) Hija(s)	Everyone Participates Todo la familia	Not applicable No es relevante
Helping siblings with homework ayudar con la tarea						
Read to younger siblings leer en voz alta a los hijos pequenos						
Helping work on computer ayudar en completar tareas en la computadora						
Running errands Hacer los mandados						
Working on family budget Planear el presupuesto de la casa						
Other: Otra labor						
Other: Otra labor						
Other: Otra labor						

33. Who most often takes care of your child(ren) after school?
    ¿Quién cuida a su(s) hijo(s) después que sale(n) del colegio/prepa?

    ☐ No one/Nadie   ☐ My spouse/partner /Mi esposo(a)/companero(a)
    ☐ My friend(s) /Un(a) amigo(a)   ☐ I do / Yo lo hago
    ☐ Other family member(s) / Otro pariente
    ☐ After-school program personnel /una programa de cuidado de ninos/Guarderia
    ☐ Other (please specify) / Otro lugar u otra persona (Explique)
    _____

34. Are you home when your Coastal High School child(ren) leaves for school?
    ¿Está usted en casa cuando se marcha su hijo(a) el/la que asiste a Coastal High School?
    ☐ Yes/Si   ☐ No/No

35. How does your Coastal High School child(ren) get to school?
    ¿Como llega su hijo(a) a Coastal High School?

    ☐ Walk /A pie   ☐ Car / En coche   ☐ Bus / Por autobús

    ☐ Other/ Por otro medio. Explique_____

36. How much of the material sent home from Coastal High School is in your primary
    language? De la información que Coastal High School manda a su casa, ?cuánta viene
    escrita en su idioma (español)?

    ☐ None / Ninguna   ☐ Some / Alguna   ☐ All / Toda ☐ Unsure / No sé

37. How often do you visit the Coastal High School Campus?
    ¿Con qué frecuencia visita usted a Coastal High School?

    ☐ Never / Nunca   ☐ Sometimes / A veces   ☐Often / Seguido

38. How often do you communicate with your child's teachers?
    ¿Con qué frecuencia se comunica usted con los profesores de su hijo(a) en Coastal High
    School?

    ☐ Never / Nunca   ☐ Sometimes / A veces   ☐ Often / Seguido

    If never or sometimes, please explain. Si su respuesta es "nunca" o "a veces," explique la
    razón de su respuesta aquí

    _____

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39. Does your child receive Free/Reduced Lunch?
¿Su hijo recibo un vale para comida gratuita o a precio reducido en el Coastal High School?

☐ Yes/Si   ☐ No/No

40. What school events have you attended? (check all that apply)
¿A cuáles eventos de Coastal High School ha asistido usted?

☐ Back-to-School Night   ☐ PTSA meetings / Reuniones de la
   Evento de Regreso a Clases   asociación de padres,
   Para Padres de Coastal High School   maestros y alumnos

☐ Parent Latino Initiative meetings / Reuniónes de la PLI

☐ Freshman Orientation / Orientación para alumnos de primer año

☐ Parent/Teacher conference / Reuniones particulares con profesores de CHS

☐ Sporting events / Eventos deportivos

☐ Plays/Concerts / Obras de teatro o conciertos

☐ Graduation ceremony / Graduación

☐ School Site Council / Reuniones del concilio de CHS

☐ Other (please specify)/ Algún(os) otro(s) evento(s) o reunión(es).

Explique _____

41. How did you find out about the event(s) you attended? (Check all that apply)
¿Cómo se enteró usted de estos eventos? Indique todos que sean relevantes.

☐ Phone call / Llamada telefónica   ☐ Newsletter/Flyer / Boletín de CHS
☐ Child told me / Por medio de me hijo(a)
☐ Other / Por otro medio:_____

42. How often does your child ask you to attend school events?
¿Qué tanto le pide su hijo que usted asista algún evento de CHS?

☐ Never / Nunca   ☐ Sometimes / A véces   ☐ Often / Seguido

43. Do you feel your child is treated differently than other students by school officials? ¿Usted cree que su hijo recibe un trato diferente de los demás alumnos por la administración de CHS?

☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Don't know / No sé

Si su respuesta es afirmativa, explique aquí:
_____

44. Do you feel your child is offered classes to his or her ability? ¿Usted cree que su hijo(a) está ofrecido materias en CHS de acuerdo a sus capacidades?

☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Don't know / No sé

Si su respuesta es negativa, explique aquí:
_____

45. What time does your child usually go to bed?
¿A qué hora se acuesta su hijo(a) normalmente?

☐ Earlier than 8:00 p.m. / Antes de las 8 de la tarde

☐ 8:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m. / Entre las 8 y las 9 de la noche

☐ 9:00 p.m. – 10:00 p.m. / Entre las 9 y las 10 de la noche

☐ 10:00 p.m. – 11:00 p.m. / Entre las 10 y las 11 de la noche

☐ 11:00 p.m. – midnight Entre las 11 y las 12 de la noche

☐ Midnight or after / Después de las 12 de la noche

46. How much homework should your child(ren) have each night?
En su opinión, ¿cuánto tiempo debería pasar su hijo en hacer la tarea a diario?

☐ None / Cero

☐ ½ hour – 1 hour / Entre media hora y una hora

☐ 1 – 2 hours / Entre una y dos horas

☐ 2 hours or more / Dos horas o más

47. What type of behavior in the classroom do you expect your child to engage in?
¿A su parecer, qué clase de conducta es apropiada para su hijo(a) en su salón de clase?

☐ Sit quietly / Sentar callademente

☐ Ask questions when confused / Hacer preguntas cuando el/ella tiene dudas

☐ Actively participate / Hacer comentarios, responder a preguntas, opinar y participar plenamente en las actividades didácticas del salón

48. How do you manage your child's homework? (check all that apply)
¿Como ayuda usted a su hijo(a)(s) con la tarea? Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

☐ I ask if it's finished / Pregunto a mi hijo(a) si terminó la tarea

☐ I check that it's complete / Reviso a la tarea para confirmar que está terminada

☐ I check that it's correct / Reviso a la tarea para confirmar que está correcta

☐ I check the Parent/Student Portal / Reviso la página web de CHS "Parent/Student Portal"

☐ I don't have time / No tengo tiempo para revisar a la tarea de mi hijo(a)

☐ I don't know how / No sabré cómo revisar a la tarea de mi hijo(a)

☐ I feel that my child is responsible enough to complete his/her homework without my assistance / Mi hijo(a) es lo suficiente responsable para completar las tareas sin my ayuda

☐ Other (please specify) / Otro método. Explique aquí con más detalle:

_____

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49. Who helps your child with homework? (check all that apply)
   ¿Quién ayuda a su hijo(a) con las tareas? Indique todos que sean relevantes.

   ☐ No one / Nadie
   ☐ My spouse/partner / Mi esposo(a)
   ☐ My friend(s) / Un amigo(a)
   ☐ I do / Yo lo hago
   ☐ Other family member(s) / Otro pariente
   ☐ After-school program personnel / Los trabajadores del programa extracurricular gratuito
   ☐ Child's friend(s) / Un(a) amigo(a) de mi hijo(a)
   ☐ Neighbor(s) / Un(a) vecino(a)
   ☐ Other (please specify) /Otra persona. Especifíque:

   _____

50. What do you do when the school calls you saying your child is absent? (check all that apply)
   ¿Qué hace usted cuando recibe una llamada de CHS para informarle que su hijo(a) no fue a clase?

   ☐ Ignore it / Nada
   ☐ Talk to child / Hablar con mi hijo(a)
   ☐ Call Attendance Office / Llamar a la administración
   ☐ Call teacher / Llamar al profesor
   ☐ Other (please explain) / Otra respuesta. Explique:

   _____

51. How much education do you expect your son to obtain?
   ¿Cuánta educación formal anticipa usted que complete su hijo?

   ☐ Not applicable (have no sons) / No es relevante porque no tengo hijos varones
   ☐ Finish Middle School / Graduarse del colegio
   ☐ Finish High School / Graduarse de la preparatoria/bachillerato
   ☐ Some college (community college)/ Tomar clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años
   ☐ Associate degree (community college) / Graduarse en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años
   ☐ Bachelor's degree (university) / Graduarse en la universidad
   ☐ Attend Graduate School / Tomar cursos postgrados
   ☐ Obtain a Graduate Degree (master's degree) / Graduarse con una maestría
   ☐ Other (please specify) / Otra clase de estudios.

   Especifique:_____

52. How much education do you expect your daughter to obtain?
¿Cuánta educación formal anticipa usted que complete su hija?

☐ Not applicable (have no daughters) / No es relevante porque no tengo hijas
☐ Finish Middle School / Graduarse del colegio
☐ Finish High School / Graduarse de la preparatoria/bachillerato
☐ Some college (community college)/ Tomar clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años
☐ Associate degree (community college) / Graduarse en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años
☐ Bachelor's degree (university) / Graduarse en la universidad
☐ Attend Graduate School / Tomar cursos postgrados
☐ Obtain a Graduate Degree / Graduarse con una maestría
☐ Other (please specify) / Otra clase de estudios.
Especifique: _____

53. Does your child have outside employment? ¿Su hijo tiene un empleo formal?
☐ Yes / Sí   How many hours per week? ¿Cuántas horas a la semana?
☐ No / No   _____

54. What does your child do with his/her paycheck? ¿Cómo gasta su sueldo su hijo(a)?

_____

55. Would you support your son's decision to leave high school in order to work?
¿Estaría de acuerdo con su hijo si él decidiera dejar a sus estudios para trabajar?

☐Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Don't know / No sé

56. Would you support your daughter's decision to leave high school in order to work?
¿Estaría de acuerdo con su hija si ella decidiera dejar a sus estudios para trabajar?

☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Don't know / No sé

57. Does your son engage in extracurricular activities at CHS such as sports, clubs, or organizations?
¿Su hijo participa en actividades extracurriculares en CHS como deportes escolares, clubs estudiantiles u otras organizaciones estudiantiles?

☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Not applicable / No es relevante porque no tengo varones.

58. If not, please explain (check all that apply):
Si no participa su hijo, ¿Por qué no?

☐ Son not interested / A él no le interesa

☐ Busy with school work / Está demasiado ocupado con la tarea

☐ Busy with household work / Está demasiado ocupado en la casa

☐ Financial concerns / Por motivos económicos

☐ Lack of information / Por la falta de información acerca de posibles actividades

☐ Has a job / Él tiene un empleo

☐ Other / Por otro motivo. Especifique:_____

59. Does your daughter engage in extracurricular activities at CHS such as sports, clubs, or organizations?
¿Su hija participa en actividades extracurriculares en CHS como deportes escolares, clubs estudiantiles u otras organizaciones estudiantiles?

☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ No / No   ☐ Not applicable. I have no daughters.
                                        No es relevante porque no tengo hijas.

60. If not, please explain (check all that apply):
Si no, ¿Por qué no? Indique todos que sean relevantes.

☐ Daughter not interested / A ella no le interesa

☐ Busy with school work / Está demasiada ocupada con la tarea

☐ Busy with household work / Está demasiada ocupada en la casa

☐ Financial concerns / Por motivos económicos

☐ Lack of information / Por la falta de información acerca de posibles actividades

☐ Has a job / Ella tiene un empleo

☐ Other / Por otro motivo. Especifique:_____

EMPLOYMENT/LABOR HISTORY
HISTORIA LABORAL

61.   Before coming to the United States, did you have a **paid** job in your country of birth?
        ¿Antes de llegar a los EEUU, tuvo usted empleo pagado en su país de origen? If not,
        please explain in #62 below.

        ☐ Yes/Sí. Explain the type of work you had in the space below
                Explique abajo la clase de empleo que tuvo usted.

        ☐ No. Si no tuvo empleo, vea el #62 abajo.

        _____
        _____
        _____

62.   If you did not have a **paid** job in your country of birth, please specify if you were
        unemployed, disabled, too young to work, retired, a homemaker, or otherwise.
        ¿Si no trabajaba usted en su país de origen, cuál fue el motivo (por discapacidad, por ser
        pensionado, por ser menor de edad, por ser ama de casa u por otro motivo)? Explique:

        _____
        _____
        _____

63.   Do you currently have a primary paid job outside of your home?
        ¿Actualmente tiene usted un empleo formal?

        ☐ Yes/Sí. Please explain below. Explique abajo la clase de empleo que tiene usted.

        ☐ No. See #64 below/ No. Vea #64 abajo.

        _____
        _____
        _____

64.   If you are not presently employed, please specify if you are unemployed, disabled, too
        young to work, retired, homemaker, or otherwise.
        Si usted no tiene usted empleo formal actualmente ¿cuál es el motivo (por discapacidad,
        por ser un pensionado, por ser menor de edad, por ser ama de casa u por otro motivo)?
        Explique:

        _____
        _____

65. If you are currently employed, how long have you worked in your primary job outside of your home in months or years? _____

Si usted actualmente tiene un empleo formal, ¿cuánto tiempo tiene en ese empleo? _____(meses o años)

66. Do you use English in your primary job? ¿Habla usted inglés para su empleo?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí.   Check all that apply. / Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

☐ To write (forms, reports, notes, other information)
Escrito. Para escribir mensajes, formatos, reportes, notas u otra documentación)

☐ To verbally communicate with others.
Verbal. Para comunicarse con los jefes y compañeros.

☐ To read (reports, forms, notes, other information)
Lectura. Para leer reportes, indicaciones, notas u otra información.

67. Do you use Spanish in your primary job? ¿Habla usted español para su empleo?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí.   Check all that apply. / Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

☐ To write (forms, reports, notes, other information)
Escrito. Para escribir mensajes, formatos, reportes, notas u otra documentación)

☐ To verbally communicate with others.
Verbal. Para comunicarse con los jefes y compañeros.

☐ To read (reports, forms, notes, other information)
Lectura. Para leer reportes, indicaciones, notas u otra información.

68. Do you have a SECOND job outside of your home?
¿Actualmente tiene usted un segundo empleo formal?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí. Explique abajo a que se dedica en este segundo empleo.

_____

69. How long have you worked in your second job (months or years)?

¿Si usted actualmente tiene un segundo empleo, cuánto tiempo tiene usted en ese empleo? _____(meses o años)

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70. Do you use English in your second job? ¿Habla usted inglés para su segundo empleo?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí.   Check all that apply. / Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

   ☐ To write (forms, reports, notes, other information)
   Escrito. Para escribir mensajes, formatos, reportes, notas u otra documentación)

   ☐ To verbally communicate with others.
   Verbal. Para comunicarse con los jefes y compañeros.

   ☐To read (reports, forms, notes, other information)
   Lectura. Para leer reportes, indicaciones, notas u otra información.

71. Do you use Spanish in your second job? ¿Habla usted en español para su segundo empleo?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí   Check all that apply. / Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

   ☐ To write (forms, reports, notes, other information)
   Escrito. Para escribir mensajes, formatos, reportes, notas u otra documentación)

   ☐ To verbally communicate with others.
   Verbal. Para comunicarse con los jefes y compañeros.

   ☐ To read (reports, forms, notes, other information)
   Lectura. Para leer reportes, indicaciones, notas u otra información.

72. If you are presently unemployed, did you ever work before?

Si usted está actualmente desempleado, ¿tuvo empleo en el pasado?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes/Sí. Explique abajo que clase de trabajo que tuvo.

_____
_____

73. How long have you been unemployed? ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de desempleo?
_____(meses o años)

74. Do you perform any paid work for others **WITHIN** your home or engage in activities that brings income to your home such as child care services to other families, recycling, seamstress, selling home-made food and/or other types of home-made products?
¿Trabaja usted en casa para ganar dinero? Por ejemplo usted cocina productos para vender, o ofrece servicios de niñera o de costura, o fabrica productos artesanales, o recicla envases, u otra clase de servicio?

☐ No / No
☐ Yes /Sí. Please describe./Explique aquí.

_____

_____

75. If you answered YES to the previous question, do your children participate in the work or activities?
Si la respuesta a la #74 es afirmativa, indique abajo si trabajan sus hijos/hijas con usted en esa labor.
☐ No / No   ☐ Yes / Sí   ☐ Sometimes /A veces

76. Which of the following statements about occupational status apply to you?
Lea las descripciones abajo e indicar cuáles son relevantes a su situación actual.

☐ Not working at the moment / Actualmente no tengo empleo.

☐ Part-time or hourly work (less than 15 hours per week)
    Actualmente trabajo tiempo parcial (menos de 15 horas a la semana)
☐ Part-time work (15 to 34 hours per week)
    Trabajo entre 15 y 35 horas a la semana
☐ Full-time work (35 hours or more)
    Tengo un empleo de tiempo completo
☐ On temporary leave (educational, family, disability)
    Estoy de permiso de mi empleo por motivos educacionales, familiares o de salud.

77. If you are married or have a partner, does your spouse work?
¿Si usted está casado(a), trabaja su pareja?
☐ No / No   ☐ Yes / Sí   Please explain the kind of work below.
                            Sí. ¿Qué clase de trabajo tiene su pareja? Explique aquí.

_____

RESOURCES/ASSISTANCE

Asistencia Pública

78. What type of government assistance do you receive?
¿Qué clase de subsidios o prestaciones sociales recibe usted?

☐ None/Ninguna
☐ WIC/ Subsidio de alimentación para madres e hijos
☐ Section 8 (housing benefit)/ Subsidio de vivienda
☐ Disability / Subsidio por discapacidad
☐ Welfare/ Prestaciones generales
☐ Social Security / Prestaciónes del Seguro Social
☐ Other. Please specify / Otro subsidio. Especifique:

_____

_____

79. What type of community assistance (from family, neighbors, church) do you receive?
¿Qué clase de ayuda económica, de vivienda o de víveres recibe usted de sus parientes, vecinos o de una institución religiosa?

☐ Child care/Cuidado de niños
☐ Transportation (for me or family member) /Transporte (para mí o mis parientes)
☐ Car Repair Service / Asistencia para arreglos mecánicos de coche
☐ House Maintenance / Asistencia para los arreglos o el mantenimiento de la vivienda
☐ Help to find a job / Asistencia para buscar o conseguir empleo
☐ Help with translation / Asistencia con traducciones
☐ Organize social activities / Asistencia para organizar eventos sociales
☐ Access Services (such as schools, hospitals) / Servicios de Access transporte
☐ Financial support / Asistencia económica
☐ Food / Víveres
☐ Household supplies / Provisiones domésticos
☐ Other (please specify):

Otra ayuda. Explique:_____

80. What type of assistance do you give to your community (family, neighbors, church)?
¿Qué clase de ayuda económica, de vivienda o de víveres da usted a la comunidad (a parientes, vecinos o instituciones religiosas)?

☐ Child care/Cuidado de niños
☐ Transportation (for me or family member) /Transporte (para mí o mis parientes)
☐ Car Repair Service / Asistencia para arreglos mecánicos de coche
☐ House Maintenance / Asistencia para los arreglos o el mantenimiento de la vivienda
☐ Help to find a job / Asistencia para buscar o conseguir empleo
☐ Help with translation / Asistencia con traducciones
☐ Organize social activities / Asistencia para organizar eventos sociales
☐ Access Services (such as schools, hospitals) / Servicios de Access transporte
☐ Financial support / Asistencia económica
☐ Food / Víveres
☐ Household supplies / Provisiones domésticos
☐ Other (please specify):

  Otra ayuda. Explique:_____

81. In the last week, how many Latino/Hispanic household/families did you interact with (by telephone, texting, emailing, and/or in person)?
¿Durante la semana pasada, con cuántas familias Latinas tenía usted comunicación (por teléfono, texto, correo electrónico o en persona)?

☐ I didn't interact with other families (skip to question #83/Siga hasta #83)
     No tenía contacto con ningún otra familia Latina.

☐ 1 to 5 families Tenía contacto con entre
     1 a 5 familias 5 – 10 families Tenía contacto con entre 6 a 10 familias

☐ More than 10 families
     Tenía contacto con más de 10 familias

82. Where do these households/families live? (Check all that apply)
¿Donde viven las familias con quienes tenía contacto usted? Indique abajo todos los que sean relevantes.

☐ On the same street/neighborhood as me
Las familias viven en la misma calle que yo

☐ In the same city/town as me but not my street/neighborhood
Las familias viven en mi ciudad pero no viven en mi colonia.

☐ In neighboring city/town
Las familias viven en otra ciudad cercana de la mía.

☐ In a different state than me
Las familias viven en otro estado de los EEUU.

☐ In a different country than me
Las familias viven en el extranjero.

83. During the last 12 months, did you or a family member seek assistance from the authorities over a crime committed in your home, in your neighborhood, or at work?
En los últimos doce meses, ¿llamó a la policía usted o algún familiar en su casa por haber sido víctima de un acto delictivo ocurrido en su casa, su colonia o en su trabajo?

☐ Don't Know / No sé   ☐ Yes/ Sí   ☐   No / No

84.　　　　　How satisfied were you with this assistance (if during the last 12 months, you or a family member sought assistance from the authorities over a crime committed in your home, in your neighborhood, or at work)?
　　　　　En los últimos doce meses, si usted o algún familiar en su casa llamó a la policía por haber sido víctima de un acto delictivo ocurrido en su casa, su colonia o en su trabajo, ¿Qué opina usted acerca de la calidad de la asistencia de la policía?

	Don't Know / No sé
	Very satisfied / Estaba muy satisfecho(a)
	Fairly satisfied / Estaba satisfecho(a)
	A little dissatisfied / Estaba algo insatisfecho(a)
	Very dissatisfied / Estaba muy insatisfecho(a)

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES AND LANGUAGE USE
Historial educativa y lingüística

85.　　What is the highest level of schooling **you** have completed? If currently enrolled in school, mark the previous grade or highest degree received.|
　　¿Cuántos años de educación formal tiene usted?

☐ No schooling completed / Nunca fuí a la escuela

☐ Elementary o Primaria If you did not graduate, please indicate the highest grade completed.
　　　　Me gradué en la primaria.
　　　　¿Si no se graduó en la primaria, hasta qué grado llegó? 1 2 3 4 5 6

☐ Middle School o Secundaria. If you did not graduate, please indicate the highest grade
　　　　Me gradué en la secundaria. completed.
　　　　¿Si no se graduó en la secundaria, hasta qué grado llegó? 1 2 3 4 5 6

☐ High School / Preparatoria. High school diploma or GED.

If you did not graduate, indicate the highest grade completed. Me gradué en la preparatoria / bachillerato o acabé el GED en los EEUU. ¿Si no se graduó, hasta qué grado llegó? 1 2 3 4

☐ Some college (community college)/ Tomé clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años pero tengo menos de un año de estudios universitarios

☐ College (community college)/ Tomé clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años durante más de un año pero sin recibirme

☐ Associate degree (community college) / Me gradué en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años

☐ University studies (universidad) / Más de un año de estudios universitarios pero sin recibirme

☐ Bachelor's degree (university) / Me gradué en la universidad

☐ Graduate School (estudios postgrados) / Tomé cursos postgrados pero sin recibirme

☐ Obtain a Graduate Degree / Me gradué con una maestría

☐ Professional degree -Título profesional Doctorate degree -Un doctorado

☐ Other (please specify)
Algún otro título o certificado.
Explique:_____

86.   In your immediate family (spouse/partner, children), what is the highest level of education? ¿De sus parientes más cercanos (pareja o hijos/hijas), quién tiene más estudios formales? ¿Cuántos años de estudio tiene este pariente?

☐ No schooling completed / Nunca fuí a la escuela

☐ Elementary o Primaria If you did not graduate, please indicate the highest grade completed.
        Me gradué en la primaria.
        ¿Si no se graduó en la primaria, hasta qué grado llegó? 1 2 3 4 5 6

☐ Middle School o Secundaria. If you did not graduate, please indicate the highest grade
        Me gradué en la secundaria. completed.
        ¿Si no se graduó en la secundaria, hasta qué grado llegó? 1 2 3 4 5 6

☐ High School / Preparatoria. High school diploma or GED.

If you did not graduate, indicate the highest grade completed. Me gradué en la preparatoria / bachillerato o acabé el GED en los EEUU. ¿Si no se graduó, hasta qué grado llegó?   1 2 3 4

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☐ Some college (community college)/ Tomé clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años pero tengo menos de un año de estudios universitarios

☐ College (community college)/ Tomé clases en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años durante más de un año pero sin recibirme

☐ Associate degree (community college) / Me gradué en un centro de formación universitaria de dos años

☐ University studies (universidad) / Más de un año de estudios universitarios pero sin recibirme

☐ Bachelor's degree (university) / Me gradué en la universidad

☐ Graduate School (estudios postgrados) / Tomé cursos postgrados pero sin recibirme

☐ Obtain a Graduate Degree / Me gradué con una maestría

☐ Professional degree -Título profesional Doctorate degree -Un doctorado

☐ Other (please specify) Algún otro título o certificado.
Explique:_____

87.   How would you rate your …
        ¿Cómo calificaría usted su manejo de los siguientes idiomas?

	Very well **Muy bien**	Well **Bien**	Poor **No muy bien**	Very poor **Mal**
Spanish speaking skills Hablar en español				
English speaking skills Hablar en inglés				
Spanish writing skills Escribir en español				
English writing skills Escribir en inglés				
Spanish reading skills Leer en español				
English reading skills Leer en inglés				
Spanish comprehension skills Comprender el español				
English comprehension skills Comprender el inglés				

88.   What language do you mostly use when speaking with your child(ren)?
        ¿En qué idioma habla usted con su(s) hijo(s)/hija(s) la mayoría del tiempo?

☐ Spanish / Español   ☐ English / Inglés

☐ Both (English and Spanish) / Ambos idiomas (inglés y español)

89. Which of the following SPANISH language-related activities are normal for you and your family?
De las actividades indicadas abajo ¿cuáles son las que hace usted normalmente en español con su familia?

☐ Reading books / Leer libros
☐ Singing songs / Cantar canciones
☐ Using rhymes and riddles/ Decir adivinanzas, versos o rimas
☐ Writing (such as letters/emails to family and friends) /
               Escribir cartas y/o correos electrónicos a parientes y/o amigos
☐ Sharing family stories / Contar historias acerca de la familia o parientes
☐ Saying prayers / Rezar
☐ Watching and talking about TV shows / Mirar televisión y/o hablar acerca de los
   programas
☐ Looking for information / Buscar información
☐ Playing/listening to music / Tocar o escuchar música
☐ Playing games (board games, cards) / Jugar juegos de mesa o naipes
☐ Translating documents, TV programs or the news / Traducir documentos, programas
      de television o las noticias
☐ Other (please specify). / Otras actividades. Especifique:

_____

90. Which of the following ENGLISH language-related activities are normal for you and your family?
De las actividades indicadas abajo ¿cuáles son las que hace usted normalmente en inglés con su familia?

☐ Reading books / Leer libros
☐ Singing songs / Cantar canciones
☐ Using rhymes and riddles/ Decir adivinanzas, versos o rimas
☐ Writing (such as letters/emails to family and friends) /
      Escribir cartas o correos electrónicos a parientes o amigos
☐ Sharing family stories / Contar historias acerca de la familia o parientes
☐ Saying prayers / Rezar
☐ Watching and talking about TV shows / Mirar television y hablar acerca de los
       programas
☐ Looking for information / Buscar información
☐ Playing/listening to music / Tocar o escuchar música
☐ Playing games (board games, cards) / Jugar juegos de mesa o naipes
☐ Translating documents, TV programs or the news / Traducir documentos, programas
      de television o las noticias
☐ Other (please specify). / Otras actividades. Especifique:

_____

91.	Are you taking a class to improve your English language skills?
¿Está usted tomando clases para aprender y/o mejorar el inglés?

☐ Yes / Si	☐ No / No

92.	How often are you exposed to the English language?
¿Con qué frecuencia se encuentra usted en un entorno de inglés hablantes?

☐ Very often / Muy Seguido	☐ Often / Seguido	☐ A little / De vez en cuando
☐ Very little / Casi nunca	☐ Never / Nunca

93.	How would you describe your experience in high school?
¿Cómo describiría usted su experiencia como alumno(a) de la preparatoria/bachillerato?

☐ Excellent / Excelente	☐ Good / Bien	☐ Okay / Más o menos
☐ Bad / Mal	☐ Awful / Terrible

94.	How often did your parents attend school events when you were in high school?

Cuando usted era alumno(a) del bachillerato/preparatoria ¿con qué frecuencia sus padres le acompañaba a usted a eventos escolares?

☐ Never / Nunca	☐ Sometimes / De vez en cuando	☐ Often / Seguido

RELIGIOUS BEHAVIORS AND ATTITUDES.
RUTINAS Y ACTITUDES ACERCA DE LA RELIGION

95.	What is your religious affiliation? ¿Qué es su religión?
☐ Catholic/católico (a)	☐ Jewish/judío(a)	☐ Muslim/musulman(a)
☐ None/ninguna
☐ Pentecostal/Evangelical - evangelico(a)
☐ Protestant/protestante.   What denomination (such as Methodist, Baptist, etc.)?
¿Qué denominación (metodista, bautista etc.) _____
☐ Other/otra _____

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96.   How often do you attend religious services at a church, mosque, synagogue, or other place of worship? ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a misa u otro servicio religioso en una iglesia, mezquita o sinagoga?

☐ Never / Nunca   _____ Less than once a year / Una vez al año o menos
☐ Once or twice a year / Una o dos veces al año
☐ Several times a year / Varias veces durante al año
☐ Once a month/ una vez al mes
☐ 2-3 times a month / dos o tres veces al mes
☐ About weekly / más o menos semanalmente
☐ Weekly / semanalmente
☐ Several times a week / varias veces a la semana

97.   How long have you attended your current place of worship?
¿Cuánto tiempo tiene usted yiendo a su templo o iglesia?

☐ 1 year or less / Menos de un año
☐ 2-4 years / Entre dos y cuatro años
☐ 5-9 years / Entre cinco y nueve años
☐ 10-19 years / Entre 10 y 19 años
☐ 20 or more years / Mas de 20 años

98.   Who are the majority of people who attend your current place of worship?
¿En general, quiénes asisten su iglesia o templo?

☐ White (non-Hispanic) / Gente blanca/anglo-sajóna
☐ Hispanic / Gente latina
☐ Black or African-American / Gente negra o afro-americana
☐ Asian / Gente asiática
☐ Some other race or ethnicity / Gente de otras razas o etnicidades

99. By your best guess, how would your current place of worship feel about the items on the list below? Please mark only one box for each item.

¿Qué opinaría su iglesia o templo de las siguientes actividades?

	Forbids Está prohibido	Strongly discourages Está muy mal visto	Somewhat discourages Está algo mal visto	Encourages Visto como valor	Isn't concerned No hay política al respecto	Don't know No sé
Pornography Pornografía						
Gambling Apostar						
Wearing revealing clothing El uso de ropa provocativa						
Premarital Sex Relaciones sexuales antes del matrimonio						
Living together before marriage Vivir como pareja sin estar casado(a) o antes de casarse						
Use of contraception Uso de anticonceptivos						
Abortion El aborto						
Homosexual behavior La homosexualidad						
Displays of wealth Ostentar las bienes materiales						

100. How many of your friends …. De su(s) amistad(es), ¿cuántas...

	All Toda(a)	Most La mayoría	About Half La mitad	A few Unas cuantas	None Ninguna	Don't know No sé
Attend your place of worship? Asisten al mismo templo que usted						
Attend a different place of worship? Asisten a un templo diferente						
Do not attend religious services? No asisten servicios religiosos						

101. How often did you participate in the following religious or faith-based activities in the last month? ¿Cuántas veces participaba usted en las siguientes actividades religiosas durante el último més?

	Not at All Ninguna	1-2 times 1 o 2 veces	3-4 times 3 o 4 veces	5 or more times más de cinco veces
Religious education programs, such as Bible study or Sunday school. Asistir a programas religiosos como un grupo para estudiar la biblia				
Choir practice or other musical programs. Participar en el grupo musical o otro programas musicales				
Social gatherings at your place of worship like fellowships or potlucks Participar en eventos sociales como kermeses, cenas o fiestas				
Witnessing/sharing your faith with friends. Compartir sus ideas religiosas con su familia o con amigo(a)(s)				
Witnessing/sharing your faith with strangers. Compartir sus ideas religiosas con desconocidos				
Other kinds of religious or faith-based activities (please specify) Otras actividades religiosas. Explique aquí:				

102. About how often do you pray or meditate outside of religious services?
¿Con qué frecuencia reza o medita usted fuera de servicios religiosos?

☐ Never / Nunca

☐ Only on certain occasions / Raramente

☐ Once a week or less / Menos de una vez a la semana

☐ A few times a week / Varias veces a la semana

☐ Once a day / Una vez al día

☐ Several times a day / Varias veces al día

103. Which one statement comes closest to your personal beliefs about the Bible? (Please mark only one box.)
¿Cuál de las ideas abajo representa mejor sus creencias acerca de la biblia? (Favor de escoger una solamente)

☐ The Bible means exactly what it says. It should be taken literally, word-for-word, on all subjects. / La biblia significa exactamente lo que dice. Se debe entender literalmente acerca de todos los temas.

☐ The Bible is perfectly true, but it should not be taken literally, word-for-word. We must interpret its meaning. / Lo que dice la biblia es cierto pero no se debe entender literalmente, palabra por palabra. El significado se debe interpretar por uno mismo

☐ The Bible contains some human error./ La biblia tiene algunos errores.

☐ The Bible is an ancient book of history and legends. / La biblia es un libro antiguo de historias y leyendas.

☐ I don't know / No sé

104. How well do you feel that each of the following words describe god in your opinion?
¿Cómo concuerdan las siguientes descripciones de dios con su opinión de él o ella?

	Very Well Totalmente Concuerda	Somewhat Well Mas o menos concuerda	Not very well Algo concuerda	Not at all Para nada concuerda	Undecided No me decido
Critical / Crítico					
Distant / Distante					
Ever present / Siempre Presente					
Fatherly / Paternal					
Forgiving / Todo misericordioso					
Friendly / Amigable					
Just / Justo					
Kind / Bondadoso					
Kingly / Real / Como un rey					
Loving / Amor					
Motherly / Maternal					
Punishing / Estricto					
Severe / Severo					
Wrathful / Rencoroso					

105.   In your opinion, does each of the following exist?

¿En su opinión, existen las siguientes figuras?

	Absolutely Seguramente	Probably Probablemente	Probably not Tal vez no	Absolutely not Claro qué no	Don't know No sé
Devil/Satan Satanás / Diablo					
Heaven / El cielo o paraíso					
Hell / el infierno					
Purgatory / El purgatorio					
Armageddon / La apocalipsis					
Angels / los ángeles					
Demons / los demonios					
The Rapture / el rapto					

106.   How comfortable would you be if a daughter or a son of yours married someone who does not belong to your religion?

¿Estaria de acuerdo si su hijo o hija se casara con alguien que no tiene la misma religión que usted?

Very Comfortable Muy de acuerdo	Somewhat comfortable Algo de acuerdo	Not at all comfortable No estaría de acuerdo

107.   Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:
        Indica que tanto está usted de acuerdo con lo siguiente ...

	Strongly Agree Muy de acuerdo	Agree De acuerdo	Disagree Estoy en desacuerdo	Strongly Disagree Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo	Undecided No me decido
I have kept my religious beliefs from others for fear of ridicule. No hablo de mis creencias religiosas por miedo de ser menospreciado por las demás personas					
My religious beliefs have caused problems in my workplace. Mis creencias religiosas me han causado problemas en el trabajo					
I tend to have trouble maintaining close relationships because of my religious beliefs Me es difícil mantener relaciones íntimas por mis creencias religiosas					
Because of my religious devotion I have missed financial opportunities. Mis creencias religiosas me han perjudicado en cuanto a oportunidades de trabajo o de ganar dinero					
My family members and I disagree about religious matters. Tengo diferencias de opiniones/creencias religiosas con mis familiares y/o parientes					
My religious views are often ridiculed by the media Mis creencias religiosas están menospreciadas en los medios masivos de comunicación					

MORAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES.

108. What is your political orientation? ¿Qué es su tendencia política?
☐ Very conservative /Muy conservador(a) ☐ Conservative/conservador(a)
☐ Liberal/liberal ☐ Very liberal/muy liberal ☐ Moderate/moderado(a)
☐ Other:/Otra. Specify here/Especifique aquí: _____

109. Suppose you had $20,000 and wanted to do one of the following four things.
Which would you be most likely to do?

Imagínese que tuviera $20,000 y puede escoger entre cuatro posibilidades para gastarlo.
¿Cuál escogería?

	Don't Know / No sé
	Keep it hidden in a safe place. / Lo escondería en un lugar secreto
	Put it in a bank account to earn interest. / Depositarlo en un banco para ganar intereses
	Invest it in the stock market. / Invertirlo en la bolsa de valores
	Buy tickets for a lottery where the prize is worth millions Comprar boletos de la lotería donde el premio vale millones de dólares
Other. Please specify: Otra cosa. Explique:	

110. In general do you dislike taking risks, or do you like taking risks?
Por lo general, ¿a usted le gusta tomar riesgos?

	1 – Really dislike risks No tomo riesgos nunca porque no me inquietan mucho
	2 – I almost never take risks / Casi nunca tomo riesgos
	3 - Sometimes I take risks / A veces tomo riesgos
	4 – I like to take risks / Me gusta tomar riesgos
	5 – I take risks often because I love them. Lo hago seguido porque me encanta tomar riesgos

111. Generally speaking, how happy are you on a scale that runs from 1 to 5 where 1 means "very unhappy" and 5 means "very happy"?
Indica abajo como mediria su felicidad con su vida usando el rango abajo donde el número uno quiere decir "sumamente infeliz" y el número cinco representa "sumamente feliz."

	1 – Very unhappy / Sumamente infeliz con mi vida
	2 – Pretty unhappy with my life / Bastante infeliz con mi vida
	3 – More or less happy with my life / Mas o menos feliz con mi vida
	4 – Happy with life / Feliz con mi vida
	5 - Very happy / Sumamente feliz con mi ida

112. Do you agree with the statement "there is often a big gap between what people like me expect out of life and what we actually get."
¿Está usted de acuerdo con la idea de que, "muchas veces hay una gran diferencia entre lo que la gente como yo quiere de la vida y lo que recibimos"?

	Don't Know / No sé
	Strongly agree / Estoy muy de acuerdo
	Agree / Estoy de acuerdo
	Neither agree or disagree / No estoy de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
	Disagree / No estoy de acuerdo
	Strongly disagree / Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo

113. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statement: It is good for society if different ethnic groups keep their own customs and traditions.
ʻEstá usted de acuerdo con la idea de que, "es bueno para la sociedad si cada raza o grupo étnico se mantiene sus tradiciones y costumbres."

	Don't Know / No sé
	Strongly agree / Estoy muy de acuerdo
	Agree / Estoy de acuerdo
	Neither agree or disagree / Ni estoy de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
	Disagree / Estoy en desacuerdo
	Strongly disagree / Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo

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114. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about homosexuals:

Indique abajo que tanto está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las ideas acerca de los homosexuales.

	Strongly Agree Estoy totalmente de acuerdo	Agree Estoy de acuerdo	Disagree Estoy en descuerdo	Strongly Disagree Estoy totalmente en desacuerdo	Undecided No estoy decido(a)
Homosexuals should be allowed to marry Se debe permitir el matrimonio tradicional para los homosexuales					
Homosexuals should be allowed civil unions. Se debe permitir los matrimonios civiles para los homosexuales					
People choose to be homosexuals Los homosexuales escogen su orientación sexual					
People are born as either homosexual or heterosexual La gente nace siendo homosexual o heterosexual					

115. If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her?
Si su partido político nominara una mujer para apostar a la presidencia del país, ¿usted votaría por ella?   ☐Yes / Sí   ☐No

116. If your party nominated a member of a racial minority for President, would you vote for him or her?   Si su partido político nominara una persona que era de un grupo étnico no anglo-sajón, ¿usted votaría por él/ella? ☐Yes / Sí   ☐No

RACE AND ETHNICITY
Étnicidad y raza

117.   If you are currently employed, how many of the people you work with are…
        Identifica abajo la raza o etnicidad de la gente con quien trabaja usted actualmente.

	All Toda la gente	Most La mayoría de la gente	About Half La mitad de la gente	Some Algunas personas	A few Unas cuantas personas	None Ninguna	Don't know No sé
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/ anglo-sajona							
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina							
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana							
Asian Gente asiática							
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades							

118. How many people in your neighborhood are…
De las personas que viven en su colonia, ¿cuántas son ...

	All Toda la gente	Most La mayoría de la gente	About Half La mitad de la gente	Some Algunaspersonas	A few Unas cuantas personas	None Ninguna	Don't know No sé
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/ anglo-sajona							
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina							
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana							
Asian Gente asiática							
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades							

119.   How many of your close friends are… De sus amigo/a(s) íntimo/a(s), cuanto/a(s) son

	All Toda la gente	Most La mayoría de la gente	About Half La mitad de la gente	Some Algunas personas	A few Unas cuantas personas	None Ninguna	Don't know No sé
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/ anglo-sajona							
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina							
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana							
Asian Gente asiática							
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades							

120. How comfortable would you be working with someone who is…
¿Cómo se sentiría usted si tuviera que trabajar con alguien que es…

	Very Comfortable Muy tranquilo(a)	Somewhat comfortable Mas o menos tranquilo(a)	Not at all comfortable Muy incomodo(a)
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/anglo-sajona			
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina			
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana			
Asian Gente asiática			
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades			

121. How comfortable would you be if a family moved next door to you with about the same income and education as you and is…

¿Cómo se sentiría usted si una familia se cambiara a la casa al lado de la suya y la familia tuviera el mismo nivel de educación y de ingresos que usted y que también es ...

	Very Comfortable Muy tranquilo(a)	Somewhat comfortable Mas o menos tranquilo(a)	Not at all comfortable Muy incomodo(a)
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/ anglo-sajona			
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina			
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana			
Asian Gente asiática			
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades			

122. How comfortable would you be if a member of your family wanted to bring a friend home to dinner who is…

¿Cómo se sentiría usted si un familiar quisiera invitar a comer a su casa un amigo(a) que es...

	Very Comfortable Muy tranquilo(a)	Somewhat comfortable Mas o menos tranquilo(a)	Not at all comfortable Muy incomodo(a)
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/anglo-sajona			
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina			
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana			
Asian Gente asiática			
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades			

123. How comfortable would you be if a daughter or a son of yours married someone who is…

¿Cómo se sentiría usted si su hijo o su hija se casara con alguien que es...

	Very Comfortable Muy tranquilo(a)	Somewhat comfortable Mas o menos tranquilo(a)	Not at all comfortable Muy incomodo(a)
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/anglo-sajona			
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina			
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana			
Asian Gente asiática			
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades			

124. Have you ever dated or been romantically involved with a person of another race?

¿En algún momento de su vida tenía usted un novio o una novia de otra raza o etnicidad?

☐ Yes / Sí   ¿De cuál?_____

☐ No

125.   How much would you say that you trust the following people or groups?

¿Cuánta confía usted en los siguientes grupos?

	A lot Mucho	Some Mas o menos	Only a little Un poco	Not at all Nada
White (non-Hispanic) Gente blanca/anglo-sajona				
Hispanic or Latino Gente hispana o latina				
Black or African-American Gente negra o afro-americana				
Asian Gente asiática				
Some other race or ethnicity. Gente de otras razas o etnicidades				